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## Great expectations: The Australian Greens at the 2004 Federal Election

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**GREAT EXPECTATIONS: THE AUSTRALIAN GREENS AT THE 2004  
FEDERAL ELECTION**

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**This thesis is presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor  
of Arts (Honours)**

**Faculty of Community Services, Education and Social Sciences  
Edith Cowan University**

**31 October 2005**

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## ABSTRACT

Prior to the 2004 federal election the Australian Greens were rising as the third force in the Australian political system. At the 2001 election they secured an increased share of the vote and returned a second Senator. Conversely the Australian Democrats, held to be the third force in Australian politics went backwards in 2001, losing a Senate seat. From 2001 to 2004 the Greens polled strongly and were buoyed by increased support for their anti-Iraq war and pro-refugee positions. As a party they appeared to be moving beyond single-issue status. Equally the Democrats were suffering from internal disunity and their support collapsed. By the time of the 2004 election the Greens were expected to win enough Senate seats to at least share the balance of power in the Senate. These high expectations were held by political commentators and the Greens themselves, buoyed by strong polling. This dissertation examines the expectations placed on the Greens. While it was found that expectations were too high, the Greens nevertheless had the capacity to perform better than they did in the Senate. The Greens' underperformance at the 2004 federal election is generally consistent with 'constraints theory'. While institutional barriers to minor party representation in the Australian parliament provided the greatest constraint on the Greens' election performance, this dissertation also examines the impact of government and media attacks on the Greens during the 2004 election campaign and the Australian Embassy bombing on the Greens' election results.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

The Australian Greens were expected to perform strongly at the 2004 federal election. Underpinning support for the Greens was growing public disaffection toward the major parties over their positions on the Iraq war and asylum seekers. At the start of the 2004 election campaign, opinion polls, the Commentariat and the Greens' leadership were fuelling expectations that the Greens could win between four and seven Senate seats and either hold the balance of power in their own right or share it with the remaining Democrat Senators. Greens' leader Bob Brown even raised the possibility of the Greens winning seats in the House of Representatives and determining which of the major parties formed government in the event of a hung parliament (Bachelard & Denholm, 2004; ABC Radio AM, 9 September 2004). The Greens, however, fell well short of these expectations. Only two Greens' candidates were elected to the Senate, increasing their total to four. The Greens did not win election to the House of Representatives and their only sitting member, Michael Organ, lost his seat of Cunningham (Newman, 2005, p.65-73). They even failed to win the three Senate seats they needed to secure official parliamentary party status. On the other hand the Howard government was returned for a fourth consecutive term with an increased majority in the House of Representatives and control of the Senate – the first time a government controlled the Senate in 24 years (Manning & Rootes, 2005, p.403-4).

The disparity between the expectations that the Greens would perform strongly and the outcome of the 2004 election raises the question of whether the Greens under performed or whether expectations were in fact too high. Analysis of the expectations placed on the Greens, suggests that they were too high. However, the Greens should have performed better than they did in the Senate. After establishing that the Greens should have had four candidates elected to the Senate, 'constraints theory' is utilised to provide an explanation for why the Greens under performed at the 2004 federal election. 'Constraints theory' is a convenient term for the Jaensch and Mathieson's (1998, pp.21-3) application of Hauss and Rayside's (1978) theory of party formation to the study of minor parties in Australia. While government and media attacks on the Greens and the terrorist bombing of the Australian Embassy in Jakarta were the major issues the Greens

confronted during the 2004 election campaign, institutional barriers provided the greatest constraint on the Greens' election performance.

This study provides a contribution to the study of minor parties in Australia. In particular, it provides an original contribution to the study of the Australian Greens. Despite being founded over a decade ago, the Australian Greens remain relatively neglected by Australian political scientists. It also provides an account of the Greens' performance at the 2004 election, something that has been inadequately considered.

### **Methodology**

A wide range of resources were utilised for information on the Greens at the 2004 election, including newspaper reports, election data, parliamentary reports, press releases and, where they were available, journal articles. An analysis of the 2004 Senate election results was undertaken to determine the extent to which the electoral system and Senate preferences affected the Greens' election results. A content analysis of news reports and opinion pieces in Australia's major national and state newspapers was undertaken to establish whether there was bias against the Greens as a prerequisite to determining whether it damaged the Greens' electoral support. The newspapers included in the content analysis were *The Australian*, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *Herald Sun*, *The Age*, *The Courier Mail*, *The West Australian*, *The Advertiser* and *The Mercury*. News reports were classified as 'unfavourable', 'neutral' or 'favourable'. These categories refer to whether the content of a news story reflected positively or negatively on the Greens. The results of the content analysis are contained in Appendices H and I. Opinion poll data and data from the Australian Election Study (AES) 2001 and 2004 were utilised to determine the impact of the government and media attacks on the Greens. Opinion poll data were also used to determine the impact of the terrorist bombing on the Australian Embassy in Jakarta on the Greens' election results. While opinion poll data at the national level provides a crude measure for gauging support for the Greens, it was the only measure that was readily available. While the 2001 and 2004 AES data show respondents' attitudes toward the Greens changed, it does not indicate what changed their attitudes and at what time between the 2001 and 2004 elections attitudinal change occurred.

## **Findings**

This study found that the expectations placed on the Greens in the lead up to the 2004 federal election were too high. However, a comparison of polling on the Greens with the Democrats' Senate election results in 1998 and 2001 suggests the Greens under performed by only having two candidates elected to the Senate in 2004. An analysis of why the Greens under performed found that institutional barriers provided the greatest constraint on the Greens' election performance. The content analysis of press coverage on the Greens during the election campaign revealed that only the *Herald Sun's* coverage was biased against the Greens. However, opinion polls and AES data indicate that the attacks on the Greens by government, minor parties, interest groups and sections of the media did not have a detrimental impact on the Greens' election results. Unexpectedly the terrorist bombing on the Australian Embassy in Jakarta was found to have had the greatest impact on support for the Greens. However, it was insufficient to overcome the institutional constraints that stifled the Greens' election performance. While 'constraints theory' provides an adequate explanatory framework for assessing the Greens' underperformance, it was unable to explain why some Greens' voters shifted their support to the Howard government following the Jakarta bombing. This suggests 'constraints theory' could be extended to include terrorism as a potential political constraint on the electoral success of minor parties.

## **Chapter Outline**

Chapter Two shows the expectations placed on the Greens in the lead up to the 2004 federal election were too high, but that they still under performed. After outlining the rise of the Australian Greens this Chapter shows how opinion polls, the Commentariat and the Greens' leadership all fuelled expectations of a strong Greens' electoral performance. A comparison of polling on the Greens during the 2004 election campaign with the Democrats' Senate election results in 1998 and 2001 suggests the Greens had the capacity to perform better than they did in the Senate. However, while it was plausible for commentators to predict that the Greens could win four Senate seats, their predictions of five to seven seats were unrealistic. Claims by the Greens that they could win lower House seats were also unrealistic because minor party candidates have historically failed to win election to the House of Representatives.

Having showed that the Greens under performed in Chapter Two, Chapter Three utilises 'constraints theory' as a theoretical framework for explaining why the Greens under performed. 'Constraints theory' contends that institutional, political and internal party factors constrain the electoral success of minor parties. Institutional factors include the Australian electoral system and the stability of Australia's two party system. Political factors encompass the behaviour of the major parties, economic conditions, whether a minor party has geographically based support and the media. Internal factors include the popularity and profile of a party's leader, finances and resources, ideology and policy and party experience (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, pp21-3, 173-196).

Chapter Four shows the Greens' underperformance at the 2004 federal election is relatively consistent with 'constraints theory'. While the electoral system was the dominant constraint on the Greens this Chapter also considers the impact of government, minor party, interest group and media attacks on the Greens during the 2004 election campaign. A content analysis of Australia's major newspapers is used to assess whether there was systematic bias against the Greens during the campaign period. The full details of the content analysis are contained in Appendices H and I. While the Greens had limited media opportunities to counter the attacks on them the available evidence suggests the attacks did not have a detrimental impact on their election results. The 9 September 2004 terrorist bombing of the Australian Embassy in Jakarta has been neglected in analyses of the Greens' election results. Opinion polls suggest the Embassy bombing had the most detrimental impact on the Greens' vote. However, even without the loss of support caused by the bombing the Greens would not have been able to surmount the institutional barriers that constrained their performance.

Whilst the 2004 federal election saw Greens' representation in parliament equal the Democrats', the Greens under performed. Political commentators and the Greens' leadership expected the Greens to become the clear third force in Australian politics. Current opinion polling and Commentariat analysis indicates that the Greens remain on the rise while the Democrats continue to flat line (AC Nielsen, 2005; Roy Morgan Research, 2003a). The next election may well see a further rise in Greens' parliamentary representation. If this occurs the 2004 result will be no more than a stepping-stone in the emergence of the Greens as a serious force in Australian politics.

## CHAPTER 2

### GREEN EXPECTATIONS: A BRIDGE TOO FAR?

In the lead up to the 2004 federal election campaign the Greens appeared poised to gain official parliamentary party status and to eclipse the Democrats as Australia's third parliamentary force.<sup>1</sup> Opinion polls, the Commentariat and the Greens' leadership fuelled expectations of a strong Greens' election result. At the start of the campaign the various opinion polls showed support for the Greens running at between 6 and 9.5 percent (Newspoll/The Australian, n.d.; AC Nielsen, 2004; Roy Morgan Research, 2003a). The Commentariat were predicting the Greens could win between four and seven Senate seats. The Greens' leadership was optimistic of winning Senate seats in every state and the ACT. Greens' leader Bob Brown was also confident of winning seats in the House of Representatives. He even raised the prospect of an accord with the major parties in the event that the Greens held the balance of power in a hung parliament (Bachelard & Denholm, 2004; ABC Radio AM, 9 September 2004). These expectations, however, were too high. The Greens had just two additional Senators elected at the 2004 election, bringing their total to four, and they failed to win a seat in the House of Representatives. After outlining the electoral rise of the Greens this Chapter analyses the expectations of a strong Greens' result in 2004. A comparison of Greens' polling during the campaign with the Democrats' Senate results in 1998 and 2001 suggests that expectations placed on the Greens were too high. However, they had scope to perform better than they did in the Senate. Claims by the Greens that they would enter the House of Representatives were always a bridge too far.

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#### The Rise of the Australian Greens

Support for the Greens has steadily increased since the party was founded in August 1992 (Brown & Singer, 1996, pp.84-5). Table 1 shows the increase in the Greens' primary vote between the 1993 and 2001 federal elections. In 1993 the Greens fielded just 56 House of Representatives' candidates and won just 1.9 percent of the House of Representatives' primary vote. They performed slightly better in the Senate winning 2.9 percent of the primary vote. The most notable feature of the Greens' debut

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<sup>1</sup> Official party status is achieved with five seats. It affords parties extra staff, office space and general resource assistance (Parliamentary Entitlements Act, 1990).

campaign was Bob Brown's contest in the Tasmanian seat of Denison. Brown secured 14.2 percent of the primary vote but failed to be elected to the House of Representatives (AEC, 1999). In 1996 the Greens' vote increased slightly and Brown was elected to the Senate for Tasmania with 8.7 percent of the statewide primary vote (Newman, 2005, p.70). Despite fielding more candidates at the 1998 federal election the Greens' primary vote fell slightly in both chambers. In the House of Representatives they received 2.6 percent of the primary vote and in the Senate they received 2.7 percent.

Table 1

*The Greens' House of Representatives and Senate Election Results 1993 – 2001.*<sup>2</sup>

Year	House of Representatives Primary Vote (%)	Seats Contested	Seats Won	Senate Primary vote (%)	Seats Won	Total Senators
1993	1.9	56 <sup>3</sup>	0	2.9	1	2
1996	2.9	106	0	3.2	1	2
1998	2.6	123	0	2.7	0	1
2001	5.0	150	0	4.9	2	2

Source: Australian Electoral Commission (1999); Newman, (2004).

The Greens' vote almost doubled at the 2001 election, doing so with a modest 22 percent rise in the number of House of Representative seats the party contested compared to the 1998 election. For the first time the Greens fielded candidates in all House of Representatives divisions and received 5.0 percent of the national vote. In the Senate the Greens received 4.9 percent of first preferences and under the Senate's proportional representation voting system, won two seats, in Tasmania and New South Wales (Newman, 2005, p.54; Singleton, Aitkin, Warhurst & Jinks, 2003, p.326). The increase in the Greens' vote in the 2001 federal election came largely as a consequence of their opposition to the Howard government's policies on border protection and asylum seekers rather than increased public concern for the environment (Rootes, 2002, p.150; Economou, 2002, p.2; Lohrey, 2002, p.56). The convergence of the major parties on boarder protection provided the Greens with an electoral advantage by

<sup>2</sup> Shows the combined vote of the Australian Greens and the Greens (WA). The Greens (WA) did not formally join the Australian Greens until October 2003 (Greens (WA), 2004).

<sup>3</sup> According to Christoff (1994, pp.359-360) Green candidates contested 59 House of Representatives divisions in the 1993 federal election. This table has used Australian Electoral Commission (1999) data which shows 56 seats.

differentiating them from both major parties.<sup>4</sup> Although the Greens did not win any seats in the House of Representatives in 2001, Greens' candidate Michael Organ was elected to the House of Representatives at the October 2002 Cunningham by-election. Organ was ultimately able to win Cunningham because of the Liberal's decision not to run a candidate (Lohrey, 2002, p.63).

Following the 2001 election support for the Democrats declined substantially due to the leadership struggle between Natasha Stott Despoja and Meg Lees, and the inability of the Democrat party organisation to effectively deal with the parliamentary leadership tensions. In contrast the Greens gained a significant degree of media attention because of their stance on various issues. The Greens became widely known for their opposition to the Howard government's policies on boarder protection and asylum seekers. They also gained media attention from Bob Brown's very public opposition to the Howard government's commitment to the US-led war on Iraq. The Greens gained widespread media attention from Senators Bob Brown and Kerry Nettle's 'parliamentary protest' during US President George W. Bush's address to a joint sitting of the Australian parliament (Norman, 2004, p.208; Kingston, 2004, p.188). They gained further attention the following day when Brown and Nettle were forcefully prevented from attending Chinese President Hu Jin Tao's address to a joint sitting of the Australian parliament (Norman, 2004, p.209). The media's focus was also on the Greens in early 2005 when new Labor Leader Mark Latham toured Tasmania's Styx valley with Bob Brown. The increased profile of the Greens helped to reinforce expectations that the Greens were set to become the third parliamentary force at the 2004 federal election.

The Greens were expected to perform strongly at the 2004 election on the back of a protest vote against the Howard Government. Journalist Malcolm Farr identified a phenomenon he referred to as 'doctors' wives'. These were women who planned to vote for the Greens because they wanted to punish the Howard government over its policies on asylum seekers and Iraq. According to Kerr (2004, p.6):

The 'doctors' wives' are not seriously troubled by financial pressure and have plenty of time to think about other issues. They have opposed the Government's border protection policy and cannot forgive John Howard for Tampa. Now they

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<sup>4</sup> Major party convergence theory suggests the Liberal and Labor parties are becoming closer on the Left/Right political spectrum as they vie for the middle ground. This forces centrist minor parties to the Left or Right of the major parties (Vromen & Gelber, 2005, p.222). Border protection was an example of major party convergence.

are angry over Australia's presence in Iraq. They are appalled by the atrocities committed on Iraqi prisoners and believe Australia has been tarnished. Like most Australians they didn't want us to sign on for the war and now they are ready to punish the government.

Farr specifically warns that their backlash could be felt in seats such as Wentworth, and adds that the doctors' wives could also influence Senate contests, with the Liberals the losers.

During the 2004 federal election campaign opinion polls showed the Greens out polling all other minor parties, but they also provided a mixed picture as to the strength of Greens' support. Newspoll had the Greens polling between 6 and 8 percent during the election campaign. In the last two weeks of the campaign Newspoll had support for the Greens steady at 7 percent (Newspoll/The Australian, n.d.).<sup>5</sup> AC Nielsen had the Greens polling at between 8 and 9 percent for most of the campaign. In the final week of the campaign, however, AC Nielsen had the Greens at 7 percent (AC Nielsen, 2004).<sup>6</sup> Morgan Poll had the Greens performing more strongly. Morgan Poll showed support for the Greens between at 7.5 and 10.5 percent. In the week prior to the election Morgan Poll had the Greens polling at 9.5 percent (Roy Morgan Research, 2003a).<sup>7</sup> A Herald Poll, conducted by AC Nielsen in the final week of the election campaign, showed support for the Greens in the Senate at a high of 12 percent (Dodson, 2004; Contractor, 2004; Coleman, 2004a; Manning & Rootes, 2005, p.403).<sup>8</sup>

Opinion polling indicated Greens' preferences were an important factor for the outcome of the election (Saunders, 2004b). Throughout the election campaign all three opinion polls showed Labor well behind the Coalition on primary votes.<sup>9</sup> However, up until the last week of the campaign both Newspoll and Morgan Poll showed Labor either neck and neck or ahead of the Coalition on a two party preferred basis.<sup>10</sup> AC Nielson was the only opinion poll that showed Labor behind the Coalition on primary votes and the two party preferred vote.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix A.1.

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix A.2.

<sup>8</sup> A Bulletin-Nine poll of more than 1000 people published on 29 September 2004 showed support for the Greens in the Senate at 14 percent in South Australia, 13 percent in NSW and Queensland and 12 percent in Victoria (Latham eyes Lodge but Greens the big movers, 2004).

<sup>9</sup> See Appendices A to A.2.

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix B and B.1.

<sup>11</sup> See Appendix B.2.

## **The Commentariat Gets it Wrong**

Political commentators expected the Greens to win between four and seven Senate seats. Following the 2001 election Lohrey (2002, p.59) argued that based on voting trends the Greens would overtake the Democrats as Australia's third political force at the 2004 federal election. Her statistical analysis of the Democrats and the Greens' 1996, 1998 and 2001 election results showed a decline in the Democrat vote and an increase in the Greens' vote. In the Senate the Democrat vote dropped from 10.8 per cent in 1996 to 7.2 per cent in 2001. In the same period the Greens' vote grew from 3.2 per cent to 4.9 percent. In line with the expected increase in the Greens' vote, Lohrey (2002) predicted the Greens would win four Senate seats at the 2004 election, in NSW, Victoria, Western Australia and Tasmania. The youth of the Greens in Queensland and the strength of the Democrats in South Australia made it was more likely the sitting Democrat Senators would hold their seats. The Greens were unlikely to win a Senate place in the ACT or Northern Territory because no minor party had even come close to reaching the 33.3 percent quota necessary to win (Lohrey, 2002, pp.60-3). However, during the election campaign Lohrey (2004a; 2004b) predicted the Greens could win as many as seven Senate seats. The best-case scenario incorporated the Greens winning additional Senate seats in Queensland, South Australia and the ACT.

At the outset of the 2004 election campaign Professor Malcolm Mackerras predicted the Greens would win a Senate seats in every state (Mackerras, 2004b; Manning & Rootes, 2005, p.403). He predicted that all three Democrat Senators who were up for re-election, and former Democrat leader turned founder of the Australian Progressive Alliance, Meg Lees, would lose their seats. Mackerras, therefore, predicted that in the new Senate the Coalition would hold 38 seats, Labor 26, the Greens 8 and the Democrats 4 (Mackerras, 2004b). However, following the release of party preference tickets and limited opinion polling on Senate voting intentions, Mackerras revised his Senate prediction (Mackerras, 2004a). He concluded that Labor and the Greens would not benefit from their preference deals and that the only certainty was that the Coalition's vote would increase. His prediction about the Greens was revised down to three seats. He expected the Greens to only win in New South Wales, Western Australia and Tasmania. Mackerras' revised prediction gave the Coalition 35 seats, Labor 28, the Democrats 5, the Greens 5 and Family First 1 in the new Senate (Mackerras, 2004a).

Antony Green, the ABC's election analyst, reached a different conclusion to that of Mackerras. Based on his analysis of party voting tickets for the Senate, Green predicted the Greens could win four to six Senate seats (Green, 2004). In New South Wales Green predicted the Coalition would win three seats and Labor two. He expected the Greens to secure between 8 and 10 percent of the primary vote and win the final Senate place. Green believed the Coalition and Labor would each win three seats in Victoria. The decision by conservative parties to channel preferences to Labor suggested a deliberate attempt to split the state between the major parties to prevent the Greens from winning. The decision by Labor and the Democrats to preference Family First ahead of the Greens meant the Greens would require close to a quota (14.3 percent) in their own right to win the final Senate place. In Queensland Green predicted the Liberals and Labor would each win two seats with the Greens winning the fifth place and the National's Barnaby Joyce the sixth Senate spot.

In Western Australia Green (2004) expected the Coalition to win three seats, Labor two and the Greens one. He believed South Australia was the hardest state to predict. Green believed the most likely outcome would see the Coalition win three seats, Labor two and either the Greens, the Democrats or Family First would win the final place. In Tasmania Green predicted the Liberals would win two seats, Labor three and the Greens one. In the ACT and the Northern Territory Green predicted the major parties would each win one seat. However, he believed the Greens had a chance of winning a seat in the ACT if they could keep the Liberal vote below the 33.3 percent quota and if the Green vote was higher than Labor's surplus above 33.3 percent (Green, 2004).

The Poll Bludger<sup>12</sup> (n.d.) also predicted the Greens would perform strongly in the Senate. The Poll Bludger predicted the Coalition would win 19 seats, Labor 14, the Greens 5 and the Democrats and Family First would each win 1 seat. In NSW, Victoria, Queensland and Western Australia, the Coalition was expected to win three seats, Labor two and the Greens one. In South Australia the Poll Bludger predicted the Coalition would win three seats, Labor two and the Democrats one. In Tasmania both the Coalition and Labor were expected to win two seats with the Greens and Family First each winning one. While the Greens were polling strongly in the ACT the Coalition and Labor were expected to win one seat each in the ACT and Northern Territory (The

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<sup>12</sup> The Poll Bludger is a website that provides information about Australian politics. This information was accessed at <http://www.pollbludger.com/sen2004.htm> [2005, January 3].

Poll Bludger, n.d.). Therefore, the Commentariat held great expectations that the Greens would perform strongly at the 2004 election and would most likely share the balance of power in the Senate with the Democrats.

### **The Greens Aim Too High**

At the start of the election campaign the Greens themselves were confident of winning four to seven Senate seats (Manning & Rootes, 2005, p.403). Party leader Bob Brown expected the Greens to win close to one million votes (Bennett, Newman & Kopras, 2005, p.10) and secure 8 to 10 percent of the national Senate vote (Dodson, 2004). Brown was confident of winning 3 to 4 Senate seats but believed the Greens had a strong chance of winning seats in every state and the ACT (Greens to pick up four seats, says Brown, 2004; Channel Nine's Sunday, 5 September 2004b).

I think Christine Milne will pick up a seat in Tasmania. David Ristrom in Victoria – he's a Melbourne City councillor. And John Kay in New South Wales. Rachel Siewert in Western Australia, and our candidates Drew Hutton in Brisbane and Brian Noonan in South Australia, they've all got good chances.

...and of course...Kerry Tucker in the ACT – put a line through the middle of that, and if we pick up three seats we'll be going extremely well, party status, and we'll be a very formidable and responsible Senate component, sharing the balance of power with the Democrats... (Bob Brown interviewed on Channel Nine's Sunday, 5 September 2004b).

The Greens' Senate candidate for Tasmania, Christine Milne, was also optimistic. Milne expected the Greens to have a candidate elected in every state and possibly the ACT (Bachelard & Denholm, 2004). She believed the 2004 federal election would be 'the Green election' (Bachelard & Denholm, 2004; Denholm, 2004).

This is going to be the Green election. Spring is here and the country is turning green (Christine Milne, cited in Denholm, 2004).

At the beginning of the campaign *The Australian* and the *ABC* reported that the Greens could win seats in the House of Representatives and determine which of the major parties governed in the event of a hung parliament (Bachelard & Denholm, 2004; ABC Radio AM, 9 September 2004). The Greens' leadership was confident of winning the seats of Sydney and Melbourne and retaining the seat of Cunningham (Channel Nine's Sunday, 5 September 2004b; Nettle, 2004). It was also considered possible that the Greens could win the New South Wales' seat of Grayndler (Bachelard & Denholm,

2004). Lindsay Tanner, the Labor member for Melbourne, considered the Greens his real opposition.

At the 2001 election the Greens gave Tanner a few nervous moments (Economou, 2002, p.1). They polled 16 percent of the primary vote in the seat of Melbourne but after the distribution of preferences the Greens were only 3.5 percent behind the Liberal candidate. Because of the tendency of the major parties to preference each other last, if the Greens had finished ahead of the Liberal candidate they would have won the seat ahead of Labor with Liberal preferences. This scenario further contributed to speculation that the seats of Sydney and Grayndler could be won by the Greens (Bachelard & Denholm, 2004). The idea of winning seats in the House of Representatives led Brown to raise the possibility of an accord with the major parties in the event of a hung parliament (ABC Radio AM, 9 September 2004; The 7.30 Report, 8 September 2004b). It can be seen that Commentariat and Green party expectations were very high.

### **2004 Election Results: Disappointment**

In keeping with opinion polling prior to the election, the Greens' vote increased at the 2004 federal election. Nationally the Greens' House of Representatives primary vote increased 2.2 percent to 7.2 percent.<sup>13</sup> Whereas at the 2001 election the Greens polled 10 percent or more of the primary vote in eight electorates, in 2004 they poll 10 percent or more in 27 electorates, a more than threefold increase (Economou, 2002, p.1; AEC, 2005a, pp.130-206).<sup>14</sup> However, despite polling strongly in the seats of Sydney (21.6%), Grayndler (21.1%), Cunningham (20.1%) and Melbourne (19.0%), the Greens did not win election to the House of Representatives and their only sitting member, Michael Organ, lost his seat of Cunningham (AEC, 2005a, p.130-206). Greens' preferences for the House of Representatives had little impact on the election result. Out of the sixty-one seats that were decided on preferences, Greens' preferences helped Labor candidates over the line in twenty-nine seats (AEC, 2005a, pp130-206; AEC, 2005b). Greens' preferences contributed to the defeat of sitting members in just three seats, Adelaide, Parramatta and Richmond (AEC, 2005a, pp130-206; Bennett, Newman & Kopras, 2005, p.40).

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<sup>13</sup> See Appendix C.

The Greens performed better in the Senate. Nationally the Greens' Senate primary vote increased 3.3 percent to 7.7 percent.<sup>15</sup> This increase is made more significant given that at both the 2001 and 2004 elections the Greens contested all 150 House of Representatives seats, yet it was their Senate vote that grew more substantially. The Greens primary vote was 16.4 percent in the ACT, 13.3 percent in Tasmania, 8.8 percent in Victoria, 8.1 percent in Western Australia, 7.6 percent in the Northern Territory and 7.3 percent in NSW. The Greens did not perform as well in South Australia (6.6 percent) and Queensland (5.4 percent) (AEC, 2004a, p.120-2). On the back of their Senate performance, however, the Greens only had two candidates elected, Christine Milne in Tasmania and Rachel Siewert in Western Australia, bringing their total number of Senators to four. Despite doubling their numbers in the Senate they fell short of the predicted four to seven Senate seats and the five seats required to secure funding and staffing allocations attached to parliamentary party status.

A comparison between opinion polling on the Greens during the 2004 election campaign and the Democrats' Senate results in 1998 and 2001 suggests that predictions that the Greens could win five to seven Senate seats were always unlikely. The disparity in opinion polls should have caused the Commentariat to be more cautious in their predictions. Even though one poll indicated support for the Greens in the Senate as high as 12 percent, the Greens have historically polled the same in the Senate as the House of Representatives. Therefore, predictions should have been based on the Greens securing 7 to 9 percent of the vote. In the 1998 and 2001 elections the Democrats secured between 7 and 9 percent of the Senate vote and won only four seats. In 1998 the Democrats secured 8.5 percent of the national Senate vote and won four seats. In 2001 the Democrats averaged 7.2 percent of the Senate primary vote and again won only four seats (Newman, 2005, pp.53-4). It follows that a prediction that the Greens could have won four seats was more plausible and that expectations were too high.

Claims by the Greens that they could win seats in the House of Representatives were unrealistic. Beside the National Party and a small number of Independent candidates, minor parties have historically been unsuccessful at winning election to the House of Representatives. Even high profile minor party candidates have failed to be elected to the House of Representatives. At the 1990 federal election former Australian Democrat

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<sup>14</sup> See Appendix C.1.

<sup>15</sup> See Appendix D.

leader Janine Haines contested the South Australian seat of Kingston. Despite receiving considerable media coverage and winning 24.4 percent of the primary vote, she failed to be elected. Also in 1990 high profile anti-nuclear campaigner Helen Caldicott contested the NSW seat of Richmond. Despite securing 23.3 percent of the vote she also failed to win the seat (Bennett, 1999, p.11). In the 1998 election a number of One Nation candidates won over 20 percent of the primary vote but failed to be elected. Most notably Pauline Hanson won 36.0 percent of the vote in the Queensland seat of Blair but failed to win the seat because both major parties preferenced against her (AEC, 1999). In 1998 the Democrats' John Schumann won 22.4 percent of the vote in the South Australian seat of Mayo, but also failed to receive enough preferences to win (Bennett, 1999, p.11). Winning seats in the House of Representatives is very difficult for minor parties without geographically based support.

### **Conclusion**

In the lead up to the 2004 federal election the Greens appeared poised to become the third parliamentary force in Australian politics. The collapse in support for the Democrats due to internal leadership tensions and public dissatisfaction with the major parties over their positions on asylum seekers and the Iraq war fed support for the Greens. At the start of the 2004 campaign, opinion polls, the Commentariat and the Greens' leadership fuelled expectations that the Greens would perform strongly. Opinion polls showed the Greens polling between 6 and 10 percent with one poll putting their Senate vote at 12 percent. The Commentariat predicted the Greens could win four to seven Senate seats while the Greens' leadership were confident of winning up to seven Senate seats and even entering the House of Representatives. The Greens, however, fell well short of these expectations. They only won two additional Senate seats and failed to break into the House of Representatives. An analysis of minor party election results in the Senate and House of Representatives indicates that the Greens had greater scope to perform better than they actually did in the Senate but expectations of entering the House of Representatives were a bridge too far. Chapter Three outlines 'constraints theory' as a theoretical framework for explaining why the Greens underperformed at the 2004 federal election.

## CHAPTER 3

### ‘CONSTRAINTS THEORY’ AND MINOR PARTIES

Minor parties have a poor record of having candidates elected to Australian parliaments. Between 1910 and 1996 523 minor parties formed in Australia (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, p.26). During the same time, 387 minor parties contested at least one election and 251 minor party candidates were elected to state, territory or federal legislatures (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, p.209). ‘Constraints theory’ contends that institutional, political and internal factors constrain the electoral success<sup>16</sup> of minor parties (Jaensch and Mathieson, 1998, p.173). Institutional factors include the electoral system and the two party system. Political factors include the behaviour of major parties, economic conditions, whether a minor party has geographically based support and the media. Internal factors encompass the profile and popularity of a party’s leader, finances and resources, a party’s ideological position, policy focus and a party’s level of experience. While institutional and political factors can either constrain or facilitate the success of minor parties the media and internal factors are almost purely detrimental to minor parties (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, p.190). ‘Constraints theory’ is a convenient term that refers to Jaensch and Mathieson’s (1998, pp.21-3, 173-196) application of Huass and Rayside’s (1978) theory of party formation to the study of the success and failure of minor parties in Australia. This Chapter outlines ‘constraints theory’ as a way of gaining insight into the Greens’ underperformance at the 2004 federal election.

#### Institutional Constraints

Electoral systems are the most significant constraint on the electoral success of minor parties (Jaensch and Mathieson, 1998, p.173; Papadakis & Bean, 1995, p.97; Bean & Papadakis, 2005, p.111). Majoritarian electoral systems are the least beneficial for minor parties, whereas electoral systems based on proportional representation (PR) provide the best opportunity for minor parties to gain electoral representation. This is because PR establishes a much lower threshold for candidates to be elected. Two electoral systems operate for the Australian Commonwealth Parliament. The House of Representatives uses majoritarian compulsory preferential voting, also known as the

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<sup>16</sup> Success for minor parties can be defined more broadly than just ‘electoral success’. Jaensch and Mathieson’s (1998, p.173) study of minor parties in Australia defines success in terms of ‘longevity of existence and breadth of development’ as well as ‘electoral success’.

'alternative vote', while the Senate uses a form of PR known as the 'single transferable vote' (Papadakis & Bean, 1995, p.100). The House of Representative has 150 single member electorates and candidates require 50 percent of the vote plus one vote to be elected.<sup>17</sup> The high electoral threshold effectively bars the election of minor party candidates other than Coalition partner the National Party.<sup>18</sup> As noted in Chapter Two, even high profile minor party candidates have failed to secure enough votes to gain election to the House of Representatives. For instance, at the 2004 federal election Labor's candidate for the seat of Richmond, Justine Elliot, received the lowest primary vote of any candidate to be elected to the House of Representatives. Elliot won 35.6 percent of the primary vote. In comparison the Greens' candidate for the seat of Sydney, Jenny Leong, received the highest primary vote of any minor party candidate. Leong won was just 21.6 percent of first preferences (Australian Electoral Council, 2005, p.). Indeed no minor party candidate has succeeded in being elected to the House of Representatives at a general election in the post-War period (Papadakis & Bean, 1995, p.103).

Minor parties have had greater success at being elected to the Senate since PR was introduced for Senate elections in 1949 (Richmond, 1978, p.322). Sharman (1999, p.357) notes that the election of minor party candidates was an unintended consequence of the adoption of PR. The major parties believed the original quota of 17 percent was prohibitive to minor parties. The Country/National Party was the only minor party to consistently poll over 17 percent. The Senate's electoral system is based on six state and two territory multi-member electorates with PR operating at a state rather than a national level (Papadakis & Bean, 1995, p.101). Since the Senate was expanded in 1984 to 76 the states have had twelve representatives and the territories two. For normal half senate elections candidates require 14.3 percent of the vote. A quota is calculated as follows (Miragliotta, 1999, p.79; Papadakis & Bean, 1995, p.101):

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<sup>17</sup> Voters are required to number their ballot paper in preferential order against the names of candidates. If a candidate fails to be elected on first preferences the candidate with the least number of votes is eliminated from counting and his or her second preference votes are redistributed among the remaining candidates. This process is repeated until a candidate gains 50 percent of the vote plus one vote.

<sup>18</sup> The National Party's voter identification is geographically based, namely rural constituencies. Most minor parties, such as the Greens, derive voter identification on an "issues" basis (see Warhurst, 1997).

$$\text{Quota} = \frac{\text{Formal ballots}}{\text{Vacant seats (+1)}} + 1$$

A quota is considerably higher in the territories, with candidates requiring 33.3 percent to be elected after the distribution of preferences. In full Senate elections where all 72 state seats become vacant the quota for election is reduced to just 7.7 percent in each state jurisdiction.<sup>19</sup> The relatively high Senate electoral threshold has constrained the number of minor parties that have been able to gain election to the Senate.<sup>20</sup> Most minor party candidates have needed preferences from other parties to be elected. Between 1949 and 2004, 76 minor party candidates were elected to the Senate. Only ten were able to reach a full quota on the strength of their primary vote, and seven of these occurred at double dissolution elections where the quota was reduced to 7.7 percent (Newman, 2005, pp.34-55; Miragliotta, 1999, p.17).

The stability of the two party system in Australia creates a limited capacity for minor parties to enter parliament. While the major parties' share of the primary vote for both the House of Representatives and Senate has fallen over the past four decades, the vast majority of Australians still give their first preference to one of the major parties. In the House of Representatives the major parties secure approximately 80 to 85 percent of the primary vote. In the Senate Australians are more likely to vote for a minor party but the major parties still secure nearly 80 percent of the primary vote (Bennett, 1999, p.12). In the Senate, where minor parties have the greatest opportunity of being elected, this means candidates compete for 15 to 20 percent of the vote. Because minor parties rarely if ever win more than one of the six available seats they have a limited capacity to enter parliament. Democrat dominance in Senate elections throughout the 1980s and 90s has meant there has been little opportunity for other minor parties to gain election let alone achieve the five members required for parliamentary party status (Newman, 2005, p46-53).

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<sup>19</sup> Under the Senate's complex preferential system candidates who receive more first preferences than a quota have their surplus votes transferred to other candidates. This process is repeated until all the quotas are filled (Papadakis & Bean, 1995, p.101).

<sup>20</sup> The Senate quota is relatively high with respect to state upper houses. For example the quota for election to the NSW Legislative Council is just 4.55 percent, and the quota for election to the South Australian Legislative Council is 8.4 percent (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, p.174-5).

## Political Constraints

Major party attitudes and behaviour can either facilitate or constrain the electoral success of minor parties. In keeping with cartel theory (Mair & Katz, 1997) major parties see minor parties as threats to their hegemony. The major parties have used their power to entrench their domination of the political system (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, p.185). The threat One Nation posed to the major parties' hegemony led to collusion between the Coalition and Labor to preference One Nation last at the 1998 and 2001 elections. This helped stifle the development of One Nation and prevented them entering the parliament despite securing a strong primary vote, particularly in the Senate<sup>21</sup> (Newman, 2005, pp.53-4). According to Mayer (1980, pp.354-5) the major parties have a range of 'weapons' at their disposal to stifle the success of minor parties and protect their hegemony. They can 'strangle publicity' and 'smear and ridicule' minor parties. They can also 'buy off' party leaders, poach key staff and alter electoral laws. Tony Abbott, a senior minister in the Howard government, went to extraordinary lengths to destroy One Nation. Abbott established the *Australians for Honest Politics Trust* to covertly pursue and destroy One Nation in the courts (Kingston, 2004, p.315-7). There are cases, however, of the major parties assisting some minor parties in order to further their own electoral interests. This is particularly seen in the relationship between the Liberal and National parties, but was also seen between the Liberal Party and the Democratic Labor Party in the 1960s (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, p.184).

The trend of the major parties to 'catch-all' parties (Kircheimner, 1996) has been beneficial for minor parties. The move toward the centre and the shedding of controversial and potentially divisive policies by the major parties has resulted in a proliferation of minor parties to fill the political vacuum. Single-issue parties based on morals, racism or post-materialism have formed because of this tendency. The battle over the political centre by the major parties has fostered the popular view that there is little difference between the Labor and Liberal parties (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, p.184). They have been referred to as tweedle dee and tweedle dumb ("Minor parties", n.d.). Many minor parties have formed because the major parties have not formulated specific policies on issues of considerable importance to minority groups or because their policies have been unacceptable to them. The bipartisan approach by the major parties to the issues of immigration and multiculturalism has resulted in the formation of

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<sup>21</sup> One Nation's Len Harris was able to win a Senate seat in Queensland at the 1998 federal election because he was able to reach a quota on the strength of his primary vote (Newman, 2005, p.53).

a number of race based minor parties (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, p.184). For instance, the convergence of the major parties over immigration issues and the economic rationalist agenda throughout the 1980s and 90s facilitated the emergence of One Nation (Beresford & Phillips, 1999, pp.34-5). The failure of major parties to form policies on other issues such as abortion, homosexuality and euthanasia has also motivated the formation of parties concerned with these issues. Major parties, however, may appropriate minor party policies in order to cut off a minor party's potential. Where such concerns are not adopted by major parties 'the narrowness of a minor party's appeal may doom it to insignificance' (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, pp.184-5).

Economic conditions can have a negative or positive impact on minor parties. Under economic conditions where there is high unemployment and increasing inflation an increase in political dissent and support for alternative political parties can occur. According to Richmond (1978, p.325) economic problems in the 1890s led to an increase in sympathy for the Henry George movement and the 1930s depression saw the rise of Social Credit parties. The high unemployment and inflation rates in the post-1974 period under the Whitlam government saw the formation of the Workers Party. Conversely, periods of strong economic growth have been associated with a lower level of minor party involvement in the political system. The Menzies era from 1949 to 1965 was a period of economic prosperity that saw a low level of minor party involvement (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, pp.185-6). Periods of economic growth may lead to satisfaction with the government and override other social and political concerns.

It may be that the voters in such a period of economic health may be so satisfied that other social and political issues are not of sufficient concern for them to offer support to minor parties, they will be happy with the major parties, and especially the government (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, p.186).

Minor parties also need a large geographically concentrated sectional base (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, p.182; Bean & Papadakis, 1995, p.111; "Minor parties", n.d.). As mentioned the National Party is the best example of an Australian minor party that has achieved relative success by having a large concentrated support base. Rural voters formed the National Party to represent rural interests. Historically the National Party has enjoyed a relatively high level of electoral support from rural voters (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, p.182). For instance, at the 1990 federal election the National Party won just 8.4 percent of the nationwide House of Representatives vote while the

Democrats won 11.3 percent. Despite winning a lower nationwide vote than the Democrats the National Party won fourteen seats in the House of Representative while the Democrats won none. In 1993 the National Party's vote dropped to 7.3 percent but the number of seats they won increased to sixteen (Papadakis & Bean, 1995, p.102). However, appealing to a clear sectional base is not sufficient for a minor party to be successful. Other minor parties have formed to represent other sectional interests but have been unsuccessful. Some of these have appealed to Aborigines, the grey vote, women and ethnic groups. While the Democratic Labor Party was relatively successful at winning Senate seats in the 1950s and 60s they were less successful at attracting the Catholic vote (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, p.183).

However, until recently the Democrats have been relatively successful despite not having a distinct sectional base (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, p.183). Not having a clear base has allowed the Democrats to appeal across the political spectrum, especially to voters who have become disaffected with the major parties. However, a problem for the Democrats has been the volatility in their support. Up to 50 percent of the Democrat vote is replaced from election to election. The fragility of Democrat support means that they face oblivion if they perform poorly at two consecutive elections (Van Onselen, n.d., p.2).

The Democrats emerged as a 'protest' party, offering an alternative for voters seeking something other than Labor or Liberal, and as a 'haven' party for those who, under 'compulsory voting', need a party to vote for. But, as the three elections in 1990, 1993 and 1996 showed, this 'protest/haven' base is very fragile (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, p.183).

The media pose a significant barrier to minor parties. The media focus on the major parties because they form the government and the alternative government. Table 2 shows the results of a content analysis of the coverage of major and minor parties in two Australian newspapers during the 2004 federal election campaign period. 75 percent of the coverage was devoted to the major parties, 8 percent to minor parties and independents and 17 percent to other content. Media coverage generates legitimacy and name recognition for minor parties (Miragliotta, 1999, p.12). However, 'big party chauvinism' dominates most of the media. The DLP, for example, believed 'the media were the main reason for their decline because they were never able to get their message to the public' (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, p. 190). The Australian Greens have also complained about the difficulty of getting media attention. When representatives of

state and territory Green parties held a press conference on 30 August 1992 to announce the founding of the Australian Greens, not one television news crew turned up. Instead they were covering the opening of the Sydney Harbour Tunnel (Brown & Singer, 1996, p.85). While political advertising is perhaps the best means parties have to persuade voters, the cost of advertising puts a significant amount of it out of reach of minor parties (Young, 2002, p.81). In order to be electorally successful minor parties need regular media coverage and they have no guarantee of getting it.

Minor parties have no sanctions against media enabling them to gain *regular* access which is vital. If they are ‘extreme’ and make a shock-public-affairs story, they may gain some freak time. It is imperative [for minor parties] to get known fast – and that means lots of regular exposure on TV close to elections. [They have] no way of achieving this (Mayer, 1980, p. 351).

Table 2  
*Coverage of Major and Minor Parties in The Australian and The West Australian Newspapers During the 2004 Federal Election Campaign Period (30 August to 9 October 2004)*<sup>22</sup>

Newspapers	Major Parties	Minor Parties/ Independents	Other	Total
The Australian	859	80	222	1161
The West Australian	393	47	73	513
Total	1252	127	295	1674

### Internal Constraints

The profile and popularity of a minor party’s leader is an important internal factor for the success of minor parties. Having a popular and well know leader is a vital asset for the success of minor parties. High profile leaders are more readily able to attract media attention which allows them to sell their party’s message to the voting public. Leadership has been an important factor in the electoral success of the Democrats (Bean, 1997, p.86; Forrest, 1995, p.579). Since the party was founded the Democrats have had high profile and popular national leaders (Bean, 1997, p.83). For example,

<sup>22</sup> This table refers to the total coverage of federal politics including opinion pieces. Classification is based on a story’s main focus. Major parties refer to the Liberal/National Coalition and the Labor Party. Stories on the major parties focused on the leaders, the leaders’ wives, policy and major party candidates. Stories classified as ‘other’ include reports and opinion pieces on interest groups, polling, data provided by the Australian Electoral Commission and reports that did not fit into the Major party, Minor party/Independent category (e.g. stories on ‘celebrity politicians’).

Democrat founder Don Chipp attracted considerable media attention because he was a former Liberal government minister and because of his 'quirky' personality (Van Onselen, n.d.). The election of Bob Brown to the Senate in 1996 helped the rise of the Australian Greens as a result of having an outspoken leader at the national level (Lohrey, 2002, p.63). Strong personalities frequently dominate minor parties. It is often the efforts of one or two people that get an emerging minor party off the ground. This is seen in the founding of the Greens with the work of Drew Hutton and Bob Brown (Brown & Singer, 1996, p.84; Hutton & Connors, 1999, p.227). Indeed some minor parties are little more than their founders. Such 'personality parties' are usually only viable while their leaders are involved in the party. It is usually the case that if the leader leaves the party or has a 'fall from grace' the party will inevitably collapse (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, p.194).

Finance is a further internal constraint on minor parties (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, p.194; ABC Radio Perth, Mornings, 28 June 2005). Even with the introduction of public funding major parties have still experienced serious financial pressures (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, p.194). Financial pressures are magnified for minor parties by having to compete in elections with fewer members and staff and far fewer resources.

Minor parties with far [less] members and few backers than major parties, face even greater financial problems in either keeping full-time staff or in conducting an election campaign (Henderson, 1985, p.259 cited by Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, pp.194-5).

While minor parties receive significant staffing and funding entitlements when they gain five parliamentary seats few minor parties have been able to achieve this. The Democrats were able to cement their position in parliament by achieving parliamentary party status and receiving the additional resources. Staffing entitlements enable minor parties to get across the detail of legislation and project an aura of competence to the broader public. Minor parties that appeal to a clear support base also have a greater ability to raise funding. The Family First Party, which competed at the federal level for the first time in 2004, was able to wage a million dollar advertising campaign because of its support from the Assemblies of God Churches (MacLean & Sinclair, 2004).

The narrow ideological and policy focus of most minor parties is detrimental to their electoral success (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, p.191). While maintaining a narrow

ideological and policy focus will retain the support of party members, it is unlikely to expand a party's membership and make a party electorally competitive. When a minor party seeks to expand its policy focus to attract new members it is likely to lose its traditional supporters, who were drawn to the party because of its specific policy focus. In order for such a party to increase its support it needs to either convince more voters to support its narrow policy agenda (something that is difficult due to limited resources) or broaden its policy framework in an effort to attract more voters. Few parties have been successful at achieving either (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, p.191). Where parties have attempted to expand it has usually led to party fragmentation. In the 1980s differences between the left and environmentalists around Australia hindered the development of a national Green party. The left were opposed to the name 'Green' because it narrowed the public profile of the party. On the other hand environmentalists in NSW and Tasmania would not join if 'Green' were left out of the name. A compromise led to the creation of the Rainbow Alliance, but disinterest towards it by the mainstream environment movement and the left meant that it failed to become a serious alternative voice (Hutton & Connors, 1999, p.228).

A minor party's ideological position may also act as a constraint. Doctrinal parties on both the extreme left and the extreme right make up a significant proportion of Australia's minor parties. Some minor parties have formed because of policy changes by major parties, while others have formed because of a perception that the major parties have not addressed a key component of policy-making. A number of minor parties emerged in the 1970s following the rejection of the White Australia Policy by the Whitlam government. Moral or Christian parties emerged in the 1970s and 1980s because they believed 'permissiveness' in society had gone too far, and that the major parties had ignored the 'moral' component of society (Jaensch & Mathieson, 1998, p.194). The extreme nature of some of these parties means that they are unlikely to achieve significant public support and thus electoral success. Where parties do achieve significant public support, as in the case of One Nation, the major parties may move to incorporate, at least in part, the party's policy agenda. In the lead up to the 2001 federal election the Coalition appropriated much of One Nation's policy on asylum seekers (Marr & Wilkinson, 2003, p.45-7, 93). Alternatively they may choose to shut the minor party out of preference arrangements.

Jaensch and Mathieson (1998, pp.191-5) neglect lack of experience as a potential constraint to the success of minor parties. The lack of knowledge of the political system may lead to the development of poor party strategy. In 1998 high profile One Nation leader Pauline Hanson failed in her bid to win election to the House of Representatives for the Queensland seat of Blair. It is generally considered that if Hanson had run for the Senate instead of the House she would have been elected and One Nation may have grown rather than disintegrated (H. Phillips, personal communication, 15 October, 2003; P. Van Onselen, personal communication, 15 December, 2004). This strategic decision, however, is only one of the factors that contributed to the decline of One Nation.

### **Conclusion**

'Constraints theory' provides a theoretical framework for explaining the Greens' underperformance at the 2004 federal election. 'Constraints theory' contends that institutional, political and internal party factors can hinder the electoral success of minor parties. Institutional constraints include the electoral systems for the House of Representatives and the Senate and the stability of Australia's two party system. The electoral thresholds for the House of Representatives and Senate are relatively high for the admission of minor party candidates. While minor parties have been much more successful at being elected to the Senate they are constrained by their dependence on preferences. Among the political constraints on minor parties is the hegemonic drive of major parties, economic conditions, whether a minor party has a geographically concentrated sectional base and the media. Internal party constraints encompass a minor party's leader, resources and funding, ideological and policy positions and experience. The following Chapter analyses the Greens' performance at the 2004 federal election in relation to 'constraints theory'.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **ISSUES, BARRIERS AND BIAS?**

The major constraints on the Greens' performance at the 2004 federal election were the high electoral thresholds for the House of Representatives and the Senate, and the Greens' relatively low election results. While Greens' leader Bob Brown and Greens' supporters have claimed that attacks on the Greens, particularly by the government and sections of the media, cost them votes and seats in parliament (Brown, 2005; Saliba, 2005), the available evidence does not support such claims. Opinion polling and Australian Election Study (AES) data suggest the attacks on the Greens had little if any impact on the Greens' election results. Following the first week of the campaign, when attacks on the Greens were most pronounced, opinion polls showed an increase in support for the Greens (Newspoll/The Australian, n.d.; AC Nielsen, 2004; Roy Morgan Research, 2003a). While AES data show public dislike for the Greens increased between the 2001 and 2004 elections it was insufficient to cost them seats in parliament. Newspoll, AC Nielsen and Morgan poll indicate that the terrorist bombing of the Australian Embassy in Jakarta during the election campaign had the most detrimental impact on the Greens' vote. However, even if the Greens had not lost support as a consequence of the bombing they still would not have been able to surmount the institutional barriers that constrained their parliamentary result.

#### **Institutional Barriers**

The electoral system and the stability of the two party system posed the greatest constraints on Greens' candidates being elected to the House of Representatives. In the four House of Representatives seats where the Greens believed they had the strongest chances of being elected their primary votes were too low. Despite polling just over 20 percent of the primary vote in Cunningham, the Greens' Michael Organ was over 8 percent behind Liberal candidate John Larter on first preferences. Even after the distribution of preferences Organ was only able to secure 24 percent of the vote before being excluded (AEC, 2005c).<sup>23</sup> In the seat of Sydney, Greens' candidate Jenny Leong polled 21.6 percent of the primary vote. While the Greens were 7 percent behind the Liberal candidate, there were insufficient preferences among the other candidates to put

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<sup>23</sup> See Appendix E.

the Greens ahead of the Liberals (AEC, 2005d).<sup>24</sup> Labor won the seats of Melbourne and Grayndler on first preferences. In the Seat of Grayndler Greens' candidate Philip Myers polled 21.1 percent of the primary vote and was just 3.2 percent behind Liberal candidate Stephanie Kokkolis. However, Labor's Anthony Albanese was able to win on the strength of his primary vote (AEC, 2005e).<sup>25</sup> In the seat of Melbourne Labor MHR Lindsay Tanner's fear of losing his seat to the Greens proved to be unfounded. While the Greens polled 19.0 percent of the primary vote and were 6 percent behind the Liberals' Jerry Dimitroulis, Tanner won the seat on first preferences (AEC, 2005f).<sup>26</sup>

The relatively high electoral threshold in the Senate coupled with the Greens' low Senate results in most of the states contributed to the Greens failure to win more Senate seats. In all states except Tasmania and Western Australia the Greens polled below the statistical average percentage of the primary vote minor party candidates have achieved between 1990<sup>27</sup> and 2001 when elected to the Senate. In NSW the statistical average for candidates elected to the Senate between 1990 and 2001 was 8.2 percent of the primary vote. The Greens, however, only polled 7.3 percent. In Victoria the statistical average for election was 11.0 percent and the Greens polled 8.8 percent. In Queensland the mean score for being elected to the Senate was 10.3 percent and the Greens polled just 5.4 percent. The mean score in South Australia was 13.2 percent while the Greens polled just 6.6 percent of the primary vote. However, in Western Australia the Greens won election on 8.1 percent, compared to the mean score of 7.1 percent. Similarly in Tasmania the Greens' candidate was elected on 13.3 percent compared with the mean score of 9.6 percent (Newman, 2005, pp.50-4). While polling above the statistical average is not a sufficient condition for being elected to the Senate, the Greens' 2004 results suggests that candidates that do so have a better chance of being elected.

Because minor parties are rarely able to reach a full quote on the strength of their primary vote most depend on preferences to win Senate seats. Miragliotta (1999, p.3) has shown that innovative minor parties are able to overcome the relatively high electoral threshold to the Senate by engaging in strategic across house preference deals

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<sup>24</sup> See Appendix E.1.

<sup>25</sup> See Appendix E.2.

<sup>26</sup> See Appendix E.3.

<sup>27</sup> 1990 was the first normal half Senate election since the expansion of the Senate in 1984. In 1984 a penultimate Senator was elected from each state and in 1987 there was a double dissolution election (Newman, 2005, p.8). The period 1990 to 2001 is therefore used to provide a valid comparison of minor party Senate results.

with major parties. However, while the Greens entered into preference deals with Labor at the 2004 election they did not benefit from them. The Greens decided to give their preferences to Labor in thirty of the most marginal House of Representatives divisions and in the Senate in return for Labor preferences in the Senate across Australia. Greens' leader Bob Brown saw the preference deal with Labor as strategically important but also argued that Labor had a better range of policies than the Coalition (ABC TV Lateline, 22 September 2004a). While the Greens entered into a preference agreement with the Democrats at the start of the election campaign the Greens' deal with Labor generated acrimony between the Democrats and the Greens and caused the agreement to be broken. In retaliation against the Greens' preference deal with Labor the Democrats entered into a preference deal with Family First (ABC TV Lateline, 20 September 2004b; Crabb & Helnrichs, 2004).

Poor preference flows to the Greens coupled with the high rate of above-the-line voting contributed to the Greens' poor Senate result. The decision by Labor to preference the Family First Party ahead the Greens in Victoria and Tasmania meant the Greens failed to win the final Senate place in Victoria and struggled to win the final place in Tasmania. Voting above the line gives parties greater power to determine where votes go (Miragliotta, 1999, p.92). Despite winning 8.8 percent of first preferences in Victoria the Greens lost the final seat to Family First, who received just 1.9 percent of first preferences (AECa, 2004, p.120). Underlying Family First's success were their preference deals with the Democrats and Labor. Preferences from various 'micro-parties' pushed Family First ahead of the Democrats whose preferences, and Labor's poor result, put Family First ahead of Labor's third candidate, Senator Jacinta Collins. Labor's preferences ensured Family First finished ahead of the Greens to win the final Senate seat in Victoria (The Poll Bludger, n.d.).

In Tasmania Greens' Senate candidate Christine Milne received 13.3 percent of the primary vote, just one percent below a full quota. Despite Brown prematurely announcing Milne's victory early on election night, she only narrowly won the last Senate spot. The crucial factors in the Greens victory were the low number of candidates and the high rate, almost 20 percent, of below-the-line votes (The Poll Bludger, n.d.). Tasmania has had a comparatively lower level of above-the-line votes since the introduction of above-the-line voting for Senate elections in the early 1980s (Miragliotta, 1999, p.92). Because preferences from below-the-line votes favoured the

Greens, Milne was able to win the final Senate place. If more Tasmanians voted above the line instead of below it, then it is most likely Family First's Jacquie Petrusma would have won the last Tasmania Senate seat (The Poll Bludger, n.d.).

In contrast, in Western Australia the Greens were able to win the final Senate spot because of preference flows from Labor and the Democrats. Unlike in Victoria and Tasmania Labor placed the Greens second on their Western Australian voting ticket. While the Democrats also put Family First ahead of the Greens in Western Australia,<sup>28</sup> Family First's very low primary vote meant they were excluded from the Senate count before the Democrats, which ensured Democrat preferences flowed to the Greens (AEC, n.d.; AEC, 2004b). The Greens were able to reach a full quota by receiving Democrats' preferences, 0.14 of a quota, and Labor surplus votes, 0.28 of a quota (The Poll Bludger, n.d.). Democrat preferences were crucial to the Greens' failure to win a Senate in New South Wales. The Democrats preferenced Fred Nile's Christian Democratic Party ahead of the Greens. The elimination of Liberals for Forests' candidate Glenn Druery in the final rounds of counting pushed Fred Nile ahead of both Labor and the Greens. Because the Greens had fallen behind Labor Greens preferences meant that Labor won the final seat (The Poll Bludger, n.d.).

While luck was the most significant factor in the outcome of the Queensland Senate race, the Greens did not poll strongly enough in South Australia. The Coalition was ultimately able to win four Senate seats in Queensland because the Liberal party and the Nationals ran on a split ticket. If the Liberals and Nationals had of run on a joint ticket, as the Nationals had been agitating, it would have been impossible for the Coalition to win a fourth seat and either the Greens or One Nation would have won the final Senate place (The Poll Bludger, n.d.; Bennett, Newman & Kropas, 2005, p.30). In South Australia Family First won 4.0 percent of first preferences and finished ahead of the Democrats. Democrat preferences flowed to Family First which pushed them ahead of the Greens. This locked up the preferences the Greens needed with Family First and ensured the elimination of the Greens in the final rounds of counting. However, even if the Democrats had finished ahead of Family First, preferences from Family First and then the Liberals would have given the final seat to the Democrats ahead of the Greens (The Poll Bludger, n.d.).

## The Greens Under Attack

### *Everyone Vs the Greens*

Throughout the 2004 federal election campaign the Greens came under sustained attack from a number of political parties and interest groups. Consistent with 'constraints theory' the government's attacks on the Greens represented the hegemonic drive of the major parties to protect their position and power. With opinion polls showing the Coalition well ahead on primary votes and Labor either neck and neck or ahead on the two party preferred vote, the government feared that Greens' preferences could deliver government to Labor. The government's policies on asylum seekers and Iraq led it to fear losing disaffected small 'l' Liberal voters to the Greens (Middleton, 2004b). The government engaged in a scare campaign, utilising what Mayer (1980, p.355) calls the 'weapon of smear and ridicule', against the Greens in order to stop a leakage of votes to Labor (Middleton, 2004f). On the first day of the campaign Prime Minister Howard told the media the government would draw attention to the Greens' policies to discourage traditional Liberal voters from voting for the Greens (Coleman, 2004b).

As part of the government's scare campaign against the Greens a number of senior ministers and Liberal party officials attacked the Greens. On the first day of the election campaign the Prime Minister attacked the Greens for what he referred to as their "kooky" policies (Bennett, Newman & Kropas, 2005, p.27). Treasurer Peter Costello warned voters that the Greens had both a 'soft' and a 'hard' edge. The Greens had a soft image in relation to trees and the environment but a hard edge in relation to their policies on 'legalising hard drugs such as ecstasy and re-implementing death duties and increasing company tax' (Channel 10 Meet the Press, 5 September 2004b). Deputy Prime Minister John Anderson went further by engaging in *ad hominem* attacks on the Greens and their supporters. Anderson labelled the Greens 'watermelons' asserting that they were 'green on the outside and red on the inside' and that they were a 'home for people who in the 1950s would have joined the Communist Party' (Bennett, Newman & Kropas, 2005, p.27). In a further attempt to highlight the Greens' extremism, Anderson relabelled the Greens 'avocados: hard green outside, soft and mushy inside with a big brown nut in the middle' (Avocado? Melon? A fruitcake? 2004). The state director of the Victorian Liberal Party, Julian Sheezel, also attacked the Greens:

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<sup>28</sup> See Appendix F.

The Greens are social and economic radicals first, environmentalist second...They want to limit us from having family barbecues but they [also] want to allow our kids to use dope freely (cited by Bennett, Newman & Kropas, 2005, p.27).

The government also used letterbox drops and advertising to warn voters against voting for the Greens. Part of the Coalition's scare campaign against the Greens incorporated letterbox drops in areas of high Greens' support. The Coalition's bright green A3-sized flyers warned voters about Greens' policies, especially in relation to drugs (Marriner, 2004). In the final days of the campaign Liberal Party newspaper advertising warned voters about 'The Greens – Labor Deal':

Fact 1: The Labor/Greens preference deal could hand government to Labor

Fact 2: The Greens proposed "loopy laws" could get support from Labor and be passed.

Advice: if you don't want Labor to get into government through a Labor/Greens preference deal, then give your first or second preference vote to the Liberals.<sup>29</sup>

The Greens came under attack from a range of other sources. Although Labor courted Greens' preferences, Lindsay Tanner, the Labor member for Melbourne, labelled the Greens 'mad' and an anonymous Labor 'operative' called the Greens 'flaky, kooky, wacky, loopy and irresponsible' (Bachelard & Denholm, 2004). Democrat leader Andrew Bartlett criticised the Greens over their consistent support of Labor in the Senate in order to portray the Democrats as truly independent and therefore the real alternative to the major parties (Guerrara, 2004; Middleton, 2004a). The Family First Party attacked the Greens because they believed Greens' policies would hurt families (ABC TV The 7.30 Report, 4 October 2004a). Part of Family First's million dollar-advertising budget was devoted to attacking the Greens' drugs policy (MacLean & Sinclair, 2004). The voiceover on Family First's television advertisement stated, "Heroin, ecstasy – the Greens want to legalise the lot. They're going to give my kids easy access to marijuana," and exclaimed, "Bob, that's not greens, it's extreme" (ABC TV The 7.30 Report, 4 October 2004a; Manning & Rootes, 2005, p.404). However, Family First was forced to withdraw its advertisement after the Greens threatened legal action (Brown, 2004a; Drug ads irk Greens, 2004). The consistent negative publicity

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<sup>29</sup> See Appendix G.

toward the Greens' drugs policy throughout the campaign forced them defend their policy with advertising.<sup>30</sup>

The Greens were also attacked by a number of interest groups. The *Business Council of Australia* condemned the Greens' economic policies. It warned voters the Greens' increased influence in the Senate could undermine economic growth by their policies of protectionism, barriers to foreign investment, government intervention and higher taxes (Uren, 2004; Business warns of Green threat, 2004). On the last days of the campaign *Timber Communities Australia* took out full-page advertisements in the *Hobart Mercury* and the *Launceston Examiner* entitled 'Recipe for a Green party' attacking the Greens economic and social policies<sup>31</sup> (Bennett, Newman & Kopras, 2005, p.27-8). The *Forest Industries Association of Tasmania* warned voters about the influence of the Greens on a Labor government.<sup>32</sup> The *Australian Meat Industry Employees Union* labelled the Greens a 'small and extremist minority' (Greens 'just extremists', 2004).

### ***Media Bias?***

Greens' leader Bob Brown and Greens' supporters have claimed that bias against the Greens by sections of the media cost the Greens votes and seats in parliament (Brown, 2005; Saliba, 2005). Table 3 provides a summary of the news coverage of the Greens in Australia's major national and state newspapers during the 2004 federal election campaign period. The content analysis indicates that the overall coverage of the Greens was relatively balanced. Out of the 176 news reports on the Greens 58 were classified 'unfavourable', 53 'neutral' and 65 'favourable'. Full details of the content analysis are provided in Appendix H. While *The Australian*, *The Age*, *The West Australian*, *The Advertiser* and *The Mercury* presented relatively balanced coverage, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Courier Mail* and the *Herald Sun* presented the most unbalanced coverage. While *The Sydney Morning Herald* had a ratio of 2 to 1 favourable to unfavourable stories it should be noted that many of the reports on the Greens in *The Sydney Morning Herald* were brief articles of less than fifty words. The content analysis supports Bob Brown's claims that the *Herald Sun's* reporting on the Greens was biased. The *Herald Sun* showed a ratio of 3 to 1 unfavourable to favourable stories on

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<sup>30</sup> See Appendix G.1.

<sup>31</sup> See Appendix G.2.

<sup>32</sup> See Appendix G.3.

the Greens. Unlike other newspapers it engaged in the most vituperative attacks on the Greens.

Favourable reports on the Greens focused on the Greens’ campaign launch (Middleton, 2004c; Greens launch, 2004), Bob Brown’s address to the National Press Club (Price, 2004), Greens’ candidates (Saunders, 2004a; Denholm, 2004), and some Greens’ policies (Hayes, 2004a; Hayes, 2004b). Unfavourable reports focused on Greens’ policies, particularly Greens’ drugs policy (Coleman, 2004b; McManus, 2004a; McManus, 2004b), and government attacks on the Greens (Karvelas, 2004; Rehn, 2004).<sup>33</sup>

Table 3  
*News Coverage of the Greens in the Australian Press During the 2004 Federal Election Campaign Period*<sup>34</sup>

Newspaper	Unfavourable	Neutral	Favourable	Total
The Australian	7	10	9	26
The Sydney Morning Herald	5	9	12	26
The Herald Sun	13	1	4	18
The Age	3	5	7	15
The Courier Mail	5	4	10	19
The West Australian	7	8	8	23
The Advertiser	5	10	3	18
The Mercury	13	6	12	31
Total	58	53	65	176

The most noted example of bias against the Greens appeared in the *Herald Sun* (Saliba, 2005; Ramsey, 2005). In a report entitled “Greens policy backs illegal drugs” *Herald Sun* Report Gerard McManus provided an inaccurate and unbalanced report on the Greens’ drugs policy. The opening paragraph of the report asserted, “Ecstasy and other illegal drugs would be supplied over the counter to young users in a radical policy framed by Senator Bob Brown’s Greens” (McManus, 2004a). Greens’ policy, however, only sought to find ‘alternatives’ to current drugs policy (APC, 2005). Following the 2004 election Greens’ leader Bob Brown made a formal complaint about the *Herald*

<sup>33</sup> These references are provided as examples for a full list see Appendix H.

<sup>34</sup> See Appendix H.

*Sun* story to the Australian Press Council (APC) (Saliba, 2005; Ramsey, 2005). The APC's (2005) adjudication, handed down on 4 March 2005, found that the information contained in the report was inaccurate and that it potentially damaged the Greens' electoral support.

In the context of an approaching election, the potential damage was considerable. The actual electoral impact cannot be known, but readers were seriously misled (APC, 2005).

Speaking to the Press Council's adjudication Senator Brown stated that the *Herald Sun* report was a malicious attempt to damage the Greens.

This manufactured news, which misled readers of Australia's highest circulation daily, is a disgrace to the profession of journalism.

It perverted democracy. When a journalist misinforms readers on their way to the ballot box democracy is sacrificed.

This was no accident or mistake. The aim was to attack the Greens, not through the editorial column, but through the news pages. The outcome of the false concoction of the Greens policies was to lose our party tens of thousands of votes and, in my calculation, seats in parliament (Brown, 2005).

Saliba (2005) went further, stating that the wide distribution of the *Herald Sun* story cost the Greens 'hundreds-of-thousands of votes' and Senate seats in Victoria, Queensland and South Australia. As outlined below the available evidence does not support these claims.

A content analysis of opinion pieces on the Greens during the federal election campaign period shows that there were many more negative pieces than positive pieces. Table 4 indicates a strong editorial bias against the Greens. Out of the 29 opinion pieces on the Greens 21 were negative and 8 were positive, a ratio of 2.6 to 1 against the Greens. For full details of the content analysis see Appendix I. The *Herald Sun*, *The West Australian* and *The Australian* had the highest ratio of negative opinion pieces to positive pieces. Only *The Sydney Morning Herald* defied the trend with two positive pieces and one negative opinion piece on the Greens.

Negative opinion pieces attacked the Greens over their policies and ideology. The Greens' economic and drugs policies received a particular battering (Pearson, 2004;

Murray 2004; Ackerman, 2004; Costello, 2004). Russell (2004), for example, asserted that 'the Greens' economic and tax policies would create a depression that would make the 1930s look like an economic boom'. Lapkin (2004) criticised the Greens' defence policy and Sheridan (2004) attacked the Greens over their opposition to Australia's alliance with the United States. Ackerman (2004) attacked the Greens for their 'rabid irrational policies' while Bolt (2004a; 2004b) labelled the Greens' ideology 'toxic' and implied that they were anti-Semitic. Positive opinion pieces defended the Greens against attack (Norman, 2004; Brown, 2004b) and stated that the Greens were about to enter the mainstream (Pennells, 2004).

Table 4

*Opinion Pieces on the Greens During the 2004 Federal Election Campaign Period<sup>35</sup>*

Newspaper	Negative	Positive	Total
The Australian	6	2	8
The Sydney Morning Herald	1	2	3
The Herald Sun	4	1	5
The Age	2	1	3
The Courier Mail	1	0	1
The West Australian	4	1	5
The Advertiser	1	1	2
The Mercury	2	0	2
Total	21	8	29

Strong criticism of the Greens was not limited to the opinion pages of Australia's major newspapers. Prominent radio talkback host, Alan Jones, also savaged the Greens during the election campaign in an attempt to discourage people from voting for them. On his opinion slot on Channel Nine's *Today* show Jones hysterically attacked the Greens. On 31 August Jones drew on McManus' *Herald Sun* report to attack the Greens over their drugs policy and a range of other policies. He labelled the Greens 'ratbags' and their supports 'stupid'. He warned voters that if the Greens 'came close to political power, Australia would be stuffed' (Jones, 2004a). On 30 September, less than a two weeks out from the election, Jones again devoted his *Today* show slot to attacking the Greens' policies. He warned voters the Greens would, decriminalise hard drugs, cut public funding to non-government schools, increase the Medicare levy, introduce over forty

new taxes, including taxes on the family home, and abolish the mandatory detention of asylum seekers (Jones, 2004b).

In line with 'constraints theory' the Greens had limited opportunities to defend themselves and their policies from attack. Although the Greens received greater media attention than other minor parties it was still insufficient to counter criticism from their opponents. Out of the 127 stories on minor parties and independents or 8 percent of total political coverage in *The Australian* and *The West Australian* newspapers during the election campaign, 62 stories or 4 percent of total political coverage focused on the Greens.<sup>36</sup> Almost 40 percent of these stories were unfavourable to the Greens. The Greens also had few television interview opportunities on Australia's premiere political programs. Greens' leader Bob Brown appeared once on Channel Nine's *Sunday* (5 September 2004b) program and Channel Ten's *Meet the Press* (3 October 2004a). He was not interviewed on the main interview slot on the ABC's *Insiders*.<sup>37</sup> The Greens' limited advertising budget was insufficient to counter Liberal Party advertisements attacking the Greens<sup>38</sup> (MacLean & Sinclair, 2004; Young, 2002, p.91). Although the attacks generated some media opportunities for the Greens, they lost control of their message to voters and had to devote many of their media opportunities to defending themselves and their policies.

The attacks on the Greens, however, appear to have been counterproductive. The available evidence suggests that attacks on the Greens by the government, minor parties, interest groups and sections of the media had little if any detrimental impact on the Greens' election results. Opinion polling over the campaign period shows that in the first week of the campaign when attacks on the Greens were most pronounced, rather than support for the Greens going down it went up. A Newspoll survey conducted over August 27 to 29, the last poll prior to the government and media attacks, showed the Greens polling at 6 percent. The next Newspoll survey conducted over September 3 to 5, after the initial government and media attacks, showed the Greens' polling up 2 percent to 8 percent (Newspoll/The Australian, n.d.). A Morgan Poll conducted over August 14/15 and 21/22, showed support for the Greens at 9 percent. Similarly, a

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<sup>35</sup> See Appendix I.

<sup>36</sup> See tables 2, 3 and 4.

<sup>37</sup> *Insiders'* archives can be assessed at <http://www.abc.net.au/insiders/archives/2004/default.htm>.

<sup>38</sup> The Liberal Party's advertisement 'The Greens-Labor Deal' (See Appendix G) appeared in a number of newspapers. See for example *The Australian* October 7, p.6 and October 9, p.4; *The Sydney Morning Herald* October 7, p.2 and October 9, p.20; *The Age* October 9, p.7; *The Courier Mail* October 9, p.12.

Morgan Poll conducted over August 28/29 and September 4/5, showed support for the Greens' up 1.5 percent to 10.5 percent (Roy Morgan Research, 2003a). AC Nielsen showed support for the Greens stable at 9 percent (AC Nielsen, 2004).<sup>39</sup>

The Australian Election Study (AES) 2001 and 2004 suggests that between the 2001 and 2004 federal elections Australians' increasingly disliked the Greens and Greens' leader Bob Brown. Following the 2001 election 29.8 percent of respondents recorded neutral feelings about the Greens. 33.4 percent indicated that they liked the Greens and 36.9 percent indicated that they disliked the Greens, with a subset of 10.8 percent indicating a 'strong dislike' for the Greens (AES, 2003a). Following the 2004 election the number of respondents with neutral feelings about the Greens fell to 21.6 percent. The number of respondents that liked the Greens remained stable at 31.0 percent. The number of respondent who disliked the Greens increased to 47.2 percent. The largest increase was among the subset of respondents who 'strongly disliked' the Greens, which rose 7 percent to 17.8 percent (AES, 2005a). Australians' feelings about Bob Brown similarly changed. The number of respondents who had neutral feeling about Brown fell from 40.6 percent in 2001 to 28.3 percent in 2004. The number of people who expressed a 'strong dislike' for Brown increased from 11.3 percent to 19.7 percent (AES, 2003b; AES, 2005b).

However, a cross-tabulation of respondents' feelings about the Greens and Bob Brown with respondents' 'own left-right positions' indicates that the greatest increase in strong dislike for the Greens was among those on the hard right. While respondents with centrist views who strongly disliked the Greens increased moderately from 10.6 percent to 15.7 percent, respondents on the hard right who strongly disliked the Greens increased substantially from 25.0 percent to 49.2 percent (AES, 2003c; AES, 2005c). Similarly, while strong dislike for Brown went up moderately among centrists from 11.1 percent to 17.6 percent, it increased significantly among those on the hard right, from 18.4 percent to 46.8 percent (AES, 2003d; AES, 2005d). The Australian Election Study does not indicate when or why Australians' feelings about the Greens changed. However, the data indicate that even if the attacks on the Greens during the 2004 election campaign were responsible for the shift in Australians' feelings about them, it primarily influenced those on the hard right, people who would not have voted for the Greens anyway (AES, 2005e; AES, 2005f).

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<sup>39</sup> See Appendices A to A.2.

## **The Australian Embassy Bombing**

Until the terrorist attack on the Australian Embassy in Jakarta on 9 September 2004, toward the end of the second week of the campaign, terrorism and national security issues were largely at the periphery of the campaign. Except for comments by Richard Clark, former counter-terrorism advisor to US Presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush (Kerin & Colman, 2004; Middleton, 2004g), and Attorney General Phillip Ruddock's comments on the Beslan school massacre (Benham, 2004; Nicholson & Shaw, 2004), the threat of terrorism to Australia was mostly excluded from the campaign. The Embassy bombing, however, thrust national and international security issues to the centre of the campaign (Middleton, 2004e). Security issues remained centre stage throughout the third week of the campaign following a hoax announcement that Iraqi insurgents had taken two Australian contractors hostage and would to execute them unless Australian forces were withdrawn from Iraq (Allard, 2004; Seccombe & Allard, 2004). With polling showing the Coalition better able to handle national security issues (AES, 2005g; AES, 2005h; Middleton, 2004d) the Prime Minister sought to keep national security and the threat of terrorism on the agenda by restating his pre-emptive strike doctrine (Ruse & Middleton, 2004; Crabb, 2005, pp251-2; Latham, 2005, p.342).

While the bombing of the Australian Embassy has been considered in analyses of the outcome of the election (Bennett, Newman & Koprass, 2005, pp.15-16) it has been neglected in analyses of the Greens' election performance. The bombing appears to have caused the greatest drop in support for the Greens. While multiple factors influence opinion polls the bombing overshadowed other issue and remained the dominant issue during the brief campaign hiatus (Moore & Romples, 2004; Mitchell, Dodson & Moore, 2004; Channel Nine's Sunday, 12 September 2004a). It was also a dominant theme in the leaders debate on Sunday 12 September. Despite Newspoll and Morgan Poll showing an increase in support for the Greens at the end of the first week of campaigning, all three polls showed a drop in Greens' support immediately following the Embassy bombing. Newspoll showed support for the Greens drop from 8 percent to 6 percent (Newspoll/The Australian, n.d.). AC Nielsen (2004) showed the Greens' support drop from 9 percent to 8 percent. Morgan Poll showed a drop of 2.5 percent from 10.5 percent to 8 percent (Roy Morgan Research, 2003a). All three polls indicate that the drop in support for the Greens mostly shifted to the Coalition government.

While Newspoll and Morgan Poll showed slight increases in support for the Greens in the weeks after the bombing, Greens' support never returned to levels prior to the bombing (Newspoll/The Australian, n.d.; AC Nielsen, 2004, Roy Morgan Research, 2003a). However, even if the Greens had retained the 1 to 1.5 percent they lost in the polls as a consequence of the bombing, it would have been insufficient to surmount the institutional barriers that constrained the Greens' election performance.

## **Conclusion**

'Constraints theory' provides an adequate theoretical framework for explaining the Greens' underperformance at the 2004 federal election. The high electoral thresholds in the House of Representatives and the Senate and the Greens' relatively low election results were the dominant constraints on the Greens. The Greens' low results made them dependant on preferences and because they did not receive adequate preference flows they were unable to win seats. The government's attacks on the Greens represent the drive by the major parties to maintain their position and power in the Australian political system. While the Greens had limited media opportunities to defend themselves against attack, the available evidence does not support claims that the attacks cost the Greens votes and seats in parliament. Polling and AES data suggest the attacks on the Greens had little if any impact on the Greens' election results. Polling indicates the terrorist bombing of the Australian Embassy in Jakarta during the election campaign had the most detrimental impact on the Greens' vote. However, even if the bombing had not occurred the Greens would not have been able to surmount the institutional factors that constrained their parliamentary result. While 'constraints theory' provides an adequate framework in relation to institutional factors, it does not explain why the Embassy bombing caused some potential Greens' voters to shift their support to the government. This suggests that 'constraints theory' could be extended to include terrorism as a potential political constraint to the electoral success of minor parties.

## CHAPTER 5

### THESIS CONCLUSION

In the lead up to the 2004 federal election campaign the Greens appeared poised to perform strongly. The collapse of the Democrats and disaffection among sections of the public over the major parties' stance on asylum seekers and the Iraq war fed support for the Greens. By the start of the 2004 election campaign opinion polls, the Commentariat and the Greens' leadership were fuelling expectations of a strong Greens' election result. Opinion polls showed support for the Greens running at between 6 and 10 percent and the Commentariat were predicting the Greens could win between four and seven Senate seats. The Greens' leadership was optimistic of winning Senate seats in every state and possibly the ACT. It was widely expected that the Greens would share the balance of power in the Senate with the remaining Democrat Senators. Greens' leader Bob Brown was also confident of winning seats in the House of Representatives. Brown even raised the prospect of an accord with the major parties in the event that the Greens held the balance of power in a hung parliament. The Greens, however, had just two candidates elected to the Senate, bringing their total to four, and failed to win election to the House of Representatives. Indeed, the Howard government increased its majority in the House of Representatives and gained control of the Senate, thus denying the Greens a share of the balance of power.

Chapter Two showed the expectations placed on the Greens were too high, but that the Greens nevertheless under performed at the 2004 federal election. Expectations that the Greens would win up to seven Senate seats and enter the House of Representatives were unrealistic. A comparison of the Greens' polling with the Democrats past Senate results suggests that the Greens were unlikely to win five to seven Senate seats. A prediction that the Greens could have won four Senate seats would have been more plausible. But the Greens even failed to reach this. Expectations that the Greens could win seats in the House of Representatives were even more unrealistic. The history of minor party contests for the House of Representatives shows no minor party candidates have been successful at winning election to the House of Representatives at a general election in the post-war period. Even high profile minor party candidates have failed to come close to being elected to the House of Representatives.

Having shown that the Greens under performed in Chapter Two, Chapter Three outlined 'constraints theory' as a theoretical model for explaining why the Greens under performed. 'Constraints theory' is a convenient term for Jaensch and Mathieson's (1998) application of Hauss and Rayside's (1978) theory of party formation to the success and failure of minor parties in Australia. 'Constraints theory' contends that institutional, political and internal factors hinder the electoral success of minor parties. Institutional factors included the electoral system and the two party system. Political factors include the behaviour of the major parties, economic conditions and whether a minor party has the support of a geographically concentrated base. Internal constraints encompass a minor party's leader, finances and resources, ideological and policy positions and political experience.

Chapter Four showed that 'constraints theory' provides an adequate framework for explaining why the Greens under performed at the 2004 federal election. While the Greens confronted a range of issues during the 2004 election campaign, institutional factors provided the dominant constraint on the Greens' election result. The high electoral thresholds for the House of Representatives and the Senate, coupled with the Greens relatively low election results, were the fundamental reasons why the Greens failed to have more candidates elected to either chamber. In every state, except Western Australia and Tasmania, the Greens polled below the statistical average of the primary vote minor party candidates have achieved when elected to the Senate. Because the Greens were unable to reach a full quota in the Senate they were dependant on other parties for preferences. While the Greens sought to maximise their electoral chances by entering into across house preference deals with Labor, strong preference flows against them meant they failed to have more candidates elected to the Senate.

Attacks on the Greens and the terrorist bombing of the Australian Embassy in Jakarta were the two major issues the Greens confronted during the 2004 election campaign. Much has been made of the barrage of attacks on the Greens by the government and sections of the media. The Greens, like other minor parties, had limited media opportunities to defend themselves against the attacks. In line with 'constraints theory' the government sought to protect its position and power by attacking the Greens in order to discourage traditional Liberal voters from voting for the Greens. A content analysis of newspaper reports and opinion pieces (see Appendices H and I) was also presented in Chapter Four to establish whether there was systematic bias against the Greens during

the election campaign. The content analysis revealed that only the *Herald Sun* presented biased news coverage against the Greens. Opinion pieces ran against the Greens by a ratio of 2.6 to 1. Nevertheless, opinion polling and AES data suggest the attacks on the Greens had little if any detrimental impact on the Greens' election results. While opinion polls suggest the Australian Embassy bombing had the greatest detrimental impact on the Greens' vote, it too was unlikely to have cost the Greens seats in parliament. While 'constraints theory' provides a wide explanatory framework for analysing the underperformance of minor parties, it fails to provide insight into why voters shifted their support from the Greens to the government in the aftermath of the Australian Embassy bombing. This suggests 'constraints theory' could be extended to include terrorism as a potential political constraint to the electoral success of minor parties.

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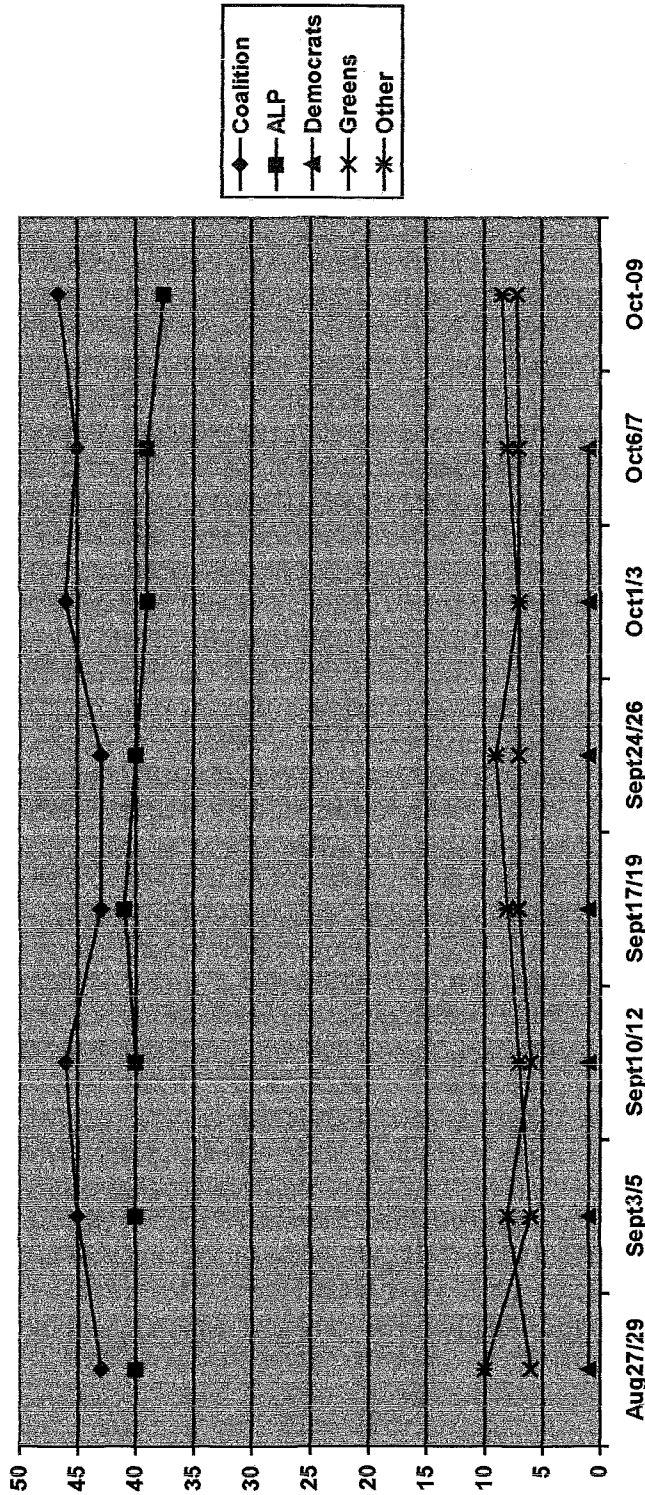
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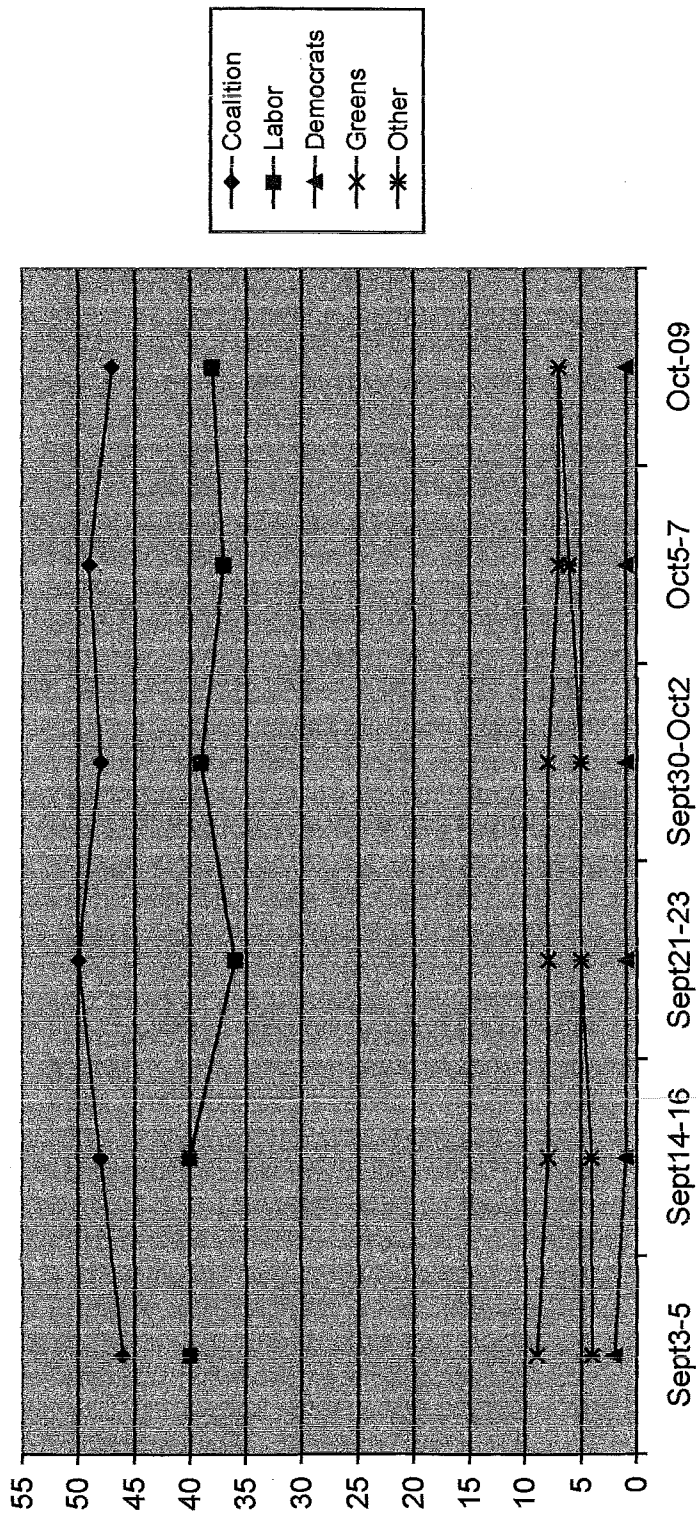
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APPENDIX A  
 Newpoll/The Australian: 2004 Federal Election Campaign Period  
 House of Representatives Primary Vote<sup>40</sup>



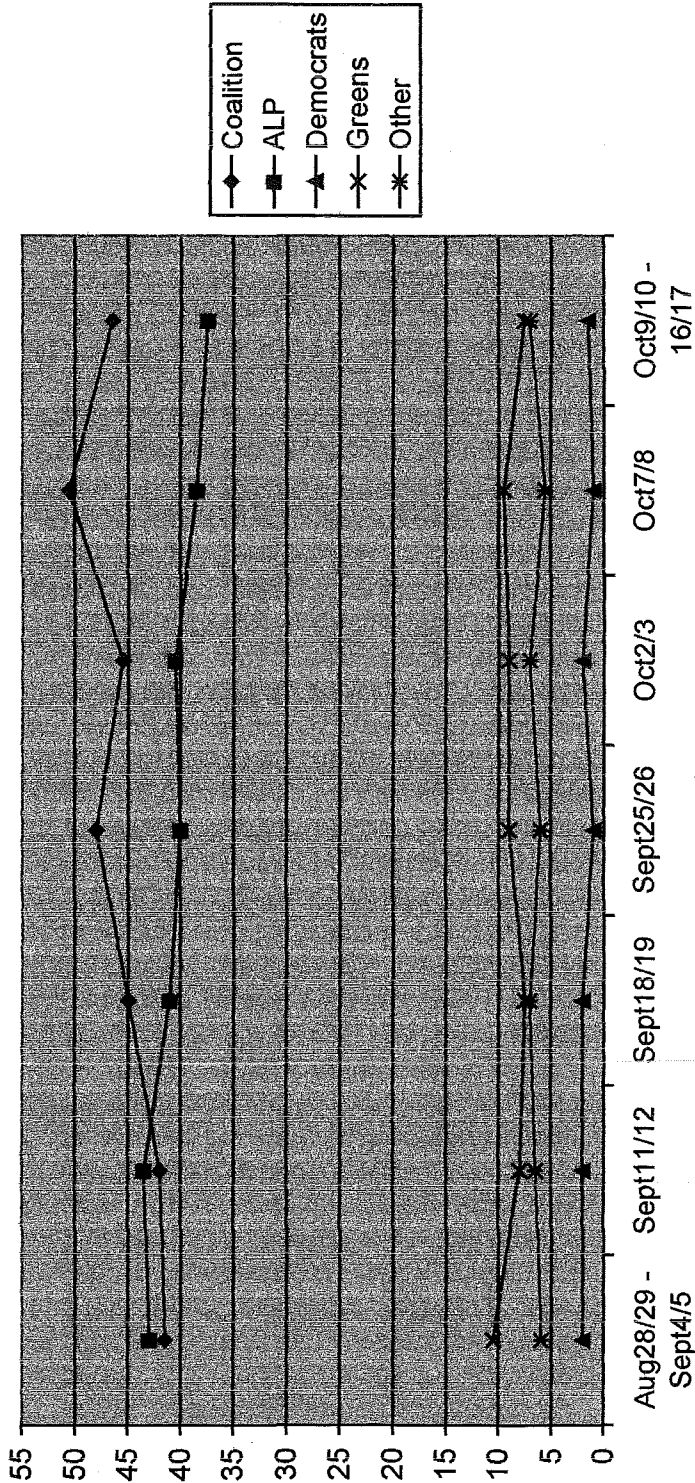
<sup>40</sup> Source: Newpoll/The Australian (n.d.).

# APPENDIX A.1 AC Nielsen: 2004 Federal Election Campaign Period House of Representatives Primary Vote<sup>41</sup>



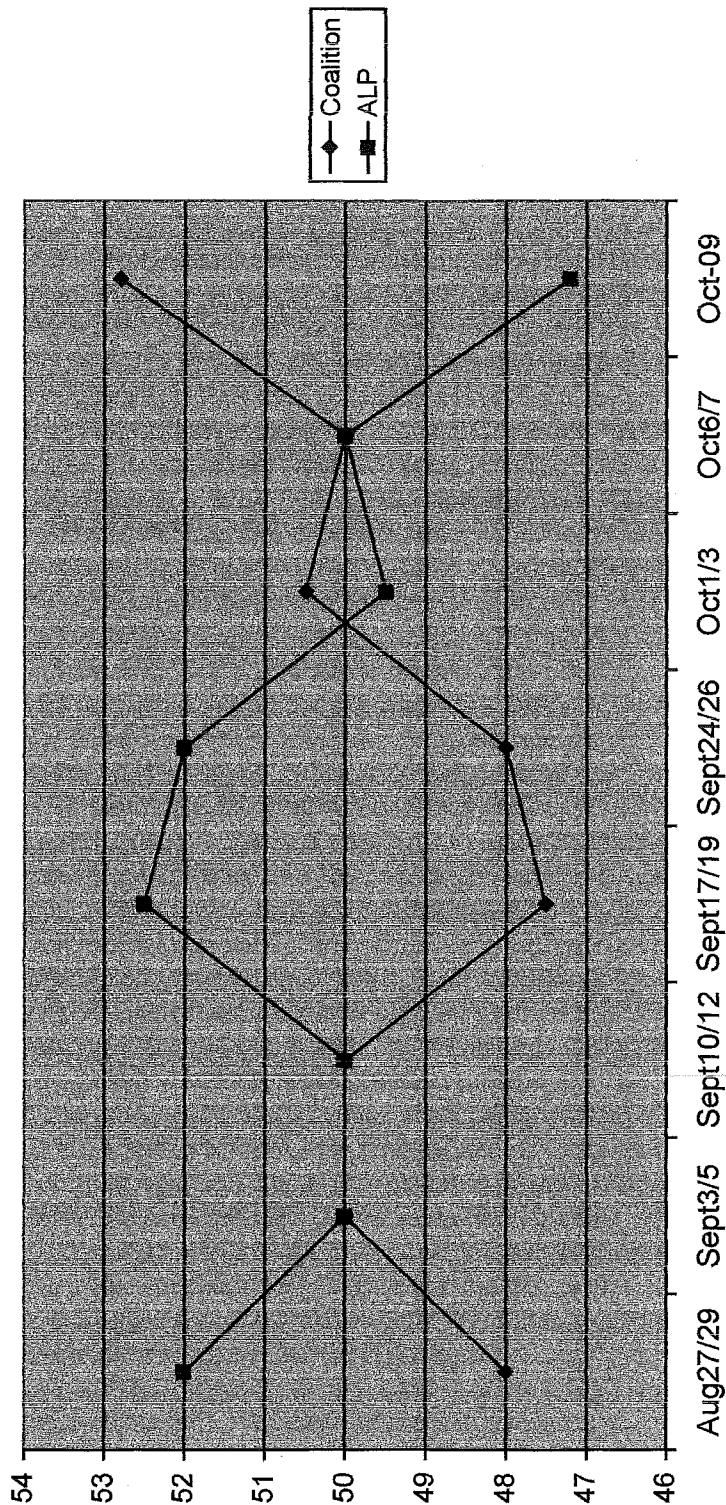
<sup>41</sup> Source: AC Nielsen (2004).

APPENDIX A.2  
Morgan Poll: 2004 Federal Election Campaign Period  
House of Representatives Primary vote<sup>42</sup>



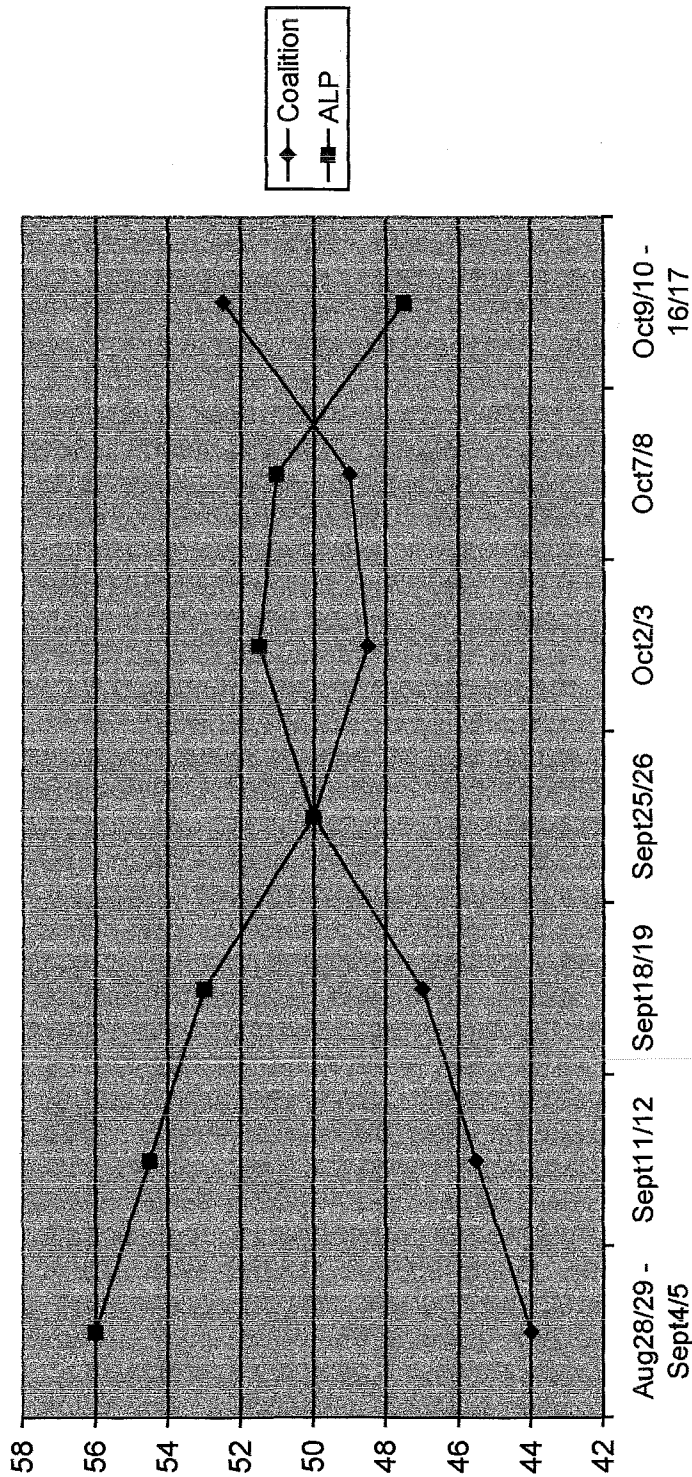
<sup>42</sup> Source: Roy Morgan Research (2003a).

**APPENDIX B**  
**Newspoll/The Australian: 2004 Federal Election Campaign Period**  
**House of Representatives Two Party Preferred Vote<sup>43</sup>**



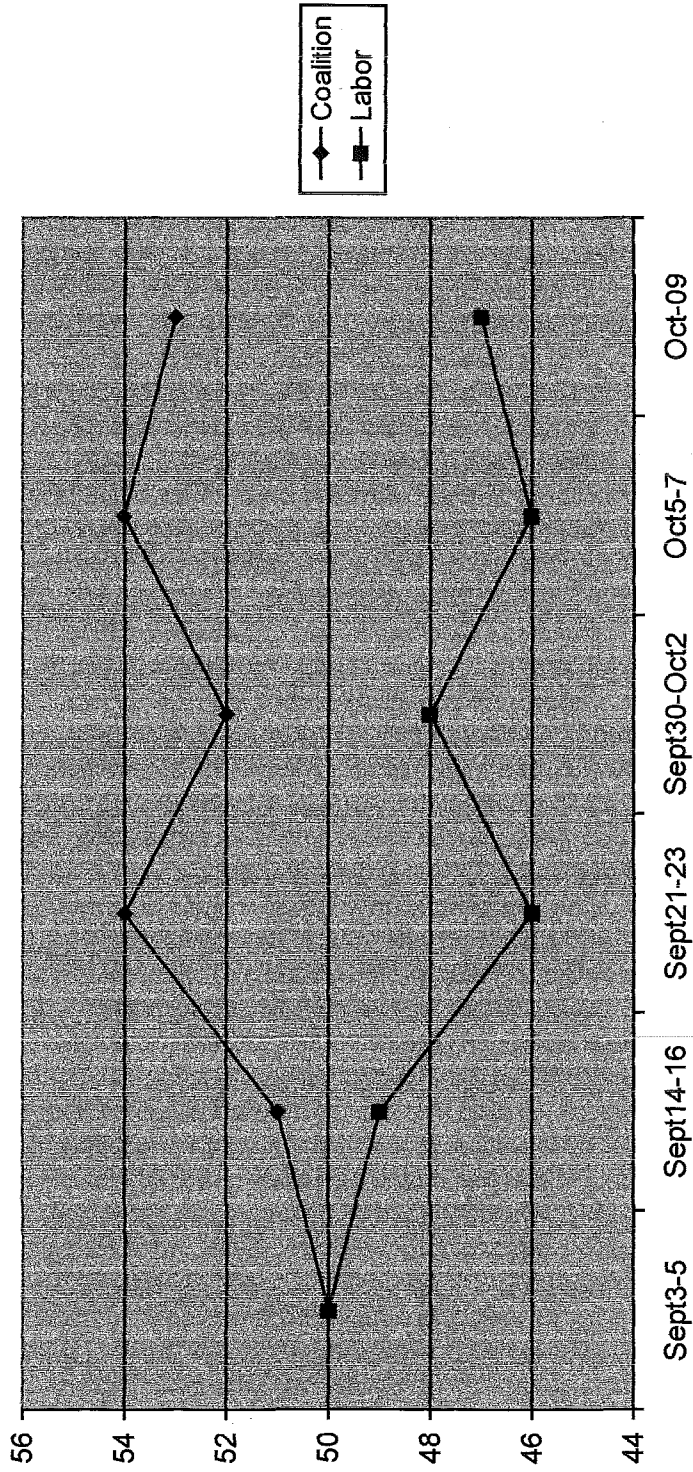
<sup>43</sup> Source: Newspoll/The Australian (n.d.).

**APPENDIX B.1**  
**Morgan Poll: 2004 Federal Election Campaign Period**  
**House of Representatives Two Party Preferred Vote<sup>44</sup>**



<sup>44</sup> Source: Roy Morgan Research (2003b).

**APPENDIX B.2**  
**AC Nielsen: 2004 Federal Election Campaign**  
**House of Representatives Two Party Preferred Vote<sup>45</sup>**



<sup>45</sup> Source: AC Nielsen (2004).

## APPENDIX C

### 2004 Federal Election Results: House of Representatives<sup>46</sup>

Party	NSW	Vic	Qld	WA	SA	Tas	ACT	NT	Aust
Lib/Nat/CLP	45.4 +2.6	46.7 +4.6	49.1 +3.6	48.7 +6.4	48.4 +2.5	42.0 +4.9	35.2 +2.8	43.8 +3.3	46.7 +3.7
ALP	36.7 +0.3	40.4 -1.2	34.8 +0.1	34.7 -2.4	36.8 +3.0	44.6 -2.6	50.3 +3.3	44.3 +1.4	37.6 -0.2
DEM	1.1 -3.2	1.1 -5.2	1.4 -2.9	1.5 -3.2	1.9 -8.7	.. ..	2.4 -5.6	2.4 -2.9	1.2 -4.2
<b>GRN</b>	<b>8.1</b> <b>+3.3</b>	<b>7.5</b> <b>+1.6</b>	<b>5.1</b> <b>+1.75</b>	<b>7.7</b> <b>+1.7</b>	<b>5.4</b> <b>+1.8</b>	<b>9.9</b> <b>+2.1</b>	<b>10.8</b> <b>+3.7</b>	<b>6.2</b> <b>+2.2</b>	<b>7.2</b> <b>+2.2</b>
FFP	0.8 +0.8	2.4 +2.4	3.7 +3.7	0.2 +0.2	4.3 +4.3	2.8 +2.8	.. ..	1.1 +1.1	2.0 +2.0
PHON	1.4 -3.4	0.1 -1.1	2.0 -5.1	2.5 -3.8	1.1 -3.6	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	1.2 -3.2
Other	6.6 +0.4	1.8 -1.0	4.0 -0.8	2.1 +1.1	4.6 +0.7	0.7 +0.1	2.2 -1.4	1.4 -1.2	4.0 -0.4

<sup>46</sup> Sources: Australian Electoral Commission (2004a, pp. 89-91), Newman (2005, pp.32-3).

**APPENDIX C.1**  
**Greens' Primary Vote by House of Representatives Division<sup>47</sup>**

Division	% vote	% swing
Sydney (NSW/ALP)	21.61	+6.92
Grayndler (NSW/ALP)	21.08	+8.02
Cunningham (NSW/ALP)	20.13	+13.49
Melbourne (Vic/ALP)	18.98	+3.21
Bennalong (NSW/Lib)	16.37	+12.34
Denison (Tas/ALP)	14.60	+4.15
Melbourne Ports (Vic/ALP)	14.10	+2.82
Batman (Vic/ALP)	13.93	+2.54
Wills (Vic/ALP)	13.00	+4.72
Kooyong (Vic/Lib)	12.54	+1.82
Richmond (NSW/ALP)	12.37	+2.31
North Sydney (NSW/Lib)	12.33	+4.67
Newcastle (NSW/ALP)	11.93	+4.41
Warringah (NSW/Lib)	11.81	+8.12
Fremantle (WA/ALP)	11.78	+2.72
Curtin (WA/Lib)	11.48	+2.23
Bradfield (NSW/Lib)	11.45	+4.76
Higgins (Vic/ALP)	11.35	+2.54
Frazer (ACT/ALP)	11.30	+3.42
Franklin (Tas/ALP)	11.18	+1.45
Wentworth (NSW/Lib)	11.15	+1.38
Macquarie (NSW/Lib)	10.85	+2.43
Page (NSW/Nat)	10.82	+3.62
Mackellar (NSW/Lib)	10.48	+2.41
Canberra (ACT/ALP)	10.17	+3.92
Throsby (NSW/ALP)	10.11	+5.61
Fairfax (Qld/Lib)	10.09	+4.61
Lyons (Tas/ALP)	9.95	+2.91
Ryan (Qld/Lib)	9.76	+4.38
Berowna (NSW/Lib)	9.60	+4.42
Perth (WA/ALP)	9.58	+2.22
Latrobe (Vic/Lib)	9.41	+2.01
Cowper (NSW/Nat)	9.32	+3.80
Brisbane (Qld/ALP)	9.26	+2.70
Lowe (NSW/ALP)	9.24	+5.04
Gellibrand (Vic/ALP)	9.08	+2.78
Griffith (Qld/ALP)	8.99	+3.55
Charlton (NSW/ALP)	8.95	+4.01
Goldstein (Vic/Lib)	8.86	+2.45
Forrest (WA/Lib)	8.45	+1.28
Jagajaga (Vic/ALP)	8.31	+1.74

<sup>47</sup> Source: Australian Electoral Commission (2005a, pp.130-206).

Swan (WA/ALP)	8.29	+2.41
Bass (Tas/Lib)	8.10	+1.86
Adelaide (SA/ALP)	7.99	+2.02
Robertson (NSW/Lib)	7.95	+4.63
Shortland (NSW/ALP)	7.89	+3.77
Casey (Vic/Lib)	7.87	+0.98
Deakin (Vic/Lib)	7.86	+1.56
Pearce (WA/Lib)	7.85	+0.63
Tangney (WA/Lib)	7.80	+2.77
Gilmore (NSW/Lib)	7.78	+2.29
McEwen (Vic/Lib)	7.65	+0.41
Mayo (SA/Lib)	7.60	+2.13
Corangamite (Vic/Lib)	7.51	+1.19
Eden-Monaro (NSW/Lib)	7.44	+2.46
Kingsford Smith (NSW/ALP)	7.37	+0.10
Chisholm (Vic/ALP)	7.34	+1.17
Fowler (NSW/ALP)	7.34	+4.89
Isaacs (Vic/ALP)	7.31	+3.35
Stirling (WA/Lib)	7.15	+1.17
Boothby (SA/Lib)	7.11	+3.93
Moore (WA/Lib)	7.08	+1.66
Barton (NSW/ALP)	6.95	+4.05
Bendigo (Vic/ALP)	6.93	+1.29
Cook (NSW/ALP)	6.92	+3.36
Hasluck (WA/Lib)	6.86	+1.19
Maribyrnong (Vic/ALP)	6.86	+2.17
Hughs (NSW/Lib)	6.79	+2.23
Solomon (NT/CLP)	6.77	+1.63
Watson (NSW/ALP)	6.77	+3.29
Ballarat (Vic/ALP)	6.73	+0.07
O'Connor (WA/Lib)	6.73	+2.00
Hume (NSW/Lib)	6.50	+2.16
Leichhardt (Qld/Lib)	6.47	+1.23
Menzies (Vic/Lib)	6.46	+0.97
Hunter (NSW/ALP)	6.44	+1.92
Indi (Vic/Lib)	6.43	+2.47
Kalgoorlie (WA/Lib)	6.33	+2.55
Flinders (Vic/ALP)	6.27	+0.39
Dunkley (Vic/Lib)	6.24	+0.62
Mitchell (NSW/Lib)	6.20	+3.07
Sturt (SA/Lib)	6.06	+2.28
Fisher (Qld/Lib)	6.05	+1.87
Chifley (NSW/ALP)	6.04	+4.33
Corio (Vic/ALP)	5.91	+1.55
Dickson (Qld/Nat)	5.87	+2.35
Lilley (Qld/ALP)	5.63	+1.88
Braddon (Tas/Lib)	5.61	+0.13
Cowan (WA/ALP)	5.59	+1.53
Lingiari (NT/ALP)	5.58	+2.78

Port Adelaide (SA/ALP)	5.42	+1.56
Hotham (Vic/ALP)	5.39	+1.04
Moreton (Qld/Lib)	5.31	+1.47
Prospect (NSW/ALP)	5.31	+0.73
Kingston (SA/Lib)	5.30	+1.96
Parramatta (NSW/ALP)	5.30	+2.21
Calwell (Vic/ALP)	5.26	+1.91
Reid (NSW/ALP)	5.25	+2.24
Bruce (Vic/ALP)	5.24	+1.07
McPherson (Qld/Lib)	5.18	+0.25
Hindmarsh (SA/ALP)	5.11	+1.49
Gorton (Vic/ALP)	5.10	+2.04
Canning (WA/Lib)	5.05	-0.31
Scullin (Vic/ALP)	5.03	+2.23
Dobell (NSW/Lib)	5.02	+2.07
Herbert (Qld/Lib)	5.02	+2.30
Moncrieff (Qld/Lib)	4.98	+0.72
Bonner (Qld/Lib)	4.93	+1.92
Aston (Vic/Lib)	4.86	+1.32
Brand (WA/ALP)	4.83	+1.35
Bowman (Qld/Lib)	4.79	+2.18
Lyne (NSW/Nat)	4.76	+1.79
Banks (NSW/ALP)	4.68	+1.87
Blaxland (NSW/ALP)	4.64	+2.02
Petrie (Qld/Lib)	4.62	+1.93
Gwidir (NSW/Nat)	4.48	+2.76
McMillan (Vic/Lib)	4.48	-0.89
Macarthur (NSW/Lib)	4.47	+1.42
Holt (Vic/ALP)	4.46	+1.74
Wide Bay (Qld/Nat)	4.43	+2.32
Oxley (Qld/ALP)	4.40	+1.05
Gippsland (Vic/Nat)	4.38	+0.46
Wannon (Vic/Lib)	4.35	+0.66
Riverina (NSW/Nat)	4.30	+1.87
Fadden (Qld/Lib)	4.24	+0.96
Paterson (NSW/Lib)	4.16	+1.44
Wakefield (SA/Lib)	4.15	+1.00
Lalor (Vic/ALP)	4.12	-0.49
Barker (SA/Lib)	4.08	+0.98
Forde (Qld/Lib)	4.08	+1.07
Groom (Qld/Lib)	4.00	+0.45
Longman (Qld/Lib)	3.98	+1.00
Makin (SA/Lib)	3.79	+1.47
Mallee (Vic/Nat)	3.78	+1.47
Greenway (NSW/Lib)	3.60	+0.96
Farrer (NSW/Lib)	3.59	+0.17
Kennedy (Qld/Ind)	3.53	+1.40
Lindsay (NSW/Lib)	3.49	+1.00
Parkes (NSW/Nat)	3.42	+0.89
Hinkler (Qld/Nat)	3.33	+0.88

New England (NSW/Ind)	3.33	+1.07
Grey (SA/Lib)	3.30	+0.87
Dawson (Qld/Nat)	3.19	+0.74
Werriwa (NSW/ALP)	3.13	+0.48
Rankin (Qld/ALP)	3.09	+0.34
Murray (Vic/Lib)	3.05	+0.64
Blair (Qld/Lib)	2.94	-0.20
Calare (NSW/Ind)	2.30	+0.77
Capricornia (Qld/ALP)	2.05	+0.54
Maranoa (Qld/Nat)	2.00	+0.08

**APPENDIX D**  
**2004 Federal Election Results: Senate**<sup>48</sup>

Party	NSW	Vic	Qld	WA	SA	Tas	ACT	NT	Aust
Lib/Nat/CLP	44.1 +2.3	44.1 +4.5	44.9 +0.8	50.2 +7.7	47.9 +2.4	46.1 +7.3	37.9 +3.6	45.4 +1.7	45.1 +3.3
ALP	36.4 +0.9	36.1 -0.7	31.7 -0.0	32.5 -1.7	35.5 +2.5	33.5 -3.3	41.1 -0.9	41.4 +2.2	35.0 +0.7
DEM	2.2 -4.0	1.9 -5.9	2.2 -4.5	2.0 -3.9	2.4 -10.2	0.8 -3.8	2.1 -8.6	4.7 -2.6	2.1 -5.1
GRN	7.3 +3.0	8.8 +2.8	5.4 +2.1	8.1 +2.2	6.6 +3.2	13.3 -0.5	16.4 +9.1	7.6 +3.3	7.7 +3.3
FF	0.6 +0.6	1.9 +1.9	3.4 +3.4	0.8 +0.8	4.0 +4.0	2.4 +2.4	..	..	1.8 +1.8
PHON	1.9 -3.7	0.7 -1.8	3.1 -6.9	2.4 -4.6	1.1 -0.6	.. -3.3	.. -2.2	.. -4.7	1.7 -3.8
Other	7.5 -1.1	6.5 -0.9	9.3 +5.1	3.9 -0.7	2.5 +1.9	3.9 +1.2	2.6 -1.0	0.9 +0.1	6.7 +0.6

<sup>48</sup> Sources: Australian Electoral Commission (2004a, pp.120-122); Newman (2005, p.54-5).

APPENDIX E  
Preference distribution NSW Division of Cunningham<sup>49</sup>

Count	KEENE James Stewart (PLP)			EVANS Tony (DEM)			ORGAN Michael (GRU)			DAKERS Jeff (CDP)			SCROGIE Christopher (LFF)			BIRD Sharon (ALP)			WILLIAMS Chris (SAL)			MOULDS David (IND)			LARTER John (LP)		
	Votes	%		Votes	%		Votes	%		Votes	%		Votes	%		Votes	%		Votes	%		Votes	%		Votes	%	TOTAL
FIRST	1,774	2.42		686	0.94		14,747	20.13		2,547	3.48		509	0.69		29,041	39.64		310	0.42		1,796	2.45		21,115	28.82	73,255
SECOND	19	6.13		10	3.23		173	55.81		6	1.94		7	2.26		44	14.19	EXCLUDED				28	9.03		10	3.23	310
TOTAL	1,793	2.45		696	0.95		14,920	20.37		2,553	3.49		516	0.70		29,085	39.70					1,824	2.49		21,125	28.84	73,255
THIRD	23	6.44		39	10.92		69	19.33		93	26.05		18	5.04		43	12.04					24	6.72		35	9.80	357
TOTAL	1,816	2.48		735	1.00		14,989	20.46		2,646	3.61		534	0.73		29,128	39.76					1,848	2.52		21,160	28.89	73,255
FOURTH	25	6.27		19	4.76		39	9.77		17	4.26		33	8.27		64	16.04					166	41.60		36	9.02	399
TOTAL	1,841	2.51		754	1.03		15,028	20.51		2,663	3.64		567	0.77		29,192	39.85					2,014	2.75		21,196	28.93	73,255
FIFTH	44	7.76		30	5.29		79	13.93		62	10.93	EXCLUDED				70	12.35					49	8.64		233	41.09	567
TOTAL	1,885	2.57		784	1.07		15,107	20.62		2,725	3.72					29,262	39.95					2,063	2.82		21,429	29.25	73,255
SIXTH	138	17.60	EXCLUDED				235	29.97		66	8.42					133	16.96					111	14.16		101	12.88	784
TOTAL	2,023	2.76					15,342	20.94		2,791	3.81					29,395	40.13					2,174	2.97		21,530	29.39	73,255
SEVENTH	EXCLUDED						1,176	58.13		182	9.00					433	21.40					99	4.89		133	6.57	2,023
TOTAL							16,518	22.55		2,973	4.06					29,828	40.72					2,273	3.10		21,663	29.57	73,255
EIGHTH							560	24.64		239	10.51					495	21.78		EXCLUDED						979	43.07	2,273
TOTAL							17,078	23.31		3,212	4.38					30,323	41.39								22,642	30.91	73,255
TENTH							580	18.06	EXCLUDED							512	15.94								2,120	66.00	3,212
TOTAL							17,658	24.10								30,835	42.09								24,762	33.80	73,255
ELEVENTH						EXCLUDED										14,191	60.37								3,467	19.63	17,658
TOTAL																45,026	61.46								28,229	38.54	73,255

<sup>49</sup> Source: ABC (2005c).

# APPENDIX E.1 Preference Distribution NSW Division of Sydney<sup>50</sup>

Full Distribution of Preferences																
Count	WARD Jane (IND)		LEONG Jenny (GRN)		SHEVERS Michael (LP)		PLIBERSEK Tanya (ALP)		FORD Adrian (CEC)		WEBB Michael (IND)		PRICE Susan (SAL)		BLEICHER Michelle (DEM)	
	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%
FIRST	1,346	1.64	17,784	21.61	23,419	28.46	36,766	44.68	150	0.18	553	0.67	564	0.69	1,701	2.07
SECOND	27	18.00	18	12.00	32	21.33	23	15.33	EXCLUDED		35	23.33	12	8.00	3	2.00
TOTAL	1,373	1.67	17,802	21.64	23,451	28.50	36,789	44.71			588	0.71	576	0.70	1,704	2.07
THIRD	28	4.86	336	58.33	25	4.34	95	16.49			42	7.29	EXCLUDED		50	8.68
TOTAL	1,401	1.70	18,138	22.04	23,476	28.53	36,884	44.83			630	0.77			1,754	2.13
FOURTH	267	42.38	86	13.65	83	13.17	105	16.67		EXCLUDED					89	14.13
TOTAL	1,668	2.03	18,224	22.15	23,559	28.63	36,989	44.95							1,843	2.24
FIFTH	EXCLUDED		827	49.58	348	20.86	218	13.07							275	16.49
TOTAL			19,051	23.15	23,907	29.05	37,207	45.22							2,118	2.57
SIXTH			811	38.29	507	23.94	800	37.77						EXCLUDED		2,118
TOTAL			19,862	24.14	24,414	29.67	38,007	46.19								82,283
SEVENTH			EXCLUDED				3,213	16.18								19,862
TOTAL					27,627	33.58	54,656	66.42								82,283
							ELECTED									

<sup>50</sup> Source: AEC (2005d).

## APPENDIX E.2

### Distribution of Preferences NSW division of Grayndler<sup>51</sup>

Full Distribution of Preferences											
Count	MYERS Philip (GRV)		JOHNSON Sue (SAL)		HARRISON Jen (DEM)		ALBANESE Anthony (ALP)		KOKKOLIS Stephanie (LP)		TOTAL
	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	
FIRST	15,914	21.08	1,010	1.34	1,579	2.09	38,634	51.18	18,347	24.31	75,484
SECOND	669	66.24	EXCLUDED		140	13.86	153	15.15	48	4.75	1,010
TOTAL	16,583	21.97			1,719	2.28	38,787	51.38	18,395	24.37	75,484
THIRD	803	46.71			EXCLUDED		551	32.05	365	21.23	1,719
TOTAL	17,386	23.03					39,338	52.11	18,760	24.85	75,484
FOURTH	EXCLUDED						15,460	88.92	1,926	11.08	17,386
TOTAL							54,798	72.60	20,686	27.40	75,484
							ELECTED				

<sup>51</sup> Source: AEC (2005e).

# APPENDIX E.3 Preference Distribution Victorian Division of Melbourne<sup>52</sup>

Full Distribution of Preferences																
Count	TANNER Lindsay James (ALP)		KENNY Zoe (SAL)		DIMITROULIS Jerry (LP)		WILLIAMS Angela (DEM)		PINNELL Gemma (GRN)		ANGER Steven (IND)		WILLIS Chris (FFP)		MCGUCKIN Rhys (CEC)	
	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%
FIRST	42,047	51.78	619	0.76	20,374	25.09	1,326	1.63	15,416	18.98	559	0.69	718	0.88	145	0.18
SECOND	14	9.66	12	8.28	11	7.59	10	6.90	12	8.28	25	17.24	61	42.07	EXCLUDED	
TOTAL	42,061	51.80	631	0.78	20,385	25.10	1,336	1.65	15,428	19.00	584	0.72	779	0.96		
THIRD	92	15.75	27	4.62	102	17.47	114	19.52	153	26.20	EXCLUDED		96	16.44		
TOTAL	42,153	51.91	658	0.81	20,487	25.23	1,450	1.79	15,581	19.19			875	1.08		
FOURTH	212	32.22	EXCLUDED		43	6.53	59	8.97	317	48.18			27	4.10		
TOTAL	42,365	52.17			20,530	25.28	1,509	1.86	15,898	19.58			902	1.11		
FIFTH	175	19.40			397	44.01	105	11.64	225	24.94			EXCLUDED			
TOTAL	42,540	52.39			20,927	25.77	1,614	1.99	16,123	19.85						
SIXTH	419	25.96			387	23.98	EXCLUDED		808	50.06						
TOTAL	42,959	52.90			21,314	26.25			16,931	20.85						
SEVENTH	14,807	87.45			2,124	12.55			EXCLUDED							
TOTAL	57,766	71.14			23,438	28.86										
	ELECTED															

<sup>52</sup> Source: AEC (2005f).

# APPENDIX F WA Group Voting Tickets Order of Preferences<sup>53</sup>

Political Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Unendorsed Ticket 1 (Favours Democrats) Ticket 2 (Favours the Greens) Family First (FF)	Unend.	LFF	CEC	APA	NPP	Ungrp.	AD	GRN	PLP	NCP	FF	CDP	PHON	NP	ALP	LP
	Unend.	LFF	CEC	APA	NPP	Ungrp.	GRN	AD	PLP	NCP	FF	CDP	PHON	NP	ALP	LP
	FF	CDP	AD	LP	NP	NCP	LFF	APA	NPP	Unend.	Ungrp.	CEC	PLP	PHON	ALP	GRN
Liberal (LP)	LP	NP	CDP	FF	NCP	APA	LFF	AD	NPP	Unend.	Ungrp.	CEC	PLP	GRN	ALP	PHON
Australian Labor Party (ALP)	ALP	GRN	AD	Unend.	CDP	FF	NP	LFF	APA	PLP	Ungrp.	LP	NPP	CEC	NCP	PHON
	NPP	APA	NCP	Unend.	PHON	CDP	FF	CEC	NP	LFF	Ungrp.	PLP	LP	AD	ALP	GRN
Non-Custodial Parents Party (NPP)	PLP	GRN	ALP	NP	AD	APA	Ungrp.	LFF	Unend.	CEC	FF	CDP	NPP	NCP	Ungrp.	PHON
Progressive Labour Party (PLP)																
CDP Christian Party (CDP) Ticket 1 Ticket 2	CDP	FF	NPP	LP	NP	NCP	LFF	PHON	ALP	Unend.	Ungrp.	CEC	APA	PLP	GRN	AD
	CDP	FF	NPP	LP	NP	NCP	LFF	PHON	ALP	Unend.	Ungrp.	CEC	APA	PLP	G/ALP/G	AD
	NP	LP	Unend.	GRN	APA	LFF	AD	FF	CDP	Ungrp.	NPP	ALP	PLP	CEC	NCP	PHON
The Nationals (NP)																
New Country Party	NCP	CDP	NPP	LP	FF	NP	NP	AD	APA	ALP	LFF	Ungrp.	PLP	CEC	Unend.	GRN
Australian Progressive Alliance (APA) Ticket 1 Ticket 2	APA	AD	FF	LFF	Unend.	Ungrp.	CDP	NP	GRN	LP	ALP	NPP	PLP	CEC	NCP	PHON
	APA	AD	FF	LFF	Unend.	Ungrp.	CDP	NP	GRN	ALP	LP	NPP	PLP	CEC	NCP	PHON
The Greens (GRN)	GRN	PLP	Unend.	AD	APA	Ungrp.	LFF	NP	Ungrp.	CEC	FF	Ungrp.	NPP	NCP	CDP	PHON
Pauline Hanson's One Nation (PHON)	PHON	CDP	CEC	NPP	FF	APA	LFF	NP	AD	PLP	LP	NCP	ALP	GRN	Ungrp.	Unend.
Australian Democrats (AD) Ticket 1 Ticket 2	AD	APA	Unend.	LFF	FF	NP	GRN	Ungrp.	PLP	LP	ALP	CDP	NPP	CEC	PHON	NCP/Ungrp
	AD	APA	Unend.	LFF	FF	NP	GRN	Ungrp.	PLP	ALP	LP	CDP	NPP	CEC	PHON	NCP/Ungrp
Citizens Electoral Council (CEC)	CEC	Unend.	Ungrp.	AD	GRN	NPP	ALP	LFF	PLP	APA	FF	CDP	PHON	NCP	NP	LP
Liberals for Forests (LFF)	LFF	Unend.	AD	GRN	APA	NP	LP	PHON	PLP	CDP	FF	Ungrp.	NPP	NCP	CEC	ALP

<sup>53</sup> Source: AEC (2004b).

APPENDIX G  
 Liberal Party Advertising: 'The Greens-Labor Deal'<sup>54</sup>

ADVERTISEMENT  
**The Greens-Labor Deal.**

**FACT 1**

The Labor/Greens preference deal could hand Government to Labor.

**It's a deal!**  
 Lindsay Tanner, Labor MP for the Northern Territory, said: "We might have the Greens with the balance of power, and in order to form government."

Mr. Current said Labor would be willing to partner the Greens if the election resulted in a hung parliament. "That's the reality of politics," he said.

A Labor government would almost certainly give its existence to a cascade of Green preferences.

**FACT 2**

The Greens proposed "loopy laws" could get support from Labor and be passed.

**The Greens want:**  
 IRRESPONSIBLE NEW DRUG USE

Will investigate options for the regulated supply of social drugs such as ecstasy in controlled environments

Will permit the controlled availability of cannabis at appropriate venues

**The Greens want:**  
 IMPRACTICAL NEW TAXES

An inheritance tax on estates with a total value above \$2 million and including the family home

Increase the Medicare Levy

**ADVICE**

**If you don't want Labor to get into Government through a Labor/Greens preference deal, then give your 1st or 2nd preference vote to Liberal.**

<sup>54</sup> Source: The Australian, p. 4 (2004, October 9).

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## GREENS' POLICIES SAVE CHILDREN'S LIVES

Dear Friend,

Over many years, as a doctor and as a senator, I have advised young people to avoid illicit drugs. I have also worked to help addicts (people caught up in drugs and hurting both themselves and others) to get back to a good life in society.

Two factors make drug abuse worse. One is the criminal dealers – they should be jailed. The other is the narrow view that criminalises young addicts and drives their activities underground.

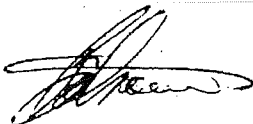
In this election, notable for the other parties avoiding drug policies, the Greens have been targeted by the Murdoch tabloids, the Coalition and religious right, even though our policies would reduce the death toll from drug misuse in Australia. On the other hand, Family First, when asked for its drugs policy this week, did not produce any.

Here are some points the religious right parties will not face.

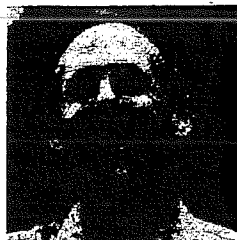
- The Greens back tough laws to jail drug dealers.
- We want youngsters who get caught up with hard drugs to get help. They should not be left abandoned in back alleys. The religious right should read about the Good Samaritan.
- Prohibition breeds crime and corruption.
- Overseas experience trialling policies which reduce the death rate from addiction should be considered here. A referendum in Switzerland won 70% popular support for heroin treatment clinics, because they reduce harm.
- Highly qualified police, medical experts and even right wing think tanks support harm minimisation.

Harm minimisation has been successfully implemented in countries like Canada, Switzerland and Portugal. We advocate its adoption in Australia to save young Australian lives.

Yours sincerely



Senator Bob Brown  
Australian Greens  
1 October 2004



**Bob Brown**

Authorised by Dr. Bob Brown, Marine Board Building, Hobart, TAS 7000.

36 The Advertiser [www.theadvertiser.com.au](http://www.theadvertiser.com.au) Thursday, October 7, 2004

<sup>55</sup> Source: The Advertiser, p.36 (2004, October 7).

## *Recipe for establishing a* **GREEN PARTY**

1. **OPPOSE** job creation
2. **OPPOSE** major investment in Tasmania
3. **OPPOSE** all economic growth
4. **OPPOSE** a sustainable forest industry
5. **PROMOTE** a population reduction of two million
6. **PROMOTE** an open door on asylum seekers
7. **PROMOTE** social drug use, including ecstasy
8. **PROMOTE** vegetarianism
9. **PROMOTE** public funding for sex changes
10. **PROMOTE** higher dole payments
11. **PROMOTE** higher capital gains tax
12. **PROMOTE** the removal of farmers from their land

**Bob Brown,  
Christine Milne and  
The Greens revel in  
reducing Tasmania  
to a basket case...**

**...they've done it  
before and they  
will do it again.**

**SUPPORT TASMANIA  
BY PUTTING  
THE GREENS  
LAST WHEN  
YOU VOTE.**

Adapted by Brian Coward, Timber Communities Australia, 3 Fredrick Street, Wynyard, Tasmania, 7325

<sup>56</sup> Source: The Mercury, p.44 (2004, October 8).

ADVERTISEMENT


# A LATHAM PUPPET GOVERNMENT

.....

Bob Brown used to talk about having *"a firm hand on the shoulder of government"*. Now he wants to pull the strings.

Labor's forests policy confirms **Bob Brown** is the **Puppeteer** and **Mark Latham** the **Puppet**.

.....



## A Latham Labor Government will be a Puppet Government of the Greens.

Authorised by Terry Edwards, Forest Industries Association of Tasmania, 38 Montpellier Retreat, Battery Point 7004.

<sup>57</sup> Source: The Mercury, p.15 (2004, October 7).

## APPENDIX H

### Content Analysis of News Reports on the Australian Greens in the Australian Press During the 2004 Federal Election Campaign Period

Date	Title	Reporter(s)	Page	Classification
The Australian				
30 August	Greens turn king makers	M. Saunders	5	Neutral
31 August	'Kooky' policy agenda for Greens	E. Coleman	4	Unfavourable
1 September	Greens eye the balance of power	M. Bachelard M. Denholm	6	Neutral
	Brown returns fire on his drugs policy	E. Coleman	6	Unfavourable
3 September	Greens pose threat to future growth, says business group	D. Uren	8	Unfavourable
7 September	Brown & co 21 <sup>st</sup> century 'commies'	P. Karvelas	7	Unfavourable
	Industry body backs Greens' tech policy	S. Hayes	34	Favourable
9 September	Bobbing blissfully in days of sunshine	M. Price	7	Favourable
13 September	Flavour of protest still strong for Organ	M. Saunders	6	Favourable
	Live with planet, not off it: Brown	G. Kaszubska	8	Favourable
	Greens preference 'blank' poised to fell Labor	E. Coleman	8	Neutral
17 September	Greens flirt with Howard	B. Norrington M. Denholm	1	Neutral
	Omens look good for rising star Of Greens	M. Denholm	6	Favourable
18/19 September	Labor & Greens do national deal	S. Lewis A. McGarry	6	Neutral
20 September	Greens threaten Dems in West	R. Martin	6	Neutral
	Voters overlook tax policy for trees	G. Megalogenis	7	Neutral
22 September	Howard sees ALP in Hock with Greens	S. Lewis	7	Unfavourable
24 September	Greens in bid to cut rebate on insurance	M. Bachelard	7	Favourable
28 September	Greens patch it up to rout Turnbull	M. Saunders	6	Neutral
	Greens say buy back Telstra shares	S. Hayes	34	Favourable
29 September	Greens object to Family First 'dirty work'	M. Bachelard M. Brockman	7	Favourable

2/3 October	Preference deal a worry for Beazley	N. Wilson	10	Neutral
	Greens lose the wilderness vote	M. Bachelard B. Lane	10	Unfavourable
4 October	'Unholy alliance' holds Latham's key to Lodge	S. Lewis	1	Unfavourable
5 October	'Besieged' Greens boosted	E. Coleman	8	Favourable
7 October	Greens in blue-ribbon seats could be gold	M. Brockman	7	Neutral
The Sydney Morning Herald				
30 August	Preferences key, but no decision yet	C Banham	8	Favourable
	Green power surge in run for Senate seats as Democrats dive	n.a.	28	Neutral
	Aiming high in seats of discontent	C. Marriner	28	Neutral
1 September	Minors to do deal	n.a.	9	Neutral
	Drug policy defended	n.a.	9	Unfavourable
3 September	Business group on Green alert as Brown externalises	J. Garnaut	8	Unfavourable
	Greens square up to Labor in dormitory town cliff-hanger	S. Peating	9	Favourable
4 September	Howard promise to save trees and jobs	L. Dodson	9	Neutral
6 September	Independents' day as new government faces minority rule	A. Contractor	6	Neutral
	Democrats leader attacks Greens record	n.a.	6	Unfavourable
	We're on for young and old: Brown	A. Contractor	7	Favourable
7 September	Greens under the bed	D. Murphy	8	Unfavourable
8 September	Labor not so green	n.a.	10	Neutral
9 September	Greens offer pact with winner	A. Contractor	6	Favourable
11 September	Every Ridgeway but lose: One Nation, many preference deals and a Greening of the electoral vine	A. Contractor	10	Neutral
13 September	Jakarta attack result of policy: Wilkie	J. Garnaut	6	Favourable
17 September	Labor deal may give Greens second NSW Senator	M. Secombe T. Allard	9	Neutral
23 September	Brown sets deadline	n.a.	9	Favourable
	Greens to block funding increases to private schools	L. Dodson	11	Favourable
28 September	King's bid to woo Greens hits a rocky patch	J. Pearlman	6	Neutral

1 October	How green is Brown's valley	P. Snow	18	Favourable
4 October	Greens want aid boost	n.a.	6	Favourable
	Greens vote lift makes it third force, poll shows	A. Contractor	7	Favourable
5 October	Coalition letter drop to scare Green voters	C. Marriner	7	Unfavourable
8 October	Greens line up for Labor over forests	A. Contractor	9	Favourable
9 October	Greens expect forest backlash	n.a.	12	Favourable
Herald Sun				
30 August	Polls show Greens are sprouting	G. McManus	8	Unfavourable
31 August	Greens back illegal drugs; open door plan for all refugees; family home tax; gay marriage nod	G. McManus	3	Unfavourable
31 August	Dual policy on drugs	G. McManus	4	Unfavourable
1 September	Red-faced Brown backs off Greens' drug ideas	G. McManus M. Harvey	5	Unfavourable
3 September	Farmers fear the Greens could damage their patch	J. Masanauskas	27	Unfavourable
11 September	Brown keen for alliance	G. McManus	12	Unfavourable
13 September	Howard cops Green blast	n.a.	4	Favourable
	Greens at the ready	M. Harvey	24	Neutral
18 September	No deal with Greens	G. McManus	7	Unfavourable
20 September	Liberals back 'wacky' Greens	G. McManus	2	Unfavourable
27 September	Fear of Senate control	n.a.	11	Favourable
28 September	Brown lashes Right	L. Heywood	12	Favourable
2 October	Forests the big issue	G. McManus	28	Unfavourable
6 October	Anti-drug chief blasts Greens	N. Wilson	5	Unfavourable
	Greens tipped to make \$4m profit on election	L. McIlveen	30	Unfavourable
7 October	40 taxes on longer wish list	G. McManus	13	Unfavourable
8 October	Greens kick up a pew	n.a.	27	Favourable
9 October	Right little earner: Greens policy shows how crime can pay	M. Zonneveldt	7	Unfavourable
The Age				
30 August	Politics in a darker shade of green	J. Koutsoukis	7	Neutral
1 September	Greens on the boil, as Liberals go on attack	B. Nicholson	1, 8	Neutral
2 September	Wilkie finds deep pockets in disgruntled voters	B. Nicholson	10	Favourable
3 September	Greens under attack	J. Gordon O. Guerrara	9	Unfavourable
6	'Labor-Green bloc' warning	O. Guerrara	7	Unfavourable

September				
7 September	Anderson sees red over 'watermelon' Greens	M. Blenkin	6	Unfavourable
9 September	Greens ready to deal: Brown	M. Shaw	8	Favourable
12 September	Solar power to the people, say Greens	P. Hudson	10	Favourable
13 September	Roar of the crowd and smell of patchouli add colour to bid	J. Green	9	Favourable
18 September	Greens strike a preference deal with Labor	A. Crabb	9	Neutral
21 September	Greens threaten key Labor seats, with Lib help	A. Crabb M. Fyfe	7	Neutral
23 September	Greens vow to end spending on wealthy private schools	n.a.	10	Favourable
26 September	Greens tipped to double vote in Labor seat	P. Hudson	11	Neutral
8 October	Victorian Green with his eye on the Senate	M. Fyfe	9	Favourable
9 October	Sap rises as Greens loom in third party role	A. Darby	11	Favourable
The Courier Mail				
30 August	Hutton looks a chance for Senate spot	M. Cole L. Heywood	5	Favourable
3 September	Greens. Business concerns	n.a.	7	Unfavourable
4 September	Greens leader says it's teamwork	L. McIlveen	10	Favourable
6 September	Minor parties poised to claim balance of power, says Brown	C. Jones	4	Neutral
8 September	Coalition mudslinging fails to corral Greens	C. Jones	9	Favourable
9 September	Greens leader dismisses a Red herring	L. McIlveen	15	Unfavourable
	Greens. No sale pledge	n.a.	15	Favourable
10 September	Democrats see red over Green in roads	J. Walker L. Heywood	8	Neutral
11 September	Preference for Green puts Brown in hot seat	J. Walker	8	Favourable
13 September	Coalition paints Greens black	G. Johnstone	4	Unfavourable
15 September	Greens. Water key to deal	n.a.	5	Favourable
16 September	Greens jump on the band wagon	M. Phillips	15	Favourable
19 September	Greens strike deal with Labor	n.a.	15	Neutral
20 September	Greens good for Labor as Democrats keep fading	L. Johnstone	5	Neutral
28	Greens slam 'faceless' deals	L. Heywood	4	Favourable

September				
2 October	Drug ads irk Greens	n.a.	4	Unfavourable
4 October	Greens. Labor backed	n.a.	5	Favourable
5 October	Greens. Workplace bid	n.a.	9	Favourable
7 October	Greens. No negotiations	n.a.	16	Unfavourable
The West Australian				
1 September	Greens policy spells out line on drug use	n.a.	9	Neutral
3 September	Business warns of Green threat	n.a.	9	Unfavourable
6 September	Labor warned on Green vote	D. Grand	10	Neutral
	Greens claim backing from young, over 50s	n.a.	11	Favourable
7 September	Exchange adds fruit flavour to campaign	n.a.	10	Neutral
	Brown to launch Green policy in WA visit	n.a.	10	Neutral
9 September	Brown to deal with either side	K. Middleton	7	Favourable
	Greens are in the fight this time	K. Middleton	7	Favourable
13 September	Greens launch attack on Howard	K. Middleton	11	Favourable
	Wilkie targets PM on security after bombing	n.a.	11	Favourable
	Rock rhythms set mood for tree lovers	n.a.	11	Unfavourable
17 September	Avocado? Melon? A fruit cake?	n.a.	9	Unfavourable
20 September	Greens deal lifts Labor hopes	D. LeGrand K. Gauntlett	11	Neutral
21 September	Scare ploy has helped us: Siewert	K. Gauntlett	10	Favourable
	Greens plan higher taxes	C. Russell	10	Unfavourable
22 September	Former spook stalks PM	R. Taylor	11	Favourable
24 September	Ban party donations, says Brown	D. Grand	10	Favourable
25 September	Blue-ribbon seats turn blue	K. Middleton	8	Neutral
	Greens to pick up four seats, says Brown	n.a.	8	Neutral
29 September	Greens protest over drug peddling advert	n.a.	10	Unfavourable
	Bartlett blasts Greens over Labor	K. Middleton	10	Unfavourable
2 October	Beazley see red over Greens voting rebuff	R. Taylor	11	Unfavourable
4 October	Brown throws down gauntlet on old forests	n.a.	6	Neutral

The Advertiser				
31 August	Greens seek radical drug reforms	G. McManus	7	Unfavourable
1 September	Swap deal in Senate	n.a.	8	Neutral
	Anger at drug policy	n.a.	8	Unfavourable
3 September	Greens 'good managers'	n.a.	5	Neutral
4 September	How the Greens vote rates in the Central Market	T. Richardson	11	Neutral
	The farmer who is in Bob Brown's green corner	L. McIlveen	29	Neutral
10 September	Warning on Greens	n.a.	11	Unfavourable
13 September	Greens launch	n.a.	6	Favourable
18 September	Forget it, PM tells Greens on policy	B. Littlely	21	Neutral
20 September	Greens warn Labor	n.a.	13	Neutral
21 September	Greens a marginal help to Labor	P. Starick G. Kelton	5	Neutral
	Senate hopefuls great sacrifice	L. Craig	22	Favourable
	Party time. The Greens	D. Clarke	37	Neutral
22 September	Greens on rise	n.a.	6	Neutral
23 September	Wilkie on visit	n.a.	7	Favourable
25 September	Anderson's Green envy	n.a.	19	Unfavourable
29 September	Greens angered by ads	n.a.	31	Unfavourable
2 October	Fringe dwellers	C. Bildstien	31	Neutral
The Mercury				
31 August	Greens unveil radical policy	G. McManus	3	Unfavourable
1 September	Greens slam campaign to harm policies	E. Whinnett	4	Unfavourable
	Bob's lack of understanding	n.a.	5	Unfavourable
2 September	Flak keeps flying on drug policy	A. Rehn	4	Unfavourable
4 September	Normally silent partner speaks his mind on Bob	L. McIlveen	7	Unfavourable
5 September	Brown calls on Lennon to act	n.a.	7	Neutral
7 September	Anderson fears Reds under the Greens	A. Rehn	4	Unfavourable
	Greens back single zone	n.a.	4	Favourable
8 September	Greens bash by PM backfires	n.a.	5	Favourable
	Brown offers stuffed koalas	n.a.	7	Neutral

9 September	Greens under the bed won't work, says Brown	L. McIlveen	4	Unfavourable
13 September	Milne set for Senate return	C. Waterhouse S. Bailey	1-2	Favourable
14 September	Greens make a devout Christian see red	C. Konkes	8	Unfavourable
	More women need electing to reflect society, says Milne	n.a.	8	Favourable
15 September	Greens call for ban on super trawlers	n.a.	4	Favourable
16 September	Greens rescue plan for forests	n.a.	3	Favourable
	Greens would do away with states	E. Whinnett	7	Unfavourable
	Greens demand action of super trawlers	n.a.	20	Favourable
17 September	Nat mashes Green avocado	n.a.	4	Unfavourable
	Harradine not a Green	n.a.	5	Unfavourable
19 September	Labor-Greens vote deal	n.a.	4	Neutral
	Democrats spiteful, says Milne	H. Chog	4	Neutral
20 September	Brown prefers quick decision	D. Rose	5	Favourable
	Green hop sys he is only Hanson rival	n.a.	5	Favourable
22 September	Greens call for national plan to halt Tassie pests	M. Paine	8	Favourable
23 September	Greens preference pledge	n.a.	9	Neutral
25 September	Brown tips Greens increase	n.a.	10	Favourable
29 September	Greens 'just extremists'	n.a.	4	Unfavourable
5 October	Brown hails Labor breakthrough	D. Rose	2	Favourable
8 October	Greens push for \$500 wage for prisoners	L. McIlveen	4	Unfavourable
	Labor wins Greens preferences	E. Whinnett	6	Neutral

## APPENDIX I

### Content Analysis of Opinion Pieces on the Australian Greens in the Australian Press During the 2004 Federal Election Campaign Period

Date	Title	Commentator	Page	Classification
The Australian				
2 September	Green is not the political go	Editorial	12	Negative
	No third party insurance	G. Sheridan	13	Negative
4/5 September	Extremist shade of Green	C. Pearson	20	Negative
6 September	Leaders discover it's not easy being Greens	Editorial	10	Negative
7 September	Attacks on Brown wont fool voters	J. Norman	15	Positive
15 September	Fretful candidates feeling a bit Green	M. Steketee	15	Positive
20 September	Brown forsakes forests for poll ease	G. Milne	11	Negative
1 October	Save life as we know it – put the Greens in parliament	F. Devine	13	Negative
The Sydney Morning Herald				
11 September	Green? It's colour code for Red	C. Twyman	51	Positive
27 September	The other guards may end up being green too – with envy	A. Lohrey	17	Positive
6 October	Green on the outside, empty inside	T. Lapkin	19	Negative
Herald Sun				
31 August	Herald Sun EDITORIAL	Editorial	20	Negative
1 September	Greens means mad	A. Bolt	19	Negative
23 September	When crazy joins loopy	P. Costello	24	Negative
28 September	Greens: what you will get	B. Brown	20	Positive
7 October	Dark shade of Green	Editorial	24	Negative
The Age				
12 September	The 'watermelon' once again makes a colourful interlude	A. Masterson	10	Negative
21 September	How the Liberals can take revenge on Bob Brown	G. Henderson	13	Negative
27 September	Are Brown's Greens really feral?	A. Lohrey	11	Positive
The Courier Mail				
5 September	Why Green should be last on all vote cards	A. Bolt	56	Negative

The West Australian				
7 September	Pure Green credentials apt to fade	T. Rutherford	19	Negative
18 September	Green outside, red ink inside	C. Russell	77	Negative
21 September	Preferences are poll revenge	G. Henderson	17	Negative
25 September	Beware the lurker in the forest	P. Murray	19	Negative
8 October	Greens will hit the mainstream	S. Pennells	16	Positive
The Advertiser				
30 August	A strong voice	B. Brown	18	Positive
2 October	Not the time for political experiments	Editorial	28	Negative
The Mercury				
20 September	Green grow poll deals	G. Barnes	21	Negative
	If you want to go nowhere...	P. Akerman	21	Negative