

Prepared by: **Bojan Todosijevic and Ian McAllister**

Date:

Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Module 2: Macro Report

August 23, 2004

Country: AUSTRALIA

Date of Election: 2004

NOTE TO COLLABORATORS: The information provided in this report contributes to an important part of the CSES project. Your efforts in providing these data are greatly appreciated! Any supplementary documents that you can provide (e.g., electoral legislation, party manifestos, electoral commission reports, media reports) are also appreciated, and may be made available on the CSES website.

Part I: Data Pertinent to the Election at which the Module was Administered

1. Report the number of portfolios (cabinet posts) held by each party in cabinet, *prior* to the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".)

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Portfolios</u>
Liberal Party	14
National Party	3

1a. What was the size of the cabinet before the election?

17

2. Report the number of portfolios (cabinet posts) held by each party in cabinet, *after* the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all").

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Portfolios</u>
Liberal Party	14
National Party	3

2a. What was the size of the cabinet after the election?

3. Political Parties (most active during the election in which the module was administered and receiving at least 3% of the vote):

Party Name/Label	Year Party Founded	Ideological Family	European Parliament Political Group (where applicable)	International Party Organizational Membership
A. Australian Labor Party	1901	Social democratic*		Socialist international
B. Liberal party of Australia (Liberal)	1944	Conservative (Right-Liberal)		International democratic union
C. National Party of Australia (National)	1920	Agrarian (Regional)		N/A
D. Australian Democrats (Democrats)	1977	Left Liberal parties		N/A
E. Australian Greens (Greens)	1992	Ecology parties		The greens
F.				

*Ideological family in bold letters is entered in the data.

Ideological Party Families: (These are suggestions only. If a party does not fit well into this classification scheme, please provide an alternative and some explanation).

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| (A) Ecology Parties | (G) Liberal Parties | (M) Agrarian Parties |
| (B) Communist Parties | (H) Right Liberal Parties | (N) Ethnic Parties |
| (C) Socialist Parties | (I) Christian Democratic Parties | (O) Regional Parties |
| (D) Social Democratic Parties | (J) National Parties | (P) Other Parties |
| (E) Conservative Parties | (K) Independents | |
| (F) Left Liberal Parties | (L) Single Issue Parties | |

The following lists provide examples of political groups and organizations to which a particular party might belong. Please report any and all international affiliations for each party.

European Parliament Political Groups:

- (1) European People's Party
- (2) European Democrats
- (3) Party of European Socialists
- (4) European Liberal, Democrat and Reform Party
- (5) Confederal Group of European United Left
- (6) Nordic Green Left
- (7) Greens
- (8) European Free Alliance
- (9) Europe for the Nations
- (10) Europe of Democracies and Diversities
- (00) Not Applicable
- (98) Don't Know

- (13) Christian Democratic International
- (14) Christian Democratic Organization of America
- (15) Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
- (16) Democratic Union of Africa
- (17) Eastern European Social Democratic Forum
- (18) Green Movement
- (19) Humanist Party
- (20) International Communist Union
- (21) International Democrat Union
- (22) International League of Democratic Socialists
- (23) Liberal International
- (24) Natural Law Party
- (25) Pacific Democratic Union
- (26) Organization of African Liberal Parties
- (27) Socialist International
- (28) Socialist Inter-Africa
- (00) Not Applicable
- (98) Don't Know

International Party Organizations:

- (11) Asia Pacific Socialist Organization
- (12) Caribbean Democratic Union

3a. Were there any significant parties not represented in parliament *before* the election?

No

3b. Were there any significant parties not represented in parliament *after* the election?

No

3c. Were there any other non-represented parties or independent actors whom you believe to have had a significant effect on the election?

No

4a. Ideological Positions of Parties:

Please indicate Parties A-F's positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator). If this dimension is not appropriate, please provide an explanation of the salient cleavages, and parties' relative positions.

Party Name	Left										Right	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
A. Labor					4.							
B. Liberal							6					
C. National							6					
D. Democrats				3								
E. Greens		2										
F.												

We would prefer left-right estimates given in integers!

4aa. Do you believe there would be general consensus on these placements among informed observers in your country?

Yes

Both aggregate and constituency-level returns are provided (and may also be accessed electronically at: <http://www.aec.gov.au/>)

4b. If you have asked respondents to rank political parties on an alternative dimension, other than the left-right dimension, please also provide your own rankings of the parties on this dimension.

Not asked

Name of dimension:

Label for left hand position:

Label for right hand position:

Party Name	Left										Right
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A.											
B.											
C.											
D.											
E.											
F.											

4bb. Do you believe there would be general consensus about these placements among informed observers in your country?

NA

5. In your view, what are the five most salient factors that affected the outcome of the election (e.g. major scandals; economic events; the presence of an independent actor; specific issues)?

1. Good economic performance by government
2. Popularity of the prime minister, John Howard
3. Unpopularity of opposition leader
4. Government record on defence/security
5. Ineffective opposition party policies

MACRO report

DATA FILE

- 57 PARTY PERFORMANCE
- 54 LEADERSHIP, 'PERSONALIZATION'
- 50 CAMPAIGNING
- 60 STATE AND REGIONAL DIFFERENCES
- 56 MEDIA ISSUES

5a. Do you believe there would be general consensus about the importance of these factors among informed observers in your country?

Yes

6. Electoral Alliances:

Sometimes, electoral alliances are made at the constituency level as, for example, in Finland. Documenting who is allied with whom, and how, in each constituency is a large task and we do not expect you to do more than make some general reference to the existence of constituency-level alliances. Sometimes, electoral alliances are made at the national level -- these are the alliances that we would like you to identify. Information is sought on who is allied with whom and on the nature of the electoral alliance.

a) Were electoral alliances permitted during the election campaign?

- No
 Yes

If yes, please complete the following:

Alliance Name Participant Parties (please indicate dominant members with an "*")

Alliance 1:

The National Party and the Liberal party

Alliance 2:

Alliance 3:

Alliance 4:

Alliance 5:

7. Party Leaders and Presidential Candidates:

In legislative elections, please report the leader of each party.

In presidential elections, list presidential candidates and their parties. If candidates were endorsed by more than one party, please indicate this below.

Party of Candidate Name of Party Leader or Presidential Candidate

>>> PARTIES AND LEADERS: AUSTRALIA (1996)

01. PARTY B	LIBERAL PARTY	LEADER B	JOHN HOWARD
02. PARTY A	AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY	LEADER A	Mark Latham
03. PARTY C	NATIONAL (COUNTRY) PARTY	LEADER C	John Anderson

04. PARTY D AUSTRALIAN DEMOCRATS
Bartlett
05. PARTY E GREENS

LEADER D Andrew

LEADER Bob Brown

Part II: Data on Electoral Institutions

If possible, please supplement this section with copies of the electoral law, voters' handbooks, electoral commission reports, and/or any other relevant materials.

Note: Macro report for 1996 dos not provide itemized responses, but rather an essay-type answer. See at the end of this document. Most of the itemized answers here are recovered from the data file.

A. QUESTIONS ABOUT ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.

Definitions: An electoral district is defined as a geographic area within which votes are counted and seats allocated. If a district cannot be partitioned into smaller districts within which votes are counted and seats allocated, it is called primary. If it can be partitioned into primary districts, and during the counting process there is some transfer of votes and/or seats from the primary districts to the larger district, then the larger district is called secondary. If a district can be partitioned into secondary districts (again with some transfer of votes and/or seats), it is called tertiary.

In some electoral systems, there are electoral districts that are geographically nested but not otherwise related for purposes of seat allocation. In Lithuania, for example, there are 71 single-member districts that operate under a majority runoff system, and also a single nationwide district that operates under proportional representation (the largest remainders method with the Hare quota). Neither votes nor seats from the single-member districts transfer to the nationwide district, however. The two processes are entirely independent (with voters having one vote in each district). In this case, the nationwide district, although it contains the 71 single-member districts, is not considered to be secondary. It is primary. One might say that there are two segments to the electoral system in such cases.

Lower house

1. How many segments (as just defined) are there in the electoral system?

- 1 segment**
 2 segments
 more than 2

Upper house

1. How many segments (as just defined) are there in the electoral system?

- 1 segment**
 2 segments
 more than 2

Please answer the following questions (questions 2 through 11) for each segment of each directly elected house of the legislature:

2. How many primary electoral districts are there?

Lower house: 150

Upper house: 8

3. For each primary electoral district, how many members are elected from each district?
(If district variation exists, answer 3a)

Lower house: 150
Upper house: 76

3a. If districts elect varying number of members, please list the districts, indicating the number of members elected from that district. (Attach separate sheets, as required).

District Number of Members

(District magnitude:
Lower house=1
Upper house: 12 – should be 12.7)

4. How many secondary electoral districts are there?
0/0

5. How many tertiary electoral districts are there?
0/0

If possible, please summarize the information above for questions 1-3 and 4-5 in the table here:

Chambers/Houses		Lower			Upper		
Segments	Number	<u>1</u>	2	3 or more	<u>1</u>	2	3 or more
Primary districts	Number	148			6		
	No. of members*	148			76		
Secondary districts	Number	0			0		
	No. of members*	0			0		
Tertiary districts	Number	0			0		
	No. of members*	0			0		

*Please report the total number of members for all districts, per segment.

B. QUESTIONS ABOUT VOTING.

6. Exactly how are votes cast by voters?

A5031 COMPULSORY VOTING: 1. YES; STRICTLY ENFORCED SANCTIONS

6a. How many votes do they or can they cast?

Lower house: 1

Upper house: 1

6b. Do they vote for candidates, for lists, or for both? (please explain)

Lower house: 2. SINGLE CANDIDATE, WITH ALTERNATIVES

Upper house: 2. SINGLE CANDIDATE, WITH ALTERNATIVES

7. Are the votes transferable?

8. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated?

9. Are there any other features of voting that should be noted?

C. QUESTIONS ABOUT CONVERTING VOTES INTO SEATS.

10. Exactly how are votes converted into seats?

10a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?

NO TRESHOLD

If so, what is the threshold?

10b. What electoral formula or formulas are used?

Lower house: 22. MAJORITY – ALTERNATIVE

Upper house: 22. MAJORITY – ALTERNATIVE

11. If there are lists, are they closed, open, or flexible?

- closed
- flexible, but in practice virtually closed
- flexible
- flexible, but in practice virtually open
- open

Definitions: A list is closed if the seats that are awarded to that list are always occupied by the candidates in order of their appearance on the list (i.e., if the list gets x seats then necessarily the top x

names on the list get the seats). A list is open if the question of which candidates on the list get the seats that are awarded to the list is determined solely by the votes that each candidate receives. A list is flexible if parties place their candidates in the order they would like to see them elected, but voters can, with varying degrees of ease, change this order through votes they cast for individual candidates.

Please repeat questions 2 through 11 of this section for each segment of each directly elected house of the legislature.

D. QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES OF ELECTORAL ALLIANCE.

Definitions: A joint list refers to one on which candidates of different parties run together. Apparentement refers to a legal agreement between two or more lists to pool their votes for the purposes of an initial seat allocation, with seats initially allocated to the alliance then reallocated to the lists in the alliance.

12. What are the possibilities of forming alliances in the system?

12a. Can parties run joint lists?

Yes

No

12b. Is there apparentement or linking of lists

Yes

No

12c. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?

Yes

No

12d. Do parties withdraw their lists or candidates in some constituencies, urging their supporters there to vote for an ally's list or candidate?

Yes

No

12e. Other?

13. Are joint lists possible?

13a. If joint lists are possible, are they subject to different regulations than single-party lists? For example, higher thresholds, different numbers of candidates that may appear on the list, etc.

14. If apparemment is possible, what lists can participate in such agreements:

- lists of the same party in the same constituency
- lists of the same party from different constituencies
- lists of different parties in the same constituency

15. If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party, is this reflected on the ballot?

- No
- No party endorsements are indicated on the ballot paper
- Yes, candidate's name appears once, together with the names of all supporting parties
- Yes, candidate's name appears as many times as there are different parties endorsing him/her, each time with the name of the endorsing party
- Yes, other (please explain):

Part III: Data on Regime Type

Below are various questions about the type of regime--presidential, parliamentary, semi-presidential--in your country. There are two potential problems with these questions that should be noted at the outset. First, in some countries there may be a discrepancy between the *de jure* (or legal) situation and the *de facto* (or practical) situation. For example, in Great Britain the Queen still possesses a legal right to veto legislation, but this right has not been exercised since 1707. In the case of such obviously obsolete powers, please answer according to the *de facto* situation. Otherwise, describe the *de jure* situation. A second potential problem is that the questions may not be phrased optimally for the situation in your particular country. In such cases, please answer as best you can, providing some indication of the difficulties as you see them.

A. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE HEAD OF STATE.

Note: The 1996 macro report answer about the Head of State is given at the end of the document.

Definitions: The Head of State is typically the highest ranking official in the executive branch of government. Often, this position is held by a president or a monarch, and may be more ceremonial than effective. The Head of Government is usually the highest ranking official in the legislative branch of government. In some systems, this may be someone other than the Head of State (i.e. the prime minister in the Westminster systems), while in other cases, the roles of the Head of State and Head of Government are combined (i.e. in the United States, the president serves as both the Head of State and the Head of Government).

1. Who is the Head of State?

- President
- Monarch**
- Prime Minister serves as ceremonial head of state
- Other (please specify)

2. How is the head of state selected?

- Direct election
- Indirect election
- Birth right**
- Divine right
- Other (Explain)

2a. If by direct election, by what process?

- Plurality election
- Run-off or two-ballot system
- Other (Explain)

2a1. If by run-off system, how are the candidates selected for the final round?

- The _____(##) candidates with the highest vote totals advance to the second round
- Any candidate with at least _____% of the popular vote advances to the second round

2b. If by indirect election, by what process?

- Electoral college
- Selection by the legislature
- Other (Explain)

2b1. If by electoral college, how are electors chosen?

2b2. Does the electoral college deliberate?

- Yes
- No

2b3. What is the voting procedure used by the electoral college?

2b4. If by the legislature, by which chamber(s) of the legislature? What is the voting procedure used?

3. Does the Head of State have the following powers? Please check all that apply:

3a. Introduce legislation?

Yes

No

3b. Require expedited action on specific legislation? (i.e., set a deadline by which the legislature is required to act on the bill)?

Yes

No

Definitions: A Head of State possesses a partial veto when he or she can target specific clauses of a piece of legislation for veto, while promulgating the rest. In the U.S., such vetoes are sometimes called line item vetoes. A Head of State possesses a package veto when he or she can veto the entire piece of legislation submitted by the legislature, but cannot veto some parts and accept others.

3c. Package veto?

No

No

3d. Partial veto?

No

No

3e. Issue decrees with the power of law?

Yes

No

3f. Emergency powers?

Yes

No

3g. Negotiate treaties and international agreements?

No

No

3h. Commander of the armed forces?

Yes

No

3i. Initiate referenda or plebiscites?

Yes

No

3j. Refer legislation to the judicial branch for review of constitutionality?

Yes

No

3k. Convene special legislative sessions?

- Yes
 No

B. QUESTIONS ABOUT THE HEAD OF GOVERNMENT.

Definitions: In some countries, the Head of Government is directly elected, in elections that may or may not occur concurrently with legislative elections. In these cases, the Head of Government is said to be elected independently of the legislature. In others, the Head of Government is the leader of the governing party or governing coalition in the legislature, and so, the selection of the Head of Government depends upon the distribution of seats in the legislature. In these cases, the Head of Government is not elected independently of the legislature.

4. Is the Head of Government elected independently of the legislature?

- Yes
 No

NO

4a. Is the Head of Government also the Head of State?

- Yes
 No

4b. If the Head of Government is not elected independently of the legislature, how is the Head of Government selected?

- Appointed by the head of state alone
 Appointed by the legislature alone
 Nominated by the head of state, and approved by the legislature
 Nominated by the legislature, and approved by the head of state
 Other (Please explain):

By convention, the Prime Minister is the leader of the party with a majority of seats in the House of Representatives; he and other ministers are formally "commissioned" by the Governor-General under Section 64 of the Constitution.

5. What authorities does the Head of Government have over the composition of the cabinet?

Please check all that apply.

- Names ministers and assigns portfolios alone**
 Nominates ministers for approval by the president
 Reviews and approves ministerial nominations made by the president
 Dismisses ministers and reassigns portfolios at own discretion
 Other (Please explain):

Names ministers and assigns portfolios alone

Dismisses ministers and reassigns portfolios at own discretion

6. What authorities does the Head of Government have over the policy making process?

Please check all that apply:

- Chairs cabinet meetings**
- Determines schedule of issues to be considered by the legislature**
- Determines which alternatives will be voted on by the legislature, and in which order**
- Refers legislative proposals to party or legislative committees**
- Calls votes of confidence in government**
- Other (Please explain):

Chairs cabinet meetings

Determines schedule of issues to be considered by the legislature

Determines which alternatives will be voted on by the legislature,
and in which order

Refers legislative proposals to party or legislative committees

Calls votes of confidence in government

C. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE CABINET

7. By what method(s) can the cabinet be dismissed? Please check all that apply:

- By the head of state acting alone
- By the prime minister acting alone
- By majority vote of the legislature where a majority of all legislators is required
- By majority vote of the legislature where a majority of those legislators voting is required
- By some combination of the above, acting in concert (Please explain):**
- Other (Please explain):

By convention, the Prime Minister appoints/dismisses cabinet members, and would resign, along with his government, if he/she no longer had the (majority) support of the House of Representatives. Were the Governor-General to arbitrarily exercise his formal powers of dismissal, he would, as he did in 1975, dismiss the government (i.e. all cabinet members including the Prime Minister) and dissolve parliament (i.e. the House and the Senate).

D. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE LEGISLATURE

8. Can the legislature be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections? _____No ___**X**___Yes:

- By the head of state acting alone
- By the prime minister acting alone
- By majority vote of the legislature
- By some combination of the above, acting in concert (Please explain):**
- Other (Please explain):

By convention, the House may be dissolved (at any point prior to its constitutional limit of three years) by the Governor-General on the advice of the Prime Minister.

9. If the legislature can be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections, are there restrictions on when and how the legislature can be dissolve? Please check all that apply:

NO RESTRICTIONS

- On the timing of dissolution (e.g. not within one year after a legislative election) (Please explain):
- As a response to action/inaction by the legislature (e.g. only when the legislature has censured the cabinet; only if the legislature fails to pass the budget) (Please explain):
- Other (Explain):

10. Is there a second chamber of the legislature? No _____ **Yes X** _____, it is:

- directly elected X
- indirectly elected through the following process:

10a. If there is a second chamber and it is indirectly elected, are those who choose its members:

- wholly regional and/or local officials?
- partly regional and/or local officials?
- not necessarily regional and/or local officials?

10b. If there is a second chamber, does it have specific and exclusive legislative powers (i.e. the power to reject the executive's proposed budget)?

- No
- Yes (Please explain):

10c. If there is a second chamber, does it have the power to remove the cabinet or censure its ministers?

- Yes
- No

E. FEDERALISM

11. Is there a constitutionally guaranteed division of power between the central government and regional and/or local governments?

- Yes X
- No

12. Does the central government have the power to remove elected officials of regional and/or local governments?

- Yes
- No X

F. REFERENCES

Please list any resources that were consulted in the preparation of this report, or that the CSES community may find especially helpful in understanding the political system described here.

Part II: Data on Electoral Institutions

Part II: Data on Electoral Institutions

(Note: the discussion below refers to elections for the House of Representatives. Details for the conduct of Senate, as well as for House of Representatives, elections may be found in the "Commonwealth Electoral

Act 1918", which is provided (and may also be accessed electronically at: http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/cth/consol_act/cea1918233/.)

Australia's lower-house electoral system is "majoritarian", in that it employs compulsory preferential voting (i.e. the alternative vote) for the 148 single-member districts in its House of Representatives elections. Because enrolment (registration) and voting is compulsory, turnout is high (96.2% of enrolled voters turned out for the 1996 election).

Candidates are (randomly) listed on the ballot, along with their party label (if any, otherwise they are labelled as "independent"), and voters are required to rank the candidates in order of their preference by numbering squares next to each candidate's name. Ballots that do not indicate a complete preference order are declared "informal" (and are not counted), and at the 1996 election only 3.2% of those voting cast such informal ballots. (Since 1984, however, a voter may cast a "formal" ballot by indicating a unique first preference and by assigning (duplicate) numbers to the remaining candidates, or by leaving one square blank.)

Under preferential voting, a candidate must win an absolute majority (50% + 1) of the votes to be elected. If no candidate receives that majority after an examination of the first preferences, the candidate receiving the fewest first preferences is eliminated, and votes cast for the candidate are transferred to each voter's next (second) preferred candidate. Where it is required that additional candidates be eliminated, a voter's third or lower preference will be counted). This procedure is repeated until one candidate has an absolute majority.

At the 1996 election, just under 40% of seats had preferences distributed (the average over the past twelve elections is 34.7%); just under 5% of seats had a candidate elected who did not have a plurality of the first preference votes (the average over the past twelve elections is 6.2%).

It is worth emphasising that preferential voting has encouraged the Liberal and National Parties to "link up" by allowing each party to direct (through the use of "how to vote" cards) its supporters' first preferences to its own candidates and their second preferences to candidates of the other party.

(For a discussion of the development of Australia's electoral law, see G.S. Reid and Martyn Forrest, "Australia's Commonwealth Parliament 1901-1988", Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1989, pp. 84-131; for a current compendium of facts about the Australian election system, see McAllister et al, "Australian Political Facts", pp. 65-115; for a recent, extended discussion, see Jaensch, "The Politics of Australia", pp. 361-412; and for the Australian electoral system in comparative context, see Arend Lijphart, "Electoral Systems and Party Systems", Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, passim.)

A. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE HEAD OF STATE.

I.) Questions regarding the Head of State.

Queen Elizabeth II is the "symbolic" head of state of Australia; however, the Governor-General, who is appointed by the Queen (on the recommendation of the Prime Minister) is the constitutional head of state.

Although the Australian constitution gives considerable legislative and executive power to the Governor-General (e.g. to dissolve parliament or refuse its laws, dismiss ministers, and as commander in chief of the armed

forces), by convention he acts on the advice of the Prime Minister.

As Crisp, writing in 1974, put it: "While in the early years of the Commonwealth the Governor-General was sometimes able to exercise a little actual discretion in the performance of certain of [his formal] functions, the line of evolution of the party system and the line of evolution of the British Commonwealth (through the decisions of the 1926 and 1930 Imperial Conferences, the passage of the Statute of Westminster in 1931 and Australia's adoption of the material sections of it in 1942) have converged to strip away most of the substance of his prerogative and discretionary powers, in practice almost to vanishing point. Today his principal powers are exercised and functions performed, probably without exception, on the advice of his ministers" (L.F. Crisp, "Australian National Government", Melbourne: Longman, 1974, p. 399).

However, the constitutional crisis of 1975, when the Governor-General, ignoring convention and exercising his formal executive power, dismissed a Labor government with a majority of seats in the House of Representatives, served to focus attention on the discrepancy between the written constitution and long accepted parliamentary convention.

(For a concise, perceptive account of the crisis, see Leon Epstein "The Australian Political System", in Howard Penniman (edit), "Australia at the Polls: the National Elections of 1975", Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1977, pp. 1-47.)