

THE AUSTRALIAN VOTER, PARTIES AND THE FEDERAL

SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT:

A study of party preference, perceptions of political parties and the salience of national and state governments in Denison, Tasmania.

by

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### STATEMENT

This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university and to the best of my knowledge and belief the thesis contains no copy or paraphrase of material previously published or written by another person except when due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

*B. H. H. H.*

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## ABSTRACT

Australia has both a federal system and parliamentary government. One result of this combination is that at any point in time an election is likely to be a focus of attention, particularly by party activists, somewhere within the system. More importantly, the same major political parties are the main contenders for control of both state and national governments. Thus irrespective of the particular electoral arena, the voter is confronted with a partisan choice comprising essentially the same parties.

A sample survey of the Tasmanian electorate of Denison was undertaken to examine the way voters perceive this political environment. The data generated by the responses to questions on the parties, party preference, party competition, the structuring of the political system and of respondents' perceptions of their self-identity within a system which encourages both national and state loyalties are presented and analysed.

A federal system provides the opportunity for voters to maintain attachments to different parties simultaneously. Party identification and reported voting behaviour are used as measures of party preference to indicate the extent to which voters maintain the same partisan attachment across both spheres of the system.

The patterns of party attachments which emerge lead to an analysis of perceptions about party competition at each sphere and to a comparison across spheres of party images. The images and response patterns provide evidence indicating the extent to which



the party system is perceived monolithically. Patterns of perceptions about party competition in the federal context are revealed and differences relating to socio-economic variables and partisanship are indicated.

Party competition occurs in the context of constitutionally and politically defined spheres of governmental jurisdiction. Perceptions about the structuring of the system in terms of the relative importance of state and national governments are used to indicate the salience of each sphere. Three orientations are evident, and are examined in relation to socio-economic variables and partisanship. Each respondent's orientation to the system is crosstabulated to his political identity. The resultant patterns indicate a mix of orientation and identity ranging from fully national to fully state.

Orientations toward the system are also used as independent variables in a further examination of perceptions of party competition. Perceptions of party competition in relation to each sphere are examined and compared for each orientation. In addition important partisan differences are revealed and some comments are offered about the consequences of these differences in relation to Tasmanian state elections.

The response patterns which emerge from the analysis of the survey data indicate perceptions about the parties and the political system which challenge the appropriateness of assumptions and assertions prevalent in the literature. The mix of perceptions that

are revealed suggest a need for further research on citizens perceptions, and in particular different models of the system should be utilized to fully explore the consequences of these perceptions on the functioning of the federal system.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

One of the most neglected areas in Australian political research is the way in which citizens internalize and respond to their political environment. Australian government is organised federally. Functions are distributed among the national and state governments in a manner designed to allow each to exercise its constitutionally allotted powers independently of the other. The Australian federal system is at the same time a single national polity and a system of separate territorially circumscribed sub-national polities. Citizens of a state therefore are simultaneously citizens of the nation, subject to state jurisdiction as well as to national jurisdiction. They are constituents of two polities and, for electoral purposes at least, required to participate politically in both.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the federal framework, each political entity created, national as well as state, is structured on the parliamentary model of responsible government with executives dependent upon the confidence of the majority of the members of the legislature. Members of the lower houses are elected for a maximum period<sup>2</sup> but each chamber may be dissolved earlier. That is, no government is elected for a fixed term. As a consequence, national and state elections occur

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1. Compulsory voting was first introduced in Queensland in 1915 and was extended to national elections in 1924. From 1944 when it was adopted in South Australia, voting has been compulsory for lower house elections in all states.
  2. Three years for all lower houses excepting Tasmania's House of Assembly which is elected for four years.

independently. Elections in Australia therefore are not only frequent political events but every government's term of office is punctuated by at least one election involving all or part of its electorate.<sup>1</sup> A national election, for example, is likely to be held during the term of each state government and, conversely, state elections are likely to be fought during the term of the national government.<sup>2</sup>

The major political parties contest national and all state elections. Moreover, unlike Canada where regional and third parties have been prominent in some provinces, the same partisan groupings dominate both sets of elections in each state. Indeed, only the parties which have won power nationally, either in their own right or as a coalition partner, have ever won power in the states. Competition for governmental power therefore, although multi-centred, always involves a contest dominated by teams of the same partisan complexion.<sup>3</sup> With separate elections party competition in Australia is thus an almost continual electoral campaign fought between two major teams centred on the seven arenas<sup>4</sup> comprising the political system.

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1. For example, since 1974 there have been general elections in South Australia, 1975; Tasmania, 1976; Victoria 1977; New South Wales, 1976, 1978; Western Australia 1977, Queensland, 1977; a national double dissolution in 1975 and a House of Representatives and half-Senate election in 1977.
  2. In addition, the national parliament and all state parliaments excepting Queensland are bi-cameral. In each the upper house is elected for a fixed term, elections for which are generally held simultaneously with lower house elections in the states with the exception of Tasmania. Tasmanian Legislative Council Elections are held every two years. Councillors are elected (from single member electorates) for six year terms with a third retiring each two years.
  3. This however, is not to say that party competition is perfectly symmetrical. There are important regional variations on the non-Labor side in the strength of and the relationship between the coalition partners, the Liberal and National Country Parties.
  4. Or eight if the Northern Territory is included now that it has been granted limited self-government.

The result has been that party competition transgresses constitutionally defined governmental boundaries. National party leaders take part in state elections <sup>1</sup> and state party leaders take part in national elections. Furthermore, state elections have been used as national by elections or as an opportunity to reinforce a national victory and national policies are used to support appeals for voter support by contending state leaders (more often of the party in opposition nationally) in state elections.

In Tasmania the degree of partisan symmetry between the contestants in national and state elections is especially pronounced. Both electoral arenas are dominated by just two contestants, the Liberal Party of Australia and the Australian Labour Party. <sup>2</sup> Of all the states, party competition in Tasmania is closest to a two-party contest in House of Representatives elections and with South Australia is closest to a two-party contest in state elections. <sup>3</sup> Thus irrespective of the electoral contest involving the fate of a government, voters in Tasmania are confronted with partisan competition substantially confined to the same two partisan teams.

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1. A more recent feature which has developed is that other state leaders as well as national leaders are taking part in state elections.
  2. Hereafter, the parties will be referred to as the Liberal Party and the Labor Party, qualified by the particular sphere where appropriate. Legislative Council elections however provide a marked exception to this symmetry. The Labor Party, although currently holding two seats out of the 19 has rarely polled well; the Liberal Party on the other hand has intentionally made a point of not endorsing candidates. Except for the two Labor members, the MLC's vigorously strive to promote an independent image.  
See: C.J.Shrosbree, A Contemporary Interpretation of the Tasmanian Legislative Council, Unpublished Political Science Honours Dissertation University of Tasmania, 1972, p.47.
  3. Rae's index of fractionalization applied to state and national elections in each state, indicates that the degree of fractionalization in House of Representatives elections in 1963 was least of all the states and in state elections less only in S.A. G.S.Sharman, "Federalism and the Study of the Australian Political System", Australian Journal of Politics and History, Vol.21, No.3, Dec.1975, Footnote 49, p20.

This thesis is an attempt to examine some aspects of the way in which voters in one Tasmanian electorate internalize and respond to this political environment. It examines the perceptions and responses of a sample of voters from the Denison electorate by focusing on patterns of party preference, perceptions of party competition and party images in the context of both national and state politics and on voter perceptions of the political system in terms of the salience of the component governments.

The symmetry of partisan competition described above suggests an integrated party system. Patterns of party preference are examined to investigate the extent to which voters' partisan responses, in terms of party identification and voting behaviour are integrated across national and state arenas; that is to say the extent to which voters maintain stable partisan loyalties across the two electoral spheres.

Voter perceptions of party competition and the images voters have of the parties in relation to each sphere of the system are investigated to indicate the degree to which voters perceive an integrated party system and an integrated pattern of party conflict. Perceptions of party competition are concerned with voters' images of the content and degree of partisan conflict at each sphere and party images are the mental pictures which voters have of the parties. Both sets of images are examined and national images are compared with state images to explore voters' perceptions about the structure of party conflict in a federal context and the degree to which both political parties are perceived as monolithic entities.

The salience of national and state governments is indicated by the extent to which one component government is considered by voters

to be more important than the other. This is examined because the attitudes held by voters in relation to the structure of the political system provide a set of influences which contribute to the degree of centralization in the total system. In addition to the resultant patterning of perceptions about the relative significance of the component governments, the extent to which voters identify with either the national or the state component of the political system is examined. In other words, both voters' perceptions about the structuring of the system, as well as the patterning of their self-placement within the system is examined.

The political attitudes and opinions held by citizens have provided an important area of political research, supplementing the more traditional and institutional approach to the study of politics. Sample survey techniques have enabled researchers, especially in the United States and Canada, to provide data and hypotheses that have contributed to studies of political attitudes and behaviour in general. But more particularly, researchers in these countries have produced studies of citizen orientations, responses and attitudes to federal political environments that provide material and approaches appropriate to other federal systems such as Australia. Survey studies of party preference patterns and citizen perceptions about the federal framework are two such areas that provide data and approaches applicable to Australia.

An observation by Canadian political scientists that there was a tendency for the party in opposition in the national parliament to win power in subsequent provincial elections, for a time led to a repeated assertion about voter motivations in relation to the Canadian federal system. It was suggested by several commentators that this pattern of electoral victories indicated that voters deliberately elected

opposing parties to power at the two centres.<sup>1</sup> Survey research has since produced results which discount this assertion. Nevertheless, a number of constituency surveys have shown a significant movement in partisan preferences across electoral spheres as well as a significant degree of voter abstention in provincial elections. These studies have been used by Smiley in a slightly different context.<sup>2</sup> He has applied the data to an examination of the degree of integration as opposed to decentralization in the Canadian party system. Although Smiley offers no conclusions his data show that the degree of decentralization in partisan loyalties differs substantially between regions.

An American study has provided an additional approach to this question of the degree of integration in patterns of party preference. Jennings and Niemi<sup>3</sup> have reported survey data indicating that although most respondents identify with the same party with respect to all spheres of government, a minority of respondents hold "divergent party identifications at different levels of government".<sup>4</sup>

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1. For example. Dennis Wrong, "The Pattern of Party Voting in Canada", Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 21, No.2, 1957, pp.252-264. Steven Muller, "Federalism and the Party System in Canada" in A. Wildavsky, American Federalism in Perspective, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1967, pp.144-162.
  2. D.V.Smiley, Canada in Question: Federalism in the Seventies, McGraw Hill Ryerson Limited, Toronto, Ch.4.
  3. M.Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "Party Identification at Multiple Levels of Government", American Journal of Sociology, Vol.72, No.1, 1966-67, pp.86-101.
  4. ibid, p.86.  
This has also been found to be the case in Ontario, Canada. See George Perlin and Patti Peppin, "Variations in Party Support in Federal and Provincial Elections: Some Hypotheses", Canadian Journal of Political Science, Vol.4, No.2, 1971, pp.281-286.



Although Scarrow<sup>1</sup> has pointed out that alternating election victories ("for a party at one level of government surrounded by election victories for another party at the other level of government") were more frequent in Australia than in Canada during the period 1930-1958, this phenomenon has not been subjected to detailed examination. Indeed, for the most part of Australia's federated history there has been a significant degree of assymetry in partisan complexion among the seven governments.<sup>2</sup> Yet there appears to have been an implicit assumption that partisan loyalties are the same for both the national and state electoral arenas. The only survey data available on this question is are derived from national surveys conducted in 1967 and 1969.<sup>3</sup> The data indeed suggest that although there was some vote switching during the mid-sixties, party preference in terms of voting behaviour is substantially integrated across electoral arenas.

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1. Howard A. Scarrow, "Federal-Provincial Voting Patterns in Canada", The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol.26, May 1969, pp.289-298.
  2. In fact there has only been one period when the same party has been in power nationally and in all six states simultaneously: May 1969 to June 1970. See the listing of the party complexions of each government in Don Aitkin, Patricia Hall and Kim Morgan, "Some Facts and Figures", Henry Mayer and Helen Nelson (eds.) Australian Politics: A Fourth Reader, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1976, pp.399-401.  
Note also: W. Riker and R.Schaps, "Disharmony in Federal Government", Behavioural Science, Vol.2, 1957, pp.276-290.
  3. Don Aitkin, Stability and Change in Australian Politics, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1977.

This integration in voting choice is reinforced by the patterns of party identification revealed by these surveys. In similarity with the patterns found by Jennings and Niemi noted above, there is a small percentage of voters who hold stable dual loyalties across electoral arenas. But for the majority of respondents party loyalty is integrated across national and state arenas.

Aitkin's study however is a national study; it is not designed to reveal subnational patterns. At the state or constituency level of analysis there is no survey data of voter responses to compare with the Canadian studies.<sup>1</sup> The Canadian studies showing provincial and constituency differences highlights a need for more localised Australian studies on this question.

This is more so as the only study which compares national with state electoral results points to regional differences in the discrepancies in party support between national and state elections.

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1. Rawson and Holtzinger conducted two separate surveys in Queanbeyan (N.S.W.); one prior to the 1955 national election and the second prior to the 1956 N.S.W. election. The authors noted variations in levels of party support obtained in each election but offered no analysis of their survey results on this point.

D.W. Rawson and Susan M. Holtzinger, Politics in Eden-Monaro, Heinemann, Melbourne, 1958.

Davis <sup>1</sup> has pointed to significant disparities in the average levels of party support over the period 1940-1959, and to differences between states in the degree of the disparities. Queensland and Tasmania produced twice the disparity evident in the other states. Solomon <sup>2</sup> has also drawn attention to marked differences in levels of party support between House of Representatives and House of Assembly elections in Tasmania.

Whether or not party support is integrated across electoral arenas, important questions concern the extent to which voters perceive an integrated structure of political conflict and monolithic parties. These questions have not been examined in Australia. In a Canadian study noted above, it has been suggested that reasons given for voting for different parties at national and provincial elections indicate that images of national politics vary from those of provincial politics. Perlin and Peppin have argued that "provincial politics is perceived more frequently in terms of generalized images while in federal politics leader, candidate, policy and party are more frequently treated as independent objects." <sup>3</sup> Party images have received attention but only in the context of national politics <sup>4</sup> or state politics, <sup>5</sup> not in a manner that allows comparisons of national with state images. Yet Sharman and Holmes <sup>6</sup> and others <sup>7</sup> have shown, or

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1. S.R.Davis, "Diversity in Unity" in S.R.Davis (ed.), The Government of the Australian States, Longmans, Melbourne, pp.640-647.
  2. R.J.Solomon, "The Geography of Political Affiliation in a Federal-State System: Tasmania 1913-1966, Australian Geographical Studies, Vol.7, 1969, pp.28-40.
  3. Perlin and Peppin, op.cit., p.286.
  4. Aitkin, op.cit., ch. 4.
  5. C.A.Hughes, Images and Issues, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1969.
  6. Jean Holmes and Campbell Sharman, The Australian Federal System, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1977, ch.4
  7. For example, J.D.B.Miller & Brian Jinks, Australian Government & Politics, Duckworth, London, 4th ed., 1971, ch. 3.  
Michelle Grattan, "The Australian Labor Party", Henry Mayer & Helen Nelson (eds.), Australian Politics: A Third Reader, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1973, pp.389-406

have commented, that organisationally both major parties are confederal structures. Sharman and Holmes<sup>1</sup> have also asserted that state branches of the parties differ significantly in style, alliances, policy, and ideological slant, in challenging the degree of integration in the party system. If the parties are organised decentrally and they differ between states, variations between the images of the national and state components would be expected. Moreover, the extent to which these images do vary will provide an indication as to the degree of integration in the party system.

A federal constitution establishes a delineation of functions between component regional governments and the national government. Each authority has independent jurisdiction with neither superior to the other. National and regional governments are thus expected to be equal in status although responsible for different functions.<sup>2</sup> But developments within and without the federated political system bring pressures for change to the functioning of the system. In the absence of significant changes by formal constitutional amendment<sup>3</sup> the Australian system has adapted to changing social conditions through

- 
1. Holmes and Sharman, *op.cit.*, p.112.
  2. Hugh V. Emy, *The Politics of Australian Democracy*, Macmillan, South Melbourne, 1974, p.99.
  3. For a listing of the proposals and their fate see Holmes and Sharman *op.cit.*, pp.78-84. Although constitutional referenda proposals provide the most explicit point at which citizens influence the balance between national and state powers circumscribed in the federal bargain there has been no research into citizen attitudes about the constitution and proposals for change except for general attitudes about the power of governments. See Holmes and Sharman *op.cit.*, p.77.

political processes of co-operation and bargaining<sup>1</sup> between governments. As adaptations have occurred with consequent expansion in the powers and responsibilities of the national government, differing assessments have been made about the functioning of the system. Thus from a perspective concerned primarily with problems of financial relations<sup>2</sup> between the component units Mathews<sup>3</sup> has provided the terms co-ordinate, co-operative, coercive, and co-ordinative federalism to describe the functioning of the system.

With the exception of the bargaining approach to analysing the federal system, much of the literature contains an implicit hierarchical perspective. This is most evident in the use of terms, the "federal government" and "levels" of government. Instead of central or national government the term "the federal government" is used implying an overall national pre-eminence and responsibility for the functioning of the system, in marked contrast to the

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1. The notion of bargaining between component governments is a new approach in the study of Australian federalism. Among those who have adopted this approach see: R.J. May, "Federal Finance: Politics and Gamesmanship", Mayer & Nelson (eds.) Australian Politics: A Third Reader, pp.237-256.
    - A. Peachment, "Conflict Resolution and Australian Federalism", Politics, Vol. 6, 1971, pp.137-147.
    - G.C.Sharman, "The Bargaining Analogy and Federal-State Relations", R.M.Burns, G.C. Sharman, Garth Stevenson, Patric Weller, and R.F.I. Smith, Political and Administrative Federalism, Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations, Research Monograph No.14, Canberra, 1976, pp.12-38.
    - Patrick Weller and R.F.I.Smith, "Setting National Priorities: The Role of the Australian Government in Public Policy", Making Federalism Work, Russell Mathews (ed.), Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations, Canberra, 1976, pp.81-96.
  2. It has been argued that until relatively recently the study of Australian federalism has been dominated by those concerned with legal or financial aspects of the system. See G.C.Sharman, "Federalism and the Study of the Australian Political System", op.cit.
  3. R.L. Mathews (ed.), Responsibility Sharing in a Federal System, Research Monograph, Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations, Canberra, 1975, Introduction, pp.xvii-xxiv.

traditional perspective of spheres of jurisdiction as propounded by Wheare.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, although federal systems are presumed to be predicted on the existence of territorially based social diversities<sup>2</sup> giving rise to regional loyalties, the nature of the diversities and the strength of such loyalties have not, until recently, received serious academic attention.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, notions of the existence of federal sentiments have been dismissed<sup>4</sup> while acknowledgments of regional loyalties have more often been of the

1. K.C.Wheare, Federal Government, 4th Ed., Oxford University Press, New York, 1963.
2. W.S.Livingston, "A Note on the Nature of Federalism", Political Science Quarterly, Vol.67, No.1, March 1952, pp.81-95.
3. Jean Holmes in particular is one author who has pointed to regional diversities in Australia.  
See: Jean Holmes, "The Australian Federal Process", Henry Mayer and Helen Nelson (eds.), Australian Politics: A Fourth Reader, pp.327-346.  
Holmes and Sharman, op.cit., Ch.2;  
Davis, op.cit., and also Miller and Jinks, op.cit., p.126.

Recently John Warhurst has examined the South Australian and Queensland election campaigns of 1977 to in part explore the notion of a federal culture. He found little difference in the issues but he neglects to add that South Australians chose a Labor government and Queenslanders a National Country-Liberal Party government to deal with these issues thus reflecting differing attitudes about the solutions to similar problems.

John Warhurst, "State Elections: Queensland and South Australia", Politics, Vol.13, May 1978, pp.121-130.

On State differences in voting patterns see:

- B.E. Austen, Uniformity and Variation in Australian Electoral Behaviour: State Voting Patterns in House of Representatives Elections 1946-1975, Occasional Monograph No.1, Department of Political Science, University of Tasmania, Hobart, 1977 and
- D.J.Walmsley, "Voting Patterns in Recent Australian House of Representatives Elections", R.J.Johnston, (ed.), People, Places and Voters, University of New England, Armidale, 1977, ch.8.
4. For example, P.H.Partridge, "The Politics of Federalism", in G. Sawyer, (ed.), Federalism, an Australian Jubilee Study, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1957, p.195.

form of clichés about state's rights <sup>1</sup> than serious contributions. Political appeals to state sovereignty and state rights are dismissed as simply political rhetoric. <sup>2</sup> Yet the very fact that there are votes in such appeals, as Wiltshire notes, <sup>3</sup> indicates the importance of regional factors in the perceptions of the citizenry. No empirical evidence has been gathered that maps the distribution and strength of such sentiments. Research into citizen attitudes toward their system of government has been seriously neglected in Australia.

This contrasts with America and Canada. The American Senate has sponsored a number of national surveys designed to generate comparative data on citizen's knowledge about, confidence in, and evaluations of the performance of each government, including local, impinging on the lives and well being of citizens. <sup>4</sup> The data from these and other studies <sup>5</sup> have pointed to the greater visibility of national politics as compared to state and local politics. For example, there is more interest in national affairs than state affairs and people rate themselves as being more conversant with

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1. See for example, the concluding discussion to Sawyer's commentary "Constitutional Change: Australian and Overseas Experience" in Russell Mathews (ed.), Making Federalism Work, pp.75-76
  2. Graham Maddox, "Federalism: Or Government Frustrated", in Henry Mayer and Helen Nelson (Eds.), Australian Politics: A Fourth Reader, pp.347-351.
  3. Kenneth Wiltshire, "Setting State Priorities: The Role of the States in Public Policy", in Russell Mathews (ed.), Making Federalism Work, p.102.
  4. A bibliographical review of these surveys can be found in Mavis Mann Reeves and Parris N. Glendening, "Areal Federalism and Public Opinion", Publius, Vol. 6, No.2., Spring, 1976, pp.135-167.
  5. ibid.

national matters than with state matters. From a variety of survey questions it is evident that the salience of state government in America is significantly less than that of the national government. Or as Reeves and Glendening have commented in reviewing this survey data: "it is apparent that the states are not the centre of citizen attention to government."<sup>1</sup> Yet it is equally apparent that not all people take this view. For some people, albeit a minority, state government is the centre of attention.

Canadian research however suggests that the regional governments are more significant to Canadians than state governments are to Americans. Questions put to a national sample of Canadians in 1965<sup>2</sup> produced results which indicate that the most important problems facing the country are attributed to the national government by most respondents. However, provincial governments are considered by most respondents as having the most personal significance.<sup>3</sup> In addition, the Canadian data show significant differences between provinces in the percentage supporting these propositions.

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1. ibid. p.143.

2. See Mildred Schwartz, Politics and Territory: The Sociology of Regional Persistence in Canada, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 1974, pp.215-233.

3. For comparative data on this question derived from a 1968 survey see John Wilson, "The Canadian Political Cultures: Towards a Redefinition of the Nature of the Canadian Political System", Canadian Journal of Political Science, Vol.7, No.3, 1974, p.444.

A comparative study of perceptions of American and Canadian school children indicates little difference between the two samples with respect to evaluations about state and provincial spheres within their respective federal systems. However the Canadian children have greater faith and confidence in their provincial government than the American children have in their state government. Ronald G. Landes, "Pre-Adult Orientations to Multiple Systems of Government: A Comparative Study of English-Canadian and American Schoolchildren in Two Cities", Publius, Vol. 7, Winter 1977, pp.27-39.



These studies suggest that it is not sufficient to make assertions about voter attitudes such as has been evident in Australian writing. Nor is it sufficient for an understanding of Australian voter attitudes and responses to focus on one part of the political system without due regard for the remainder. As Miller and Jinks have cautioned, "any generalization about an Australian political party must always be examined to see whether it applies only at the Federal level, or to only one state, or to most states but not to all."<sup>1</sup> The same applies to voter attitudes about the political system. Misconceptions about such matters may lead not only to poor interpretations; they may also lead to inadequate prescriptions.

The perceptions and attitudes indicated by the surveys noted above, and the regional differentiation evident in Canada signal a need for similar kinds of surveys and questions to be conducted in Australia. How do Australian citizens perceive the structure of the Australian system of government? Do inferences drawn from statements of party preference or patterns of voting preferences indicate national orientations in citizens' attitudes, or are the state components in the federal structure firmly entrenched in citizen perceptions as important units in the system? These are important questions not simply because they have been neglected. <sup>2</sup>

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1. Miller and Jinks, op.cit., p.53.
  2. A Manly (NSW) survey by Goodhew, Power and by Valentine, and a South Australian survey by John Robbins provide the only exceptions. Robbins' data shows the percentage of respondents who answered national, state or local governments as the most susceptible to influence and as performing "the best job." John Robbins, "Localism and local government in South Australia", Politics, Vol.13, No.1, 1978, pp.86-89. Power provides the results of respondent's evaluations about the influence of the national and the NSW state governments. J. Goodhew, John Power and T. Valentine, "The Survey", in J. Power, Politics in a Suburban Community, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1968, Ch.7. These surveys are cited again in Chapter 5.

They are important also because they may provide a more adequate basis on which to devise, implement, debate and evaluate policies designed to adjust the functioning of Australia's system of government.<sup>1</sup> Equally, they may contribute to an understanding of changing perceptions about the constitutional framework in addition to contributing findings relevant to the debates and discussions directed and relating to that framework.

This study then is a contribution towards filling the very large gaps in the current state of knowledge about Australian voters' perceptions of their political environment. In addition the data provide a contribution toward the debates and policies relating to Australia's federal system. The study is essentially exploratory. Nonetheless the data it provides challenges some assertions, supports other approaches and generates further questions for research.

#### Methodology.

The data which comprises this study are derived from a sample survey, the sampling frame for which consists of the voting population of the Tasmanian electorate of Denison.<sup>2</sup> Predominantly urban, the electorate embraces the lightly industrial city of Glenorchy to the north, Hobart city and business district in the centre and the residential suburbs to the west and stretching to Kingston, seven miles south

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1. For comments on recent federalism policies see the articles in: Dean Jaensch (ed.), The Politics of New Federalism, Australian Political Studies Association, Adelaide, 1977, the Research Monographs edited by Russell Matthews and cited above, and R.L. Mathews (ed.), Intergovernmental Relations in Australia, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1974.
  2. All five Tasmanian electorates are national as well as state electoral divisions. The enrolment for Denison at the end of September 1977 was 51,027.

of Hobart. It is thus an electorate containing a mix of working class suburbs, inner city housing and the more affluent suburbs. In addition there is a small rural component consisting of Fern Tree west of Hobart centre, and parts of Kingston.

Denison was selected for this study for three reasons. Of the five Tasmanian electorates Denison is the most compact and therefore requires less travelling to obtain interviews. It is thus the most economical electorate for survey research. The major portion of the Franklin electorate, situated on Hobart's eastern shore, would also have provided a similarly economical sampling frame. But since 1973 a number of surveys had been conducted in the area designed especially to investigate the social aspects of the collapse of the Tasman Bridge.<sup>1</sup> Of the two electorates within close proximity to the University, Denison had been the lesser exposed to survey researchers.<sup>2</sup>

The third reason for selecting Denison is that of all the Tasmanian electorates Denison appears to be the least parochial and the most likely to reflect national trends.<sup>3</sup> Since 1940 the electorate has always been represented in the House of Representatives by a member of the governing party. That is, with each change of

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1. When the Tasman Bridge collapsed in early January 1973 Hobart's eastern shore became isolated from the city centre. Several surveys conducted by Government departments and the University were subsequently undertaken to examine the social effects of this disruption.
  2. In testing early drafts of the interview schedule, a number of Franklin residents refused to answer the questions, giving the reason "there had been too many surveys".
  3. This is also the opinion of a former Member of the House of Representatives from the electorate. See R.J.Solomon, "Defeat in Denison", in Henry Mayer (ed.), Labor to Power, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1973, p.133.

government nationally, the Denison electors have returned a member of the winning party, thus responding in a manner consistent with the national mood.<sup>1</sup> The electorate thus provides a good test for the strength of state attitudes.

The projected sample size for the survey was 396 respondents selected from a stratified sample of 99 housing unit blocks drawn by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. This magnitude of sample allowed for a sampling error of 5%. Excluding non-responses a final sample size of 362 respondents was obtained.

Twenty-five interviewers administered the schedule. The bulk of the interviewing was conducted over a two-week period in mid-October 1977 with the final interviews secured during the third weekend. Normally, in conducting a survey that includes questions on political issues, the unpredictable nature of the political environment necessitates restricting the interview period to the minimum. A period covering two weekends was planned. But the political context for the period was remarkably stable being dominated by a single issue. Since May 1977, speculation on the likelihood of an early national election<sup>2</sup> had gathered momentum to become the most prominent issue prior to and during the survey period. The survey was thus conducted in a political atmosphere pregnant with election speculation but prior to an official

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1. See, Michael Wood, "On the Brink: The Denison Pre-Election Survey", in Henry Mayer (ed.), *ibid*, pp. 129-132.
  2. Although an election for the House of Representatives was not due until December 1978, an election for half the Senate had to be held before June 1978. The defeat of a referendum proposal in 1977 to provide for simultaneous elections that would have extended the term of the Senate until the expiry of the House of Representatives term, meant that an election simultaneously for half the Senate and the House of Representatives, thought to be the Prime Minister's objective, had to be held before May 1978.

announcement and formal campaigning. This stability in the political environment enabled the survey period to be extended for a third weekend.

The questionnaire consisted of forty-one questions including items concerned with social characteristics. For the most part they are adaptations of questions used in other studies. In particular, the questions on party identification, party images and social characteristics are adapted from Aitkin's nationwide Australian surveys conducted in 1967 and 1969.<sup>1</sup> The questions on party competition are modifications of a question used in a survey of the Victorian electorate of Ringwood in 1960<sup>2</sup> and the questions dealing with the relative importance of state and national governments are based on the Canadian survey noted above.<sup>3</sup> Other questions are unique to this study. These include a question on political identity, the balancing of parties across electoral spheres, the perceived functions of each government and a question on language and culture.

In addition to developing original questions and modifying others, the questionnaire required careful designing to facilitate the incorporation of similarly worded questions relating to each political sphere. On two topics, party images and party competition similar questions were used with respect to both national and state politics. This required a scheduling of the questions which provided on the one

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1. Aitkin, op. cit.

2. Creighton Burns, Parties and People, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1961.

3. Schwartz, op.cit.

hand a logical and orderly progression and on the other some separation between items. To reduce repetition and to isolate national politics from state politics in order to minimise cross-fertilization by the interviewees in their responses, questions dealing with party competition and party images nationally were separated from those relating to state politics. The process of question and schedule design was undertaken through a number of pre-tests and a pilot run, conducted in selected areas of the Franklin and Wilmot electorates. At each stage, individual questions and the entire schedule were progressively modified with some earlier questions replaced or rearranged until a satisfactory schedule was attained and printed.

The survey schedule contained open-ended questions to elicit unstructured perceptions about the parties and party competition. In categorizing the responses to these questions, the answers were grouped into themes derived from their content rather than by imposing a pre-determined categorization. Aitkin's categorization of party images<sup>1</sup> was used as a guide but as far as possible the categories were allowed to develop to suit the variety and flavour of the images that emerged. The responses listed under each category are appended.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Aitkin, op.cit., Ch.4.

2. Appendices 2-5.

In presenting and analysing the survey data the terms "federal government" and "levels" of government are avoided since, as noted above, these terms have assumed prescriptive connotations. Instead, the term "national" government is used in referring to the central government and "federal government" is restricted to its literal meaning as a system of government. The term "sphere" is used in place of "level" in referring to national and state governmental jurisdictions. This latter usage follows that of Wheare as mentioned above.

#### The Plan of the Thesis.

The remainder of the thesis consists of five substantive chapters and a concluding chapter. In Chapter 2 patterns of party preference are examined with emphasis on the degree to which preferences are integrated across both spheres of the system. The patterns that are revealed raise questions concerning perceptions about party conflict in the system and leads to an examination of party images.

Perceptions of party competition at each electoral arena are examined in Chapter 3. The survey provides data that indicate citizen perceptions of both the degree of party competition and the content of that competition at both the national sphere and the state sphere. Images of party competition for each sphere are constructed and compared.

Supplementing these images, the following chapter presents composite party images for both the Liberal and Labor Parties. This allows a comparison between citizen perceptions about the parties at each sphere and a comparison across spheres for each party. From this comparison the extent to which respondents regard each party as a monolithic entity is examined.

Party competition takes place against a backdrop of constitutionally and politically defined set of governmental powers and functions. In Chapter 5 citizen perceptions of the governmental system itself are examined. Data are presented and analysed to indicate differing perceptions about the relative importance, the salience, of the spheres of government. In this chapter also the question of political identity is considered. The extent to which respondents identify primarily with the state or the nation is examined to show the strength of state attachment as against national sentiment. Each respondent's political identity is then cross-tabulated against responses indicating the salience of the spheres of government. That is, responses indicating respondents' orientation toward a particular sphere of the system (system orientation) is cross-tabulated with their political identity. This further tests the strength of national sentiment in the electorate.

The salience of the spheres of government revealed in Chapter 5 parallels the patterning of perceptions relating to the degree of party competition at each sphere. In Chapter 6, system orientation is used as the independent variable to re-examine perceptions of party competition. That is, respondent's orientations toward a particular sphere are correlated with their perceptions of the degree and content of party competition at both the national and state spheres and compared.

The concluding chapter summarizes the findings of each chapter and identifies the major themes recurring throughout the study. Each of these themes is treated separately and considered against assumptions about the political system as indicated by the literature and some possible future directions for research are suggested.



## CHAPTER 2

### PARTY PREFERENCE

1

In 1964 William Riker, in a book on comparative federalism, asserted that political parties are the crucial determinant of the form of federal government. He suggested that once the original bargain of federation had been made, the degree to which the party system is centralized or peripheralized determines the nature of the continuing federal relationship. From this proposition

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Smiley has proposed two alternative models of federal party systems (one "integrated", the other "confederal") for examining relations between national and regional parties in Canada. Each model comprises a checklist of six criteria by which the degree of centralization or decentralization in the party system may be analysed. Thus a party is integrated to the extent that both national and regional parties draw on a common voter allegiance; the party is organized monolithically to select candidates and determine policy, party careerists move between national and regional positions; donations are given to the party as such (rather than to national or regional branches); the party shares a single ideology, and the party contests both national and regional elections. Conversely, a party is confederal to the extent that the opposite characteristics apply.

Smiley's first criterion that of electoral dependence or the extent to which national and state parties of the same

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1. W.H. Riker, Federalism : Origin, Operation, Significance, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1964, p.136.
  2. Smiley, op.cit., p.77

designation draw on common support in Denison is the principle focus of this chapter and will be examined through an analysis of the patterns of party preference across national and state electoral spheres.

Two measures of party preference are used, that of party identification and reported voting preferences. Party identification from its first appearance in voting studies, has been defined as a psychological attachment to a political party.<sup>1</sup> As such it is a perceptual screen, or filter, through which information is processed and opinions are formed. It is a psychological measure of political outlook in partisan terms and represents a continuing political stance which by definition may be different from a vote in any particular election. Thus party identification and voting choice in particular elections are different, but complementary, measures of party preference. Both measures provide evidence that party allegiance is highly integrated across electoral spheres. But other patterns of party identification and voting behaviour are evident to produce an aggregate patterning of party preference of some complexity.

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1. Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, op.cit., p.121

For a summary of the literature on party identification see Jane Jenson, "Party Strategy and Party Identification: Some Patterns of Partisan Allegiance", Canadian Journal of Political Science, Vol.9, No.1, 1976, p.27.

Secondly, the stability of party preference at the national sphere is compared with that at the state sphere. The extent to which electors maintain stable partisan preferences at each sphere provides one indication of the degree to which politics at one sphere is more settled than at the other. The patterns of voting preferences at the two spheres over consecutive elections provide evidence that at the level of the individual voter, national preferences are less stable than state voting preferences thus reflecting recent aggregate electorate trends.

In the analysis that follows, the first section deals with patterns of party identification and in section two voting behaviour is examined. Section three concludes the Chapter with a comparison of the trends indicated by both measures of party preference in terms of the degree of integration in party support in the electorate.

## 1) Party Identification

To examine the partisan attachments of the electorate, the format developed in the Michigan studies<sup>1</sup> and since used elsewhere<sup>2</sup> including Australia<sup>3</sup> is followed. In the Michigan studies respondents were asked, "Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?" Those who called themselves independents were then asked, "Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?" Further, those who did identify with a party were asked, "Would you call yourself a strong (Republican, Democrat) or not a very strong (Republican, Democrat)?" These questions enabled a seven fold classification.

However, because of financial constraints limiting the length of the questionnaire and the desire to include questions on related and other topics, the probing questions addressed to independents and to identifiers on the strength of their identification were not included. Thus the analysis that follows is based on an identification or independence without grading or slant of preference.

### (a) The extent of identification

When asked by interviewers, "Generally speaking do you

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1. Campbell, et.al., op.cit., P.122.
  2. David Butler and Donald Stokes, Political Change in Britain, Macmillan, London, 1974, p.470.
  3. Aitkin, op.cit., P.278.

think of yourself as Liberal, Labor, or preferring any other party?"<sup>1</sup> some 81% (293) of the sample agreed that they did possess a general preference for one particular party. The percentage claiming no party preference was 17.2, (62) shown in Table 2.1 below displaying the extent and complexion of the partisanship of the sample.

TABLE 2.1 Party Identification.

Party	N	%
Labor	158	43.6
Liberal	124	34.3
Other	11	3.1
Identifiers	293	81.0
No Preference	62	17.1
Refused )	7	2.0
)		
Don't Know )		
Total	362	100

This pattern of party identification may be compared with that revealed from three Australian national surveys, conducted during 1967, 1969 and 1972 containing similar questions. These indicated that 87%, 89%<sup>2</sup> and 91%<sup>3</sup> of the samples respectively generally regarded themselves as having a political stance.

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1. Question 3. See Appendix 1.

2. Aitkin, *op.cit.*, pp.38, 278 and 290.

3. David Kemp, "Swingers and stayers : The Australian swinging voter, 1961-1972" in Henry Mayer (ed), *Labor to Power*, p.285.

The extent of partisanship marginally increased when respondents were asked whether the stated preference referred to national politics, state politics or both. With this question<sup>3</sup> an additional one percent indicated preferring a party with respect to at least one sphere of the electoral contest. But at 16.1%, the degree of non-partisanship is still more than five percent higher than indicated by the national surveys some five, eight and ten years earlier. It is possible that this reflects the character of a particular electorate which is at variance with the national electorate although in patterns of voting behaviour, Denison has tended to follow national trends.<sup>2</sup> An alternative possibility, although not supported by evidence, is that the partisan trends indicated by the survey reflect a general decline in partisanship both for the electorate and nationally.

Over recent years a number of American studies have pointed to a decline in partisanship and increase in independence.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, one writer in particular has used such evidence, with figures showing a decline in "straight ticket" voting for state and local officials and a decline in the extent to which respondents had always voted for the same party's candidate for president, to suggest that "The political parties are progressively losing their hold upon the electorate."<sup>4</sup>

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1. Question 4. see Appendix 1.

2. This was noted in Chapter 1. Since 1910, twenty-eight House of Representatives elections have been held. Of these twenty-three have resulted in the election of a candidate belonging to the winning party including seven elections out of ten which resulted in a change of governing party.

3. Note: Independence is a stated option in the Michigan Survey Centre's question but not in the Australian nor Denison surveys. Thus non-partisanship is not strictly the same as independence.

4. Walter Dean Burnham, Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics, W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 1970, p.130.

Using Gallup data and survey results from the Michigan Survey Research Center, Burnham displays the decline in the proportion of strong party identifiers from 1956 and a rise in the proportion of independents<sup>1</sup> from the 1940's. Beck too, using Gallup data has graphed similar trends.<sup>2</sup> His data show a steep increase in the proportion of independents from the mid 1960's and others have pointed to this trend.<sup>3</sup> In fact, in editing a recent book on party identification and voting behaviour Niemi and Weisberg noted that this is one of the few areas of agreement; "The declines in turnout, partisanship and party voting are obvious."<sup>4</sup> One question posed by the Denison data is then, whether the variation in the strength of non-partisanship from that revealed in earlier national surveys reflects a decline in partisanship similar to that in the U.S.

A second question relates to the social and economic characteristics of the non-partisans. Burnham interprets data provided by the Survey Research Center's 1964 study and a comparison of Gallup data derived from surveys in 1965 and 1967 to suggest the emergence of a new breed of independent. The 1964 data show that the proportion of independents decreases with occupation and income but on the educational dimension the proportion increases to peak among high school graduates with some college education and falls again among

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1. Burnham, op.cit., Table 5.7, p.120.

2. Paul Allen Beck, "A Socialization Theory of Partisan Realignment", in Controversies in American Voting Behaviour, Richard G. Niemi and Herbert F. Weisberg (eds), W.H. Freeman and Company, San Francisco, 1976, Figure 233, p.407.

3. For example see Paul R. Abramson, "Generational Change and the Decline of Party Identification" in Niemi and Weisberg, op.cit., pp.313-331.

4. Niemi and Weisberg, op.cit., p.415.

college graduates. On comparing the Gallup data, Burnham shows that the increase in the proportion of independents is most heavily concentrated among those aged 30-49 and 21-29, of highest income, college-educated, non-whites and with white-collar occupations. He suggests that the total proportion of independents has become increasingly identified with the comfortable urban-suburban middle class.<sup>1</sup> This is not the case among the Denison sample as is indicated by Table 2.2 below.

TABLE 2.2 Non-Partisanship and Social Variables.

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>%</u>
Manual	16.1	Primary	14.1
Non-manual	14.2	Secondary	15.2
Retired, Students, Home duties.	17.9	Technical & College. University.	21.2 19.6
<u>Class</u>		<u>Sex</u>	
Middle	14.4	Male	16.8
Working	16.4	Female	15.5
No classes	30.0		
<u>Age</u>		<u>Income</u> \$	
18-24	16.9	0-3999	17.1
25-29	5.4	4000-7999	14.3
30-39	12.2	8,000-11,999	17.6
40-49	22.8	12,000-15,999	17.9
50-59	19.4	16,000-19,999	9.7
60 and over	16.7	20,000 and above	6.9

Although the differences are not marked, there is a slightly

1. Burnham, op.cit., pp.124-128.



higher proportion of non-partisans in manual occupations than in non-manual, and among those who perceived themselves as working class as compared to among middle class. Non-partisanship increases with education but is greatest among those with some technical or college training and increases with income to the 16,000 dollar level after which there is a marked decline. On the age variable there is a pronounced low level of non-partisanship among those aged between twenty-five and twenty-nine with an increasing trend up the age range to a peak among those in their forties.

The authors of The American Voter demonstrated that partisan attachments grew stronger with age.<sup>1</sup> Using data from surveys conducted between 1952 and 1957 they showed that the percentage of strong party identifiers increased with age while the percentage of independents decreased. A similar trend was found in Britain.<sup>2</sup> This finding gave rise to a life-cycle explanation; that party identification solidified as people matured. The Denison results do not support this explanation.

An alternative approach however has been advanced particularly by Abramson.<sup>3</sup> He has proposed a generational explanation from evidence based on cohort analysis. He argues that partisanship differences are basically due to differences between generations; that differences in partisanship among age ranges result from variations in socialization processes. He shows that strength of partisanship in particular, not only differs between age ranges (cohorts), but there are differences between the cohorts in the

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1. Campbell, et.al., op.cit., pp.161-163.

2. Butler and Stokes, op.cit. pp.58-59.

3. Abramson, op.cit.

strength of partisanship over the period, 1952-1972. Among the 1924-31 and later cohorts, identification decreases and independence increases over the time period whereas among earlier cohorts the proportion of party identifiers remains stable and that of independents increases marginally. By 1972 the proportion of independents among cohorts born in 1924 and later is markedly greater than that among cohorts born before 1924. It was the 1924-31 cohort which came of voting age just after World War II.

This is also the group in the Denison survey which contain the highest proportion of non-partisans - those aged 40-49 who were born between 1926-1937 and who came of voting age during 1947-1958, a period in Australian politics of political change and economic expansion. Further, the lowest proportion of non-partisans is among the 25-29 age group who came of voting age between 1967 and 1973. This too was a period of political change with a change of government in 1972, But it was a period of polarization centred on Australia's participation in the Vietnam conflict. Fifty-four percent of this group identify with the Labor Party, the largest proportion of Labor identifiers of any age group and the party associated with the Vietnam protests. This raises the question of whether a generational explanation of party attachment also applies in Australia. Clearly these findings indicate an area of Australian electoral politics requiring further investigation.

(b) Federal patterns of party identification.

It was shown above that when respondents were questioned as to which sphere of politics their party identification was applicable, the degree of non-partisanship was marginally reduced. The imposition

of the federal dimension on the respondent's frame of reference is a recognition that because a federal system provides electoral contests with respect to two spheres of government, the voter is provided with the opportunity to vary his partisan attachments across electoral spheres. Indeed, there is evidence from Canada as well as Australia that up to ten percent of the electorate do make use of this opportunity and hold separate party attachments across the two spheres. Perlin and Peppin, in investigating variations in party support between national and provincial elections in Ontario, Canada, found that 9.7 percent of their sample identified with a different party at each sphere at the same time.<sup>1</sup> Similarly in Australia, Aitkin's national survey produced results which indicated that, of those who acknowledged a partisan stance, eight percent maintained a dual attachment across the two electoral spheres.<sup>2</sup>

But as shown below in Table 2.3, while dual party identification among the electors of Denison does exist, the level is somewhat below that found by Aitkin and Perlin and Peppin. Of the sample, 71% (257) indicated holding the same party attachment at both electoral spheres. This is 87.8% of those identifying with a party (292). Conversely, 3.9% (14) of the sample, or 4.8% of those with a party attachment indicated holding dual loyalties. For most of these dual identifiers (75%) their initial response referred to party attachment at the national sphere. This is consistent with the patterns discovered by Aitkin<sup>3</sup> and suggests that it is the national attachment which is the more important.

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1. Perlin and Peppin, op.cit., p.283.

2. Aitkin, op.cit., p.47.

3. ibid.

TABLE 2.3 Federal patterns of party identification. (%)

<div> National identification </div> <div> State identification </div>	Liberal	Labor	Other	No Preference	DK/ Ref.	Total
Liberal	29.0 (105)		0.6 (2)	0.6 (2)		30.2 (109)
Labor	2.5 (9)	40.1 (145)	0.6 (2)	2.2 (8)		45.3 (164)
Other		0.3 (1)	2.0 (7)	0.3 (1)		2.5 (9)
No Preference	2.0 (7)	1.4 (5)		16.1 (58)		19.4 (70)
Dk/Ref.	0.6 (2)				2.2 (8)	2.8 (10)
Total	34.0 (123)	41.8 (151)	3.1 (11)	19.1 (69)	2.2 (8)	100% (362)

But this is only part of the pattern of party identification relating to the two spheres. Table 2.3 also indicates that an additional 7.0% (25) of the sample held a party preference at one sphere only; 3.9% (14) held a partisan stance with respect to the national sphere and 3.1% (11) held a partisan attachment with respect to the state sphere. In total then, some 10.8% (39) of the sample or 13.4% of those identifying with a party held differing attachments between electoral spheres. The sample indicates a pattern of party identification relating to both national and state electoral sphere which comprises:

71.0% (257) with stable loyalties across spheres

3.9% (14) with dual loyalties

3.9% (14) with a partisan attachment at the  
national sphere only.

3.1% (11) with a partisan attachment at the  
state sphere only.

16.1% (58) no preference at either sphere.

The figures show that the level of party attachment is only marginally greater at the national sphere than at the state sphere;

78.7% (285) hold an attachment nationally as against 77.9% (282) with a partisan attachment at the state sphere. However, there is a greater degree of difference between the levels of attachment across the two spheres in partisan terms. Table 2.4 indicates this degree of difference between the two major parties, the two parties who consistently contest elections at both spheres.<sup>1</sup>

• TABLE 2.4 Liberal and Labor identifiers at state and national spheres.

Electoral Sphere Party	State		National		Difference State to National	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Liberal	30.2	(109)	34.0	(123)	+3.8	(+14)
Labor	45.3	(164)	41.8	(151)	-3.5	(-13)
Other	2.8	(9)	3.1	(11)	+0.3	(+2)
Total	77.9	(282)	78.7	(285)	+0.8	(+3)
					Sample = 362	

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1. Of the other parties, the D.L.P. last contested a Tasmanian state election in 1967 and the National-Country Party in 1964. The United Tasmania Group, which sprang up in 1969 in response to the flooding of Lake Peddar as part of a hydro-electric scheme, contested the 1972 and 1976 House of Assembly elections and the 1972, but not the 1974 nor 1975, House of Representatives elections.

The table shows that although the Labor Party has an advantage at both spheres, its lead over the Liberal Party is much greater at the state sphere than nationally. The Labor Party attracts greater support at the state sphere whereas the reverse is the case for the Liberal Party. Liberal Party attachment increased by 12.9% at the national sphere over its level of state support while attachment to the Labor Party at the state sphere increased by 8.7% on the level of the party's national support.

Two contributing factors illustrate this pattern. At the state sphere Labor gained from those professing no national attachment while the Liberal Party at the national sphere gained marginally from those professing no state partisanship. More significantly, the Labor Party gained directly from the Liberal Party. Table 2.3 shows that the strongest pattern of dual identification is that of Liberal at the national sphere and Labor at the state sphere. This trend corresponds to a similar national pattern identified by Aitkin.<sup>1</sup> It also indicates that Labor's success in Tasmanian politics is based on an advantage in firm partisan attachments.

A further point worth noting briefly relates to the respondents identifying with minor parties. By far the majority identify at both spheres, but of those who do change their party identification the pattern is from minor party at the national sphere to each of the major parties at the state sphere.

Tasmania has proved an exception to Duverger's thesis that

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1. Aitkin, op.cit., p.47.

proportional representation would tend to produce minor parties.<sup>1</sup>

Although a Tasmanian-oriented party did emerge in 1969 (with diminishing electoral support in succeeding elections<sup>2</sup>), Table 2.3 would suggest that the party has failed to attract a significant number of followers who have developed a psychological attachment to the party.

The pattern of party identification as shown above is basically similar to the pattern of party identification in the American federal context as discovered by Jennings and Niemi.<sup>3</sup> They pointed out that the question which had been used by the Michigan Survey Research centre to determine party identification had not been directed to any specific sphere of the governmental system. The question had neglected the possibility of mixed identification. It was to this possibility that Jennings and Niemi directed their attention through two surveys. One used a sample of registered voters from Ann Arbor, Michigan, in which party identification was obtained separately for each of the local, state and national spheres. The other, a national sample drawn by the Survey Research Centre, used similar questions to those used here. That is, a question seeking a general identification was asked, followed (after some intervening questions) by a question asking the respondent whether his identification referred to the national or state sphere or both. If the reference was to one sphere further questions probed the respondents'

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1. Maurice Duverger, Political Parties, trans by Barbara and Robert North, Methuen and Co. Ltd., 3rd ed., London, 1967, pp.245-255.
  2. The U.T.G. gained 6.7% of the primary vote in 1972 and 5.6% in 1976.
  3. M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "Party Identification at Multiple Levels of Government", in The American Journal of Sociology, V72, No. 1, July 1966, pp.86-101.

identification at the other sphere. Table 2.5 displays the data presented by those authors but rearranged to correspond with that shown above for Denison.

TABLE 2.5 Patterns of party identification across national and state electoral spheres in the U.S. (%)

Identification Pattern	Ann Arbor	S.R.C.
a) Stable identification	58.0	70.8
b) Dual identification	1.9	0.8
c) National identification only.	3.8	2.8
d) State identification only.	6.2	1.3
e) Independents	27.9	17.4
	N = 212 *	N = 1822 *

\* The categories do not total 100% because "no answers", "don't knows" and "apolitical individuals" have not been shown.

Source - Jennings M.K., & Niemi R.G., "Party Identification at Multiple Levels of Government" in The American Journal of Sociology, V72, No.1 July 1966, p.88.

It can be seen that broadly the Denison pattern follows that discovered by Jennings and Niemi. The main variation is that the level of dual partisanship shown by both American studies is considerably below that discovered in Denison and of course below that found nationally for Australia and for Ontario, Canada. Although there are some variations between the categories, the trends are similar and the aggregates correspond. Jennings and Niemi combined categories marked b, c, and d which they labelled mixed identifiers. This produces 11.9% and 4.9% for the two surveys respectively; the corresponding aggregate for the Denison data is 10.9%.



The authors then isolated this category of "mixed identifiers" and examined the social characteristics of the group. It was found that compared to the partisans and independents, the mixed identifiers were more highly educated, and tended to have slightly higher status occupations with more of them holding white-collar jobs. In the Ann Arbor survey, but not in the S.R.C. national survey, the mixed identifiers tended to be younger.

It is similar in Denison. Table 2.6 indicates that these "mixed identifiers" tend to be higher educated, more likely to have a non-manual occupation and to perceive of themselves as middle class. The proportions on the income variable are consistent with this trend; mixed identification increases with income levels. On the age variable, mixed identification is most common among those aged between thirty and thirty-nine.

These trends may be compared with partisanship and non-partisanship. On three variables, class, occupation and income, the trend is in opposition to that among non-partisans and on the education and sex variables the trends correspond. There is very little difference in partisanship patterns among men and women except for women being slightly more partisan. But on education, non-partisanship and mixed identification correspond inversely to the trend in partisanship. While the proportion of stable partisans decreases with higher levels of education, the proportions of mixed identifiers and non-partisans increases.

Mixed identification also increases with income levels, almost inverse to the trends in non-partisanship. From a more or less constant

TABLE 2.6 Social variables and patterns of party identification \* (%)

Variable	Partisans	Mixed Identifiers				Non-Partisans	N.
		Dual	National	State	Total		
Sex: M	69.0	3.9	3.9	3.2	11.0	16.8	155
F	72.9	3.9	3.9	2.9	10.7	15.5	207
Occupation: Manual	73.3	5.4	3.6	-	9.0	16.1	56
Non-Manual	72.3	4.7	5.4	2.7	12.8	14.2	148
Retired/HD, ) Student )	69.9	2.6	1.9	4.5	9.0	17.9	156
Class:							
Middle	72.9	3.9	5.0	2.8	11.7	14.4	181
Working	72.7	3.1	2.3	3.1	8.5	16.4	128
No classes	60.0	-	5.0	-	5.0	30.0	20
Education:							
Primary	75.1	1.6	4.7	3.1	7.8	14.1	64
Secondary	73.4	3.3	2.8	2.8	8.9	15.2	211
Technical & College	63.6	6.1	9.1	-	15.2	21.2	33
University	62.7	7.8	3.9	5.9	17.6	19.6	51
Age:							
18-24	71.2	5.1	3.4	5.4	13.6	16.9	59
25-29	83.8	5.4	2.7	2.7	10.8	5.4	37
30-39	62.6	6.8	8.1	2.7	17.6	12.2	74
40-49	68.5	3.5	3.5	1.8	8.8	22.8	57
50-59	66.7	5.6	2.8	2.8	11.2	19.5	36
60+	74.0	-	2.1	3.1	5.2	16.7	96
Income: \$**							
0-3999	72.4	1.3	1.3	3.9	5.2	17.1	76
4000-7999	78.6	1.8	1.8	3.6	7.0	14.3	56
8000-11999	71.6	4.1	4.1	2.7	10.9	17.6	74
12000-15999	66.1	7.1	5.4	1.8	14.3	17.9	56
16000-19999	77.5	6.5	6.5	-	13.0	9.7	31
20,000+	75.8	3.4	6.9	6.9	17.2	6.9	20

\* The row totals do not sum to 100% as refusals have not been shown.

\*\* In Oct. 1977 average weekly earnings in Tasmania were \$178.70 (\$9292 p.a.)  
Australian Bureau of Statistics, Earnings and Hours of Employees, October 1977,  
Canberra, 1975, p.7.

level, the proportion of non-partisans drops markedly at the \$16,000 level while the proportion of mixed identifiers is highest at the top of the income range.

This pattern is consistent with that between those who perceive themselves as either middle or working class. While there is no difference in the level of partisanship the trend of non-partisanship is the inverse of that of mixed identification; non-partisanship is higher among the working class whereas mixed identification is higher among those of middle class. It is the same among those of manual and non-manual occupations.

With age the patterns of party identification are irregular. But it is noticeable that the highest proportion of partisans is among those aged 25-29, of mixed identifiers it is among the age group 30-39, while the 40-49 year olds produced the highest proportion of non-partisans. Further, it is the youngest age group with the highest proportion of consistent state identifiers while the 30-39 age group have the highest proportion of consistent national identifiers.

Other trends within the categories of mixed identification may be noted briefly. The incidence of dual identification increases with education and with income but falls among the top income earners. At this income level the proportion of mixed identifiers is greatest, with the majority either national or state identifiers only.

Among those who identify with a party with respect to one sphere only, the overall trend is for a national identification. This is the case on most categories but there are some exceptions; non-working respondents, those with a university education, of lower incomes and the youngest age group. In short it appears that it is university students who are most likely to identify with a party with respect to the state sphere only.

These then are the federal patterns of party identification. They suggest that although the majority of identifiers are consistent partisans, patterns of mixed identification are also evident and these should not be ignored or subsumed under generalized descriptions of party identification.

## 2) Voting Behaviour

Party identification is a psychological disposition at a particular point in time which, while providing an indication of partisanship, does not indicate changes in respondents' partisan loyalties. It is only by examining voting behaviour that the extent to which such loyalties are stable dispositions can be determined. More importantly in the present context, it is only an examination of voting behaviour that enables a comparison of the stability of partisanship between electoral spheres. Further, a focus on voting choice enables a behavioural comparison of partisanship patterns across electoral spheres.

To facilitate this focus, questions were asked seeking party choices for the previous five elections. This period, spanning 1972 to 1975, included three national House of Representatives elections and two Tasmanian House of Assembly elections. Thus respondents in 1977 were asked to recall their voting choice of up to five years previous. Such a procedure has been strongly questioned however. Benewick, Birch, Blumler and Ewbank<sup>1</sup> have shown that to rely on voting recall, especially over such a period is likely to over-estimate the degree of electoral stability. The tendency is for people to remember an earlier vote consistent with a more recent vote - to effectively deny having changed party preference. The alternative would be to conduct surveys at each election using the same sample of voters.

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1. R.J. Benewick, A.H. Birch, J.G. Blumler and A. Ewbank, "The floating voter and the liberal view of representation", Political Studies, Vol. 17, 1969, pp.177-95.

There is also the problem posed by those who have forgotten their voting history. Should they be included in the total? In other studies<sup>1</sup> it has been the practice to compute the degree of vote changing as a proportion of those who actually recalled their vote. This seems the most appropriate and will be followed here. But as it is these respondents who are likely to have changed their party preferences their exclusion may contribute further to an over estimation of voting stability. Using those who recalled their party choice in each election, Table 2.7 indicates that there are discrepancies between the answers given and the actual voting percentages. This is evident for all parties and to varying degrees at each election. However, the trends shown by the rise and fall in party support for the most part do correspond. The change between the

TABLE 2.7 Trends in party support 1972-1976 as indicated by actual voting figures (in brackets) and the responses of those who indicated a party choice (%).

Party	H/Ass.1972 n=280.	H/Reps.1972 n = 296	H/Reps 1974 n = 338	H/Reps.1975 n = 338	H/Reps.1976 n = 343
LIBERAL	37.7 (40.0)	41.7 (39.7)	40.2 (47.2)	50.4 (53.2)	40.3 (46.8)
LABOR	59.9 (46.3)	57.8 (49.5)	58.8 (52.8)	48.8 (44.8)	53.3 (46.8)
OTHER	2.7 (13.7)	1.2 (10.8)	1.1 ( - )	1.1 ( 2.0)	6.7 ( 6.2)

two elections in 1972 and between the two national elections in 1972 and 1974 are the most serious variations as indicated by table 2.8.

These discrepancies however, do not pose a serious handicap for the

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1. For example Kemp, op.cit.

main focus for examining voting behaviour across electoral arenas will be the patterns generated by the 1975 and 1976 elections, and a comparison of the trends over the three national elections with the trends over the two state elections. Between these elections the direction of partisan change (as recalled) corresponds to that indicated by the voting figures. It is the extent of change which is inaccurate. But it is not the intention to focus simply on the degree of change. Rather, the intention is to compare the degree of vote changing between national elections to that between state elections and the characteristics of these changers, to provide a comparison between the spheres in the degree of stability in party preference.

Table 2.8 Voting trends between pairs of elections 1972-1976 : a comparison of trends evident in voting recall with actual voting figures - (%).

Election Pairs	LIBERAL		LABOR	
	Sample %	Voting Figures %	Sample %	Voting Figures %
H/A - H/R 72-72	+4.0	-0.3	-2.1	+3.2
H/R - H/R 72-74	-1.5	+7.5	+1.0	+3.3
H/R - H/R 74-75	+10.2	+6.0	-10.0	-6.0
H/R - H/A 75-76	-10.1	-6.4	+5.5	+2.0
H/R - H/R 72-75	+8.7	+13.5	-9.0	-4.7
H/A - H/A 72-76	+2.6	+6.8	-6.6	-0.5

(a) Voting Behaviour within electoral spheres

## (i) National (House of Representatives) elections, 1972, 1974, 1975.

The period 1972 to 1975 marks three years of unprecedented electoral activity at the national sphere. Three elections, two of which were double dissolutions, produced two changes of government. In Tasmania, all five electorates, including Denison, followed the national pattern. In each, the candidate who was elected in all three elections was a member of the winning party. In Denison this meant defeats for members of the governing party on the two occasions that governments were defeated during this period.

Of the sample, 66.9% (242) reported a party choice for all three elections. Of these respondents 86.0% (208) indicated a consistent preference for the same party and 14% reported switching parties. This is a relatively high degree of stability compared with data from Australia as well as overseas. Kemp<sup>1</sup> has used survey data to show the proportion of swinging voters at each election between 1961 and 1972. His table shows a steadily increasing proportion to 17% for 1972 an increase of three percentage points on the level for 1969. Moreover, Kemp suggests that these levels have been underestimated. This could be, for even 17% is lower than reported elsewhere. Key<sup>2</sup>, for example, has reported vote switching in American presidential elections of up to 21%. Benewick and his colleagues also found that 21% of those voting in the British general

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1. Kemp, op.cit., table 1, p.282.

2. V.O. Key, The Responsible Electorate, Oxford University Press, London, 1966, p.19.



elections of 1959 and 1964 changed their vote<sup>1</sup> - and according to Butler and Stokes the percentage switching parties has remained similar through the sixties.<sup>2</sup> On the basis of such evidence then, electoral activity in Denison has been remarkably stable.

Kemp's analysis of those who indicated switching their party preference from 1969 to 1972 revealed little relationship to sociodemographic characteristics. The "Tendency to swing increased slightly with occupational status and education, and was somewhat higher among men and the young."<sup>3</sup> As indicated by Table 2.9, there is no occupational difference in the proportion of switchers; but there was a greater tendency to switch among men than among women, among those aged 30-60 compared with those younger and older; among those with some technical or college training, and among those classified as middle class. There is also an irregular relationship with family income. Those on the highest incomes and those earning between eight and sixteen thousand dollars were more likely to switch parties than others.

It was indicated above that non-partisanship was proportionally highest among those aged between 40 and 49. This does not correspond with the incidence of party switching at the national sphere. It was also shown that the lowest incidence of non-partisanship was among those aged 25-29. This age group also has a low incidence of vote-switching.

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1. Benewick et.al., op.cit.
  2. Butler and Stokes op.cit., p.269.
  3. Kemp, op.cit. p.286

TABLE 2.9 Party switching in national elections and social characteristics.

Age:	%	Occupation:	%	Education:	%
		Manual	15.4	Primary	11.6
25-29	14.3	Non-manual	16.4	Secondary	13.2
30-39	20.7	Retired, )	11.6	Technical)	23.8
40-49	15.9	Students, )		& College)	
50-59	17.9	Home duties)			
60 and over	6.6			University	16.2
		Class:	%		
		Middle	15.8		
		Working	11.4		
Income: \$	%				
0-3,999	4.1				
4,000-7,999	5.8	Sex:	%		
8,000-11,999		Men	16.7		
12,000 - 15,999	20.00	Women	12.0		
20,000 and above	16.7				

## (ii) State Elections 1972, 1976

The degree of electoral stability among those who indicated a party preference for both state elections (64.7%, (234) of the sample) is greater than that indicated for the national elections. This is consistent with the actual election results. Electoral activity in aggregate voting terms and in the turnover of elected party members has been less volatile at the state sphere than nationally. Of those who reported voting in both elections, 88.5% (207) indicated that they voted for the same party in both elections as illustrated by

Table 2.10 below. This is an increase of just under 2% on the national level of stability. If this is in fact the case, (and only interviews with the same respondents after each of a number of state and national elections could provide conclusive evidence) it supports descriptions of state politics as a "quiet game"<sup>1</sup> or as Townsley commented: "On the whole Tasmanians take their politics phlegmatically and are not given to raising the temperature".<sup>2</sup>

TABLE 2.10 Patterns of voting in state elections, 1972, 1976 (%).

House of Assembly Vote 1972 House of Assembly Vote 1976	LIBERAL	LABOR	U.T.G.	Independent	Total
Liberal	(81) 34.7	(12) 5.2	(1) 0.5		(94) 40.2
Labor	(5) 2.2	(125) 53.5		(1) 0.5	(131) 56.0
U.T.G.	(3) 1.3	(1) 0.5	(1) 0.5	(1) 0.5	(6) 2.6
Other	(1) 0.5	(1) 0.5		(1) 0.5	(3) 1.3
Total	(90) 38.5	(139) 59.4	(2) 0.9	(3) 1.3	234

The table also shows that in partisan terms Liberal Party support was the least stable; 86.2% of those who voted Liberal in 1976 reported voting for that party at both elections, while 90% of the Labor Party's support in 1972 was maintained in 1976. It can also be seen that the 11.6% (27) who reported switching their party preference produced movements between the parties in each direction. But the net result favoured a movement from Labor to the Liberal Party.

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1. Peter Boyce, "Tasmania", in John Rorke (ed) Politics at State Level, The Department of Adult Education in the University of Sydney, Sydney, p.93.
  2. W.A. Townsley, The Government of Tasmania, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1976, p.41.

Proportionally more party switchers have non-manual occupations than manual as Table 2.11 portrays. Yet there is only a slight difference between those who consider themselves working class and those who think of themselves as middle class. More women than men are party switchers, switching is much higher among those with some

TABLE 2.11 Party switching at state elections and social characteristics.

<u>Sex:</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Education:</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Age:</u>	<u>%</u>
Male	8.0	Primary	9.1		
Female	14.3	Secondary	8.4	25-29	14.3
		Technical)		30-39	20.0
<u>Class:</u>		& College)	33.4	40-49	15.0
Middle	12.1	University	15.4	50-59	10.0
Working	10.8			60 and over	3.9
<u>Occupation:</u>		<u>Income: \$</u>			
Manual	5.3	0-3999	-		
Non-manual	17.6	4000-7999	5.8		
Retired, )		8000-11,999	16.4		
students, )	8.7	12,000-			
home duties)		15,999	16.7		
		16,000-			
		19,999	20.9		
		20,000 and above	9.1		

technical and college education, those aged between 30 and 49 and increases with income levels but falls sharply at the highest level. On the class, education and age variables, the trend closely resembles that shown above for party switching in national elections but there are marked differences in the occupation, income and sex categories. At national elections, there is little difference in the incidence of party switching among those of manual and non-manual

occupations. In state elections party switching is much greater among those in non-manual occupations. The trends are similar for the income category with the pronounced exception of those earning between sixteen and twenty thousand dollars. Party switching among this group is low at national elections (80%) but it is relatively high at state elections (20.9%). Sex differences too are marked. In national elections, proportionally more men than women are party switchers but at state elections the incidence of party switching was almost twice as high among women as among men.

## 2(b) Voting behaviour across electoral spheres.

The period 1972 to 1976 provided two sets of national-state voting patterns; in 1972 with a Tasmanian House of Assembly election followed six months later by a House of Representatives election and again with a national election in 1975 followed twelve months later by a House of Assembly election. The patterns of voting produced by these sets of elections, based on the respondents who indicated their party preference at each election in each set, are displayed in tables 2.12 and 2.13 below.

TABLE 2.12 The pattern of State (H/A) and National (H/R) voting 1972 (%)

H/Assembly H/ Reps	Liberal	Labor	U.T.G.	Independent	Total
Liberal	(80) 35.3	(14) 6.2	(1) 0.5		(95) 41.9
Labor	(5) 2.2	(123) 54.2	(1) 0.5		(129) 56.9
Other				(2) 0.9	
Informal				(1) 0.5	(1) 0.5
Total	(85) 37.5	137 60.4	(2) 0.9	(3) 1.4	(227) 100

227 = 62.7% of the sample.

TABLE 2.13

The pattern of National (H/R) and State (H/A) voting  
1975-1976. (%)

H/Reps 1975 H/ Assembly 1976	Liberal	Labor	National	Other	Total
Liberal	(117) 38.5	(4) 1.3			(121) 39.8
Labor	(29) 9.6	(133) 43.8		(2) 0.7	(164) 54.0
U.T.G.	(3) 1.0	(7) 2.3	(1) 0.3		(11) 3.6
Other	(3) 1.0	(4) 1.3			(7) 2.3
Informal		(1) 0.3			(1) 0.3
Total	(152) 50.0	(149) 49.1	(1) 0.4	(2) 0.7	(304) 100

304 = 84% of the sample

For 1972, 62.7% (227) of the sample gave their party preference for both elections. Of these 89.5% (203) indicated voting for the same party with 10.6% (24) who switched parties. The second set of elections however indicates much more party switching; 82.3% (250) voted for the same party with 17.8% (54) changing their party preference. Because this most recent set of elections is likely to have been recalled more accurately it is this set which will be examined in more detail.

The level of stable party preference indicated by Table 2.13 is remarkably similar to that discovered by Aitkin's 1967 national survey.<sup>1</sup> He found that 83% of his sample voted for the same party in the 1966 House of Representatives as voted in state elections either just before or just after the national election. But both these percentages are markedly below that found in other federal

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1. Aitkin, *op.cit.*, p.46.

systems. For example, Laponce found that the level of party switching across spheres in British Columbia in 1963 to be a high 49%<sup>1</sup>. Perlin and Peppin found that 37.1% of those who voted in the 1963 Ontario election, changed their preference in the national election of 1965; and among those who voted in the 1965 election, 37.9% expressed the intention of changing their preferences in 1967.<sup>2</sup> However, Courtney and Smith have reported a much lower level of partisan change among persons who indicated voting in the 1964 Saskatchewan election and a national by-election two months later. They found that 18.6% of a sample of 1075 respondents changed parties.

Each of these studies attempted to relate social characteristics to party switching. Perlin and Peppin found no relationships and Laponce found only that "women who on the federal level are as likely as men to change parties transfer less to the Social Credit party in provincial elections".<sup>4</sup> Courtney and Smith, however, found that women did change their vote more than men. They also found that stable voting increased with age and varied with education. Those with an elementary education and those with at least three years university changed most while the occupational groups that changed their vote the most were the professional, sales and clerical groups.<sup>5</sup>

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1. J.A. Laponce, People vs Politics, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1969, p.169.
  2. Perlin and Peppin, op.cit.,
  3. John C. Courtney and David E. Smith, "Voting in a Provincial General Election and a Federal By-election : A Consistency Study of Saskatoon City", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 32, no. 3, Aug. 1966, Table VII, p.344.
  4. Laponce, op.cit., p.174.
  5. Courtney and Smith, op.cit., pp.345-347.

For Denison, vote switching across spheres varies most markedly with education and self-perceived class, with the highest proportion among the middle class and those having some technical and college education. There is a higher tendency to change among men than among women, while those earning twelve to sixteen thousand dollars have a pronounced tendency to switch parties compared with other income categories.

TABLE 2.14 Party switching across spheres and social and economic characteristics (%)

Sex	%	Education	%	Age	%
Male	19.6	Primary	12.3	18 - 24	21.1
Female	16.4	Secondary	14.2	25 - 29	26.5
		Technical college	42.3	30 - 39	24.3
		University	24.4	40 - 49	18.4
Class				50 - 59	16.7
Middle	21.2	Income \$		60 and over	7.2
Working	10.8	0 - 3999	18.9		
		4000 - 7999	14.9		
Occupation		8000 - 11999	11.8		
Manual	18.4	12000 - 15999	32.0		
Non-manual	21.5	16000 - 19999	20.7		
Retired HD., Students)	13.5	20000 and above	14.3		

## 2(c) Federal voting patterns

In 1972, 10.6% of those voting in both elections reported switching their party preference across electoral spheres. Of these party switchers, 6.2% changed from Labor to the Liberal Party with less than half switching in the other direction. Labor to Liberal then was the predominant pattern. From 1975 to 1976, 9.6% of those voting in both elections changed from Liberal to Labor, that is more than half of those switching parties, while only 1.4% changed from Labor to Liberal.

In partisan terms then this pattern is suggestive of a tendency for a small but electorally significant proportion of the



electorate to prefer Labor at the state sphere and the Liberal Party nationally. This is a similar pattern to that found with respect to party identification. It is also the pattern found by Aitkin.<sup>1</sup> He found moreover, that 1% of his sample reported consistently voting for one party in national elections and another at state elections. The same proportion was found for Denison and is shown below in Table 2.15.

TABLE 2.15 Patterns of party preference in national and state elections 1972-1976.\*

	Z	N.
Always the same party	77.8	(172)
Consistent two-party voters (Liberal for H/Reps. and Labor for H/Assembly).	1.3	(3)
Consistent national preference and changing preference in state elections	6.3	(14)
Consistent state preference and changing preference in national elections.	8.6	(19)
Changing party preference at both spheres	5.8	(13)
Total	100	(221)

(N = number of respondents who gave a party choice for all five elections.)

\* This format follows that identified by Aitkin. op.cit. p.47.

However the table indicates that this is only part of the federal pattern. 14.9% indicated a stable preference at one sphere with a changing preference at the other sphere; 8.6% at the state sphere and 6.3% at the national sphere. This too is consistent with the trends identified by Aitkin although slightly higher in each case.<sup>2</sup>

1. Aitkin, op.cit., p.47.

2. 7% and 5% respectively, ibid.

Moreover, in partisan terms this is also a pattern which favours Labor at state elections. Those with a stable national preference divide equally between the two parties while those with a stable state preference heavily favour the Labor Party.

The remaining trends shown by the pattern of federal voting indicates a variance with Aitkin's results in that overall voting preferences appear to have been more stable in Denison. Whereas Aitkin found that 66% had always voted for the same party in both national and state elections and 21% had voted for different parties in both electoral arenas, the Denison pattern shows 77.8% had voted consistently with only 5.8% changing their party preference at both spheres.

When federal patterns of voting are examined in relation to social and economic variables it can be seen that the incidence of party switching at both spheres is highest among non-manual workers, people with a University education, those aged 30-39<sup>1</sup>, people on an annual family income of sixteen to twenty thousand dollars, those who regard themselves as working class and women. These trends however, should be treated with caution, as the categories are small<sup>2</sup> except perhaps for the sex variable. It was noted above that more men than women switched parties at the national sphere but that at state elections party switching was almost twice as high among women as among men. Table 2.16 shows that with only a marginal difference in consistency at both spheres<sup>3</sup>, it is the greater consistency of men

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1. Table 2.6 shows a high proportion of switchers among the 18-24 age group. But not only is the category small, this group could not have voted in all five elections as the voting age was 21 until 1973.
  2. The odd combination of working class, university education and a \$16-20,000 income is probably due to the small category sizes.
  3. 76.5% among women and 78.9% among men.

TABLE 2.16 Federal Patterns of Voting and Social Characteristics (%)

	Consistent Labor	Consistent Liberal	Dual Preference	Consistent Labor	State Preference Liberal	Consistent Labor	National Preference Liberal	Switchers	% of Voters	N
Sex:										
Men	49.0	27.6	3.1	10.2	2.1	3.1	2.1	3.1	44.4	98
Women	39.9	39.1	-	4.9	0.9	3.3	4.1	8.2	55.7	123
Occupation:										
Manual	62.2	19.0	5.4	10.9	-	-	-	2.7	16.8	37
Non-manual	31.0	39.3	1.2	7.2	2.4	6.0	6.0	7.2	38.0	84
Retired H/D, students	48.5	34.4	6.1	1.1	1.1	2.1	2.1	6.1	44.8	99
Class:										
Middle	27.3	48.5	1.1	10.1	1.1	4.1	4.1	4.0	44.8	99
Working	63.4	20.0	2.3	4.5	-	1.2	2.3	6.0	40.8	90
Education:										
Primary	61.6	23.1	-	5.8	-	3.9	-	5.8	23.6	52
Secondary	44.6	37.9	2.5	6.5	0.8	-	2.5	5.7	56.1	124
Technical & College	10.0	40.0	-	15.0	-	15.0	15.0	5.0	9.1	20
University	32.0	32.0	-	8.0	8.0	8.0	4.0	8.0	11.4	25
Age:										
18-24	66.7	22.3	-	-	-	-	-	11.2	4.1	9
25-29	38.1	33.4	4.8	9.6	-	9.6	4.8	-	9.5	21
30-39	42.0	26.0	2.0	12.0	-	2.0	6.0	10.0	22.7	50
40-49	35.9	35.9	2.6	5.2	2.6	5.2	5.2	7.7	17.7	39
50-59	42.9	32.2	-	7.2	7.2	7.2	-	3.6	12.7	28
60 and over.	49.4	41.1	-	5.5	-	-	1.4	2.8	33.1	73
Income: \$										
0-3999	61.6	28.2	-	5.2	2.6	-	-	2.6	17.7	39
4,000- 7,999	42.5	42.5	7.2	14.3	-	7.2	-	7.2	15.0	33
8,000- 11,999	45.1	29.5	-	7.9	-	4.0	5.9	7.9	23.1	51
12,000- 15,999	22.9	37.2	5.8	14.3	-	5.8	8.6	5.8	15.9	35
16,000- 19,999	45.0	35.0	-	5.0	-	-	5.0	10.0	9.1	20
20,000 and over	35.0	35.0	-	10.0	10.0	5.0	-	5.0	9.1	20
Sample %	43.9	34.0	1.4	7.3	1.4	3.2	3.2	5.5	100	
N	97	75	3	16	3	7	7	12		221

at state elections than women at national elections which accounts for the higher incidence of party switching at both spheres among women.

It was noted that party switching is proportionally higher among the working class than among the middle class. Consistency (at both spheres) is also proportionally higher among the working class.

In fact it is among those of lower status (manual workers, the primary educated, and lower incomes) that consistency in voting is most prevalent. Among the age categories it is those sixty and over who reported voting most consistently.

The opposite trend is apparent among respondents who reported voting consistently at one sphere only. There is a higher proportion among the middle class than the working class, higher among non-manual workers than among manual workers and a higher proportion among the tertiary educated; and among the income groups a consistent preference at one sphere only is most prevalent among those earning twelve to sixteen thousand dollars. Dissecting the categories further it seems that men, manual workers, middle class respondents, those with a technical or university education and the 50-59 age group contribute higher proportions of respondents with a consistent state preference which is a predominantly Labor Party preference. A consistent national preference, on the other hand, is most prevalent among non-manual workers, middle class respondents, the 25-29 age group, those earning twelve to sixteen thousand dollars, women, and predominantly those with a technical or college education.

However, these patterns must be regarded as entirely tentative. The small category sizes, the sample size and the use of voting recall preclude drawing firm conclusions relating to demographic characteristics and federal patterns of voting behaviour. Generally speaking, it appears that consistency at both spheres dominates; the incidence of switching at both spheres is relatively low, less in fact than the degree of consistency at one sphere only. Among those who maintain a consistent preference at one sphere only, the state sphere is the

more stable and the Labor Party is favoured on every variable displayed. Among those with a consistent national preference there is an even partisan balance with some variations among the categories but which are based on too few cases to indicate trends.

### 3) Conclusion

In broad terms the federal voting patterns follow federal patterns in party identification as would be expected. That is to say the same patterns are evident in both measures of party preference. But there are differences in degree among the categories. Consistency in vote (77.8%) is greater than consistency in identification (71.0%) which is perhaps surprising. Moreover, the differences apply to both parties and to an equal extent.<sup>1</sup> The extent of non-partisanship (16.1%) is markedly greater than the extent of vote changing at both spheres (5.8%) and the proportion of people holding a partisan stance with respect to one sphere only (7.0%) is only half the proportion who maintain a consistent party vote at one sphere, (14.9%). Consistent two party voting however, is less than the proportion holding dual attachments; 1.3% compared to 3.9%.

Is there a relationship between the two indicators of party preference? Table 2.17 below displays the proportion of those who indicated a party preference for each election for each category of

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1. <u>Preference Pattern</u>	<u>Liberal</u>	<u>Labor</u>
Party Identification	29.0%	40.1%
Vote	33.9%	43.9%

party identification in terms of their pattern of voting. It can be seen that a party identification which applies to both electoral spheres is a strong predictor of voting for that party at both spheres and is slightly stronger for a Labor preference. Other categories of party identification are poor predictors of voting pattern. Further, the table shows clearly that party switchers should be distinguished from non-partisans. Out of twenty eight non-partisans, ten voted consistently, two were dual voters, and a further eleven voted consistently at one sphere. Or, of the twelve who switched parties at both spheres, only a third were non-partisans.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE 2.17 Federal pattern of party identification and vote. (%)

Pattern of identification.  Voting Pattern	Consistent Liberal Identific- ation.	Consistent Labor Identific- ation	Dual Identif- ication.	National Identif- ication.	State Identif- ication.	Non- Partisans
Consistent Liberal	88.2	-	20.0	28.6	-	21.5
Consistent Labor	-	91.4	10.0	14.3	66.7	14.3
Dual preference	-	-	10.0	-	-	7.2
Consistent National Preference	4.0	3.3	20.0	14.3	16.7	17.9
Consistent State Preference	1.4	4.3	40.0	28.6	16.7	21.5
Switchers	6.6	1.1	-	-	21.5	17.9
Total) % ) N	100 76	100 93	100 10	100 7	100 6	100 28

1. This point supports Kemp's finding, op.cit., footnote 1, p.290. As Kemp notes it refutes Crisp's assertion of a "floating vote" as "an element in the electorate without definite party orientations", L.F. Crisp, Australian National Government, Longman, Melbourne, 1971, p.130.

Following Smiley's models of federal party systems it can be stated with confidence that patterns of party preference in the Denison electorate are considerably integrated across electoral spheres. That is "National and (state) parties of the same designation draw very largely on common voter allegiances to both".<sup>1</sup> Whether party identification or reported voting behaviour is used as the indicator of party allegiance, the degree of integration is greater than that reported in Canadian studies. Both measures suggest that consistency in party support is prevalent for more than 70% of the electorate.

Nevertheless, a glimpse of the complexities of federal patterns of party preference has been revealed. There are indications that in addition to a proportion of people who may be labelled non-partisans with respect to both electoral spheres, there are categories of mixed preferences. Of these, stable dual preferences (stable preferences for different parties at each sphere) are a very small proportion. Those having a preference for a party at one sphere only are more common though certainly not numerous. Yet they are sufficient perhaps to be electorally significant.

Such patterns have previously been discovered or hypothesised. As was shown, the pattern in party identification follows that found by Aitkin although with variations in degree among the categories.

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1. Smiley, op.cit., p.77.

It was also such a pattern upon which Davis<sup>1</sup> has speculated. He has suggested the likelihood of four broad classes of voters; the loyalists, or those who vote for the same party at both spheres (consistents); the ambivalents, those who regularly support different parties at each sphere (dual party voters); the single level floaters, who maintain a regular party preference at one sphere only; and the dual level floaters who change parties at both spheres. Davis further speculated that it is ambivalence and single-level floating which favours Labor at the state sphere. This is also the case for Denison as revealed by Table 2.16 and reinforced by the patterns of dual party, and state party identification as indicated in Table 2.3. To a lesser degree it is the Liberal Party at the national sphere which is advantaged by these patterns. Thus the patterns of party preference reveal that Labor is favoured with respect to state politics with a trend toward the Liberal Party nationally. These trends were also found by Aitkin.<sup>2</sup>

Moreover these trends suggest that Labor support is more integrated or disciplined than is support for the Liberal Party. To illustrate this, the figures in Tables 2.3 and 2.13 may be used to construct an index of integration. The percentage of respondents indicating a consistent party preference at both spheres can be expressed as a percentage of that party's highest support (at either sphere). Thus, using party identification the index of integration for the Labor Party is 88.5 and that for the Liberal Party is 85.3; using reported patterns of voting, the index for the Labor Party is

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1. Davis, op.cit., pp.647, 648.

2. Aitkin, op.cit., p.47.



81.1 and for the Liberal Party is 77.0.<sup>1</sup> But if the Labor Party is more integrated in terms of electoral support does this relate also to perceptions about the style and character of the party? This will be examined in Chapter 4. It is suggested also, although only tentatively, that there is greater stability in party preference at the state sphere than nationally. If this is the case, it points to less contention between the parties at the state sphere than nationally, or perhaps more accurately a perception of less conflict between the state parties. It is to this question that the next chapter turns.

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1.	Party Identification	Voting
Labor	$\frac{40.1}{45.3} \times 100 = 88.5$	$\frac{43.8}{54.0} \times 100 = 81.1$
Liberal	$\frac{29.0}{34.0} \times 100 = 85.3$	$\frac{38.5}{50.0} \times 100 = 77.0$

### CHAPTER 3

#### PERCEPTIONS OF PARTY COMPETITION

The patterns of party preference revealed in the preceeding chapter indicated a relatively high degree of integrated party support across electoral spheres. It was shown that party identification and voting preferences remain consistent across the national and state components of the federal system for at least 70% of the sample. Important questions concerning perceptions about the party system are raised by this finding. Given the consistency of party preference, to what extent do voters distinguish between the two spheres in the nature of partisan competition? In other words, do Liberals for example, hold differing expectations about the goals of the parties at the two spheres or are the objectives or the focus of the political debate at each sphere perceived in similar terms. This is an important consideration because the extent to which party conflict (deriving from perspectives about means and objectives at each sphere) is perceived in similar terms at both spheres would imply either a perception of an integrated political system or two arenas of political activity relating to similar aspirations and demands.

However the patterns of party preference also reveal a small but significant degree of divergence between the two spheres; there are those holding party attachments at one sphere only and others holding dual attachments; a preference for a different party at each sphere. Do these patterns reflect contrasting perceptions about the political debate at the two spheres? Furthermore the patterns of party

preference indicated a small migration of support from the Liberal Party nationally to the Labor Party in the state. Does this preference distinction imply a distinction between the parties according to a perceptual difference in the nature and focus of political activity at the two spheres?

It was also suggested, albeit tentatively, that party preference in terms of voting was more stable at the state sphere than nationally. Does this mean that there is a greater measure of perceived partisan agreement with respect to state affairs? If so this would necessarily entail perceived differences in the nature of political competition between the two spheres. The extent to which there are perceived party differences might also reflect the degree of intensity in the party battles. Given two major parties each drawing the support of at least 40% of the electorate, the extent to which party differences are salient can be said to reflect voter perceptions about the degree of competition at the two spheres.

These questions are the focus of this chapter. Perceived differences in the nature and degree of party conflict at each sphere are examined to provide a portrait of party competition in a federal context; that is with respect to national and state arenas of the party battle or more appropriately, the party battles.

Four questions provide the data.<sup>1</sup> Respondents were asked whether and in what way they felt it would (or would not) make much difference which party governed with respect to each sphere. To enable comparison, similar but separate questions were asked with

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1. Questions 5,6,15,16. See Appendix 1.

respect to each sphere. Each question was introduced by referring to one of the electoral arenas to structure the respondent's frame of reference to the appropriate sphere. The question referring to the national sphere was asked first following questions about party identification. After intervening questions concerning national party images and the salience of the spheres, respondents were asked the question concerning party competition in Tasmania.

These questions provide comparable responses facilitating an analysis of voter perceptions of the degree and nature of party conflict at the two spheres. It is shown that there are variations both in the degree and nature of partisan conflict and which contain significant partisan differences.

# 1 The Degree of Party Competition.

## (a) The national sphere

In 1960 voters of the Victorian state electorate of Ringwood were asked just prior to a House of Representatives by election for the seat of Latrobe: "Do you think that a Labor victory at the next big FEDERAL election would make much difference to the way the country is run?"<sup>1</sup> Almost half the sample, 45%, said that a change would make no difference and another 38% thought the difference would only be slight.<sup>2</sup> In another study a sample of voters from Brisbane were asked:

"Do you think that it makes a great deal of difference which party wins an election, or do you think things will go on much the same.

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1. Burns, op.cit., p.166.

2. ibid, p.136.

no matter who is in power?"<sup>1</sup> Just over half the sample said a great deal of difference.

Similarly, just over a majority of the Denison voters think that it matters which party is in power. When the Denison respondents were asked whether it makes much difference which party governs in Canberra 57.2% agreed that it does, 34.0% answered in the negative and another 8.8% did not know. But this is not a uniform response. As indicated by table 3.1 below there are differences between groups of people when the answers to the question are examined for sex, education, income, occupation, class and age variations.<sup>2</sup>

With the exception only of those in manual occupations, in all categories those who feel that it does make a difference which party governs are in the majority. But there are interesting trends produced by the variable categories. The percentage of respondents who answered that it makes a difference increases with status. That is, the percentage agreeing increases with education and income and is higher among non-manual workers and those who regard themselves as middle class than among working class respondents and those with manual occupations. The inverse pattern can also be observed among those answering that it does not make a difference which party governs; the percentage decreases as status increases.

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1. J.S. Western and P.R. Wilson, "Politics : Participation and Attitudes", in Henry Mayer and Helen Nelson (eds) Australian Politics : A Third Reader, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1972, p.315.

2. However, the only statistically significant difference occurs on the occupation variable.  $\chi^2 = 28.783$ ,  $df=6$ ,  $p>0.001$ .

TABLE 3.1 The extent to which it makes much difference which party governs nationally by sex, education, income, occupation, class, age. (%)

	Does make a difference	Does not make a difference	Don't know	N
Sample	57.2	34.0	8.8	362
Sex: Men	61.9	32.9	5.2	155
Women	53.6	34.8	11.6	207
Education:				
Primary	48.4	37.5	14.1	64
Secondary	56.4	35.1	8.5	211
Technical & College	57.6	33.3	9.1	33
University	72.5	25.5	2.0	51
Income: \$				
0-3999	46.1	44.7	9.2	76
4000-7999	48.2	41.1	10.7	56
8000-11999	63.5	31.1	5.4	74
12000-15999	67.9	26.8	5.4	56
16000-19999	64.5	32.3	3.2	31
20000 and above	75.9	24.1	-	29
Occupation:				
Manual	48.2	48.2	3.6	56
Non manual	70.9	23.0	6.1	148
Retired, HD's				
Students	47.4	39.7	12.8	156
Class:				
Working	48.4	38.3	13.3	128
Middle	66.3	29.3	4.4	181
Age:				
18-24	50.8	44.1	5.1	59
25-29	70.3	29.7	-	37
30-39	56.8	36.5	6.8	74
40-49	70.2	19.3	10.5	57
50-59	52.8	38.9	8.3	36
60 and over	51.0	34.4	14.6	96

A similar pattern also occurs among men and women. To men, more than to women, it makes a difference which party governs nationally, and proportionally to more women than men it does not make much difference.<sup>1</sup> Moreover this trend occurs independently of education. At the primary, secondary, and technical and college levels of education the same pattern occurs.

1. The differences however, are not statistically significant.

Among those with a university education however, the trend is markedly reversed; more women than men answered that it does make a difference nationally. As shown in Table 3.2, the pattern among women is consistent with that for the total sample while among men, the percentage is constant except for an increase (but not as steep as among women) among those with a university education.

TABLE 3.2 The extent to which it makes much difference which party governs nationally by sex for each level of education. (%)

	Does make a difference		Does not make a difference		Don't know		N	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Primary	60.9	41.5	34.8	39.0	4.3	19.5	23	41
Secondary	60.8	53.8	35.4	34.8	3.8	11.4	79	132
Technical & College	58.8	56.3	29.4	37.5	11.8	6.3	17	16
University	67.6	82.4	29.4	17.6	2.9	-	34	17

The age variable displays an irregular pattern, with bi-modal peaks produced by those aged 25 to 29 and 40 to 49. These age groups also stood out with respect to partisanship. It was shown in Chapter 2<sup>1</sup> that partisanship was strongest among those aged 25 to 29 and this would be consistent with the degree to which the group perceives differences between the parties. But that chapter also indicated that non-partisanship was strongest among those aged 40-49. This age group is therefore an exception among non-partisans with respect to party competition for as Table 3.3

1. Table 2.6.

shows non-partisans are the only group among whom a majority thought that it did not matter which party governed. In fact it is respondents without a party preference who are responsible for the statistically significant difference shown in Table 3.3.

TABLE 3.3 The extent to which it makes much difference which party governs nationally by national party identification. (%)

	Does make a difference	Does not make a difference	Don't know	N
Sample	57.2	34.0	8.8	362
Party Identification at the national sphere				
Liberal	68.3	23.6	8.2	123
Labor	60.3	33.8	6.0	151
Other	54.6	45.5	-	11
No preference	34.8	49.3	15.9	69
$\chi^2 = 21.1$				
df = 3 (with DK's and negative answers combined)				
p < 0.001				

But although there is no statistically significant difference in the responses among partisans<sup>1</sup>, nevertheless important variations are evident as would be expected from the clear socio-economic trends displayed in Table 3.1. As Table 3.3 reveals, a majority of those respondents identifying with each of the major parties agree that it does make a difference which party governs nationally. It is also clear that a greater proportion of Liberals than of Labor partisans take this view; there is a clear variation of eight percentage points

1.  $\chi^2 = 1.86$ , df = 1,  $p > 0.10$ .  
(i.e. between Liberal and Labor Partisans)



agreeing that it does make a difference and a variation of ten points among those to whom it does not make a difference.

This finding is consistent with the trends found among the Ringwood and Brisbane samples referred to above. Western and Wilson reported that "ALP supporters were less inclined than others to think a difference was likely"<sup>1</sup> while Burns' table shows that among solid supporters, 21% of Liberals compared to 16% of Labor supporters thought that a change of government would make a significant difference to the way in which the country was run.<sup>2</sup> He suggested that the committed Labor voter had given up hope and lost faith in the future. But after two changes in government which brought Labor to power and then defeat, some other explanation would seem to be required.

The table shows that non-partisans are the only group among whom a majority thought that it did not matter which party governed. But this group probably contains a number of apoliticals for with respect to the state sphere, an almost identical pattern occurs. For other groups however, there is a marked and significant variation on the national pattern.

#### 1 (b) The state sphere

Fewer people felt that it makes much difference which party governs in the state than took the same view with respect to the national sphere. Whereas 57% of the sample thought that it does

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1. Western and Wilson, op.cit.

2. Burns, op.cit. Table 18, p.136.

make a difference nationally, slightly less than half the sample (48.1%) felt that it makes a difference in the state. Further, while the percentage that took the view that it does matter which party governs is greater than the percentage for whom it does not matter (39.8%), slightly more people felt that it does not matter at the state sphere than thought the same with respect to the national sphere.

This is consistent with what might be expected from the analysis of voting behaviour at the two spheres. Although the evidence is not conclusive, it was suggested that the greater stability in voting behaviour at the state sphere reflected a perception of settled politics in the state. The variation in the degree to which it would make much difference which party governs at the two spheres suggests that party conflict is much less pronounced with respect to state politics than national politics. Consequently there is less pressure to change party allegiance.

Table 3.4 displays the percentages of the sample as well as the variables sex, education, income, occupation, class and age. As the table indicates, in broad terms there is a reversal to the pattern revealed with respect to the national sphere. Proportionally, more women than men, more with manual than non-manual occupations and more of those who labelled themselves working class compared to those of the middle class answered that it does make a difference which party governs in Tasmania. This reversal to the national pattern is also evident on the education and income variables.<sup>1</sup> The table

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1. As for national party competition the only statistically significant difference is on the occupation variable.

$\chi^2 = 16.957$ ,  $df=9$ ,  $p < 0.05$

TABLE 3.4. The extent to which it makes much difference which party governs in Tasmania by sex, education, income occupation, class, age. (%)

	Does make a difference	Does not make a difference	Don't know	N
Sample	48.1	39.8	11.9	362
Sex:				
Men	45.8	45.2	9.0	155
Women	49.8	35.7	14.0	207
Education:				
Primary	60.9	28.1	9.4	64
Secondary	49.3	38.4	12.3	211
Technical & College	33.3	57.6	9.1	33
University	37.3	49.0	13.7	51
Income: \$				
0-3999	48.7	40.8	9.2	76
4000-7999	57.1	33.9	8.9	56
8000-11999	51.4	35.1	13.5	74
12000-15999	35.5	48.2	14.3	56
16000-19999	45.2	41.9	12.9	31
20000 and above	44.8	48.3	6.9	29
Occupation:				
Manual	57.1	37.5	3.6	56
Non-manual	41.9	42.6	15.5	148
Retired, Students, Home duties	51.3	37.8	10.9	156
Class:				
Working	59.4	29.7	10.2	128
Middle	42.0	47.5	10.5	181
Age:				
18-24	44.1	45.8	10.2	59
25-29	51.4	43.2	5.4	37
30-39	45.9	35.1	18.9	74
40-49	52.6	35.1	12.3	57
50-59	38.9	50.0	11.1	36
60 and over	52.1	36.5	10.4	96

shows that the percentage of respondents who answered that it makes a difference which party governs decreases with higher education and decreases in an irregular pattern with high incomes. The inverse pattern is evident among respondents who answered that it makes no difference which party governs.

This neat reversal however is not the case on the age variable. For those aged 18 to 24 and 50 to 59 the higher proportion answered that there is no difference, which is the converse of the proportions with respect to the national sphere. But among each of the remaining categories, the higher proportion answered that it did make a difference, just as for the national sphere.

It was noted that more women than men felt that it makes a difference which party governs in the state and that this was the converse of the national pattern. As shown by table 3.5 this holds true among men and women with primary and secondary levels of education. However at the higher levels, more men than women feel that it does make a difference; technical and college educated women tend to feel that it does not make a difference while a relatively large proportion of the university educated women did not know.

TABLE 3.5      The extent to which it makes much difference which party governs in Tasmania by sex for each level of education. (%)

	Does make a difference		Does not make a difference		Don't know		N	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Primary	60.9	61.0	34.8	24.4	4.3	12.2	23	41
Secondary	46.8	50.8	43.0	35.6	10.1	13.6	79	132
Technical & College	41.2	25.0	52.2	62.5	5.9	12.5	17	16
University	38.2	35.3	52.9	41.2	8.8	23.5	34	17

As with table 3.1, the patterns revealed by table 3.4 again suggest partisan differences. This is the case as table 3.6 indicates. The proportion of Labor partisans for whom it makes a difference which party governs is much greater than the proportion of Liberal partisans. Further, not only is there a higher proportion among Liberals than among Labor supporters to whom it does not make a difference, but among Liberals this proportion is greater than the percentage who answered that it does make a difference. In fact this partisan difference, unlike the national perception, is statistically

TABLE 3.6 The extent to which it makes much difference which party governs in Tasmania by State party identification (%)

	Does make a difference	Does not make a difference	Don't know	N
Sample	48.1	39.8	11.9	362
Party Identification at the state sphere				
Liberal	35.8	45.0	18.4	108
Labor	63.5	31.7	4.9	154
Other	55.6	33.4	11.2	9
No Preference	34.3	48.6	17.2	70

$$\chi^2 = 27.48$$

$$df = 3 \quad (\text{with DK's and negative answers combined})$$

$$p < 0.001$$

significant.<sup>1</sup>

Consistent with the patterns relating to the social variables shown in tables 3.1 and 3.4, the partisan pattern with respect to the state sphere is almost the direct reversal on the national pattern. The qualification is that whereas a majority of Liberals thought that it does not make a difference at the state sphere, a majority answered that it does matter at the national sphere; among Labor partisans a majority (an absolute majority) with respect to each sphere answered that it does make a difference which party governs. Such a pattern would be expected to produce partisan variations in the degree to which the parties are perceived to make a difference in the context of both spheres. Indeed this is the case but first the pattern with respect to social variables is examined.

1(c) The degree of party competition in the federal context.

It has been shown that the degree to which respondents consider that it makes much difference which party governs varies between electoral spheres. The tables 3.1 and 3.4 indicate that it matters which party governs more at the national sphere than at the state. Moreover, slightly more people felt that it does not make much difference which party governs in the state than answered similarly with respect to the national sphere. That is, national party conflict is more salient than is party conflict at the state sphere.

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1.  $\chi^2 = 20.05$ ,  $df = 1$  (i.e. between Liberal and Labor Partisans)  
 $p < 0.001$ .

It was also shown that among social, economic and partisan groupings there were variations on this pattern. Liberals and people of higher status were likely to be more perceptive of party differences nationally than with respect to the state. People of lower status and Labor partisans tended to display the reverse pattern.

The question that arises from these trends is whether, and if so to what extent, party differences are perceived at both spheres or at one sphere but not the other. This is the focus that table 3.7 provides. The percentage of respondents for whom it makes a difference which party governs at both spheres, at the national sphere but not at the state, at the state sphere but not nationally and the percentage for whom it does not matter at either sphere, is shown with respect to the variables examined in Tables 3.1 and 3.4.

Table 3.7 indicates the prominence of national party competition compared to party conflict at the state sphere. For 50.0% of the total sample, either the parties are perceived to make a difference at both spheres or at the national sphere only.

This national tendency however is not evident among all groups. Among those of lower status, primary educated respondents, manual workers, working class respondents and those on lower incomes, 50% answered either that the parties made a difference at both spheres, or only at the state sphere. Indeed the table indicates that the prominence of party conflict at the national sphere only increases with increasing status, while the prominence of party conflict at the state sphere only increases with decreasing status. Similarly, males were more likely than women to answer that it makes a difference which

party governs at the national sphere only, whereas women are slightly more numerous in answering that it makes a difference which party governs only with respect to the state sphere.

Moreover respondents of higher status seem particularly responsive towards national party conflict but indifferent toward party conflict at the state sphere. Among respondents having either a technical, college or university education, those on incomes of \$12000 - \$16000 or over \$20000, and among those with non-manual

TABLE 3.7 The extent to which it makes much difference which party governs at both, one, or no spheres by sex, education, income, occupation, class, age.\*

	Difference at both spheres	Difference only at the national sphere	Difference only at the state sphere	No difference at both spheres	N
Sample	30.7	20.4	13.5	17.4	362
Sex:					
Men	32.3	23.9	12.3	20.0	155
Women	29.5	17.9	14.5	15.5	207
Education:					
Primary	39.1	4.7	17.2	20.3	64
Secondary	30.8	19.9	14.2	17.1	211
Technical & College	21.2	33.3	9.1	21.2	33
University	27.5	35.3	7.8	13.7	51
Occupation:					
Manual	37.5	7.1	19.6	28.6	56
Non-manual	30.4	31.5	8.1	10.1	148
Retired, Students, Home duties	38.8	14.7	16.7	20.5	156
Income:					
0-3999	27.6	15.8	18.4	27.4	76
4000-7999	38.6	14.3	23.2	16.1	56
8000-11999	36.5	16.2	12.2	16.2	74
12000-15999	26.8	33.9	10.7	14.3	56
16000-19999	38.7	22.6	3.2	19.4	31
20000 and over	34.5	37.9	10.3	10.3	29
Class:					
Working	35.9	9.4	16.4	18.8	128
Middle	29.8	29.8	10.5	16.6	181
Age:					
18-24	23.7	20.3	16.9	25.4	59
25-29	40.5	27.7	10.8	13.5	37
30-39	28.4	17.6	14.9	16.2	74
40-49	36.8	26.3	10.5	7.0	57
50-59	22.2	27.8	13.9	19.4	36
60 and over	33.3	12.5	12.5	20.8	96

\* Those who answered Don't know have not been included in the table.



occupations, the majority answered that it makes a difference which party governs only with respect to the national sphere. Among all other groups (excepting only respondents aged 18-24 and 50-59), the majority answered that it makes a difference at both spheres. For the sample as a whole also most respondents consider that it makes a difference which party governs at both national and state spheres. Nonetheless party conflict nationally is more visible overall than is state party conflict. This is so particularly among higher status groups, while to respondents of lower status party differences at the state sphere are more prominent than nationally. Partisan patterns are consistent with these trends.

Using federal patterns of party identification, table 3.8 portrays the patterns of perceptions of party conflict in relation to party preference. Among Labor partisans and dual identifiers a majority answered that it makes a difference which party governs with respect to both spheres. But this is not the case among Liberals. By a small margin, 2%, the highest percentage of Liberals answered that it makes a difference only at the national sphere. Moreover only a relatively small percentage of Liberals perceive party conflict confined to the state sphere and this proportion is half that of Labor partisans.

It might be expected that a partisan attachment at both spheres would be related to perceiving party differences at both spheres. As shown by the table, among the partisans of neither party is this true

TABLE 3.8 The extent to which it makes much difference which party governs at both, one or no spheres by federal pattern of party identification (%)\*

Federal Pattern of Party Identification	Difference at both spheres	Difference only at the national sphere	Difference only at the state sphere	No difference at both spheres	N
Liberal Partisans	26.7	28.6	7.6	13.3	105
Labor Partisans	44.1	15.2	15.9	15.9	145
Dual Identifiers	42.9	21.4	14.3	7.1	14
National Identifiers	-	35.7	7.1	14.3	14
State Identifiers	9.1	-	45.5	36.4	11
Non Partisans	17.2	19.0	13.8	25.9	58

\* Note: Those who answered "Don't know" have not been included in the table.

for an absolute majority, although it is more the case among Labor partisans than among Liberals. Three conclusions are implied by this partisan pattern. The trends suggest that for Liberals there is a greater difference between the parties nationally than at the state sphere; to 55% of Liberals it makes a difference which party governs nationally but only to 34% does it matter at the state sphere. But for Labor partisans there is a difference at both spheres. With respect to both national and state spheres, to 59% of Labor partisans it does make a difference which party governs. Thirdly, among Labor partisans a much greater percentage indicate there is a difference between the parties at the state sphere than among Liberals. In other words the trends imply that to Liberals it would be much more important for Liberals to win national elections than state elections. It would be equally important for Labor supporters to win at both spheres. Consequently it would be much more important to Labor partisans to win a state contest than it would to Liberal partisans. This however

is only the implication, the questions did not ask about the importance of winning elections. The speculation however is consistent with recent electoral history, patterns of party identification and with patterns of voting behaviour. Further, as will be indicated in Chapter 5 it is also consistent with perceptions about the importance of elections.

The table also portrays the pattern among mixed identifiers. Among national identifiers, the majority perceive party differences with respect to the national sphere only and conversely a majority of state identifiers perceive party identifiers predominantly at the state sphere only. A majority of dual identifiers perceive party differences with respect to both spheres. The groups however are too small to more than suggest that these patterns of party identification are consistent with perceptions of party conflict.

The remaining category is the non-partisans and among this group there is no clear trend. To a majority it would not make much difference which party governed at either sphere and perhaps these are apoliticals. Among the remainder most felt that the parties would make a difference at the national sphere only.

In concluding this examination of the extent to which it makes a difference which party governs at the two spheres of the federal system, the main points may be summarized. It makes a difference which party governs nationally to more respondents than it matters with respect to the state sphere. While the majority answered that it makes a difference at both spheres, more people perceived differences at the national sphere only than with respect to the state sphere

only. These perceptions however vary with status and partisanship. People of higher status and Liberals are more likely to perceive party differences at the national sphere than at the state sphere while Labor partisans and people of lower status are likely to perceive differences at both spheres.

Further, more Labor partisans than Liberals were likely to answer that it makes a difference which party governs at the state sphere only. These trends in partisanship are consistent with voting patterns and the degree to which party support is integrated across electoral boundaries. Labor support was found to be more integrated than Liberal support. It is also implied that patterns of mixed identification correspond with patterns of perceptions about the extent of party differences at each sphere.

National party competition is more salient than state party competition and this variation appears to relate to significant partisan differences. It is to the nature of the perceptions of party conflict that the focus now turns.

2) Images of Party Competition.

(a) The national sphere.

It was shown above in table 3.1 that 57% of the sample answered that it does make a difference which party governs nationally. When these respondents were then asked to give reasons and to explain the difference, 2.8% did not know and a further 19.6% offered only generalized responses reiterating that there were differences. Almost half of these said or implied that there were differences between policies or platforms or that they adopted different approaches; for example "different policies", "outlook, approach totally different" or "emphasis of each party different".<sup>1</sup> The remainder either stated a preference for one party, "prefer Labor" or merely affirmed that one party was better than the other: "Labor government better", "Liberals slightly better". Although such responses indicate that the respondents perceived differences between the parties, the images are not clearly defined.

However the majority were able to articulate specific reasons indicating perceived differences between parties. These fall into five broad categories, ideological 16.4%, policies 16.0%, management of government 16.0%, differences between the parties relating to groups regarded as associated with a party 14.1%, leaders or leadership 5.0%, and a residual category, 10.5%. Table 3.9 displays this categorized summary of the responses for the total sample as well as for the respondents according to their party identification at the national sphere.

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1. The respondents' descriptions of party competition are reproduced in Appendices 2 and 3.

Ideology is the slightly larger category of specific reasons, comprising 16.4% of the responses. This category contains references to socialism, communism and nationalisation with reference to the Labor Party and associates the Liberal Party with capitalism, free enterprise and laissez-faire and one response which describes the Liberal leader as a fascist. Thus for example the "Liberals are too capitalistic" or for "free enterprise" and "laissez-faire" whereas "Labor (is) more communist minded" or "devoted to socialism". Less extreme are five responses referring merely to "philosophical differences"

TABLE 3.9 Images of party differences at the national sphere by national party identification.

Image category	Sample	Liberal	Labor	No Preference
	%	%	%	%
Ideological	16.4	22.3	10.2	20.9
Policy - economic	5.5)	5.6)	4.1)	8.4)
- social welfare	6.9)16.0	4.5)12.4	8.2)18.5	8.4)16.8
- other	3.7)	2.3)	6.2)	- )
Management of gov't	16.0	24.5	10.2	12.5
Serving the people	4.1	3.4	6.2)	-
Group related differences	14.1	7.8	22.5	4.2
Leaders and Leadership	5.0	6.7	3.1	8.4
Other	10.5	10.0	8.2	16.7
Differences - general	19.6	14.5	24.5	20.9
Differences - don't know	2.8	2.3	3.1	-
	100	100	100	100
Total responses	220*	90	98	24

\*Other identification = 8

Policy differences and responses relating to the parties' ability to govern or approach to governing are the two next categories with each comprising 16.0% of the responses. Differences in policy are centered on two areas, economic and social welfare. Half of the responses relating to economic policy simply stated that the parties pursue different economic policies or produced differing effects on the economy. The remainder referred to areas of economic policy or performance where the parties were seen to differ or produce different results. Thus the responses range from the statement "The effect on the economy" to the more specific evaluations, "Labor... caused unemployment" or "tends to be more centralist and increases in taxation", and the "effect on incomes, Labor decreases, Liberals increase." Social welfare was the policy area most mentioned. A majority of these responses merely stated or implied differences in social welfare policies - "in (the) field of social welfare", "welfare of (the) underdog" with the remainder referring approvingly to Labor's record in relation to pensions and medibank. A residual category labelled "other" contains the remaining references to policy differences. This category comprises references to defence, foreign policy, farmers, and several references to education.

An equal number of responses referred to governing. Of these a number refer to one party or the other being "More for the people and not for themselves"; the others concern either economic responsibility (as opposed to economic policy), capability, or approach to governing. Labor is seen as lacking financial responsibility, "Labor government went mad and spent money wholesale"; and more prone to crisis and instability whereas the Liberals are seen as more peaceful, better managers financially and indeed simply more competent to manage the

governing process. Some responses however also suggest that the "Liberals have mucked up everything" or that the "general state of affairs (was) better under Labor."

The fourth major category of responses concerns differences between the parties in relation to groups and interests associated with the parties. Simply put "Labor is for the working man" and the unions or is under union control whereas the "Liberals are for the upper class," "capital, the businessman, "the multinationals" or against the working man and is not dominated by unions.

The remaining specific category concerns evaluations of the party leaders or their approach. Four responses are critical of Mr. Whitlam, and one is favourable (but in relation to uranium); Mr. Fraser scores three negative responses and two favourable, while two more responses simply perceive party differences in terms of "leadership".

The final category, comprising 10.5% of the responses, is a residual group among which are comments outside the main groupings or which are difficult to relate to the question; for example, "which ever party governs has the say" or "govern us from there (Canberra)." More than half of this group comprise such unclassifiable responses. Of the remainder one respondent sees a "moral difference", others perceive differences in the parties' relations with the states. while several other respondents deny differences (after initially answering that it did make a difference which party governs).

In summary then, national party differences are seen as comprising



five specific areas - ideology, policy, management of government, groups associated with the parties and party leaders. These with a residual group account for 78.0% of the responses. The remainder either give no reason or provide only a most generalised response that there is a difference, that one party is "better" than another or that there are "different policies." These however are the groupings of the sample as a whole. When the responses are grouped according to the respondents' national party identification significant partisan differences appear.

As shown by Table 3.9 the responses by those identifying with the Liberal and Labor parties indicating specific differences tend to cluster into two categories. For Liberal identifiers some 46.0% of the responses refer either to ideology or management of government; for Labor supporters 40.0% of the responses relate to interests or groups associated with the parties or to specific policy areas.

Of the responses from Liberals 24.5% referred to management of government. To Liberals, the Labor party provided poor managers of the governing process: "Labor too out of this world, went stupid, too radical". This theme was much less prominent among Labor supporters; to four respondents it is the Liberal party who are poor managers while to six Labor supporters the "Labor Party work more for the people".

Second to this theme from Liberals are the responses referring to ideology; Labor is socialistic and "tied up with the communist party." The Liberal Party on the other hand is "against nationalisation and socializ-

ation and for free enterprise and incentives for workers". Most Liberals in this group perceive the Liberal Party as opposing Labor's socialism; very few Liberal responses refer to a positive component of Liberal ideology, or philosophy. On the other hand, while this category comprises relatively fewer Labor responses, half provide responses approving of Labor's socialism and the remainder simply associate the Liberal Party with free enterprise and capitalism but not with the aversion that Liberal supporters imply in relation to socialism.

The largest category of specific responses from Labor supporters is group related differences; 22.5% of Labor responses answered that "Labor is for the working man", "Labor for workers ... Liberal is not" or the Liberal party is for "the upper class", "multinationals" or "big business". That is, Labor identifiers tend to perceive national party conflict in sectional terms. The Liberals however who comprise this category (7.8% of Liberal responses), tend to refer either to trade unionism or to the Liberal Party being concerned with a "broader span of people".

Policy items rank second in frequency among Labor identifiers and the third for the Liberals. But whereas the Labor responses refer predominantly to social welfare, Liberal responses are equally divided among the three policy categories. Among the Liberals, social welfare policies are less frequently mentioned than economic policy whereas economic policies are relatively infrequently cited by Labor identifiers.

For the supporters of both parties generalized differences are also frequent responses but more so among Labor identifiers, 24.5% compared to 14.5%. In fact this is the largest category of Labor responses but third largest among Liberals indicating that either

Liberals are more articulate in framing their perceptions of party differences or that Labor supporters are not so clear about the differences.

Not much can be said about those claiming no party preference as the number of responses are really too small to indicate a pattern. But it is noticeable that policy and ideological responses are similarly prominent.

To summarize, the perceived party differences at the national sphere relate in the main to ideology, policies, management of government, group related differences and 22.4% of generalized responses. But whereas Liberals tend to stress ideology and management of government with references to policies a lagging third, group related differences, policies and generalised responses comprise the majority of responses from Labor identifiers.

To complete the picture of perceptions about party differences however, it is also necessary to consider the reasons 34% felt that it does not make much difference which party governs. Table 3.10 indicates the categories of responses for the total sample and by partisanship of the respondent. To a third, there was simply no difference between the parties; "seems much the same with either party", "much of a muchness", or "both parties act the same way".

Perhaps significantly, this was the position taken by proportionally more Labor supporters than Liberals. To another 25% there was no difference because both parties are equally incapable or unlikely "to do much good". Moreover a further ten percent are distrustful of politicians - "both the same, all after

TABLE 3.10 Reasons for parties regarded as not making a difference at the national sphere by national party identification.

	Sample	Liberal	Labor	Other	No Preference
	%	%	%	N	%
No difference	33.3	20.0	39.2	5	28.2
Both parties equally incapable	24.5	26.7	17.6	3	31.3
Distrust of Politicians	9.8	-	13.7	-	15.6
Other	17.9	30.0	15.6	-	15.6
Don't know or no answer	14.6	23.3	13.7	2	9.4
	100	100	100		100
Total Responses	123	30	51	10	32

money". If these two categories are combined, 34.3% of the responses indicate a lack of confidence in the national politicians of both parties.

Of the remainder 18.0% comprise a residual category. Most of these responses do not appear to relate to the question or provide insufficient information to categorize. Of the rest respondents did not know. Thus of the reasons given for the parties not making a difference nationally, one third said the parties were the same and a further third thought they were all incapable or not to be trusted.

## 2. (b) The state sphere.

Just under half the sample stated that it did make much difference which party governs at the state sphere. But for many of these respondents it was difficult to articulate in specific terms the nature of the difference. In describing the differences almost 40% of the responses are

broad generalisations. In fact 6.2% of the respondents could not provide a reason, and another 2.8% answered either "everything" or "nothing specific". The remainder of these generalized differences comprise two themes, different policies or approaches 14.1%, and statements merely affirming either specifically or implicitly that one party is better than the other, 15.2%; for example, "policies", "both have different ideas", or merely that "Labor is better for the state", "Liberals do more for us" or that "Labor should stay in". All these generalized statements are merely affirming that the respondent simply prefers a particular party. The remaining 61.7% of the responses refer to specific differences.

TABLE 3.11 Images of party differences at the state sphere by state party identification.

Image Category	Sample	Liberal	Labor	No Preference
	%	%	%	%
Management of gov't	13.0	7.5	15.0	17.4
Group related differences	12.4	2.5	15.9	13.1
National - state relations	7.9	15.0	5.6	4.4
Leaders & Leadership	6.8	2.5	7.5	13.1
Ideological	5.1	10.0	4.7	
Policies	5.1	2.5	5.6	4.4
General - policy	14.1	17.5	12.2	13.1
" one party better	15.2	10.0	16.9	21.6
" differences undefined	2.8	7.5	1.0	-
" don't know	6.2	12.5	5.9	-
(Total General)	(38.3)	(47.5)	(35.6)	(34.8)
Other	11.8	10.0	10.3	13.1
	100	100	100	100
Total responses	178*	40	107	23

\* OTHER party identification = 8

Three categories, group related differences, management of government, and a residual grouping comprise just on half these responses. Thirteen percent refer to management of government with the majority simply stating that "Labor does a good job", or that Labor is more experienced. A few ventured to suggest however that the Liberals would do better. Others in this category express the view that Labor members "get on with what they do" implying steady, cautious, if unspectacular progress. The group related differences mention that "Labor are for the working class" while the Liberals "are for business people".

The residual, "other", category contains a range of comments, many of which appear to lack relevance to the question. Indeed some appear to contradict the earlier statement of there being differences between the parties. For example such comments as "issues don't matter," or "Canberra holds the purse strings" imply that differences are not very significant. Several comments relate to the size of the state in which decisions are vital or that it needs a strong party in power. Others refer to the social composition of the state, it is Labor or working class, with the balance not really pointing to a difference such as, "Public opinion" and "people are different."

Four categories comprise the remaining responses; references to party relations with the national sphere, leadership, specific policies and ideological differences. Responses referring to party relations

across the two electoral spheres (7.9%) comprise two views; on the one hand half the responses suggest that "it is sensible to have (the) same (party in) government in (the) state as in Canberra" as this would achieve "more harmony". The other view is the opposite; it is better to have a different party in power in the state to that at the national sphere.

Statements about the leaders comprise 6.8% of the responses. Almost all are critical of the opposition leader such as "Don't like leader of opposition and his outlook" with two statements praising the Labor leader and ministers.

References to specific policy areas are significantly few, 5.1%. In this group of responses two main areas of policy are covered; social welfare and taxation, with the H.E.C., industrial relations, housing, transport and unemployment also mentioned, but only the comments on social welfare provide any descriptive comment. For example "Labor look after the young and old" or "With Labor, pensioners get a better deal". Of equally low prominence in respondent's perceptions of party differences in the state are ideological differences; only 5.1% refer to ideology and most rather mildly. One refers to a "communist influence", a few to socialism and free enterprise or laissez-faire and others just to different ideologies or philosophies.

Almost half the responses from Liberals comprise generalized statements about differences compared with just over a third of the Labor responses. Of the Liberal responses, 17% refer to general policy differences - "I like their policies better -" while this category accounts for just 12% of the Labor responses. The reverse proportions apply among those who simply stated either that "Labor are the best" or that the "liberals do more for us". However, unspecified differences - "different ways - no specific reason" - and the "don't know" responses are proportionally much more frequent among Liberals than Labor supporters.

Among the more specific items, management of government and differences relating to groups associated with the parties are the prominent response categories from Labor supporters, while national - state party relations and ideology are the most prominent among Liberals although comprising only 25%.

The Labor Party's traditional image as the party for the working class comprises 15.9% of the responses. Significantly however only two Labor respondents contrast this with a relationship between the Liberal Party and business interests and no references are made to capitalism or multinationals. The Labor Party is simply regarded as being more for the worker than the Liberal Party. Significant too is the absence of Liberal comments in this category. There is only one Liberal response and this agrees with the Labor view; "There are more working people in



Tasmania so Labor is more appropriate". Further, the unions, or union influence is totally neglected.

The management of government category is also dominated by Labor supporters with most agreeing that "Labor does a good job". Again the absence of Liberal responses is significant. Only three Liberals express any criticism and mildly at that. One is critical of "How they handle the deficit"; another suggests that the "Liberals would have handled the bridge situation much better," and the third simply states that the "Liberal members are better."

Proportionally Liberals have more to say about ideological differences and party relations across the two electoral spheres. To three Liberals the Labor Party is "left wing" or socialist and a fourth is concerned about a "communist influence", but this represents a significantly low emphasis on ideology. Liberals have slightly more to say about the relations between national and state branches of the parties. All six Liberals agree that greater harmony would be the result if there was the same party in power in the state as nationally; but only provided both are Liberal. Labor responses are a mixture; some suggest the Labor equivalent of the Liberal view and others that Liberals "would toe the Fraser line". One respondent makes the interesting comment that the state government is the link between the people and the national government; "they can make demands on (the) federal government ... and influence (the) distribution of what (the) federal government gives the state."

The residual 'other' category comprises a similar percentage of comments from Liberals, Labor supporters and non-partisans and the remaining categories are dominated by Labor respondents. Labor supporters are unanimous in their condemnation of the Liberal leader with the non-partisans either in agreement or suggesting that Labor has a "much stronger line up of leaders and ministers". Labor responses also comprise the majority in the policies group, most of which refer to social welfare.

In summary, images of party competition at the state sphere predominantly comprise four themes; generalized differences 40%, management of government 13%, group related differences 12% and a residual category 12%. Labor and non-partisan respondents each emphasize management of government and group related differences much more than do Liberals. More Liberal responses than either those from Labor supporters or non-partisans are general comments and each provide a similar proportion of comments in the residual category. Liberal comments also comprise most of the references to ideology and national-state relations.

Because relatively few Liberals felt that it would make much difference which party governs Tasmania, Liberals provide proportionally more responses explaining why it is not important which party is in power in the state. These are shown below in table 3.12.

It can be seen that the bulk of responses simply state that both parties are similar; "both much the same", "both have advantages and disadvantages", "Haven't noticed any difference". To this category may be added a further six percent of responses expressing the view that the Labor Party is conservative or right wing. Implied by these comments is that Labor is moderate compared to national Labor and not

TABLE 3.12 Reasons for parties regarded as not making a difference at the state sphere by state party identification.

Image category	Sample	Liberal	Labor	No Preference
Both parties similar	36.5	26.0	35.9	44.5
Moderation of the ALP	6.1	8.0	9.5	—
Dominance of national government	10.2	14.0	7.6	11.2
Financial constraints	4.1	4.0	—	11.2
Low profile of state politics	4.1	4.0	7.6	—
Personalities	3.4	—	5.7	5.6
Criticisms of parties and politicians	14.2	18.0	13.2	8.4
Other	9.3	14.0	9.5	2.8
Don't know	12.2	12.0	11.4	16.7
	100	100	100	100
Total Responses	148*	50	53	36

\* OTHER = 9

very much different from the Liberal Party. As one Liberal explained, "State Labor doesn't affect business at all whereas Federal Labor did affect business" or, as a Labor man stated, the "Labor party is too much interested in power for the sake of it and not much better than the Liberals".

Three categories of responses take the theme that the state is limited in what it can do by the national government and financial constraints or that state politics is relatively insignificant. Ten percent of the responses refer to the dominance of the national government over the state and imply that the state sphere is little more than an arm of the national government; for example, "federal level overrides any policies", "Don't think the state government has much to do with anything" or that "All the money comes from Canberra; the state

government spends money how its told to". To these comments may be added a further 4% expressing the view that "They (the parties) haven't got the means to influence our lives" or that "both (the parties) are limited due to finance". A slight variation on this theme refers to the scale of state politics: It doesn't make much difference which party is in power "because the state doesn't affect the international level" or because the state only has "to look after roads, bridges, education and health". State politics is seen only as "small town politics - decisions not that important".

Three percent of the comments refer to personalities. It is not the parties but the individuals who make the difference; it "depends on the person who stands." But while some respondents regard individuals as important, a comparatively large proportion take an opposite view; "Politics is a dirty business no matter who runs the state." They are all as bad as one another; "both do a lousy job", the parties are both the same; they "promise everything until they get in."

A further twelve percent of responses were from people who could not provide a reason and the remaining nine percent is a residual category expressing a range of views such as, "Can't do anything about it once they're in" or "Because the Labor Party has been in too long."

The table also shows a remarkable degree of partisan agreement. Most categories contain similar proportions of the total responses given by the supporters of the two parties. But there are important exceptions to this degree of agreement. Compared to Liberal responses, a high proportion of the reasons offered by Labor supporters and non-partisans refer to a perceived similarity between the two parties.

More significant however are the responses contributing to the second theme, that of a limited role for state government. It is instructive that 14% of the responses, which represents ~~5.5%~~ of the total sample, take the view that the state government is limited either by a lack of finance or more importantly by the national government. The view is that state politicians "are just spenders of federal money". But furthermore, this category contains a relatively high percentage of the responses offered by Liberals, more than twice the proportion of Labor responses, and represents some 8% of those with a partisan attachment to the state branch of the Liberal Party. Or to put it another way, 45% of state Liberals said that it does not make much difference which party governs in the state of whom some 18% said the reason is because the national government exercises over-riding control. And further, each one of these nine respondents is a Liberal identifier with respect to both spheres thus representing a significant proportion of Liberal supporters.

2. (c) Images of party competition in the federal context: the two spheres compared.

Perceptions of party conflict at each sphere of the federal system have been examined. In Table 3.13 below the elements comprising the images are displayed providing an overview of the perceptions and facilitating comparison.

Several significant variations are apparent. At the national sphere a much greater proportion of the responses refer to specific differences as opposed to generalizations. That is, at the national sphere perceived differences between the parties are much more clearly identifiable to respondents than with respect to the state sphere.

TABLE 3.13. Images of party competition, national and state.

National image		State image	
General differences	(22.4%)	General differences	(38.3%)
Ideology	(16.4%)	Management of government	(13.0%)
Policy	(16.0%)	Group related differences	(12.4%)
Management of government	(16.0%)	National-state relations	( 7.9%)
Group related differences	(14.1%)	Leaders	( 6.8%)
Leaders	( 5.0%)	Ideology	( 5.1%)
Other	(10.5%)	Policy	( 5.1%)
		Other	(11.2%)
No. of responses	220		178

Statements referring to ideology and specific policy areas are much more prominent with reference to national affairs than to state politics. This variation moreover is evident among both Liberal and Labor partisans; that is even among Liberals ideological differences are much less prominent with respect to the state sphere than nationally. To Liberals management of government is also a much less significant category with respect to the state sphere. Labor supporters, on the other hand, commended the state government and provided relatively fewer comments concerning management of government nationally.

The Liberals provide contrasting evaluations across the two spheres but among Labor supporters there is some integration in their perceptions of party conflict, particularly relating to the

category of group related items. To Labor supporters a major difference between the parties is that Labor is for "the workers". To the extent that this is a significant evaluation of the nature of partisan competition it provides a bridging link between the national and state components of the party in terms of objectives for Labor supporters. Thus while party identification tends to be integrated across electoral spheres with 70% of the sample holding the same attachment at both spheres, perceptions about the focus for partisan action tend to vary and to a greater extent among Liberals than among Labor supporters.

The partisan differences in perceptions of party competition at the two spheres are not the contribution of mixed identifiers. Tables 3.9 and 3.11 summarized the responses by party identification at each sphere separately; there was no separation for mixed identifiers. Thus it might be suggested that mixed identifiers perceived different images of party conflict at the two spheres and thus distorted the federal picture. But this is not the case for two reasons. Firstly, the number of responses from mixed identifiers is comparatively small. With respect to the national sphere responses from mixed identifiers account for 10% of the total and at the state sphere 9.6%. Secondly, the responses are evenly distributed over the categories; with one exception, there is no concentration of mixed identifiers in any one category to distort the partisan comparisons.

Nevertheless, this exception is important. As can be seen from table 3.14 three dual identifiers referred to party relations across electoral boundaries in their explanation of why it makes a difference which party governs in the state. Each response

TABLE 3.14 Images of party differences at the national and state spheres for mixed identifiers.

Image category	Dual Identifiers	National Identifiers	State Identifiers
<u>National Sphere</u>	N	N	N
Ideological	1	-	-
Policy - economic	2	1	-
" - other	-	1	-
Management of gov't	2	1	1
Group related differences		2	
Other	3	3	
Differences - general		2	1
" - don't know	2		
Total responses	10	10	2
<u>State Sphere</u>			
Management of gov't	-	1	1
Group related differences	-	-	1
National - State relations	3	-	
Policy	-	-	1
General differences - policy	2	-	1
one party better	1	2	1
don't know	2	-	-
other	-	-	1
Total Responses	8	3	6

suggested or implied that it is "good to have a different party in power in the state"; the kind of answer that could be considered consistent with dual identification. Moreover this response is consistent with a later question in the survey. Respondents were asked, "Do you think it important that there be a different party in government in Tasmania to the party in government in Canberra?" Each of these three respondents answered in the affirmative. Furthermore, one voted consistent with this view in the 1975 and 1976 elections and another did vote for the Labor party in the 1976 state election but was too young to vote at the preceding national election. The other respondent however reported voting for the Liberal Party at both elections. Perhaps



a desire to balance the parties in power across jurisdictions is a significant perspective among dual identifiers reflecting a view which is the antithesis of integration. However while this may be a significant view among dual identifiers, it does not distort the partisan content of the category; the category contains a majority of Liberals as noted above, taking an opposite view.

The response patterns of non-partisans reflect those of the total sample. Among this group five categories of responses comprise most of the statements about national party differences; ideological and general policy and other and references to management of government. Thus specific items are the predominant focus. With respect to the state sphere however, generalised comments comprise almost 40% of the responses. As for the total sample then, party differences are much clearer defined at the national sphere. Among the remaining statements relating to the state sphere, management of government is marginally more prominent than references to leaders, group related differences and "other". But a significant absence, again reflecting the total sample, are ideological considerations.

Thus perspectives of party differences do vary between the two spheres of government. But while this is so for all shades of partisanship, it is the case among Labor supporters to a less degree than to Liberals.

### 3) Conclusion.

In 1960 Davis drew attention to persisting and clear disparities in levels of party support between national and state elections for the period 1940 to 1959. To encourage explanations for these patterns of party preference Davis suggested several possible alternatives relating to images of the parties and perceptions about the content of partisan competition at the state sphere. Among these were the quietness of state politics, the absence of controversial issues and the ideological respectability of state Labor parties.<sup>1</sup> Since then other commentators have echoed these themes.

Townsley has referred to Tasmanian politics as "rather a low key" affair in which there is relatively little controversy and certainly with an absence of intense rivalry.<sup>2</sup> Herr has extended this theme. To Herr, Tasmania "is a state where politics receive a lower priority in the public consciousness than administration."<sup>3</sup> Tasmanian state politics is characterized less by partisan competition centred on policy goals than on managing the activities of government. The Labor Party's success

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1. Davis, op.cit., p.650

2. Townsley op.cit., p.64.

3. R.A. Herr et.al., "Accountability and Proportional Representation : The Tasmanian Case", Politics, V10, No. 2, Nov. 1975, p.219.

according to Herr, is attributable to its ability to administer and pursue a "pragmatic, brokerage - politics style of government"[in a] "state more anxious to be administered than governed."<sup>1</sup>

This brokerage style of politics is also to Sharman the characteristic of party competition in a state where regional loyalties and the strength of personality pervade the political process.<sup>2</sup> Because of the importance of both these factors, party competition becomes centred not on broad policy objectives but on the provision of benefits to win electoral support. This has the effect of defusing or mitigating against ideological considerations. To Sharman, "Ideological issues have little meaning in such a context since the prime goal of both parties is to amass a bundle of candidates and policies that can be cobbled together to guarantee an electoral majority."<sup>3</sup> An absence of ideology is sure to dampen the fires of political debate.

The accuracy of these themes is evident in the preceeding analysis. As indicated by tables 3.1 and 3.4, state politics compared to the national sphere is "settled" politics. Whereas 57% of the sample agreed that it does make a difference which party governs at the national sphere, slightly less than half the sample felt the same with respect to the state parties. Moreover, even among those who did consider that the parties would make a difference in the state, the responses, when compared to perceptions about national party conflict, tend to be much less specific in identifying important differences between the parties.

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1. ibid., p. 219.

2. G.C. Sharman, "Tasmania: The Politics of brokerage", in Current Affairs Bulletin, Vol.53, No.9, Feb.1977, pp.15-23.

3. ibid., p. 21.

As well as variations in the extent of specific as opposed to generalized statements of party differences there are also significant contrasts between the two spheres in the prominence of the specific categories. Specific policy items are prominent in the party differences nationally but are relatively obscure with respect to the state party conflict. And it is policy goals or objectives to be pursued which give rise to ideological perspectives. Ideology too, although of importance nationally is much less significant at the state sphere; even to Liberals. The most prominent category of specific responses at the state sphere is in fact management of government and this reflects the descriptions of Tasmanian state politics noted above.

Moreover, it is also noticeable that the state Labor Party was largely applauded for its administration of government; indeed there is a marked absence of Liberal criticism with its performance. This too is consistent with Herr's conclusion that the state Labor Party enjoys considerable respect for its administration, from its own supporters as well as from the supporters of its political opponents.

These contrasts in the prominence of response categories at the two spheres signal differing perceptions about the nature and focus of party competition at each sphere. For Liberals, especially the two spheres involve contrasting perceptions of party competition implying differing goals and political responsibilities. This however is much less so among Labor supporters. Although there are significant differences, a degree of integration is apparent among Labor supporters with respect to the sectional interests associated with the party. To a significant proportion of

Labor supporters at each sphere party competition involves the pursuance of policies "for the worker". In this respect the goals of government appear to be more integrated across the spheres in the perceptual appreciations of some Labor supporters.

These partisan differences are consistent with the differences noted above in the degree of party conflict at the two spheres. Compared to Liberals a comparatively high proportion of Labor supporters answered that it makes a difference which party governs at both spheres; this is understandable if party competition is seen in similar terms. On the other hand party differences are more prominent to Liberals at the national sphere and this too is consistent with variations between the sphere in Liberal perceptions about the party conflicts. The implication of these patterns is that Liberal supporters are likely to be more keen to win national elections than state elections whereas Labor supporters may be equally keen to win both. State elections moreover, are likely to be much more competitively contested by Labor supporters than Liberals.

Not only were Liberals more perceptive of party differences at the national sphere than at the state sphere, but prominent among the reasons ~~for saying that~~ on why it makes a difference which party governs in the state is the theme that the same party in power at both spheres would promote greater harmony. Moreover, prominent among the reasons given by Liberals who felt that it does not make a difference which party governs the state were references to an implied acceptance of national dominance. These responses imply a degree of nationalization in perceptions about party competition, which is surprising given the special attention the Liberal Party, and Tasmanian Liberals especially, accord to "states rights". But as will be shown in Chapter 5 a majority of Liberals nevertheless

consider themselves foremost as Tasmanian.

It is this category of responses too which is prominent for the dual identifiers who agreed that it makes a difference which party governs in the state. Although most of their responses were general, the three respondents who were specific referred to party relations across the spheres. Each took the contrary view to the Liberals, that it is preferable to balance one party in power nationally with another party in power in the state. For dual identifiers, their schizoid attachment does not appear to derive from clearly defined perspectives which associate the parties to particular spheres of the federal system, but at least partially to a notion of balancing the parties which in its most rational construction entails a perception of the federal system as a competitive interaction between component governmental units.

Thus the Denison voters provide varying perceptions about the degree and nature of partisan conflict as it is practised by the two parties at the two electoral spheres of the federal system. These perceptions in turn invite questions relating to the salience of the governmental units. But before dealing with those questions the next chapter examines the extent to which images of the parties vary across electoral spheres in the light of the variations in perceptions of party conflict described above.

## CHAPTER 4

### PARTY IMAGES

It has been shown that patterns of party preference exhibit a relatively high degree of integration between national and state electoral spheres. Perceptions about party competition however differ across spheres. More respondents perceive differences between the parties nationally than between the state components of the parties. In addition, the images of party competition vary across spheres. Consequently perceptions about each of the parties should vary across spheres. This is the subject of this chapter; an examination of respondent's perceptions about the two parties (party images) with respect to each electoral sphere.

Two methods of constructing party images have been developed in other surveys. One is to provide statements about the parties and ask respondents whether they agree or disagree.<sup>1</sup> A more sophisticated variation of this method is the semantic differential technique.<sup>2</sup> The respondent is invited to place each party on a scale with respect to various dimensions presented in the form of simple word pairs. For example, the dimension could be "general orientation" with the word pairs, young-old, left wing-right wing, and so on.

Another method is to ask open ended questions about the parties and categorize the responses. This is the method used in a number of American studies<sup>3</sup> as well as in Britain<sup>4</sup> and more recently by Aitkin in

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1. See for example, Hughes, op.cit.

2. J. Meisel, Working Papers on Canadian Politics, McGill-Queens University Press, Montreal, 1973.

3. A. Campbell et.al., op.cit.

4. Butler and Stokes, op.cit.

Australia.<sup>1</sup> It is this method which is followed here in an attempt to focus on voters' unstructured and spontaneous perceptions of the parties with respect to each sphere. Only by examining such responses through free answer type questions can the subtlety and flavour in the similarities and variations of party images between electoral spheres be revealed. But in adopting this method, there is the problem that the spontaneity of responses may reflect particular issues current at the time of the survey, rather than the more embedded perceptions about the parties. Where comments refer to issues of the period (as indicated in press reports) this is noted. For the most part however, the responses do appear to reflect the more deep-seated perceptions of the parties held by the respondents.

Following Aitkin, each respondent was asked what he liked and disliked about the national and state components of both parties. Eight questions were asked with each electoral arena treated independently and separated by intervening questions but identified by an introductory statement.<sup>2</sup> In the analysis, the responses to these eight questions have been grouped according to the subject area expressed with separate categorization for each question. The categories thus formulated have been summarized under descriptive headings and tabulated as elements of each party's aggregate image.

The results thus obtained indicate substantially different images between the national and state components of each party which parallel the perceptions of party differences as described in the preceding chapter.

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1. Aitkin, op.cit.

2. Questions 7-10 and 16-19. See Appendix 1.



1) The Parties at the National Sphere.

(a) The Liberal Party.

Table 4.1 presents the favourable and unfavourable images of the Liberal Party.<sup>1</sup> Taking firstly the favourable images, it can be seen that these comprise five main themes. Two dominant categories, policy items and general comments, account for 50% of the responses with three themes, statements about personalities, management of government and ideology accounting for all but 7% of the remaining comments. This 7% is a residual category containing such disparate comments<sup>1</sup> as "academics in the party", "a conscience vote permitted on many issues" and a description of the party as being "more pragmatic than Labor".

The main emphasis concerns specific policies, with the majority of the comments referring either specifically or in a general sense to economic policy matters. Thus the Liberals "are good, they have tried to solve inflation and unemployment; they "handle the economy better", and have attempted to "restrain the wage explosion" with two other comments applauding taxation measures. These comments, expressing a perception of competent economic management, total 17% of the responses, and more than 50% of the references to policies. The second policy category refers to industrial matters, in particular control of unions. The third policy category is a mixture of references to uranium, social welfare, defence, foreign affairs and rural policies and two favourable references just to "policies".

The second main group of responses are general statements.

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1. The responses are listed under each category in Appendix 2.

TABLE 4.1. Images of the Liberal Party (National) by party identification.

(% of positive responses)*				
Image	Sample	Liberal	Labor	No Preference
<u>Favourable</u>				
Policy - economic	17.2)	16.7)	20.0)	11.6)
industrial	5.2) 32.3	5.6) 21.5	10.0) 50.0	- ) 19.3
other	9.7)	4.2)	20.0)	7.7)
General favourable items	20.1	30.6	13.4	11.6
Personalities - Fraser	9.0)	12.5)	-	11.6)
Others	6.7) 15.7	4.2) 16.7	13.4) 13.4	3.9) 15.5
Management of government	14.2	12.5	6.7	30.8
Ideology - free enterprise	7.5)	5.6)	6.7)	11.6)
anti-socialist	3.7) 11.2	4.2) 9.8	- ) 6.7	3.9) 15.5
Other	6.8	7.0	10.0	7.7
Total Responses	134 <sup>1</sup>	72	30	26
<u>Unfavourable</u>				
Policy - economic management	6.7)	5.8)	9.4)	- )
employment	4.9)	3.5)	5.1)	6.7)
uranium mining	4.2)	2.3)	5.1)	4.5)
taxation	2.5) 28.6	7.0) 32.6	- ) 26.9	2.3)
industrial	2.1)	4.7)	0.8)	- )
other	8.1)	9.3)	6.5)	6.7)
Personalities - Fraser	16.7)	14.0)	19.5)	28.9)
Others	1.4) 18.1	3.5) 17.5	0.8) 20.3	- ) 28.9
Management of government	9.4)	18.6)	5.8)	8.9)
Dishonest, insincere	5.3) 14.7	3.5) 22.1	7.2) 13.0	4.5) 13.4
Group related items				
for big business	6.3)	1.2)	8.5)	8.9)
against the people/workers	4.6) 10.9	1.2) 2.4	6.5) 15.0	2.3) 11.2
Ideology				
conservative attitudes	3.9)	- )	5.8)	6.7)
capitalist/for free enterprise	3.9) 7.8	3.5) 3.5	4.4) 10.2	2.3) 9.0
Party related items - disunity	4.2)	9.3)	1.5)	4.5)
authoritarianism	2.2) 6.4	1.2) 10.5	2.2) 3.7	2.3) 6.8
General dislike	6.0	2.3	7.2	8.9
Other	5.3	9.3	4.4	2.3
Total Responses	284 <sup>2</sup>	86	139	45

\* That is, the percentage of actual comments, other than "don't know", "no", or "nothing". See Tables 4.7 and 4.8 for the total response rates.

1. Other party identifiers = 6
2. Other party identifiers = 15

This category, accounting for 20% of the responses, contains such comments as: "Yes, everything", "better for Australia", "nothing wrong with them", and "trying to do a job".

The party leader attracts 9.0% of the comments and with other Liberals mentioned, personalities of the party attract almost 16% of the responses. Mr. Fraser "impresses", is more refined, honest and fair; he is "not so dictatorial", keeps his promises and provides "good leadership". Other members who attract comment are Goodluck, Hodgman<sup>1</sup> and Peacock with five responses referring to unnamed members, ("several good men") also included in the category.

Of almost equal prominence are perceptions of a responsible, cautious, pragmatic and professional approach to governing. Liberal ministers are "more realistic in (their) approach to everyday affairs", cautious and more businesslike". To some respondents the party provides an image of strength and solidity while to others they are simply more capable.

Fifthly, is ideology encompassing references to "free enterprise" and opposition to socialism. But this category comprises only 11% of the responses.

It is to be expected that Liberals would provide the majority of the favourable responses but there are also partisan differences in the patterning of the images. One third of the Liberal responses comprise general comments while dominating the Labor responses are references to policy. Management of government is particularly stressed by non-partisans with ideology, personalities and policies, the other main

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1. Bruce Goodluck is the M.H.R. for the neighbouring electorate of Franklin and Michael Hodgman is the M.H.R. for Denison.

themes of favourable comment from this group; in fact, ideology is more significant among non-partisans than it is to Liberals.

Three elements comprising the party's favourable image, policy, personalities and management of government are counterbalanced by similar categories of unfavourable responses. Policies attract the most criticism and perhaps surprising, this area of comment is proportionally strongest among Liberals. It covers policies relating to economic management, employment, uranium mining, taxation, industrial relations and a residual category of references to education, social welfare, defence, foreign affairs and federalism.

Mr. Fraser himself attracts the second strongest focus of criticism, with comments ranging from the general "Mr. Fraser" to arrogance and breaking promises. Not surprisingly Labor partisans are more critical than Liberals of the Liberal leader, but he attracts most criticism from non-partisans.

Management of government accounts for almost 15% of the responses including a sub-theme comprising references to dishonesty and breaking promises. Other responses refer to a lack of concerted action, over-confidence and a "born to rule" attitude. Again it is perhaps surprising but proportionally this line of criticism is strongest among Liberals.

References to policies, personalities and management of government comprise more than 60% of the responses critical of the party. In terms of party identification, 72% of the Liberal responses comprise these categories while Labor identifiers and non-partisans parallel the sample patterning. Non-partisans and Labor supporters contribute more heavily than Liberals to three of the remaining categories, group

related items, ideology and general comments. Comments critical of relations with other groups account for 11% of the responses. These responses contain references to favouritism of "big business", and neglect of other groups, the handicapped, aborigines and especially "the working people". Labor identifiers and non-partisans are also critical of Liberal ideology and the party generally. Labor supporters are critical of the Liberals' "general capitalist philosophy" and conservatism. The non-partisans also refer to conservatism while two Liberals are divided over the party being "right wing" and adopting a "lot of socialist policies".

In contrast to the favourable comments, unfavourable responses are more specific; only 6%, the majority of which are offered by Labor identifiers or non-partisans, refer to a general dislike of the party.

The remaining responses contain comments about the party itself and residual items. Disunity, factionalism and authoritarianism make up 6% of responses relating to the functioning of the party. A relatively high proportion of Liberals refer to "too much bickering and arguing" while Labor identifiers and non-partisans are more critical of a "one-man show". The residual category (Other) is dominated by Liberals, with references to parliamentarians' salaries, renovations to the Lodge, elections, overseas trips and relations with the states.

#### b) The Labor Party

Favourable perceptions of the Labor Party are heavily concentrated on policy items with the majority related to social welfare, unemployment or education.

TABLE 4.2. Images of the Labor Party (National) by party identification

(% of positive responses)<sup>1</sup>

	Sample	Liberal	Labor	No Preference
<b>Favourable</b>				
Policy items - general	6.6)	15.4)	5.2)	- )
social welfare	17.1)	33.4)	11.1)	20.8)
education	8.1)	5.2)	6.7)	17.3)
unemployment	3.3)	- )	4.4)	3.5)
conservation	2.8)	2.6)	3.0)	3.5)
other policy	6.2)	2.6)	7.4)	3.5)
Group related items (for the worker)	15.2	-	20.9	13.8
Personalities - Whitlam	5.7)	7.7)	5.9)	3.5)
Others	4.7)	12.9)	3.7)	3.5)
Party related items - unity, democracy	7.1)	7.7)	8.1)	3.5)
- the members	2.4)	2.6)	1.5)	3.5)
Management of government	3.3)	-	4.4)	3.5)
serve the people	4.7)	-	4.4)	10.4)
Ideology/philosophy	4.7	5.2	5.1	3.5
General	8.1	5.2	8.9	6.9
Total Responses	211 <sup>1</sup>	39	135	29
<b>Unfavourable</b>				
Personalities - Whitlam	20.6)	19.6)	24.7)	17.9)
Others	8.2)	5.1)	16.5)	5.4)
Group related items - union affiliations	14.1)	17.4)	8.3)	16.2)
against groups	1.4)	1.5)	- )	1.8)
Policies - General	1.7)	3.7)	- )	- )
economic	5.9)	7.3)	3.6)	5.4)
social welfare	2.1)	2.2)	- )	3.6)
other	3.8)	4.3)	3.6)	1.8)
Ideology	11.3	13.1	4.7	16.1
Management of government	9.7	5.1	14.2	14.3
Performance as opposition	7.2	7.3	9.5	3.6
Party disunity	6.9	5.1	9.5	7.2
General dislike	4.5	6.6	1.2	3.6
Other	2.8	1.5	4.7	3.6
Total Responses	291 <sup>2</sup>	138	85	56

<sup>1</sup> That is, the percentage of actual comments, other than "don't know", "no", or "nothing". See Tables 4.7 and 4.8 for the total response rates.

1. Other party identifiers = 8

2. Other party identifiers = 12

While this is the pattern among each partisan grouping, policy items are particularly emphasised by Liberals with a concentration on welfare policy; as one Liberal commented, "their favourable attitude to welfare". Other comments include references to Medibank, pensioners, and a concern for the underprivileged. As well as welfare policies, non-partisans also emphasise education as a favourable policy concern of the Labor Party.

Policy is also important to Labor identifiers but comparatively less so than to Liberals and non-partisans. Group related responses is the theme dominated by Labor identifiers. This sectional and traditional image of the Labor Party as "working towards better standards for working people" comprises 20% of the Labor comments and nearly 14% of those from non-partisans. But while this is a strong thread to the party's image, it is not emphasized to the extent that Aitkin found in 1967.<sup>1</sup> This may be a product of the electorate. Alternatively it may be evidence in support of Kemp's thesis that the Labor Party is now less a class party than was once thought.<sup>2</sup>

References to Labor personalities are much less frequent than are comments praising Liberal personalities. Among the party leaders Mr. Whitlam is neither as popular nor as prominent as Mr. Fraser.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Fraser is the sole Liberal leader mentioned, whereas Hawke, Hayden and Dunstan are Labor leaders sharing the praise in Labor's favourable image. But in contrast to the Liberal Party, favourable comments about the Labor Party structure comprise a relatively significant theme. This category contains references to the "spirit of the party", unity,

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1. Aitkin op.cit., Table 4.5, p.64.

2. D.A. Kemp, Society and Electoral Behaviour in Australia, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1978.

3. This was also reflected in national opinion polls conducted prior to the election. See for example, The Age, Dec.8, 1977, p.4.

tactics and a "greater degree of democracy" with Liberals referring to "internal discipline", "solidarity" and "being outspoken". These four areas of comment, policy, group related items, personalities and party related items contribute 80% of the responses. The remaining themes refer to management of government, ideology and a general category with all partisan groupings contributing to each with the exception of management of government.

The management of government category contains responses, mainly from Labor identifiers and non-partisans, praising Labor's period in office with comments about honesty, activism and the party's concern for people. Examples include; "say what they mean", "when they were in power they did something", and, "Yes they're more down to earth, close to the people".

A further 8% of the responses are comments expressing a generally favourable attitude. Thus, they "do their best", "most things" and "I just like them" are examples. The remaining category is comments referring to ideology or philosophy. These range from references to socialism (including one Liberal) to objectives, ideals and philosophies. As for group related items, this category is also much below the 14% revealed in Aitkin's national survey.

The former Labor leader is the main focus of the unfavourable responses. Moreover, the highest percentage of comments critical of Mr. Whitlam is among Labor identifiers. In addition, a further 8%, including a significantly high proportion (16%) of Labor identifiers, refer to other leaders, Hawke, Hayden, Cairns and Cameron or just to "other personalities". With the references to Mr. Whitlam and others



combined, personalities account for 29% of the comments critical of the Labor Party and more than 40% of the Labor responses. This is an exceptionally high proportion, almost three times the next largest category of Labor criticisms, almost double the Liberal proportion and more than twice the percentage of Labor comments critical of Liberal personalities. At 29% of the total sample, criticisms of Labor leaders comprise an equal proportion of the responses in the next two largest categories, group related items and policy.

Group related items refer to relations with unions and other groups. Of the 13% which refer to unions, 10% "don't like the way they're (the Labor Party) letting the unions control their thinking" and 3% are simply critical of the party's "connections with the unions". Proportionally this view is most prominent among Liberals and non-partisans. But a significant proportion of Labor responses, 8%, also refer to unions. The remaining comments in this theme accuse the party of bias against "business people", "country people" or of neglecting the "working class".

Four groups of responses comprise the criticisms of Labor policies; "policy" as a general statement, economic and welfare policy and a residual group which includes immigration, education, abortion and "international policies". Of the total, economic policy attracts the most criticism with such comments as "incessant spending". This view is carried over to the welfare area in responses such as: the "country can't afford all these social services" or Labor is "a bit unrealistic in welfare programmes - should be based on a contributory scheme".

Ideology, comprising 11% of the comments, is much less significant

than revealed in Aitkin's 1967 study when it was the dominant focus of criticism with 24% of the responses, twice the Denison percentage. Criticisms range over a wide spectrum from "too pro-Communist" through "leftist attitude" to "increasing bureaucracy - not enough free enterprise", and are most prevalent among those professing no party preference.

Perhaps surprisingly, Labor's record in office received only 10% of the criticisms. This theme also is strongest among non-partisans but more significantly, this line of complaint is twice as strong among Labor identifiers as among Liberals.<sup>1</sup> In fact, Liberals were more critical of their own party's governing performance than they were of the Labor Party's performance.<sup>2</sup> Most of the comments express the view that Labor "tried to do too much too quickly". Other comments refer to broken promises, inexperience and lack of expertise.

A further 7% were critical of Labor's performance in opposition. Two predictable partisan approaches characterize these responses. To Liberals, the Labor Party is "too busy abusing Liberals, to do anything constructive" while Labor supporters consider the party ineffective and evasive ; for example: "too much talk, no action", or they "dodge a lot of issues". A related theme attracts an equal proportion of comments. This is the theme of party disunity containing references to factionalism and Labor's caucus system.

Of the remaining responses, 4.5% "just don't like them" and the rest comprise a residual category containing references to the Governor-General, centralism, procedures of candidate selection and to a "lack of commitment to growth".

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1. 14.2% to 5.1%.

2. 22.1% (19 responses) to 5.1% (7 responses)

(c) National party images; a comparison and summary.

Consistent with the response rates to Aitkin's national survey, both parties attract more criticism than praise.<sup>1</sup> As Aitkin also found, some partisans of both parties were prepared to comment favourably as well as unfavourably on each party but there are partisan variations. As indicated by Table 4.3, proportionally more Liberals commented both favourably and unfavourably about the Labor Party than Labor identifiers commented on the Liberal Party, and this too is consistent with the national survey. However, in contrast to Aitkin's results, proportionally more Liberals were critical of the Liberal Party than Labor identifiers were critical of the Labor Party. Furthermore, as many Liberals criticised the Liberal Party as commented favourably, whereas Labor identifiers viewed the Labor Party overall more favourably.

**TABLE 4.3** Number of responses and percentage of respondents (in brackets) favourable and unfavourable to each party by national party identification.

	Liberal Party Images		Labor Party Images	
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Favourable	Unfavourable
Sample	134 (35.6)	284 (65.0)	211 (48.1)	291 (64.1)
Liberal	72 (57.7)	85 (57.8)	39 (23.9)	138 (81.7)
Labor	30 (17.9)	139 (69.6)	135 (70.8)	85 (53.7)
No Preference	26 (34.8)	45 (68.2)	29 (34.8)	56 (62.4)

1. Aitkin, op.cit., Tables 4.4, 4.5, pp.61 & 64.

To provide a comparative focus on the electorate's perceptions of the two parties, Figure 4.1 brings together the major elements of each image. Each of the themes containing 6% or more of the responses is hinged to a centre vertical and placed relative to each other according to significance. Adjacent to each theme is the percentage of responses within partisan groupings.

Policy is an important element in the images of both parties but with significant differences. Whereas policy is both a strength and a weakness (to an equal degree) in the image of the Liberal Party it is much more significant as a Labor strength yet much less dominant as a detracting element. In fact, criticisms of Labor policies are less than half the proportion critical of Liberal policies. Even Liberals are less critical of Labor policy than of Liberal policy.<sup>1</sup> To both parties personalities ~~is~~ also an important element. But, while personalities of the Liberal Party attract praise and criticism equally, Labor personalities are mainly criticised, and by more Labor supporters than the number critical of Liberals. Responses referring to ideology display a similar pattern and correspond with partisanship. Whereas both these elements in Labor's image are more frequent as criticism, they are items with praise and criticism balanced in the Liberal image. Management of government is also a balanced and relatively important element in the Liberal Party's image. It is however, much less significant to the Labor image. These four areas provide counterbalancing elements of the Liberal image contrasting with a much more diverse Labor image; group related items is the only category with a balance between praise and criticism.

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1. 27 responses critical of Liberal policy to 24 critical of Labor policy.

Figure 4.1 Images of the Labor and Liberal Parties Nationally.

Party Identification	FAVOURABLE RESPONSES	% of Responses	UNFAVOURABLE RESPONSES	Party Identification
ALP 50%) LP 22%) NP 19%)	Policy	30%	28%	(LP 32%) (ALP 27%) (NP 20%)
LP 31%) ALP 13%) NP 12%)	General	21%	18%	(NP 29%) (ALP 20%) (LP 15%)
LP 17%) NP 15%) ALP 13%)	Personalities	16%	15%	(LP 22%) (ALP, NP 13%)
NP 30%) LP 12%) ALP 7%)	Management of Government	14%	11%	(ALP 15%) (NP 11%) (LP 2%)
NP 16%) LP 10%) ALP 7%)	Ideology	11%	8%	(ALP 10%) (NP 9%) (LP 4%)
ALP 10%) NP 8%) LP 7%)	Other	7%	6%	(NP 9%) (ALP 7%) (LP 2%) (LP 12%) (NP 7%) (ALP 4%)
LP 59%) NP 49%) ALP 38%)	Policy	44%	29%	(ALP 41%) (LP 25%) (NP 23%)
ALP 21%) NP 14%)	Group Related Items	15%	16%	(LP 19%) (NP 18%) (ALP 8%)
LP 21%) NP 10%) ALP 7%)	Personalities	10%	14%	(LP 18%) (NP 11%) (ALP 7%)
LP 10%) ALP 10%) NP 7%)	Party Related Items	9%	11%	(NP 16%) (LP 13%) (ALP 5%)
NP 14%) ALP 9%)	Management of Government	8%	10%	(ALP, NP 14%) (LP 5%)
ALP 9%) NP 7%) LP 5%)	Other		7%	(ALP 10%) (LP 7%) (LP 4%) (ALP 10%) (NP 7%) (LP 6%)

Group related responses, reflecting the sectional affiliations and concerns of the Labor Party, is the theme most related to partisanship and provides a further important difference between the two images. The Liberal image contains a sectional element only with respect to criticisms. However, the favourable responses contain a significantly high proportion of general comments, a category of much less significance to the Labor image.

Thus the major elements comprising the images of the parties provide two important differences. One is that the Labor image contains a significant sectional component whereas the Liberal image contains relatively less sectional emphasis but comprises a significant number of general comments. The second difference is that the Liberal image is much more balanced between favourable and unfavourable responses. Moreover, this balance extends to partisan viewpoints suggesting that the Liberal Party could be more vulnerable electorally than the Labor Party. With the strengths and weaknesses of the Labor Party confined to separate areas, particularly policy as against personalities, the party has a clear focus on which to improve. This is so however provided an improvement on one weak spot does not weaken the fabric elsewhere. Figure 4.1 shows ideology and the Labor leadership as points of weakness. Ideology however is less a detracting element than in 1967<sup>1</sup> leaving leadership as the main handicap in Labor's image. Thus if the party's leadership is a real source of detraction rather than merely a focus for critical responses that might shift to other elements, this area provides a significant focus for improving the party's image.

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1. As noted above, this is compared to Aitkin's 1967 results.  
op.cit., p.64.

## 2) The Parties in Tasmania.

### (a) The Liberal Party

The image of the state Liberal Party is characterized by a strong emphasis about personalities, particularly the Liberal leader. Mr. Bingham, heads the list among both the favourable and unfavourable responses as indicated in Table 4.4. Of the 33% of the favourable comments referring to personalities, the party leader attracts 27%, with half referring to his personality, "Mr. Bingham seems more sincere ... as a person has more appeal",<sup>1</sup> and the remainder to his leadership qualities.

The second major source of praise is a category of responses containing references to the party members collectively, the party's style, and its organisation. Thus the Liberal Party is perceived as a "well balanced team (with) some clever members" and in style as "straight-forward" and "not as arrogant as Labor". With the theme of personalities, these two categories contain more than half the responses and with the next two categories, general comments and performance in opposition, provide some 83% of the responses.

General comments ranging from the enthusiastic, "Yes, everything", to the more qualified, "sometimes have a few good ideas" account for 15% of the responses, just slightly ahead of comments relating to the party's role in opposition. This theme also ranges in degree of approval from enthusiastic praise - "They offer a good opposition" - to a more hesitant appraisal - "They do a good job I suppose - we need an opposition".

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1. The full list of responses is given in Appendix 3.

TABLE 4.4 Images of the Liberal Party (Tas) by party identification.

( % of positive responses ) <sup>a</sup>				
	Sample	Liberal	Labor	Non-partisans
<u>Favourable</u>				
Personalities - Bingham Others	27.5 } 33.3 5.8 }	30.2 } 33.4 3.2 }	24.2 } 38.0 13.8 }	20.9 } 25.1 4.2 }
Party related items - The party members style organisation	13.3 } 20.9 5.9 } 1.7 }	15.9 } 23.9 8.0 } - }	6.9 } 17.3 6.9 } 3.5 }	16.7 } 20.9 - } 4.2 }
General	15.0	15.9	10.4	16.7
Role as opposition	14.2	9.6	24.2	12.5
Ideology	7.5	9.6	3.5	3.4
Policies	3.3	3.2	3.4	4.2
Group related items	2.5	1.6	-	8.3
Other	3.3	3.2	3.5	4.2
Total Responses	120 <sup>1</sup>	63	29	24
<u>Unfavourable</u>				
Personalities - Bingham - Others	31.7 } 34.5 2.8 }	29.8 } 34.1 4.3 }	37.0 } 39.2 2.2 }	27.8 -
Role as Opposition - weak - over critical	17.5 } 29.6 12.1 }	23.4 } 36.2 12.8 }	8.7 } 20.7 12.0 }	36.3 } 47.5 11.2 }
Party related items - disunity - party members	6.6 } 11.0 4.4 }	19.2 } 23.5 4.3 }	4.4 } 7.7 3.3 }	- 2.8
Policies - general - areas	5.5 } 10.5 5.0 }	- -	8.7 } 14.2 5.5 }	2.8 } 11.2 8.4 }
Group related items	5.0	2.2	6.6	5.6
General dislike	4.4	-	7.6	2.8
Other	5.5	4.3	4.4	9.4
Total Responses	183 <sup>2</sup>	47	92	36

<sup>a</sup> That is, the percentage of actual comments, other than "don't know", "no", or "nothing". See Tables 4.7 and 4.8 for the total response rates.

1. Other party identification = 4.
2. Other party identification = 8.



Four relatively minor themes, ideology, group related items, policy, and a residual category account for the remaining 17% of the favourable responses. Ideology comprises a majority of references to "supporting free enterprise" and just one comment to the "fight against communism"; the remainder refer to "their attitudes", and "philosophies". Comments on policy matters comprise four references, to law reform, the environment, daylight saving and industrial relations whilst group related items refer to country people, business interests and councils. Four further comments comprise the residual category.

As Table 4.4 indicates, there is broad agreement among the partisan groupings on the relative prominence of the categories. Among Liberal and Labor identifiers as well as (to a slightly lesser degree) non-partisans, the majority attribute praise to personalities with particular approval of the Liberal leader. The general theme of party related items contains similar partisan percentages overall although there are variations on the sub-themes; the party members collectively are praised more by Liberals and non-partisans than by Labor identifiers while the party's style is neglected by non-partisans.

The most significant partisan variation concerns perceptions of the party's role as the opposition. Proportionally, Labor identifiers are much more approving than are Liberals. To Labor identifiers, the Liberal Party is a "strong opposition", "do a fairly good job" and "keep the Labor Party on their toes". To the three Liberals however, the party has been personally helpful, is "allowing the Labor Government to run its full term" and "doing the best they can". Liberals are much more inclined to be critical of the party's role in opposition.

On the unfavourable side of the party's image there is considerably less partisan agreement. Counter-balancing the favourable emphasis on personalities, is an equally strong theme of criticism, predominantly of the Liberal leader. With one third of the Liberals as well as Labor identifiers contributing responses to this category, criticisms of personalities provide the one area of relative partisan agreement. Even so, Labor identifiers are more critical of Mr. Bingham than are Liberals and non-partisans.

While non-partisans especially are critical of the party's opposition role, 36% of Liberals and 21% of Labor identifiers also contribute to this theme. Two conflicting points of view are expressed, weakness or ineffectiveness, and negativism. On the one hand the party is "not ruthless enough" while on the other party members are "too negative in many respects". To some extent these views reflect partisan perceptions but not entirely. Some Liberals are critical of constant "knocking" while a few Labor identifiers find the Liberals ineffective.

Personalities and the party's performance provide the main sources of complaint, with 64% of the total responses; 60% of the Labor responses and 70% of the criticisms from Liberals and non-partisans. Party related items and criticism of policies each provide a further 11% so that the negative side of the Liberal image is derived from four main areas of complaint.

Criticisms of policies and the party itself provide further partisan variations. Again, Liberals especially were critical of party disunity. Two examples of this view are: "Don't like factions forming in the party" and "There seems to be a bit of apathy among them which means they don't

stand as a united force". A further 4% are responses critical of members or leaders collectively: "I don't like some of their members", "Don't like them as leaders". Criticisms of policy are provided entirely from non-partisans and Labor identifiers. Five percent are critical of Liberal policies generally, while a further 5% refer to specific areas; taxation, the environment, unemployment, industrial relations and capital punishment.

The remaining 15% of responses are categorised into three equal themes, associations with groups, a category of general criticism and a residual grouping. The first of these contains criticisms of the party's perceived relations with business interests, and lack of concern for the "working class". Generalized criticisms, from Labor identifiers and non-partisans, range from "everything", to "quite a lot" while the residual category is critical of politicians in general, parliamentarians' salaries, industries, and the "opening of (the Tasman) Bridge wrangle".<sup>1</sup>

(b) The Labor Party

Most prominent among the responses favourable to the Labor Party are those praising the party's handling of government. As Table 4.5 indicates, there are several strands to this praise which in total comprise 40% of the responses with comments such as "They have done a good job", "They are genuinely concerned for the state" or, the "Handling of the bridge repairs".

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1. This refers to a dispute, highlighted by the media, between the Premier and the Prime Minister over plans concerning the opening ceremony.

TABLE 4.5 Images of the Labor Party (Tas) by Party Identification.

(% of positive responses) <sup>a</sup>				
Image	Sample	Liberal	Labor	Non-Partisans
<u>Favourable</u>				
Management of government				
- capable	19.9	17.1	20.9	23.2
- look after State's interests	5.9 } 39.8	8.6 } 32.1	3.9 } 45.8	4.7 } 37.2
- Tasman Bridge	4.9	4.8	4.7	7.0
- fair for everyone	9.3	1.6	16.3	2.3
Personalities				
- Nielson	13.4	22.2	10.1	11.6
- Lowe	6.1 } 24.0	11.1 } 37.1	4.6 } 17.8	4.7 } 24.6
- Others	4.5	4.8	3.1	9.3
Policies				
- general	2.0	-	3.9	-
- education & welfare	5.3 } 11.4	3.2 } 8.0	5.4 } 12.4	7.0 } 9.3
- other	4.1	4.8	3.1	2.3
Ideology	2.4	1.6	1.6	7.0
Party related items				
- members/candidates	3.7	3.2	3.9	7.3
- other	2.4 } 6.1	1.6 } 4.8	1.6 } 5.5	4.7 } 7.0
Group related items (for the workers)	4.1	1.6	6.2	2.3
General	8.1	7.9	7.8	9.3
Other	4.1	7.9	3.1	2.3
Total Responses	246 <sup>1</sup>	63	129	43
<u>Unfavourable</u>				
Party related items				
- left wing influence	7.5	11.3	4.3	5.1
- disunity	10.5 } 24.0	10.0 } 26.3	11.4 } 20.0	7.7 } 23.0
- some members or ministers	6.0	5.0	4.3	10.2
Management of government	18.0	18.8	15.7	20.5
Handling of bridge disaster	4.0 } 22.0	3.8 } 22.6	7.1 } 22.8	- } 20.5
Personalities				
- Nielson	9.5	8.0	10.0	12.8
- Others	12.0 } 21.5	11.3 } 19.3	12.9 } 22.9	12.8 } 25.6
Policies				
- education	3.0	5.0	1.4	2.6
- conservation	3.5 } 12.5	- } 10.0	7.1 } 15.6	2.6 } 10.3
- other	6.0	5.0	7.1	5.1
Ideology	7.5	7.5	10.0	5.1
Group related items -- union affiliations	7.5	5.0	8.6	10.3
General	3.0	6.3	-	-
Other	2.0	2.5	-	5.1
Total Responses	200 <sup>2</sup>	80	70	39

<sup>a</sup> That is, the percentage of actual comments, other than "don't know", "no", or "nothing". See Tables 4.7 and 4.8 for the total response rates.

1. Other party identification = 11.
2. Other party identification = 11.

A second important theme is personalities with Mr. Neilson attracting twice the percentage of comments as Mr. Lowe. Mr. Neilson is seen as honest, sincere and trying; "Mr. Neilson has done his best", and Mr. Lowe as a "genuine person", "quiet and dignified", who "gets things moving".<sup>1</sup> Others to attract comment are Barnard, Baldock, Harradine, Batt, Coates and two past premiers, Reece and Ogilvie.<sup>2</sup>

Together these two themes account for more than 60% of responses, and of each partisan group. But whereas more Labor identifiers referred to management of government it was Liberals who had more praise for both Mr. Neilson and Mr. Lowe. Nevertheless, the Labor leader is not as popular as the Liberal leader, but neither is he as dominant. Mr. Neilson attracts just on half the percentage of responses accorded to Mr. Bingham and only twice that of Mr. Lowe, or 55% of responses referring to personalities, whereas the Liberal leader attracts some 80% of the references to Liberal personalities.

Three categories, policies, party related items and general praise of the party provide the bulk of the remaining comments. Eleven percent refer to policies, most of which refer to specific policy areas, and in particular to welfare and education. Thus it is felt that "Labor

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1. At the time of the survey Mr. Nielson had announced his resignation as Premier and retirement from state politics to take effect on December 1, 1977. Mr. Lowe, the Deputy Premier, was expected to be elected Premier unopposed. G.A. Smith and P.T. McKay, "Tasmania Political Chronicle", Australian Journal of Politics and History, Vol. 24, No. 1 April 1978 pp.101-107.
  2. It should be noted that Mr. Harradine, a prominent state union official had been expelled from the Labor Party. In 1975 he was elected to the Senate as an Independent. Mr. John Coates, also a national parliamentarian, had been MHR for Denison from 1972 to 1975. Mr. Angus Ogilvie had been Premier from 1934-1939 and Mr. Eric Reece was Premier from 1958-1969 and from 1972-1975. Mr. Barnard, Mr. Baldock and Mr. Batt were all Ministers in Mr. Nielson's cabinet.

is good in education matters" , and "has tried to help our lowest class-people who are struggling in poverty". Party related responses, 6% of the comments, take two themes, the "people in the party" and the party structure. This last sub-theme comprises references to democratic practices, lack of caucus control, selection of younger members and freedom from unions.

A further three themes, group related items, ideology and a residual grouping account for the remaining 9.6% responses. Only 4%, mostly Labor identifiers, refer to the party in sectional terms, that is, for the "working people" while even fewer refer to ideology. Moreover, this is a theme referring to "their liberal attitude" rather than to socialism. A residual category, containing a disparate group of responses completes the favourable image.

As the table shows, partisan variations of any significance are mainly confined to the major themes. Labor identifiers have most praise for the party's governing performance while references to personalities are more numerous among Liberals. As well, but less significant, responses about policies and Labor's sectional interests are proportionally more frequent among Labor identifiers. But on the unfavourable side, there is much less partisan variation.

Labor's unfavourable image is made up of four main elements containing 80% of the responses, two themes each comprising 7% of the comments, a small category of general comments and a smaller residual grouping. Of these, references to personalities, policies, and group related items counterbalance similar themes of favourable responses. However, party related items and ideology provide areas of weakness.

Party related items comprise the largest percentage of unfavourable comments. This theme contains three strands, criticisms of left-wing influence, disunity<sup>1</sup> or conformity and party members, including ministers. Criticisms of "faction fighting", "squabbling", "back-stabbing" and conformity ("they're all yes-men") total 10% of the responses. A second group contains references to a left wing influence taking over within the party and the third comprise criticisms of members or ministers collectively. Thus, "dominance of leftwing", "certain ministers", and "several of the people" are three examples.

Table 4.5 shows Labor's strength to be the party's management of government. This is also an area for complaint of which 4% refer to the Tasman Bridge restoration and ferry handling. The remaining responses of this theme are critical of the party's administrative performance and handling of public authorities. The Labor government is seen as "too slow in what they do", "lacking in initiative", poor organisers and wasteful with public finance. The criticisms of public authorities refer to the Fruit Board, T.A.B., the Ambulance Board and the H.E.C.<sup>2</sup> But nevertheless, administration of government is a strong area for Labor as the proportion of criticisms is significantly below that of favourable comments.

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1. In September two union officials had been expelled from the Labor Party after being found guilty of associating with the National Civic Council (an organisation proscribed under ALP rules). Comment on their expulsion and speculation about their appealing featured in frequent newspaper reports extending into the survey period.
  2. Conflict between the Tasmanian Apple and Pear Marketing Authority and the State Fruit Board concerning the marketing arrangements of Tasmanian apples and grower representation on the Board had been reported in the press, prior to and during the survey period. Controversy concerning the Ambulance Board had also attracted media coverage prior to the survey.

Criticisms of personalities and policies, balance similar themes of favourable responses. In similarity to the Liberal image the party leader attracts most comment. But Mr. Neilson has considerably fewer detractors than does Mr. Bingham, (even among Liberals).<sup>1</sup> Nor is the Labor leader singled out to the extent which applies to his Liberal counterpart. In fact, other leaders combined attract more comment: Mr. Batt especially and to a lesser extent, Mr. Lowe. Labor's policies also attract equal criticism and praise. Two main areas are attacked, education and conservation. Cuts in expenditure and tertiary institutions are the main sources of complaint relating to education. Conservation generally, and specific items, woodchipping, Lake Pedder, national parks and wilderness areas and priorities of development are conservation items subjected to criticism. The remaining policy items criticised are transport, taxation, tourism, housing, children's facilities, and agriculture. As for the favourable responses, Labor's policies are more heavily criticized by Labor partisans than by Liberals.

Ideology and union affiliations each comprise 7% of the responses with similar partisan proportions. Ideology however, provides a neat partisan variation. Liberals are critical of the "socialist aspect of the party" whereas Labor partisans take the view that the party is "too conservative and like Liberals". Group related items mainly provide criticisms of unions and industrial activity. A further strand is the view that the party has neglected "the worker" and "compromised with capitalists". Even one Liberal suggested that Labor "Could do a lot more for the people

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1. Critical comments about (Mr. Nielson 19(9.5%) (by Liberals, 7(8%)  
(by Labor, 7(10%)  
(Mr. Bingham 58(31.7%) (by Liberals 14(30%)  
(by Labor 34(37%)



rather than big business...".

In summary, unfavourable items comprise four main themes with substantial partisan agreement, party related items, management of government, personalities and policies. Two categories of lesser significance are group related items and ideology with partisan variations relating to ideology. Of these, management of government, personalities, and policies provide the main items for praise with the two latter items balanced on praise and criticism. Overall the Labor Party's main source of strength relates to its administration of government while its main weakness appears to be disunity and "left-wing influence".

(c) State images compared

When the favourable and unfavourable comments about both parties are compared as in Table 4.6 it can be seen that overall the Liberal image is unfavourable while the Labor image is favourable. To Liberals, the Liberal image is favourable overall and the Labor image unfavourable with the inverse the case to Labor identifiers. But more Liberals

TABLE 4.6. Number of responses and percentages of respondents (in brackets), favourable and unfavourable to each party by state party identification

Party Identification	Liberal Party Images		Labor Party Images	
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Favourable	Unfavourable
Sample	120 (30.7)	183 (46.7)	246 (61.1)	200 (48.9)
Liberal	63 (47.7)	47 (36.7)	63 (51.3)	80 (69.1)
Labor	29 (17.1)	92 (53.7)	129 (71.6)	70 (33.8)
No Preference	24 (32.9)	36 (47.2)	43 (58.6)	39 (45.8)

praised the Labor Party than the Liberal Party, whereas Labor identifiers offered less criticism and significantly more favourable comments about their own party than their political opponents. Clearly, the state Labor Party is perceived reasonably favourably.

The content of the party images, portraying the significant elements, is compared in Figure 4.2. A major difference simply reflects the electoral standing of the parties, a Labor government and a Liberal opposition. But whereas the Liberals' performance is unsatisfactory, Labor's governing capacity is a source of strength, even among Liberals.

Comments relating to personalities contribute significantly to the images of both parties but more so to the Liberal image. Moreover, Labor personalities are more favourably perceived by Liberals than are Liberal personalities which points to a possible electoral handicap. For both parties however, praise and criticism of personalities are evenly balanced.

Although policy items are of relatively low prominence, this area provides a further blemish on the Liberal image. Whereas unfavourable and favourable comments are broadly balanced with respect to the Labor Party (and on a partisan basis as well), policy is almost entirely a negative theme for the Liberals. Not even Liberals provide significant praise about Liberal policies.

There are however, three areas of some comfort to the Liberal Party; on ideology, party related items and general responses. Ideology is a handicap for Labor but is a focus of approval for the Liberal Party. Similarly and more significantly, party related items blemish the Labor image. This theme enhances the Liberal image in that favourable comments are more abundant than criticisms whereas the reverse is clearly the case for

Figure 4.2 Images of the Labor and Liberal Parties at the State Sphere.

Party Identification	FAVOURABLE RESPONSES	% of Responses	UNFAVOURABLE RESPONSES	Party Identification
<b>Liberal Party</b>				
ALP 38% LP 33% NP 25%	Personalities	33%	35% Personalities	(ALP 39% (LP 34% (NP 28%
LP 24% NP 21% ALP 17%	Party Related Items	21%	30% Role as Opposition	(NP 48% (LP 36% (ALP 21%
NP 17% LP 16% ALP 10%	General	15%		
ALP 24% NP 13% LP 10%	Role as Opposition	14%		
			11% Party Related Items	(LP 24% (ALP 8% (NP 3%
LP 10% NP 8% ALP 4%	Ideology	8%	10% Policies	(ALP 14% (NP 11%
<b>Labor Party</b>				
ALP 46% NP 37% LP 32%	Management of Government	40%	25% Party Related Items	(LP 26% (NP 23% (ALP 21%
LP 37% NP 25% ALP 18%	Personalities	24%	22% Management of Government	(ALP, LP 23% (NP 21%
			Personalities	(NP 26% (ALP 23% (LP 19%
ALP 12% NP 9% LP 8%	Policies	11%	13% Policies	(ALP 16% (NP, LP 10%
NP 9% ALP, LP 8%	General	8%	8% Ideology	(ALP 10% (LP 8% (NP 5%
NP 7% ALP 6% LP 5%	Group Related Items	6%	7% Group Related Items	(NP 10% (ALP 7% (LP 5%

ALP = Labor Party  
LP = Liberal Party  
NP = No Preference

Labor, providing the most serious blemish on the Labor image.

The Liberal Party has a further strength; this is the general category with 15% of the favourable responses compared to 8% for the Labor Party. Yet this is offset to the extent that it represents a vagueness in the Liberal image compared to the Labor Party.

Thus overall the Liberal Party's strength appears to reside in responses relating to the party generally whereas Labor's strength lies in its capacity to administer. The Liberal Party is weak in its role of opposition, while Labor's detracting theme is party related items. For both parties moreover, the state images differ significantly from the respective national images.

### 3. Party Images Across Spheres.

#### (a) The Liberal Party

Quantitatively, the Liberal Party's image nationally is more contentious than the party's state image; the state branch attracts fewer favourable as well as unfavourable comments than the party nationally. As Table 4.7 indicates, this applies both to the number of responses as well as to the number of respondents who commented. That is the national component of the Liberal Party is much more visible than the state component. Moreover if an index is created by subtracting favourable responses from the criticisms, the state image is considerably less unfavourable than the national image.<sup>1</sup> But there are partisan variations.

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1.	<u>National</u>	<u>State</u>
Unfavourable	-284	-183
Favourable	<u>+134</u>	<u>+120</u>
	<u>-150</u>	<u>- 63</u>

TABLE 4.7. National and State Images of the Liberal Party, a Comparison of Response Rates by Party Identification.

	SAMPLE		LIBERAL		LABOR		NO PREFERENCE	
	National	State	National	State	National	State	National	State
<u>FAVOURABLE IMAGES</u>								
No. of responses	134	120	73	63	30	29	26	24
% of respondents who provided images	35.6	30.7	57.7	47.7	17.9	17.1	34.8	32.9
% of respondents commenting no, nothing, etc.	49.2	54.2	27.7	28.5	68.3	72.6	46.4	48.6
% Don't know; no answer	15.2	15.2	14.7	23.9	13.9	10.4	18.9	18.6
<u>UNFAVOURABLE IMAGES</u>								
No. of responses	284	183	86	47	139	92	45	36
% of respondents who provided images	65.0	46.7	57.7	36.7	69.6	53.7	68.2	47.2
% of respondents commenting no, nothing, etc.	28.2	40.9	35.0	50.5	23.9	38.6	27.6	51.5
% Don't know; no answer	6.9	12.5	7.4	12.9	6.7	9.8	4.4	14.3
N.	362	362	123	109	151	164	69	70

The difference between the number of national and state favourable comments is greater among Liberals than among Labor identifiers. Whereas among Liberals favourable comments about the party nationally exceed the state party, among Labor supporters there is little difference. Among both Liberal and Labor partisans, the state party attracts fewer criticism than does the party nationally but the discrepancy is slightly greater among Labor partisans. Taking the total responses, the national party attracts more comments than the state party to Liberals as well as to Labor partisans. But the variation is greater among Liberals than among Labor identifiers. That is, the visibility of the national party exceeds that of the state party by a greater degree to Liberals than Labor identifiers.<sup>1</sup>

1. State responses expressed as a percentage of national responses: Sample, 72.5%, Liberals, 65.1%; Labor identifiers, 71.6%.

There are also important differences in the content of the images as indicated by Figure 4.3 with significant variations between the major elements. Whereas policy is the major component of the party's national image, policy is much less significant in the state image. The state image is predominantly comprised of comments about personalities with a percentage twice that nationally. At both spheres the emphasis on personalities is neatly balanced between favourable and unfavourable comments while the policy element is balanced at the national sphere but is predominantly a negative element with respect to the state sphere.

There are other image variations. Party related items are significant predominantly as part of the state image. It would also appear that the party is perceived to be more satisfactory in governing than in performing its opposition role in the state. While the two items attract a similar percentage of favourable comments, respondents are twice as critical of the party's opposition performance than its governing role. Moreover, these distinctions are not simply partisan perceptions for partisan viewpoints are similar. It would perhaps be consistent for Liberals to be less critical of a governing role than of an opposition role (which is the case). But even Labor supporters are more critical of the Liberals in opposition than the Liberals in government. Finally, while ideology is an element of both images, this theme is of greater significance nationally, particularly as a criticism; to Labor partisans ideology is much less a source of contention as an element of the Liberal Party's state image than nationally.

Figure 4.3 National and State Images of the Liberal Party.

Party Identification	FAVOURABLE RESPONSES	% of Responses	UNFAVOURABLE RESPONSES	Party Identification
<b>Liberal Party (National)</b>				
ALP 50%) LP 22%) NP 19%)	Policy	30%	28%	Policy (LP 32%) (ALP 27%) (NP 20%)
LP 31%) ALP 13%) NP 12%)	General	21%	18%	Personalities (NP 29%) (ALP 20%) (LP 18%)
LP 17%) NP 15%) ALP 13%)	Personalities	16%	15%	Management of Government (LP 22%) (ALP, NP 13%)
NP 30%) LP 12%) ALP 7%)	Management of Government	14%	11%	Group Related Items (ALP 15%) (NP 11%) (LP 2%)
NP 16%) LP 10%) ALP 7%)	Ideology	11%	6%	Ideology (ALP 10%) (NP 9%) (LP 4%)
ALP 10%) NP 8%) LP 7%)	Other	7%	6%	General (NP 9%) (ALP 7%) (LP 2%) Party Related Items (LP 12%) (NP 7%) (ALP 4%)
<b>Liberal Party (State)</b>				
ALP 38%) LP 33%) NP 25%)	Personalities	33%	35%	Personalities (ALP 39%) (LP 34%) (NP 28%)
LP 24%) NP 21%) ALP 17%)	Party Related Items	21%	30%	Role as Opposition (NP 48%) (LP 36%) (ALP 21%)
NP 17%) LP 16%) ALP 10%)	General	15%	11%	Party Related Items (LP 24%) (ALP 8%) (NP 3%)
ALP 24%) NP 13%) LP 10%)	Role as Opposition	14%	10%	Policies (ALP 14%) (NP 11%)
LP 10%) NP 8%) ALP 4%)	Ideology	8%		

ALP = Labor Party  
LP = Liberal Party  
NP = No Preference

(b) The Labor Party

The state branch of the Labor Party attracts more favourable and fewer unfavourable comments than the party nationally. Overall however, the party nationally attracts more responses than the state party. This is also the case among both Liberal and Labor partisans indicating that national Labor is more visible than state Labor. Also the discrepancies in the number of comments (national as compared to state) is greater among Liberals than among Labor partisans.<sup>1</sup> In addition, while the national Labor image is negative,

TABLE 4.8. National and State Images of the Labor Party, a Comparison of Response Rates by Party Identification.

	SAMPLE		LIBERAL		LABOR		NO PREFERENCE	
	National	State	National	State	National	State	National	State
<u>FAVOURABLE IMAGES</u>								
No. of responses	211	246	39	63	135	129	29	43
% of respondents who provided images	48.1	61.1	23.9	51.3	70.8	71.5	34.8	58.6
% of respondents who commented no, nothing, etc.	42.0	29.0	61.5	37.4	23.8	19.9	52.2	32.9
% Don't know, no answer	10.0	10.0	14.7	11.4	5.5	8.6	13.1	8.6
<u>UNFAVOURABLE IMAGES</u>								
No. of responses	291	200	138	80	85	70	56	39
% of respondents who provided images	64.1	48.9	81.7	69.1	53.7	33.8	62.4	45.8
% of respondents who commented no, nothing, etc.	30.2	42.3	12.0	22.8	40.3	59.0	34.8	42.9
% Don't know; no answer.	5.8	8.9	6.5	8.2	6.1	7.3	2.9	11.5
N.	362	362	123	109	151	154	69	70

1. State responses expressed as a percentage of national responses:  
Sample, 88.8%; Liberals, 80.8%; Labor identifiers, 90.5%.



the state Labor image is positive;<sup>1</sup> to Liberals the state Labor image is much less negative than the national image while to Labor supporters, the state image is more positive than the national image.<sup>2</sup>

There are also qualitative differences as displayed in Figure 4.4. Policy is the most important element in the party's national image but is of much less significance in the state image. Although this is especially the case for Liberals, it is also the pattern for Labor identifiers as well as for non-partisans. The reverse pattern is evident for the theme, management of government; most prominent of the elements in the state image but much less significant in the party's national image. The only partisan variation to this pattern is that management of government is the second most prominent element in the state image among Liberals.

It is state personalities which among Liberals attract the most comment and it is this theme which provides a further distinction between the images. While praise and criticism of state Labor personalities is overall fairly balanced, national personalities provide a focus for more criticism than favourable comment, particularly from Labor identifiers. Among Liberals however, praise and criticism of national leaders is evenly matched while state Labor personalities are more praised than criticised.

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1.	<u>National</u>	<u>State</u>		
Unfavourable	291	200		
Favourable	-211	246		
	<u>- 80</u>	<u>+46</u>		
2.	<u>National</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>National</u>	<u>State</u>
	<u>Liberals</u>		<u>Labor Partisans</u>	
Unfavourable	138	80	85	70
Favourable	- 39	63	135	129
	<u>- 99</u>	<u>-17</u>	<u>+40</u>	<u>+59</u>

Figure 4.4 National and State images of the Labor Party.

Party Identification	FAVOURABLE RESPONSES	% of Responses	UNFAVOURABLE RESPONSES	Party Identification
LP 59%) NP 49%) ALP 38%)	Policy	44%	29%	Personalities (ALP 41% ( LP 25% ( NP 23%
ALP 21%) NP 14%)	Group Related Items	15%	15%	( LP 18% ( NP 18% (ALP 8%
LP 21%) NP 10%) ALP 7%	Leaders	10%	14%	( LP 18% ( NP 11% (ALP 7%
LP 10%) DLP 10%) NP 7%	Party Related Items	9%	11%	( NP 16% ( LP 13% (ALP 5%
NP 14%) ALP 9%)	Management of Government	8%	10%	Management of Government (ALP,NP 14% ( LP 5%
ALP 9%) NP 7%) LP 5%)	Other		7%	Performance as Opposition (ALP 10% ( LP 7% ( NP 4%
				Party Disunity (ALP 10% ( NP 7% ( LP 6%
ALP 46%) NP 37%) LP 32%)	Management of Government	40%	25%	( LP 26% ( NP 23% (ALP 21%
LP 37%) NP 25%) ALP 18%)	Personalities	24%	24%	(ALP,LP 22% ( NP 21%
ALP 12%) NP 9%) LP 8%)	Policies	11%	22%	( NP 26% (ALP 23% ( LP 19%
NP 9%) ALP,LP 8%)	General	8%	13%	(ALP 16% (NP,LP 10%
NP 7%) ALP 6%) LP 5%)	Party Related Items	6%	8%	(ALP 10% (LLP 8% ( NP 5%
			7%	( NP 10% (ALP 7% ( LP 5%

ALP = Labor Party  
LP = Liberal Party  
NP = No Preference

Further differences are apparent. At the national sphere group related items engender a fairly equal partisan balance of favourable and unfavourable responses. However, such comments are much less prominent in the state image and this pattern reflects an interesting contradiction. To Liberals, national Labor is more unfavourably sectional than is the state branch (which is perhaps part of the party's less unfavourable state image). But more significantly and paradoxically, the party is also more sectional nationally to Labor supporters than is the state party. Yet state Labor has been more successful electorally. References to the functioning of the party and ideology are other variations. It is noticeable that critical comments about the party are much more frequent with respect to the state party than with respect to the national party. Inversely, while the party is criticised on its perceived ideology at both spheres, national Labor received more criticism overall than the state party; among Labor identifiers however, the reverse is the case.

### Conclusion.

In the preceeding chapter, it was shown that more respondents felt that it mattered which party governed nationally than with respect to the state. This chapter indicates that, consistent with the findings of the previous chapter, both the national parties attract more comments than the state parties. Combining the responses to both parties indicates that not only are the national branches of the parties more visible than the state branches (to Liberals as well as to Labor identifiers) but the variation in response rates is greater among Liberals than among Labor identifiers.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Total state responses expressed as a percentage of the total national responses: Sample, 81.4%; Liberals, 75.3%; Labor identifiers, 82.2%.

In the previous chapter it was also shown that the images of party competition varied across spheres. In describing the differences between the parties nationally, policy, ideology, management of government and group related items were the most prominent themes. With respect to the state sphere, a greater proportion of the responses were general comments while of the more specific descriptions, management of government and group related items were the areas most often mentioned. These differences are also prominent sources of variation in party images as shown in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9 National and state party images : a comparison of the main elements (% of total responses)

<u>Liberal Images</u>		<u>Labor Images</u>	
<u>National</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>National</u>	<u>State</u>
Policy (29.2)	Personalities (34.0)	Policy (26.3)	Management of government (32.7)
Personalities (18.7)	Role as Opposition (23.4)	Personalities (21.1)	Personalities (22.9)
Management of Government (14.8)	Party related items (14.9)	Group related items (9.4)	Party related items (14.8)
General (10.5)	General (8.6)	Ideology (8.6)	Policies (11.9)
Total responses 418	303	502	446

The table displays the most prominent elements of the party images with respect to both electoral spheres calculated on the basis of the total responses, both favourable and unfavourable. The table shows clear differences in the images of both parties. Policy is a prominent element in the national images of both parties but is a significantly less important component of state images, particularly in the Liberal image. As elements in the Labor image ideology and group related items are also more prominent items nationally than with respect to the state branch of the party.

Inversely, management of government, role as opposition, and party related items are more prominent components of state images. Management of government, although prominent with respect to both spheres is more significant as an element of the Labor Party's state image than as an item in the Liberal Party's national image. Similarly, the role of opposition and responses about the functioning of the parties are mainly areas attracting comment with respect to the state parties. A further contrast in party images but which was not apparent in perceptions of party competition concerns the role of personality. Party Leaders attract comment with respect to both spheres and to an equal degree for the Labor Party. But in the images of the Liberal Party, this element is much more significant with respect to the state party.

Thus there are significant contrasts for both parties in the topography of the aggregate party images between the national and state spheres of the political system. This means that although patterns of party preference are substantially integrated across spheres, the parties are not perceived as monoliths, just as they are not organised monolithically.<sup>1</sup> While both parties across spheres are linked together under common labels and to this extent common elements in the images would be expected, there are marked discrepancies in the prominence of these elements. It is the strength of these discrepancies, and indeed the variations in the landscape which signal the necessity to prefix statements about the parties with a qualifying reference to the particular branch (national or state). Thus perceptions about the parties as well as perceptions of party competition relate to a particular sphere of the political system. It is an examination of perceptions about the structure of the system that is the subject of the following chapter.

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1. Holmes and Sharman, op. cit., Ch. 4.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE SALIENCE OF SPHERES OF GOVERNMENT

A prominent theme in the literature on the Australian political system, and indeed in the study of Australian politics, is the increasing dominance of the national government. Constitutional interpretation, and particularly the national government's access to superior revenue sources have been interpreted as providing the national government with greater power, if not coercive power over state governments.<sup>1</sup> By implication, if not explicitly, the literature on Australian politics promotes the theme that it is national politics which matters; state politics is afforded a low level of significance.<sup>2</sup>

Citizens however, may have different perceptions about the relative significance of state and national governments. Moreover, public perceptions about the structuring of the system are important because they constitute part of the political environment influencing the functioning and the shaping of the system. The way citizens view the structure, whether valid or otherwise, will be incorporated in their political demands on the system, and in their responses to governmental

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1. For example R.L. Mathews (ed) Responsibility Sharing in a Federal System, especially the introduction and Chapter II.
  2. State administration has also been relatively neglected. See Robert H. Simmons, Ralph J.K. Chapman, Bruce W. Davis, and Michael Wood, "Australian State Administration : A Need for New Perspectives", Public Administration (Sydney) Vol.33, No.1, 1974, pp.60-75. But with a series of books on state governments edited by Colin A. Hughes, and Neal Blewitt and Dean Jaensch's, From Playford to Dunstan, Cheshire, Melbourne 1971, the states are receiving increasing academic attention.

action. For example, assessments of national dominance may result in the channelling of demands to the national sphere whether or not it is the appropriate sphere. Perceptions about the structuring of the system thus constitute an important set of influences on the system's movement along the centralization/decentralization continuum.<sup>1</sup> It is these perceptions about the political system in terms of the relative prominence, the salience of national and state (Tasmanian) units of government, which form the theme of the first section of this chapter.

Four of the survey questions provide the data.<sup>2</sup> The first asks directly which is the more important unit of government. This is immediately followed by a question which asks the respondent for the unit of government which he regards as more affecting his life. Two questions approach the relative importance of the governmental spheres through elections. One asks directly for the more important election. After intervening questions the fourth question attempts to check this response relating to elections from a more detached standpoint. The question posits a hypothetical situation of non-compulsory voting and asks the respondent in which elections he would be more likely to vote, if at all. On all but this last question, the percentage answering that the national sphere is the more important is greater than the percentage answering that the state sphere is the more important. Nevertheless, on all questions less than 40% answered that the national government is the more important and on three questions most respondents answered that both spheres are equal in importance. These questions are examined in section one.

A further and related aspect of this theme concerns the extent

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1. Reeves and Glendening, op.cit., p.135.

2. Questions 11, 12, 13, 21. See Appendix 1.

to which voters identify with the national or the state sphere. As Riker has suggested, "It is very likely that the basic condition that allows for both centralization and resistance to centralization is the degree of popular identification with national and state governments."<sup>1</sup> This is examined through a question relating to the respondent's domain of political outlook. Respondents were asked "If you were overseas and being introduced to someone, would you prefer to be introduced as a Tasmanian or as an Australian?"<sup>2</sup> Although the question is biased toward a national response, it is found in section two that a majority of the sample would prefer to be introduced as a Tasmanian. However, there are important partisan and demographic variations.

In section three the two sets of responses are crosstabulated. That is, political identity is examined in relation to perceptions about the relative importance of the spheres of government. This reveals that there is an intertwining of political identity with perceptions about the structuring of the system; an intertwining of self with system.

#### 1) The Relative Importance of National and State Governments.

Citizen perceptions toward the structural arrangements of Australia's federal system of government has very largely been ignored by researchers. One of the few studies touching on the salience of national and state governmental units of the system, is a survey of the Manly electorate of N.S.W. conducted after the 1965 state election.<sup>3</sup> Utilizing questions used by Almond and Verba, respondents were asked in

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1. Riker, op.cit., p.104.

2. Question 23, see Appendix 1.

3. Goodhew, Power and Valentine, op.cit., p.81-91.



separate questions how much effect they thought state and national governments had on their day-to-day lives. It was found that 82% of the respondents felt that both the national and the state government had at least some effect on their lives. But the data generated from the questions indicate that the national government was clearly felt to have greater impact than the state government. Forty-one percent felt that the national government had a "great effect" as against 33% who felt that the state government had a "great effect".<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the data also indicate that perceptions varied with education, age and sex. The percentage who considered that the national government had some impact on their lives was lowest among the primary educated and those over fifty-six years of age while men more than women considered that the national government had a "great effect".

The Denison respondents also accord greater significance to the national government as compared to the state government. On each of the first three questions, as shown in Table 5.1 below, the state government is less salient than the national government; between 36% and 40% of the respondents regard the national sphere as the more prominent while less than 23% regard the state as the more prominent sphere. It is clear therefore that on none of the questions is the national sphere regarded as having predominance by a 50% majority of the sample. Moreover more than 30% of the respondents regard both spheres as equally important.

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1. J. Goodhew et.al., op.cit. p.131.

	National (%)	State (%)
great effect	41	33
some effect	41	49
no effect	16	16
DK & NA	3	2

TABLE 5.1 The relative importance of spheres of Government (%)

N = 362.

More important sphere	More important government	Government having the more personal impact.	The more important elections	Elections in which people would more likely vote.
National	36.2	39.5	39.8	8.3
State	17.4	22.9	11.3	8.8
Both Equal	41.4	30.7	46.1	72.9
Other	0.3	-	-	6.1
Don't Know	4.7	6.4	2.8	3.9
Refused	-	0.3	-	-
	<hr/> 100	<hr/> 100	<hr/> 100	<hr/> 100

While the Manly data implies that the respondents regarded the national sphere as more prominent than the state sphere, the questions did not require respondents to make a direct comparison. Thus the Manly data, while indicating a general trend, fail to provide a perspective that relates one sphere to the other. For a frame of reference that does provide such a comparison, data collected from a nation wide Canadian survey conducted immediately after the 1965 national election is available. Although the questions asked in this survey differ from those asked of the Denison respondents, particularly in that the Canadian questions did not pose the alternative of the spheres being equal, they are nevertheless sufficiently similar to provide at least a measure of comparison.

On two questions the percentage choosing the national government as the more important is greater than on similar questions asked in the Canadian survey. These results are compared in Table 5.2 below.

TABLE 5.2 The salience of spheres of government - a comparison with a Canadian survey.\*

<u>More important kind of election (%)</u>							
	<u>National</u>	<u>State/Provincial</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>All Equal</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>N</u>
Denison	39.8	11.3	-	46.1	-	2.8	362
Atlantic Provinces	31	25	7	21	12	12	229
Canada	34	18	7	31	6	4	2727
<u>Government having the more personal impact (%)</u>							
	<u>National</u>	<u>State/Provincial</u>	<u>Both Equal</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Dk/Ref.</u>		<u>N</u>
Denison	39.5	22.9	30.7	-	6.7		362
Atlantic Provinces	31	40	18	5	5		229
Canada	30	40	21	5	4		2727

\*Source: Schwartz, Mildred, Politics and Territory, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 1974, Tables 9-1, 9-2, pp.217, 221.

The comparison suggests that the electors of Denison attach greater significance to their national sphere than do Canadians in general or the residents of the Atlantic provinces, a region with a number of similarities to Tasmania.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the percentage of Denison voters who agreed with the stated option that both spheres are equal is much greater than that of the residents of the Atlantic provinces (and of Canadians) who volunteered this response. But conversely the percentage of Atlantic residents who gave first priority to regional elections and government is twice that of the Denison respondents.

But these trends do not apply to all provinces. Schwartz's data indicate that on the question of the relative impact of the governments, Ontario residents had almost the same regard for the national government as the Denison voters while each region had greater regard for the provincial government. On the question concerning elections, three regions, Ontario, the Prairies and British Columbia gave a percentage as high or higher than Denison with respect to both the national and the provincial governments being the most important. This regional differentiation in Canada points to the possibility of state differences in Australia. It is also noticeable from Schwartz's data on the relative importance of elections, that the lowest percentage choosing national elections and the highest percentage choosing provincial elections occurs in the Atlantic provinces. Like Tasmania, this region is relatively isolated from the national centre.

The third question may also be compared with Canadian data. In the same survey, Canadians were asked which sphere of government they felt handled the most important problems facing Canada. It is on this

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1. On this point see K.A. Mackirdy, "Problems of Adjustment in Nation Building : The Maritime Provinces and Tasmania", The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 20, No. 1, Feb, 1954, pp.27-43.

question that the national government is most prominent, and on which the prominence of the national government is greater than the Australian national government as the data below indicate. However it could be argued that the two questions are not comparable; the importance of governments is not strictly the same as the government handling the most important problems facing Canada.

TABLE 5.3 The more important government and the government handling the most important problems (%).

	National	State/Provincial	Both Equal	Neither/ Don't Know	N
Denison	36.2	17.4	41.4	4.7	362
Atlantic Provinces	52	11	27	10	229
Canada	47	18	24	11	2727

Source: Schwartz, Mildred, Politics and Territory,  
McGill-Queens's University Press,  
Montreal, 1974, Table 9-1, p.217.

Nevertheless, the comparisons of the three questions do indicate a significant difference between Tasmanians and Canadians in their perceptions of their federal systems. In both systems the national government is more prominent than the regional government. But the salience of the respective national governments appears to be greater among Denison respondents than either Canadians or residents of the Atlantic provinces. In addition, Canadians may be more polarized in their perceptions of the importance of the spheres of government than Denison respondents since a significant proportion of the Denison sample agreed with the stated option in the questions that both spheres are equally important.

The perceived equality of the two spheres is most clearly indicated on the question of non-compulsory voting. The implication is that for more than 70% of the sample, both spheres are important enough for respondents to say that they would vote in both sets of elections. Interestingly however, the percentage who would vote only in state elections is equal to the proportion who would vote only in national elections.

These patterns indicate that the state government is firmly entrenched in people's perceptions of the system.<sup>1</sup> While some thirty to forty percent do seem oriented toward the national sphere of the federal system, to at least half the respondents the state sphere is either more important or is equal in importance to the national sphere.

A striking trend apparent from the tables is the remarkable degree of consistency between each table with the exception only of the question concerning voting in non-compulsory elections. The only real difference is the comparatively much greater prominence of the state government on the question concerning evaluations of governmental impact. This as shown above, is also the pattern of the Canadian responses, and in both surveys the increased prominence of the state corresponds with fewer people answering that both spheres are equal. That is, on this question, the Denison electorate is much more polarized around the two

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1. John Robbins' South Australian survey provides some further data that parallels this finding. More people felt that the state government was the most readily influenced than the percentage who felt that the national government was the most readily influenced. The majority however, chose local government. op.cit., Table 10, p.87. Note also that in Aitkin's survey state MP's were slightly better known than national MP's; 36% gave their state MP's name and party as against 33% who gave their national MP's name and party. Aitkin, op.cit., p.259.

spheres. Moreover this degree of similarity between the questions also pertains to the salience patterns when examined with respect to the social variables, sex, education, income, occupation, class and age as set out in Tables 5.4 to 5.6 below.

TABLE 5.4 The more important sphere of government by Sex, Education, Income, Occupation, Class, Age. (%)

	National	State	Both Equal	Other	Dk/Ref	N
Sample	36.2	17.4	41.4	0.3	4.7	362
<b>Sex:</b>						
Men	47.1	15.5	35.5	-	1.9	155
Women	28.0	18.8	45.9	0.5	6.8	207
<b>Education:</b>						
Primary	20.3	20.3	46.9	-	12.5	64
Secondary	33.2	18.5	44.1	-	4.3	211
Technical) College)	36.4	15.2	45.5	3.0	-	33
University	70.6	9.8	19.6	-	-	51
<b>Income: \$</b>						
0-3,999	22.4	19.7	44.7	-	13.2	76
4,000-7,999	33.9	16.1	46.4	-	3.6	56
8,000-11,999	36.5	16.2	45.9	-	1.4	74
12,000-15,999	42.9	17.9	37.5	-	1.8	50
16,000-19,999	54.8	12.9	32.3	-	-	31
20,000 and above	62.1	16.9	31.0	-	-	29
<b>Occupation:</b>						
Manual	26.8	16.1	55.4	-	1.8	56
Non-Manual	50.7	16.2	31.8	0.7	0.7	148
Retired, H/Ds.) Students )	26.3	19.2	45.5	-	9.0	156
<b>Class:</b>						
Working	33.6	20.3	42.2	-	3.9	128
Middle	38.7	18.2	40.3	-	2.8	181
<b>Age:</b>						
18-24	30.5	23.7	44.1	-	1.7	59
25-29	45.9	16.2	37.8	-	-	37
30-39	39.2	14.9	43.2	-	2.7	74
40-49	38.6	21.1	35.1	-	5.3	57
50-59	52.8	16.7	30.6	-	-	36
60 and over	27.1	14.6	46.9	-	11.5	96

**TABLE 5.5** The sphere having the more personal impact by sex, education, income, occupation, class, age. (%)

	National	State	Both	Equal	Dk/Ref	N
Sample	39.5	22.9	30.7	6.7		362
<b>Sex:</b>						
Men	47.1	20.6	27.1	5.1		155
Women	33.8	24.6	33.3	7.7		207
<b>Education:</b>						
Primary	25.0	21.9	35.9	15.6		64
Secondary	38.4	26.5	31.8	1.9		211
Technical & College	45.5	18.2	27.3	9.1		33
University	58.8	13.7	21.6	3.9		51
<b>Income: \$</b>						
0-3999	27.6	22.4	42.1	6.6		76
4,000-7999	41.1	23.2	30.4	5.4		56
8,000-11,999	36.5	27.0	29.7	6.8		74
12,000-15,999	50.0	17.9	26.5	5.4		50
16,000-19,999	58.1	22.6	16.1	3.2		31
20,000 and above	58.6	13.8	20.7	6.9		29
<b>Occupation:</b>						
Manual	33.9	30.4	30.4	5.4		56
Non-Manual	51.4	20.9	21.6	6.1		148
Retired/Student/Home Duties	30.8	22.4	39.1	7.0		156
<b>Class:</b>						
Working	36.7	25.8	31.3	6.3		128
Middle	43.1	24.9	27.1	4.4		181
<b>Age:</b>						
18-24	35.6	33.9	28.8	1.7		59
25-29	56.8	27.0	16.2	-		37
30-39	44.6	23.0	25.7	6.8		74
40-49	42.1	12.3	40.4	5.3		57
50-59	41.7	19.4	30.6	8.3		36
60 and over.	29.2	22.9	34.4	11.5		96

**TABLE 5.6** The more important elections by sex, education, income, occupation class and age. (%)

	National	State	Both	Equal	Dk/Ref	N
Sample	39.8	11.3	46.1	2.8		362
<b>Sex:</b>						
Men	52.9	10.3	36.1	0.6		155
Women	30.0	12.1	53.6	4.3		207
<b>Education:</b>						
Primary	20.3	15.6	53.1	10.9		64
Secondary	38.4	12.8	48.3	0.5		211
Technical & College	36.4	12.1	45.5	6.1		33
University	72.5	-	27.5	-		51
<b>Income: \$</b>						
0-3,999	31.6	17.1	46.1	5.3		76
4,000-7,999	48.2	12.5	39.3	-		56
8,000-11,999	27.0	10.8	58.1	4.1		74
12,000-15,999	48.2	5.4	44.6	1.8		56
16,000-19,999	45.2	6.5	48.4	-		31
20,000 and above	72.4	-	27.6	-		29
<b>Occupation:</b>						
Manual	32.1	16.1	50.0	1.8		56
Non-Manual	54.1	6.8	37.8	1.4		148
Retired/Student/Home Duties	29.5	13.5	52.6	4.5		156
<b>Class:</b>						
Working	35.2	13.3	46.9	4.7		128
Middle	41.4	11.0	45.3	2.2		181
<b>Age:</b>						
18-24	35.6	13.6	50.8	-		59
25-29	48.6	13.5	37.8	-		37
30-39	44.6	6.8	47.3	1.4		74
40-49	35.1	14.0	45.6	5.3		57
50-59	66.7	2.8	27.8	2.8		36
60 and over.	38.1	14.6	52.1	5.2		96



With respect to the relative prominence of the two spheres, all groups but one are consistent with that indicated for the total sample; the percentage choosing the national sphere as more important is greater than the percentage choosing the state sphere. The only variation on this pattern is among those with only a primary education. Among this group an equal number chose the state government as the more important as chose the national government. This is an important and relatively consistent variation. On each question the state sphere is almost as salient as the national sphere among this group; a difference of only 4.7 percentage points on the question concerning elections is the widest variation.

It is also the primary-educated among whom the prominence of the national government is the lowest. However the salience of the national government can be seen to increase as the level of education increases and with respect to each question. This is a clear and pronounced pattern which is statistically significant on each question.<sup>1</sup>

The tables indicate that the national sphere is more salient to men than to women and on two questions the difference in the patterns of responses is statistically significant.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, as shown in Table 5.7, the national sphere is more salient to men than to women on almost every education category; over the three questions there are only three exceptions, two of which concern the question asking respondents which sphere of government most affects their lives. On this question, (the

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1.  $\chi^2 = 55.13$ ,  $df = 16$ ,  $p < 0.000$ ;  $\chi^2 = 41.69$ ,  $df = 20$ ,  $p < 0.003$ ;  
 $\chi^2 = 54.99$ ,  $df = 12$ ,  $p < 0.000$ .
  2.  $\chi^2 = 16.95$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $p < 0.1$ ;  $\chi^2 = 9.22$ ,  $df = 5$ ,  $p > 0.1$  (N.S.)  
 $\chi^2 = 22.25$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p < 0.001$ .

one question not to show a statistically significant difference) among those with a primary and technical or college education, proportionally more women than men answered that the national sphere is the more prominent. The other exception is among the university educated with equal proportions of men and women answering that the national government is the most important unit. Thus while education affects perceptions about the prominence of the national sphere of government among the Denison respondents, there are also differences between men and women, particularly among the secondary educated respondents.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE 5.7. The relative importance of spheres of government by sex by education. (%)

	NATIONAL		STATE		BOTH EQUAL		DON'T KNOW		N	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M	F.	M.	F.
More important Government.										
Primary	26.1	17.1	17.4	22.0	56.5	41.5	-	19.5	23	41
Secondary	44.3	26.5	17.7	18.9	34.2	50.0	3.8	4.5	79	132
Technical & College)	47.1	25.0	11.8	18.8	41.2	50.0	-	3.0	17	16
University	70.6	70.6	11.8	5.9	17.6	23.5	-	-	34	17
Government having more personal impact										
Primary	21.7	26.8	21.7	22.0	52.2	26.8	4.3	22.0	23	41
Secondary	50.6	31.1	24.1	28.0	22.8	37.1	2.5	3.8	79	132
Technical & College	41.2	50.0	23.5	12.5	23.5	31.3	11.8	6.3	17	16
University	61.8	52.9	11.8	17.6	20.6	23.5	2.9	5.9	34	17
More important elections										
Primary	21.7	19.5	21.7	12.2	56.5	51.2	-	17.1	23	41
Secondary	51.9	30.3	11.4	13.6	36.7	55.3	-	0.8	79	132
Technical & College	52.9	18.8	11.8	12.5	29.4	62.5	5.9	6.3	17	16
University	79.4	58.8	-	-	20.6	41.2	-	-	34	17

1. For each question the difference among secondary educated men and women is statistically significant.  $\chi^2 = 7.625$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $p<0.05$ ;  $\chi^2 = 8.66$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $p<0.05$ ;  $\chi^2 = 10.33$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $p<0.02$ . On all other education levels however the differences are not statistically significant.

There are also similar patterns on the class and occupation variables. The percentage who answered that the national government is the more important sphere is higher among those labelling themselves middle-class, and those of a non-manual occupation than it is among those who regard themselves to be working class and who have manual occupations respectively.<sup>1</sup>

On two questions, the salience of the national government increases with income; the higher the income category, the larger the proportion of respondents who regard the national government as the most important sphere and the greater its impact on respondents personally. The exception to this pattern relates to the question of the importance of elections; for those approaching an average income the proportion answering that national elections are the most important is lower than for any other group while the percentage answering that both elections are equally important is higher than the other groups.

The tables show no clear pattern in relation to age, but two points should be noted. Firstly, on two questions, the percentage who answered that the national government is the more important is lowest among the sixty and over age group. However, 50% of this group are also in the lowest income group as pensioners. Given that pensions are paid by the national government and that

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1. The differences in response patterns however are statistically significant only with respect to occupation.

	CLASS (M&W)	OCCUPATION
The more important sphere	$\chi^2 = 1.11, \text{N.S.}$	$\chi^2 = 26.8, \text{df}=6, p < 0.001$
The Government having the more personal impact	$\chi^2 = 1.02, \text{N.S.}$	$\chi^2 = 18.15, \text{df}=6, p < 0.01$
The more important elections	$\chi^2 = 4.69, \text{N.S.}$	$\chi^2 = 23.8, \text{df}=6, p < 0.001$

pensions are important to Tasmanians as a national responsibility<sup>1</sup> the relatively low salience of the national government among this group is surprising. Secondly, the percentage difference between national and state prominence is comparatively low among the 18-24 age group.

Indeed, it is among this group that the prominence of the state government is relatively high, and on two questions the percentage of this group answered that the state government is the more important sphere is the highest.

It was shown that for the total sample, the responses are much less polarized between the two spheres than were Canadian respondents. On three of the four questions both spheres are equally salient to the greater proportion of the sample. But just as the prominence of each of the spheres varies between groups so there are variations in the degree of polarization.

In general, the degree of equality between the spheres follows the pattern of state prominence. With higher levels of education, and higher incomes, the greater the degree of polarization; the equality of the spheres is less among men as compared to women, those in non-manual occupations to those in manual occupations and the middle class as compared to the working class. Thus increasing national prominence occurs with decreasing state importance as well as with increasing polarization. These trends occur with increasing status levels

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1. In 1967 pensions were cited most frequently by Tasmanians (39.6%) as the most important problem facing the national government. Jean Holmes, "The Australian Federal Process", in Henry Mayer and Helen Nelson (eds) Australian Politics : A Fourth Reader, p.330.

implying that the better off and higher educated are more nationally oriented than people less well off, and of lower education.<sup>1</sup> To those of higher status the national government is the most salient and the degree of polarization is the highest. For those of lower status the national sphere remains more prominent than the state sphere, but even so the state is more salient and the degree of polarization is less than it is among higher status groups.

Table 5.8 displays the relative salience of the spheres of government in relation to the federal pattern of party identification. A partisan comparison shows that on two of the questions the national sphere is the more important to a higher proportion of Liberals than to Labor partisans; a difference of more than six percentage points on each of the two questions.<sup>2</sup> With respect to the remaining question, the sphere of government affecting respondents, a slightly higher proportion of Labor partisans than Liberals credit the national sphere with more personal impact than is attributed to the state government. While the difference is small, it is noticeable that it derives from an increase in the salience of the national government (compared with the other questions) to Labor partisans. This suggests that Labor partisans differentiated between the questions more than did Liberals.

On all three questions, the state sphere is the more important sphere to a higher proportion of Labor partisans than it is to Liberals. Indeed, on the question of elections this variation is especially pronounced. Almost twice as many Labor partisans proportionally, as Liberals, regard state elections as the more important electoral test. These patterns are significant; it has been the Labor Party which has been the more

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1. This pattern has also been found in an American study. See Jennings and Ziegler, *op.cit.*

2. But the differences are not statistically significant.

TABLE 5.8 The relative importance of spheres of government by federal pattern of party identification. (%)

		Liberal Partisans	Labor Partisans	Mixed Identifiers			Non- Partisans
				Dual Ident- ifiers	National Identif- ication only	State Identif- ication only	
The more Important Government	(National	40.0	33.8	28.6	42.9	27.3	39.7
	(State	12.4	18.6	7.1	21.4	27.3	20.7
	(Both Equal	41.9	43.4	64.3	28.6	45.5	31.0
	(DK/Refusal	5.7	4.1	-	7.1	-	6.9
Government with the more personal impact	(National	40.0	41.4	35.7	50.0	18.2	39.7
	(State	23.8	24.8	21.4	28.6	36.4	13.8
	(Both Equal	29.4	27.6	42.9	7.1	45.5	37.9
	(DK/Refusal	6.7	5.5	-	14.3	-	8.6
The more Important Elections	(National	44.8	37.2	35.7	28.6	45.5	41.4
	(State	8.6	15.2	-	2.6	9.1	6.9
	(Both Equal	41.9	44.8	64.3	42.9	45.5	50.0
	(DK/Other	4.8	2.8	-	-	-	1.7
N.		105	145	14	14	11	58

successful electorally at the state sphere. Conversely, in Denison it has been the Liberal Party which has been the more successful in national elections. Yet it is the Liberal Party which most professes a concern for "state rights" while it is the Labor Party which attempts to portray an image of a nationally oriented party with a national approach to problems and which is often accused by its political opponents of promoting centralism. Perhaps it is this apparent contradiction which lies at the heart of the Labor Party's inability to maintain government nationally,<sup>1</sup> for Goot has noted a related

1. Labor governments have been re-elected only three occasions, 1943, 1946 and 1974.

contradiction. Labor supporters have been more opposed to policies of national Labor governments than have Liberal supporters been opposed to policies of Liberal governments.<sup>1</sup> It is here where the differentiation in response patterns to the three questions may have significance. Labor partisans were most likely to answer that the national sphere is more prominent on the question concerning the personal impact of the spheres of government. Is it that Labor partisans credit the national government with personal significance whereas the party's leadership has stressed national concerns? Evidence that this may be the case is provided by the elements comprising party images. Personal concerns, (Labor for the working man), were a significant element in the Labor Party's favourable national image. In contrast, the Liberal image contains a significant percentage of responses referring to management of the governing process and to the party generally, implying an evaluative assessment more in terms of the country.

The extent to which Liberal and Labor partisans differ on the degree of national and state salience is perhaps best shown by combining the data for the three questions. If the percentage of partisans who regard each sphere as the most prominent is averaged, there is a partisan variation of four percentage points with respect to both the national and the state spheres.<sup>2</sup> While to supporters of both parties the national sphere is the more prominent, proportionally more Liberals

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1. Murray Goot, Policies and Partisans, Australian Electoral Opinion 1941-1968. Occasional Monograph No. 1, Department of Government and Public Administration, University of Sydney, 1969, p.139.

2. National average		State average	
Liberal partisans	41.6%	Liberal partisans	15.3%
Labor partisans	37.5%	Labor partisans	19.5%

than Labor partisans regard the national sphere as more salient while the inverse is the case with respect to the state sphere.

But partisanship at both spheres might suggest a high proportion of people regarding both spheres as equally important. This is not the case, especially with respect to the question concerning the sphere of government with most impact on the personal lives of the respondents. The responses to this question are remarkably polarized and equally so for the supporters of both parties. Nonetheless, on the average some 37.7% of Liberals and 38.6% of Labor partisans regard both spheres as equally important; not a majority or even the most, but a significant proportion, highlighting not only the salience of the state but suggesting a significantly strong attachment to the federal system.

It might also be expected that among dual identifiers the greater proportion would regard both spheres as equally important; national identifiers would tend toward a national predominance while for state identifiers, the state sphere would be the more important. To some extent this is the pattern. Most dual identifiers do regard both spheres as equally important and on two questions this is a majority. On two questions also most national identifiers, although not a majority, regard the national sphere as predominant. But it is only



on the question concerning the unit of government having more effect on individuals personally that the corresponding pattern for state identifiers applies to any degree; yet even on this question more state identifiers regard both spheres as equally important.

## 2) Political Identity

The questions concerning the relative importance of the governmental units reveal voter perceptions relating to the structure of the federal system. But an equally important finding is the existence of groups of citizens each more orientated to a particular sphere of the system; to some people the national sphere is the more important sphere, to others the state, while to yet others, both spheres are equally important. This implies that some individuals have broader political horizons than others which suggests that it may be possible to scale individuals' perceptions of their location within the federal political environment.

One way in which this idea has been conceptualized is in terms of a cosmopolitan-local dimension representing the scale of social environment in which the individual sees himself. It has been found that some people regard themselves as residents of a local community having a primary identification with and loyalty towards that community;

others are primarily oriented toward the larger world outside the community - "the local type is parochial, the cosmopolitan is ecumenical".<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, a dichotomy between a national as opposed to a state identification might be expected. One method which has been used to examine the strength of state identity is to pose the simple question "Who am I?" Stevens used this in attempting to locate state differences in attitudes among students living in the border regions of three adjoining American states - Indiana, Michigan and Ohio.<sup>2</sup> Less than 10% indicated a state identification with this question, but when the students were asked whether they thought of themselves as Republicans/Democrats, Midwesterners or by other labels including that of their state, 44% of the Ohio students (for example) said they thought of themselves often as Ohioans. But the extent to which this is a leading question makes the utility of such a measure suspect. Nevertheless, the notion of a state identity is important because the extent to which citizens identify with a particular state is likely to enhance or diminish that state's viability as an independent political entity. Thus the extent to which citizens regard themselves as Tasmanians rather than Australians is a crucial element in voter attitudes about federal government.

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1. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, The Free Press, New York, 1968, p.447. For the use of this concept in a federal context see Harlan Hahn, "Attitudes Toward Federalism and the "Localism - Cosmopolitanism" Dimension", Publius Vol.4, No. 3, 1974, pp.65-74 and also, M. Kent Jennings, "Pre Adult Orientations to Multiple Systems of Government", Midwest Journal of Political Science, Vol. 11, No. 3, Aug. 1977, pp.291-317.
  2. Arthur R. Stevens, "State Boundaries and Political Cultures : An Exploration of the Tri-State Area of Michigan, Indiana and Ohio", Publius, Vol. 4, 1974, pp.111-125.

The strength of a Tasmanian state identity was tested by asking respondents to imagine themselves overseas and asking how they would prefer to be introduced - as an Australian or as a Tasmanian. The salience of a state identity is well brought out by Table 5.9 below.

TABLE 5.9 Political identity by sex, education, income, occupation, class and age. (%)

	Australian	Tasmanian	Other	Don't Know	N
Sample	41.4	53.3	1.4	3.9	362
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	47.7	47.1	-	5.2	155
Women	36.7	58.0	2.4	2.9	207
<u>Education:</u>					
Primary	17.2	70.7	1.6	1.6	64
Secondary	41.2	54.0	0.9	3.8	211
Technical & College	54.5	45.5	-	-	33
University	62.7	23.5	3.9	9.8	51
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Manual	37.5	60.7	-	1.8	56
Non-Manual	61.5	33.1	1.4	4.1	148
Retired, students, home duties	23.7	69.9	1.9	4.5	156
<u>Income:</u> \$					
0-3999	17.1	77.6	1.3	3.9	76
4,000-7,999	41.1	53.6	1.8	3.6	56
8,000-11,999	45.9	51.4	-	2.7	74
12,000-15,999	60.7	32.1	3.6	3.6	56
16,000-19,999	48.4	45.2	3.2	3.2	31
20,000 and above	69.0	24.1	-	6.9	29
<u>Class:</u>					
Working	41.4	55.5	-	3.1	128
Middle	43.1	51.9	1.7	3.3	181
<u>Age:</u>					
18-24	37.3	57.6	1.7	3.4	59
25-29	54.1	40.5	-	5.4	37
30-39	59.5	33.8	4.1	2.7	74
40-49	49.1	43.9	1.8	5.3	57
50-59	41.7	52.8	-	5.6	36
60 and over	19.8	77.1	-	3.1	96

Despite the bias in the question, more than half the respondents (53%) answered that they considered themselves foremost as Tasmanians. But as with perceptions about the prominence of the governmental units there are variations between groups of respondents.

The table shows that the strength of a national identity increases with status (that is with education, occupation and income)<sup>1</sup> but only marginally with class and not with age. With rising status levels the predominant identity changes from state to national in scope. On the age variable however the pattern is curvilinear. The proportion claiming a national identity rises to peak among those aged 30 to 39 and falls to the lowest proportion among those aged sixty and over. It could well be that a more local political perspective is consistent with advancing age, but it is difficult to explain the peak among the 30-39 age group.<sup>2</sup>

As with the salience of the units of government, there is an appreciable sex difference in the degree of national as compared to state identity. Proportionally, males divide equally between national and state identifiers whereas females are predominantly Tasmanians.<sup>3</sup> But while this pattern is consistent on most of the education categories with respect to the questions concerning the salience of the spheres of government, there are interesting variations between males and females when it comes to political identity. Among females, the proportion indicating a national

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1. With statistically significant differences at the .001 level.  $\chi^2$  respectively, 44.06, 48.36, 49.39.

2. Although the proportion of "Australians" decreases with length of residence in the state, the peak among the 30-39 age group is not due to a preponderance of recent arrivals of this age group. 60% of the group had lived in the state for more than 10 years.

3. But the difference is not statistically significant.

identity increases with education; among the primary and secondary educated women, the majority are Tasmanians but at the higher education levels the majority are Australians. Among males however, the pattern of increasing national identity with higher education is less regular; Tasmanians are the majority among the primary educated as well as among those with some technical or college education and Australians are the majority among the secondary and university educated. Further, whereas proportionally more males than females are Australian among the respondents with primary and secondary levels of education, at the higher levels more females than males are Australians.<sup>1</sup> That is, education has varying effects among men and women.

TABLE 5.10. Political identity by sex by education (%)

	Australian		Tasmanian		Other		Don't Know		N	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Primary	21.7	14.6	73.9	82.9	-	2.4	4.3	2.4	23	41
Secondary	50.6	35.6	46.8	58.3	-	1.5	2.5	4.5	79	132
Technical & College	41.2	68.8	58.8	31.3	-	-	-	-	17	16
University	58.8	70.6	26.5	17.6	-	11.8	14.7	-	34	17

The patterns revealed by the table, as with those with respect to the prominence of the spheres of government, suggest the likelihood of partisan differences. This is indeed the case. Table 5.11 indicates the percentage claiming each identity for each category of federal party identification. The first and most prominent feature to

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1. The differences however are not statistically significant.

note is the predominance of a Tasmanian identification for all classes of partisanship with the exception only of non-partisans; among identifiers an absolute majority regard themselves as Tasmanians while a majority of non-partisans are Australians. Even among the sample of national identifiers, a majority are Tasmanians, perhaps suggesting a view that Tasmania's interests are best promoted through national politics.

TABLE 5.11 Political identity by federal pattern of party identification. (%)

	Australian	Tasmanian	Other and Don't Know	N.
Liberal partisans	43.8	50.8	5.7	105
Labor partisans	34.4	60.7	4.8	145
Dual identifiers	35.7	57.1	7.1	14
National identifiers	42.9	57.1	-	14
State Identifiers	27.3	63.6	9.1	11
Non-partisans	53.4	43.1	3.4	58

The second point clearly displayed by the table is the partisan difference. Proportionally more Labor partisans than Liberals regard themselves as Tasmanians, by a marked (although not statistically significant) difference of ten percentage points; and inversely, more Liberals than Labor Partisans hold a national identity. That is, while the majority of those who identify with either the Liberal Party or the Labor Party consistently at both sphere of the system indicate a Tasmanian identity, more Labor partisans than Liberals are parochial in their political outlook.

This is consistent with partisan patterns concerning the salience of the governmental units thus reinforcing the pattern of parochialism among Labor supporters. It also suggests a degree of correspondence between scope of political identity on the one hand and perceptions about the structuring of the system on the other.

### 3) Political Identity and the Salience of Spheres of Government.

Intuitively it could be expected that among those who identify themselves as Australians, the national sphere would be the more prominent unit of the governmental system. Equally, those who perceive the state as the more important sphere could be expected to identify themselves as Tasmanians. This second proposition is supported by Table 5.12. On each of the three questions among those for whom the state government is more prominent, the majority are Tasmanians. Indeed on two questions this proportion is greater than 70%.

TABLE 5.12 State saliency and political identity (%)

	Australian	Tasmanian	Other	Don't Know	N
The more important government	27.0	71.4	-	1.6	63
Government having the more personal impact	39.8	57.8	1.2	1.2	83
The more important elections	24.4	75.6	-	-	41

But it is the first proposition which posits the more useful relationship. How do those with the broader, as well as the more local political identity perceive the structuring of the system? Table 5.13 explores these associations. On each of the questions at least 45% of Australians regard the national sphere as the more prominent. However, even among Australians the state sphere is not without significance, attesting to the strength with which the federal structure is held in the public's political frame of reference.

Yet at first glance this would appear contradicted by the salience pattern of Tasmanians. Only 16% of Tasmanians regard state elections as the more important party battle, just over half the percentage who regard national elections as the more important while almost 50% regard both electoral contests as equally important. In fact this pattern, although in varying degrees, occurs with respect to each question. But then, only between 11% and 23% of the sample thought the state the more important sphere, contrasting with the 53% having a Tasmanian identity.

TABLE 5.13. Political identity by salience of spheres of government (%)

Political Identity	More important government			Government having the more personal impact.			More important elections			N
	National	State	Both Equal	National	State	Both Equal	National	State	Both Equal	
Australian	46.7	11.3	38.7	45.3	22.0	23.3	48.7	6.7	43.3	150
Tasmanian	26.9	23.3	44.0	32.6	24.9	37.3	30.6	16.1	49.2	193



Thus for each political identity, national as well as state, perspectives about the structure of the federal system vary considerably; 27% of Tasmanians and 47% of Australians regard the national sphere as the more important; 11% of Australians and 23% of Tasmanians regard the state sphere as more prominent while 44% of Tasmanians and 39% of Australians regard both spheres as equal in importance. But for a more accurate picture of these patterns, the proportions need to be related to the total sample. Table 5.14 displays these proportions with respect to each of the three questions.

TABLE 5.14 Patterns of federal orientations (%).

Orientation	More important government	Government having the more personal impact.	More important elections
Australians for whom the national sphere is more prominent	19.3	18.8	20.2
Australians for whom both spheres are equal	16.0	9.7	18.0
Tasmanians for whom the national sphere is more important	14.4	17.4	16.3
Tasmanians for whom both spheres are equal	23.5	19.9	26.2
Australians for whom the state sphere is more prominent	4.7	9.1	2.8
Tasmanians for whom the state sphere is more prominent.	12.4	13.3	8.6
Others, don't know.	9.7	11.9	8.0
N.	362	362	362

The table indicates that on the one hand some 20% of the sample hold both a national identity as well as a national perspective of Australian government; on the other hand 12% of the sample hold a state identity as well as a state or parochial perspective of politics. In between there are Tasmanians and Australians for whom both spheres are equal, Tasmanians who regard the national sphere as more important and a small percentage holding an Australian identity for whom the state sphere is the more important governmental unit. Such a pattern, representing an intertwining of identification with perceptions about the structure of the governmental system can be regarded as producing a continuum of political perspectives stretching from a national orientation through a federalist view to a parochial state based perspective.

But such a pattern would be more appropriate if only one measure of the salience of the governmental units was used. This is possible because each question allowed similar answers. That is, it would be consistent for respondents to answer similarly on all three questions. Yet this would be too rigorous. An alternative approach is to combine the responses such that the national, state and both equal categories refer to either two or three similar responses. Thus a national response could be defined as that given by a respondent who answered that the national sphere is the more important sphere on two of the three questions; a state response would be that given by a respondent who answered that the state sphere is the more important sphere on at least two of the questions. Similarly for the response that both spheres are equal. In this way the trichotomy is retained while combining the responses to the three questions. This produces sample responses of: national 34.8%, state 10.5% and both equal 52.5%.

This single measure of the salience of the governmental units of the

federal system can then be superimposed on the measure of political identity in similar manner to that portrayed in Table 5.14. But for convenience the "both spheres equal" response may be designated a "federalist" response and the "state" response may be designated parochial. That is, national, state and both equal may be designated national (34.8%), parochial (10.5%) and federalist (52.2%) and superimposed on "Australian" and "Tasmanian" political identities. This is represented diagrammatically by Figure 5.1. The sample contains 18.2% of Australians for whom the national sphere is the more important, 20.2% Australian federalists, 2.5% Australian parochials; Tasmanians for whom the national sphere is the more important account for 13.3%. Tasmanian federalists 30.1% and Tasmanian parochials 8.0%. The remaining 7.7% comprise 19 respondents who failed to indicate a political identity and 9 who gave some other combination of responses to the questions on the salience of spheres of government.

FIGURE 5.1 PATTERNS OF FEDERAL ORIENTATIONS AMONG DENISON ELECTORS. (N = 362)

Australian Nationals	Australian Federalists	Tasmanian Nationals	Tasmanian Federalists	* Tasmanian Parochials 8.0%	Others
18.2%	20.2%	13.3%	30.1%		7.7%

\* Australian Parochials 2.5%

The same procedure can be used to compare partisan orientations. Figures 5.2 to 5.4 below display the patterns for Liberal partisans, Labor partisans and non-partisans. All three partisan groupings cover the full spectrum but there are variations between the percentages holding each perspective. Liberals are more nationally oriented than

Labor partisans; Labor supporters are more parochial than Liberals thus reinforcing the trends indicated by the separate analysis of the questions. In between these extremes there are further differences. A greater proportion of Liberals than of Labor supporters identify themselves as Australians and regard both spheres as equal whereas the inverse occurs for Tasmanians regarding both spheres equally. However more Labor supporters than Liberals are Tasmanians who regard the national sphere as the more important unit of government.

FIGURE 5.2 PATTERNS OF FEDERAL ORIENTATIONS BY PARTY IDENTIFICATION  
- LIBERAL. N = 105.

Australian Nationals	Australian Federalists	Tasmanian Nationals	Tasmanian Federalists	* Tasmanian Parochials	Others
19.0%	21.0%	12.4%	28.6%	6.7%	10.4%

\* Australian Parochials 1.9%

FIGURE 5.3 PATTERNS OF FEDERAL ORIENTATIONS BY PARTY IDENTIFICATION  
- LABOR N = 165.

Australian Nationals	Australian Federalists	Tasmanian Nationals	Tasmanian Federalists	* Tasmanian Parochials	Others
16.6%	15.2%	16.6%	32.4%	9.7%	6.8%

\* Australian Parochials 2.8%

FIGURE 5.4 PATTERNS OF FEDERAL ORIENTATIONS BY PARTY IDENTIFICATION  
- NON-PARTISANS N = 58.

Australian Nationals	Australian Federalists	Tasmanian Nationals	Tasmanian Federalists	* Tasmanian Parochials	Others
24.1%	27.6%	10.3%	25.9%	5.2%	5.1%

\* Australian Parochials 1.7%

Thus the diagrams emphasize the potency of state loyalties among those who identify with the major parties consistently at both spheres; less than twenty percent of partisans can be said to hold a fully national perspective. In contrast however, the majority of non-partisans are located toward the national end of the spectrum and indeed, almost one-quarter are fully locked into a national perspective. Nevertheless, 75% of non-partisans display dual loyalties so that non-partisans as well as consistent identifiers are spread over the national-parochial continuum.

This is also the case, as would be expected, among mixed identifiers. The categories of mixed identification are too small to display percentage distributions but the actual figures shown by Table 5.15 indicate a prominence of dual loyalties among this group also.

TABLE 5.15 Patterns of federal orientations by pattern of mixed identification.

Orientation	Dual Identifiers	National Identifiers	State Identifiers
Australian Nationals	3	1	2
Australian Federalists	3	4	1
Tasmanian Nationals	2	3	-
Tasmanian Federalists	6	2	6
Australian Parochials	-	1	-
Tasmanian Parochials	-	3	1
Others	1	-	-
N	14	14	11

The implication of these patterns is that such dual loyalties are firmly entrenched in the political perceptions of Denison voters. More than 60% of the sample indicate "appreciative systems"<sup>1</sup> comprising a mixture of both state and national elements. For some the national component appears to dominate; for a larger percentage however the state component appears stronger. But it is apparent that both spheres are firmly placed in the perceptual frameworks of the Denison voters.

To summarize, the sample contains three perceptions about the structuring of the federal system. To some the national sphere is the more important; to a minority the state sphere is the more important. But most respondents regard both spheres as equally important. The significance of the state sphere to Denison voters thus revealed is reinforced by the preponderance of respondents who regard themselves as first and foremost Tasmanians as against Australians. Both variables intertwine to produce a range of orientations from fully national to fully state.

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1. This term is borrowed from Sir Geoffrey Vickers, The Art of Judgment, Methuen and Co. Ltd., London, 1968, ch.4.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE SALIENCE OF SPHERES OF GOVERNMENT AND PERCEPTIONS OF PARTY COMPETITION

In Chapter 5 an American study was noted in which the characteristics of people oriented toward the state sphere of politics were examined.<sup>1</sup> In that article the authors found that people who pay most attention to state affairs are both distrustful of the world about them and suspicious of more remote environments. In particular it was suggested that those inclined toward state affairs "avow more often that what Washington [that is, the national government] does makes less of a difference in their personal lives".<sup>2</sup> To the authors this provided evidence that "a system-level salience map reflects in part an issue salience map, since state-oriented citizens see less subjectively important outcomes at the highest level of the federal structure".<sup>3</sup>

This finding supported the conclusion of an earlier study of political attitudes of American students. In this study it was reported that "The more the student is oriented to larger domains of public affairs, the more likely he is to have some knowledge about people and events in those domains, to be interested in specific things transpiring there, and to tailor his political discourse to topics at those levels".<sup>4</sup> In Denison it may be that a similar relationship exists between system orientation and perceptions of

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1. M. Kent Jennings, and Harmon Ziegler, op.cit., p.529.

2. ibid.

3. ibid.

4. M. Kent Jennings, "Pre-Adult Orientations to Multiple Systems of Government", in Midwest Journal of Political Science, Vol.11, No. 3, August, 1967, pp 304,305.

party competition.

Chapter 3 revealed that party competition is more salient with respect to the national sphere than in relation to the Tasmanian state arena. That is to say, more people felt that it makes a difference which party governs nationally than felt that it matters which party governs in Tasmania. Moreover, there are clear differences in the collective images of the character of party politics at the two spheres and these differences correspond to variations in party images.

Party competition however, takes place within the context of constitutional arrangements that impose limitations and obligations on the political actors. Following Jennings and Ziegler, an elector's perception of party politics in terms of assessing content and judging future courses of action may also be related to the structure of the system as "appreciated" by the elector. That is, the salience of party politics at a particular sphere may be related to perceptions about the relationship between the spheres and therefore to judgements about the framework of the federal structure.

When perceptions about the structure of the system were examined in Chapter 5 it was found that the national sphere is regarded overall as more important than the state sphere. But judgements varied. To some respondents the national sphere is more important than the state sphere while to a small but significant percentage it is the state sphere which is the more important. To yet other respondents, both national and state spheres are equally important. If, following Jennings and Ziegler, perceptions about party politics relate to orientations toward the system, then perceptions as to both the degree and nature



of party competition at each sphere will correspond to perceptions about the relative importance of the spheres. It is this which is the focus of this chapter and which leads to some important considerations about the perceived functioning of the federal system, especially in relation to partisanship.

In the first section system orientation is related to perceptions about national party competition. It is shown that national party politics is most salient to nationally oriented respondents and that there is some variations in the images of party politics relating to system orientation. A corresponding relationship is revealed in the second section in relation to party competition in the state. In both sections important partisan differences are considered. The third section attempts to examine images of party conflict across the two spheres for each system orientation. The final section summarizes the trends and concludes by considering the salience of national and state politics and the varying partisan trends in relation to electoral behaviour.

1) System Orientation and National Party Competition.

When asked whether it makes much difference which party governs nationally, 207 or 57.2% of the sample answered in the affirmative. If there is support for the hypothesis that perceptions about the structuring of the system relate to the salience of party politics nationally, at the very least it would need to be shown that this group of 207 respondents is comprised, very largely (if not entirely) of respondents who answered either that the national sphere is the more important unit or that both national and state units are equally important. This is shown by table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1 however is insufficient support. This is because on all three questions measuring system orientation only a minority of respondents answered that the state sphere is the more important sphere. Thus state oriented respondents could only comprise a minority of those who answered that it makes a difference which party governs nationally. But the table does indicate that nationally oriented respondents comprise the largest proportion, and this is emphasized by table 6.2.

TABLE 6.1 National party competition by system orientation.

Salient Sphere	The more important government		The government having the more personal impact		The more important elections	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
National	45.4	(94)	47.4	(98)	44.5	(92)
Both Equal	39.1	(81)	30.4	(63)	43.5	(90)
State	11.5	(24)	16.9	(35)	9.7	(20)
Others D K	3.9	(8)	5.3	(11)	2.4	(5)
Total	100	(207)	100	(207)	100	(207)

Table 6.2 indicates the proportion of respondents for each system orientation who answered that it makes a difference which party governs nationally. It is clear from the table that the proportion varies in relation to perceptions about the importance of the spheres of government. Simply stated, the probability of answering that it does make a difference which party forms the national government increases with scope of political orientation.

TABLE 6.2 System orientation by salience of national party competition. (N=362)

Salient Sphere		The more important government		The government having the more personal impact		The more important elections	
		Difference between parties	No difference or DK	Difference between parties	No difference or DK	Difference between parties	No difference or DK
National	(% (N)	71.8 (94)	28.2 (37)	68.5 (98)	31.5 (45)	63.9 (92)	36.2 (52)
Both Equal	(% (N)	54.0 (81)	46.0 (69)	56.8 (63)	43.2 (48)	53.9 (90)	46.1 (77)
State	(% (N)	38.1 (24)	61.9 (39)	42.2 (35)	57.8 (48)	48.8 (20)	51.2 (21)
Others DK	(% (N)	44.5 (8)	55.5 (10)	44.0 (11)	56.0 (14)	50.0 (5)	50.0 (5)
Significance		$\chi^2 = 22.62$ df = 3 p < 0.001		$\chi^2 = 17.01$ df = 3 p < 0.001		$\chi^2 = 4.8$ df = 3 p > 0.2	

As indicated by the two tables however, there is some difference in the strength of this relationship between the questions used to derive system orientation. Curiously the relationship is weakest on the question concerning the relative importance of elections. The salience of national party politics among nationally oriented respondents is lowest on this question. Yet the salience of national party politics among state oriented respondents is strongest.

This latter point directs attention to the high visibility

of national politics. Even among respondents who answered that state elections are the more important electoral contests, national party politics is nevertheless of some relevance to almost 50%. It is however the former point which is of more importance for the moment. It would appear that to more than a third of the nationally oriented respondents, (in terms of elections), the outcome of national elections is of little consequence. As table 6.3 suggests this is in part the effect of the perceptions of non-partisans who are more indifferent to national party politics than are both Liberal and Labor partisans. Nevertheless, the salience of national party politics among respondents who answered that national elections are more important than state elections is below that which might be expected. But there are important partisan variations.

Table 6.3 indicates that national party politics is more salient to Liberals than to Labor partisans for each system orientation.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the extent to which the salience of national party politics varies in relation to system orientation among Liberals is less than among Labor partisans. Indeed almost

TABLE 6.3 The more important elections by salience of national party competition and party identification.

		Salience of party competition and party identification					
		Liberal (105)		Labor (145)		Non Partisans (58)	
		Difference between parties	No difference or DK	Difference between parties	No difference or DK	Difference between parties	No difference or DK
The more important elections							
National	(% (N)	68.1 (32)	31.9 (15)	66.7 (36)	33.3 (18)	54.2 (13)	45.8 (11)
Both Equal	(% (N)	65.9 (29)	34.1 (15)	60.0 (39)	40.0 (26)	27.6 (8)	72.4 (21)
State	(% (N)	66.7 (6)	33.3 (3)	59.1 (13)	40.9 (9)	-	100.0 (4)
Others DK	N	4/5	1/5	0/4	4/5	1/1	-

1. But the differences are not statistically significant.

as many state oriented Liberals as nationally oriented Liberals answered that it makes a difference which party governs nationally.

The table reinforces the trends apparent in Chapters 3 and 5 concerning partisan variations in perspectives toward the Australian political system. Liberals are more nationally oriented than Labor partisans among the electors of Denison.

The second aspect of the relationship between system orientation and the salience of national politics to consider concerns the perceptions about national politics. To what extent do perceptions about the nature of national party competition vary between orientations toward the political system? Table 6.4 below displays the aggregate image patterns by system orientation (as indicated by each of the three questions) using the image categories as described in Chapter 3.

TABLE 6.4 Image patterns of national party competition by system orientation (%).

Image category \ Salient Sphere	Sample	The more important sphere of government			The sphere of government having the more personal impact			The more important elections		
		National	Both Equal	State Sphere	National	Both Equal	State Sphere	National	Both Equal	State Sphere
Ideological	16.4	21.4	13.6	17.9	20.0	10.5	16.2	18.2	16.9	9.1
Policy-economic	5.5	6.3	3.4	7.2	7.6	3.0	5.4	8.1	3.2	4.6
-social welfare	6.9	9.8	4.6	-	6.7	7.5	2.7	7.1	6.3	4.6
-other	3.7	4.5	1.1	3.6	4.8	2.7	2.7	4.0	4.6	3.2
Management of govt.	16.0	12.5	20.5	10.8	14.3	17.9	16.2	15.1	17.9	21.7
Group related differences	14.1	12.5	13.6	21.4	11.4	14.9	21.6	15.2	14.9	9.1
Leaders & Leadership	5.0	2.7	6.8	3.6	2.9	10.5	-	4.0	4.2	9.1
Other	10.5	8.0	13.6	7.2	10.5	11.9	8.1	6.1	15.8	9.1
Differences - general	22.4	22.3	22.8	28.6	21.0	22.4	27.0	22.2	22.1	27.3
Total number of responses	220	112	88	28	105	67	37	99	95	22

As can be seen from the table there is no substantial difference in the images deriving from system orientation. But there are variations in the patterns which should be noted. Ideological and policy differences are consistently items of somewhat more prominence among the nationally oriented respondents as compared to state oriented respondents or those for whom both spheres are equal. A further consistent variation is that the category of general differences is most prominent among state oriented respondents. Other differences are less consistent.

Group related differences is a particularly prominent item among respondents with a state orientation on the questions concerned with the more important government and the sphere having the more personal impact. On both these questions also management of government is the item that is most frequently mentioned by respondents who answered that both spheres are equal. On the third question however, management of government is mostly the concern of those respondents who answered that state elections are the more important, whereas group related differences is less frequently mentioned. Thus it does appear that variations in the images of party competition may relate to perspectives about the relationship between the spheres of government.

The question now becomes whether the variations displayed in Table 6.4 in fact derive from system orientation or partisanship. If the partisan patterning displayed by table 3.9 of Chapter 3 is substantially replicated for each orientation then the variations derive from partisanship. But if the patterning of Table 6.4 is replicated for Liberal and Labor partisans, then the variations in image patterns derive from perspectives about the system. A third

alternative is that the pattern variations derive from a combination of both partisanship and system orientation.

Table 6.5 below presents the image patterns for Labor and Liberal partisans for each system orientation as derived from the three questions concerned with the salience of the spheres of government. The table suggests that both partisanship and system orientation are contributing sources of variation in the image patterns.

Partisanship is in fact a substantial source of variation. Ideology and management of government are predominantly Liberal responses whereas group related and "general" differences are items mentioned predominantly by Labor supporters irrespective of system orientation.<sup>1</sup> But within this partisan patterning variations deriving from system orientations may be seen.

Among both Liberal and Labor partisans ideology is more frequently mentioned as a characteristic of national party competition by national and state oriented respondents than it is among respondents who answered that both spheres are equal. The only exception to this pattern is on the question concerning elections. This is also the pattern among Liberals for the management of government item.

Policy is predominantly a national response among both Liberal and Labor partisans. But whereas this item is more

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1. The only exception is state oriented respondents on the question (2) concerned with the sphere having the more personal impact.

TABLE 6.5 Image patterns of national party competition by system orientation by partisanship. (%).

Salient Sphere  Image Category	NATIONAL						BOTH EQUAL						STATE					
	1		2		3		1		2		3		1		2		3	
	LP	ALP	LP	ALP	LP	ALP	LP	ALP	LP	ALP	LP	ALP	LP	ALP	LP	ALP	LP	ALP
Ideology	28.6	14.3	27.8	14.3	25.7	12.5	20.6	5.0	20.8	-	28.1	9.8	22.2	18.2	25.0	13.6	16.7	7.7
Policy	17.1	26.2	19.4	16.7	11.4	20.0	10.3	10.0	4.2	19.2	15.6	14.6	11.1	-	16.7	4.5	16.7	7.7
Management of Government	28.6	4.8	25.0	9.5	25.7	10.0	20.7	20.0	25.0	11.5	18.8	12.2	22.2	9.1	16.7	18.2	33.4	15.4
Group related items	2.9	23.8	5.6	16.7	8.6	25.0	10.3	20.0	8.3	26.9	6.3	24.4	-	27.2	8.3	31.8	-	15.2
Leaders	5.7	2.4	2.8	2.4	5.7	2.5	13.8	5.0	16.7	7.7	9.4	2.4	-	-	-	-	16.7	7.7
Other	2.9	4.8	5.6	9.5	2.9	5.0	10.3	10.0	8.3	3.9	9.4	7.3	11.1	-	8.3	4.6	16.7	7.7
Differences - general	14.3	23.8	13.9	31.0	20.0	25.0	13.8	30.0	16.7	30.8	12.4	29.3	33.3	45.5	25.0	27.3	-	30.8
Total responses	35	42	36	42	35	40	29	40	24	26	32	41	9	11	12	22	6	13

1. Sphere of government more important.
2. Sphere of government having the more personal impact.
3. More important elections.



prominent among national Labor partisans than national Liberals this partisan difference is reversed among state oriented respondents. Further, economic policy is mainly the concern of nationally oriented respondents for both Liberal and Labor partisans whereas social welfare for the nationally oriented respondents is mainly the concern of Labor partisans.

Thus while partisanship provides the main source of variation in images of national party conflict, there is some variation attributable to perceptions relating to the structuring of the system with the main focus of the variation concerned with ideology, management of government and policy; particularly economic and social welfare policies. It is these areas which have been the main focus of political debate over recent years.<sup>1</sup> That is to say, the issues which have dominated national political debate are the main items upon which images of party competition indicate variation attributable to system orientation.

## 2) System Orientation and State Party Competition.

It was shown in Chapter 3 that partisan conflict in Tasmania is much less salient to the survey respondents compared to the national arena. Of the sample only 174 respondents or 48.1% considered that it matters which party wins government in the state. Yet this is consistent with an hypothesis that perceptions of party conflict are related to respondents' orientations towards the governmental structure,

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1. Of a number of books covering recent national elections see Clem Lloyd and Andrew Clark, Kerr's King Hit, Cassell, Stanmore, 1976.

since a greater percentage of respondents regard the national sphere as more important than the state sphere. Consistent with this hypothesis it would be expected that nationally oriented respondents would be much less concerned about expectations of party politics at the state sphere. That is to say, if the state sphere is less important than the national sphere then it would be less important which party governs in the state. Further, the extent to which nationally oriented respondents do answer that it makes a difference which party governs in the state provides some indication of the degree to which the national sphere is more important than the state sphere.

The opposite trend would be expected among state oriented respondents. This group comprises a minority of the 174 respondents who answered that it matters which party governs. But a larger percentage would be expected to answer that it makes a difference which party governs in the state than the percentage who answered that it makes a difference at the national sphere (Table 6.1). Furthermore a state oriented respondent will be more likely to be concerned with state party politics than a nationally oriented respondent.

Similarly, among the respondents who answered that both spheres are equally important, the salience of party competition in the state should be equal to the salience of national party competition. The extent to which the salience of party conflict at one sphere is greater than the other sphere among these respondents will provide perhaps the most useful indication that one sphere of politics is regarded as more important than the other. Tables 6.6 and 6.7 explore these relationships.

TABLE 6.6 State party competition by system orientation.

Salient Sphere	More important government		The government having the more personal impact		More important elections	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
National	32.2	(56)	33.9	(59)	33.9	(59)
Both Equal	43.7	(76)	35.1	(61)	49.4	(86)
State	20.1	(35)	26.4	(46)	13.7	(24)
Other & DK	4.0	(7)	4.6	(8)	2.9	(5)
	100	174	100	174	100	174

TABLE 6.7 System orientation by salience of state party competition. (N=362)

Salient Sphere	The more important government		The government having the more personal impact		The more important elections	
	Difference between parties	No difference or DK	Difference between parties	No difference or DK	Difference between parties	No difference or DK
National (%) (N)	42.7 (56)	57.3 (75)	41.3 (59)	58.7 (84)	41.0 (59)	59.0 (85)
Both Equal (%) (N)	50.7 (76)	49.3 (74)	55.0 (61)	45.0 (50)	51.5 (86)	48.5 (81)
State (%) (N)	55.6 (35)	44.4 (28)	55.4 (46)	44.6 (37)	58.5 (24)	41.5 (17)
Others DK (%) (N)	38.9 (7)	61.1 (11)	32.0 (8)	68.0 (17)	50.0 (5)	50.0 (5)
Significance	$\chi^2 = 3.61$ df = 3 p < 0.30		$\chi^2 = 9.1$ df = 3 p < 0.05		$\chi^2 = 5.7$ df = 3 p < 0.10	

As table 6.6 indicates state party conflict is less salient to nationally oriented respondents than is party conflict at the national sphere.<sup>1</sup> The reverse applies to state oriented respondents, as well as to the respondents who answered that both spheres are equally important. These trends are thus consistent with expectations. Equally consistent are the trends displayed in Table 6.7. The table indicates that the salience of party conflict at the state sphere is lowest among nationally oriented respondents and highest among state oriented respondents. In other words it is a state oriented respondent who is the most likely to feel that it makes a difference which party governs the state. As predicted, this pattern is the inverse to that relating to the national sphere.

However although both tables provide evidence that the salience of party politics at the state sphere is related to system orientation, the relationship is not as strong as it is with respect to the national sphere. This is because the salience of state politics among state oriented respondents is less than the salience of national politics among nationally oriented respondents.<sup>2</sup> These patterns indicate that the drawing power of national politics is greater than that of state politics. Among state oriented respondents, the salience of national politics is higher than is the salience of state politics to nationally oriented respondents. In other words national politics may be more important to state oriented respondents than state politics is to nationally oriented respondents.<sup>3</sup> Yet while this may

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1. These differences are clearly apparent when Table 6.6 is compared with Table 6.1.
  2. A comparison of Table 6.7 with Table 6.2 clearly indicates these trends.
  3. However, this must be considered against the opposite trend using the question about the most important government as the measure of orientation.

be the case, Table 6.7 clearly indicates that state politics remains significant; at least 40% of nationally oriented respondents answered that it makes a difference which party governs the state. Furthermore, there is virtually no difference between the salience of national party politics and that of state politics among those respondents who answered that both spheres are equal in importance.

However the trends displayed in Table 6.7 comprise marked partisan differences and these are shown in Table 6.8. The table indicates that the salience of party politics in Tasmania may be much more closely related to system orientation (as measured by the relative importance of elections) among Labor partisans than among Liberals. The table indicates firstly that party politics is much more salient to

TABLE 6.8 The more important elections by salience of state party competition and party identification.

The more important election	Salience of state party competition and party identification					
	Liberal Partisans (105)		Labor Partisans (145)		Non-Partisans (58)	
	Difference between parties	No difference or DK	Difference between parties	No difference or DK	Difference between parties	No difference or DK
National (%) (N)	36.2 (17)	63.8 (30)	50.0 (27)	50.0 (27)	33.3 (8)	66.7 (16)
Both Equal (%) (N)	27.3 (12)	72.7 (32)	76.9 (50)	23.1 (15)	37.9 (11)	62.1 (18)
State (%) (N)	55.6 (5)	44.4 (4)	68.9 (15)	31.1 (7)	(2)	(2)
Others DK (N)	3/5	2/5	2/4	2/4	-	-
Significance	$\chi^2 = 4.0$ $df = 3$ $p > 0.2$		$\chi^2 = 9.89$ $df = 3$ $p < 0.02$			

Labor supporters than to Liberals irrespective of the system orientation. Secondly, whereas party politics at the state sphere is less salient than at the national sphere for each orientation among Liberals, the reverse is the case among Labor partisans with exception only of nationally oriented Labor partisans.<sup>1</sup> To all Liberals national party politics is more salient than state party politics. However to all Labor partisans with the exception of nationally oriented Labor supporters, state party politics is more salient than national party politics. Indeed, among respondents who answered that both national and state elections are equally important this partisan difference is especially pronounced. To the Liberals of this group, national party politics is significantly more salient than state party politics; but to the Labor partisans it is state party politics which is more salient than national politics.

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1. A comparison of table 6,8 with table 6,3 will show these trends.

Thus although a relationship between the salience of state party politics and system orientation is not established for the total sample, it does seem that to Labor partisans at least there may be a link. But if there is no relation between the salience of state party politics and system orientation, except among Labor partisans, does this mean that perceptions about the nature of state party competition are much the same for each orientation? Table 6.9 below displays the images.

TABLE 6.9 Image patterns of state party competition by system orientation (%).

Image Category	Salient Sphere	Sample	The more important sphere of government			The sphere of government having the more personal impact			The more important elections		
			National	Both Equal	State Sphere	National	Both Equal	State Sphere	National	Both Equal	State Sphere
Management of Govt.		13.0	15.0	10.7	11.1	8.2	13.4	10.9	16.7	10.7	5.3
Group related differences		12.4	11.7	11.9	13.9	9.8	10.5	12.7	12.1	15.1	5.3
National-State relations		7.9	15.0	3.6	2.8	11.5	9.0	1.8	12.1	6.0	2.6
Leaders & Leadership		6.8	5.0	4.8	11.1	3.3	10.5	3.6	3.0	10.7	-
Ideological		5.1	10.0	3.0	-	8.2	3.0	1.3	7.6	4.8	-
Policies		5.1	6.7	6.0	-	3.3	9.0	1.8	6.1	4.8	2.6
General-policy		14.7	13.3	13.1	11.1	14.8	7.5	16.4	13.6	6.0	16.3
- "one party better"		15.2	10.0	11.1	25.0	13.1	11.9	18.2	9.1	16.7	15.6
- undefined		2.8	3.3	13.1	5.6	6.6	11.9	7.3	7.6	6.0	15.6
- don't know		6.2	1.7	8.3	2.8	3.3	9.0	14.6	4.6	7.2	15.8
Other		11.3	8.3	11.9	16.7	18.0	4.5	10.9	7.6	14.3	10.5
Total number of responses		178	60	84	36	61	67	55	66	84	38

As indicated by the table, perceptions about the relative importance of the governmental units do not result in major differences in the aggregate patterning of perceptions about party competition in the state. Yet there are some variations which should be noted. These concern the response categories

national-state relations, ideology and the composite category of generalized differences.

Nationally oriented respondents are the least likely to generalize about party differences while respondents who answered that state elections are the most important seem particularly unable to distinguish specific differences between the parties.

Respondents with a national orientation more so than others describe party politics in terms of ideology and relations between governing parties at the two spheres. As indicated in Chapter 3 this latter perspective describes these relations in terms of promoting either harmony or balance with respect to the national sphere. The state sphere is seen in a secondary role to the national sphere which is consistent with a national orientation. Ideology further distinguishes the images with a marked difference in emphasis between national and state oriented respondents.<sup>1</sup> It may be that this is a perception of state politics derived from national politics. This is particularly likely as four of the five nationally oriented respondents who perceive state party competition in ideological terms made the same assessment with respect to party politics nationally.

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1. But this may be a function of education. In Chapter 5 it was shown that a national orientation is associated with higher education and recently Kemp has provided some evidence that an ideological perspective is associated with education; "the more educated a person is the more probable it is that he will see himself in an ideological context and be able to characterize the general pattern of his beliefs, perceptions, and values with an ideological label". Kemp, D.A., Society and Electoral Behaviour in Australia, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1978, p.323.



Further variations are evident from the question dealing with the relative importance of elections. It has been noted above that on this question there is a pronounced tendency among state oriented respondents to generalize about party competition. It is noticeable however that many of these respondents perceive a difference in policies although they are not specified more precisely. This suggests that differences between the parties may well be clearly perceived, if not precisely articulated.

Compared to the other questions, the increase in general responses is at the expense of the categories, management of government and group related differences. These categories have a markedly low emphasis when compared with either nationally oriented respondents or respondents who answered that both spheres are equal. The low salience of group related items is particularly surprising. With state oriented respondents tending to be lower educated and predominantly Labor in partisanship and with a State Labor government it might have been expected that this category would have had particular emphasis from state oriented respondents. In fact there is no clearly positive and distinguishing image of party politics among state oriented respondents. The most that can be said is that these respondents tend to perceive party competition at the state sphere in terms of generalized images.

To a large degree these variations remain when partisanship is controlled as displayed by Table 6.10. It can be seen that partisan differences are evident. More emphasis is placed on management of government and group related differences by Labor partisans while Liberals more than Labor supporters perceive party competition in terms of general differences. But within these trends the differences associated with perceptions about the relative importance of the spheres remain. As noted above state oriented respondents describe party politics almost entirely in terms of generalized images and this is particularly the case among Liberals. Reference has also been made to the emphasis on relations between the two spheres among nationally oriented respondents. Table 6.10 indicates that these respondents are predominantly Liberals. Ideology, as noted, tends to be a national perspective, and for both Liberal and Labor partisans.

TABLE 6.10 Image patterns of state party competition by system orientation by partisanship (%)

Image category	NATIONAL						BOTH EQUAL						STATE					
	1		2		3		1		2		3		1		2		3	
	LP	ALP	LP	ALP	LP	ALP	LP	ALP	LP	ALP	LP	ALP	LP	ALP	LP	ALP	LP	ALP
Management of Government	5.8	21.4	6.3	12.1	10.5	19.4	7.1	14.0	8.3	13.9	-	17.1	-	11.1	-	14.8	-	7.4
Group related differences	-	14.3	-	9.1	-	12.9	7.1	16.0	-	16.7	-	24.4	-	22.2	-	22.2	-	7.4
National-State relations	35.3	7.1	18.8	9.1	21.1	9.7	-	2.0	16.7	-	7.1	-	-	-	9.1	-	-	-
Leaders & Leadership	5.9	3.5	-	3.0	-	3.2	-	4.0	8.3	11.1	7.1	14.6	-	22.2	-	7.4	-	-
Ideological	17.6	10.7	18.8	6.1	5.3	12.9	7.1	4.0	8.3	2.8	21.4	2.4	-	-	-	3.7	-	-
Policies	-	14.3	-	6.1	5.3	6.5	7.1	4.0	-	-	-	7.3	-	-	-	-	-	3.2
General	29.4	21.4	50.0	30.3	52.7	22.6	64.0	44.0	41.7	41.7	50.0	21.9	75.0	33.3	72.7	-	83.3	81.4
Other	5.8	17.1	6.3	24.1	5.3	12.9	7.1	12.0	8.3	2.8	14.3	9.8	25.0	11.1	18.2	3.7	16.7	7.4
Total number of responses	17	28	16	33	19	31	14	50	12	36	14	41	8	18	11	27	6	27

1. Sphere of government more important.
2. Sphere of government having the more personal impact.
3. The more important elections.

Thus some variations in the images of state party competition are apparent among respondents with different orientations with respect to the governmental system. But although state respondents are the most likely to answer that it makes a difference which party governs the state, their responses about the content of state party competition do not indicate distinctively state images. In fact it is the vagueness of the articulated images among these respondents which is most noticeable. To what extent then do the images differ from the images of national party competition among not only state oriented respondents but respondents of each orientation?

### 3) System Orientation and Images of Party Competition.

In Chapter 3 it was shown that there are marked differences between spheres in the images of party conflict and that this applies largely irrespective of partisanship. In particular it was seen that ideology and policy differences were much more salient in characterizations of national party competition than at the state sphere. Party conflict in the state is very largely perceived without definition but specific matters mostly mentioned were management of government, group related differences and national-state relations. The exception to this contrast in images is that among Labor identifiers a significant proportion of responses relating to both spheres characterizes party conflict in terms of sectional interests; Labor is "for the workers". It is this item which provides the main integrating theme in perceptions of party conflict across the two spheres. The question now to be considered is the extent to which these contrasts remain after controlling for system orientation. While it might be expected that both national and state oriented respondents hold distinctly different

perceptions of party politics at the two spheres, it could well be that among those respondents who answered that both spheres are equal there is a significant degree of similarity in the images. In particular it is perhaps the Labor identifiers among these respondents who described party conflict at each sphere in terms of sectional interests.

Using the question concerning the relative importance of elections as the measure of system orientation, Figures 6.1 to 6.3 provide comparisons in the images of national and state party conflict for respondents of each orientation. The figures indicate degrees of variation in the aggregate images both in relation to partisanship as well as to system orientation.

Figure 6.1 shows substantial variations in the image patterns among Liberals with a contrast between management of government and ideology as the most prominent items of party conflict nationally and general differences and national-state relations the main items of state party competition. Among Labor identifiers there is also some variation in the images. References to group related differences, although prominent items in both images, are more frequent with respect to the national sphere than the state sphere, and inversely, references to management of government are more frequent with respect to the state sphere. But there is less variation in the images of Labor partisans, than in those of Liberals, with similar percentages of responses at both spheres referring to ideology and general differences. In fact, a substantial portion of the images of party competition of nationally oriented Labor respondents extends across both spheres. As indicated in Figure 6.2, this also applies to the images of state oriented Labor respondents. Both images contain a substantial portion of general comments. Liberals, on the other hand, provide markedly divergent images.<sup>1</sup>

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1. But note the small number of responses.

FIGURE 6.1 Images of Party Competition of Nationally Oriented Respondents (% in brackets)

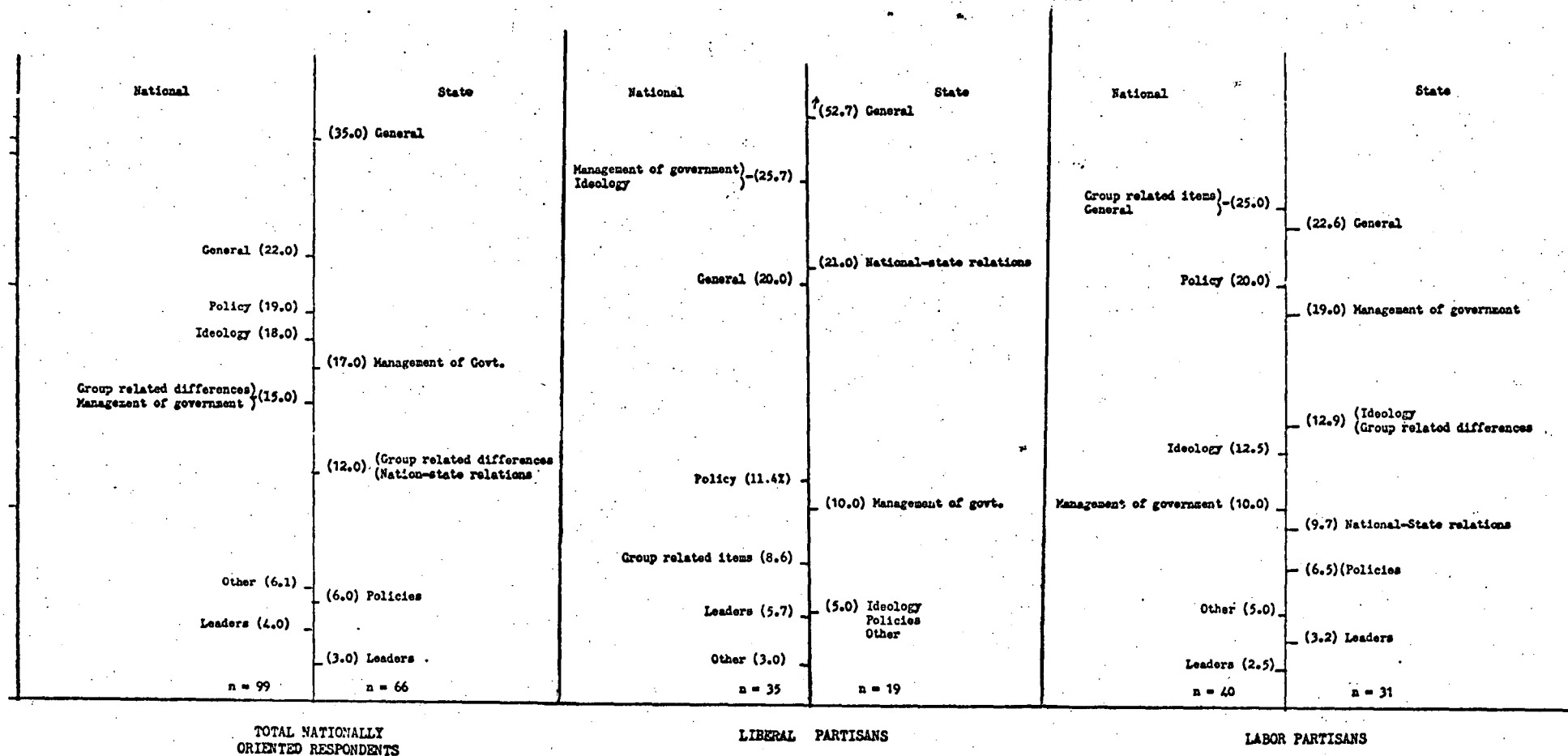


FIGURE 6.2 Images of Party Competition of State Oriented Respondents (% in brackets)

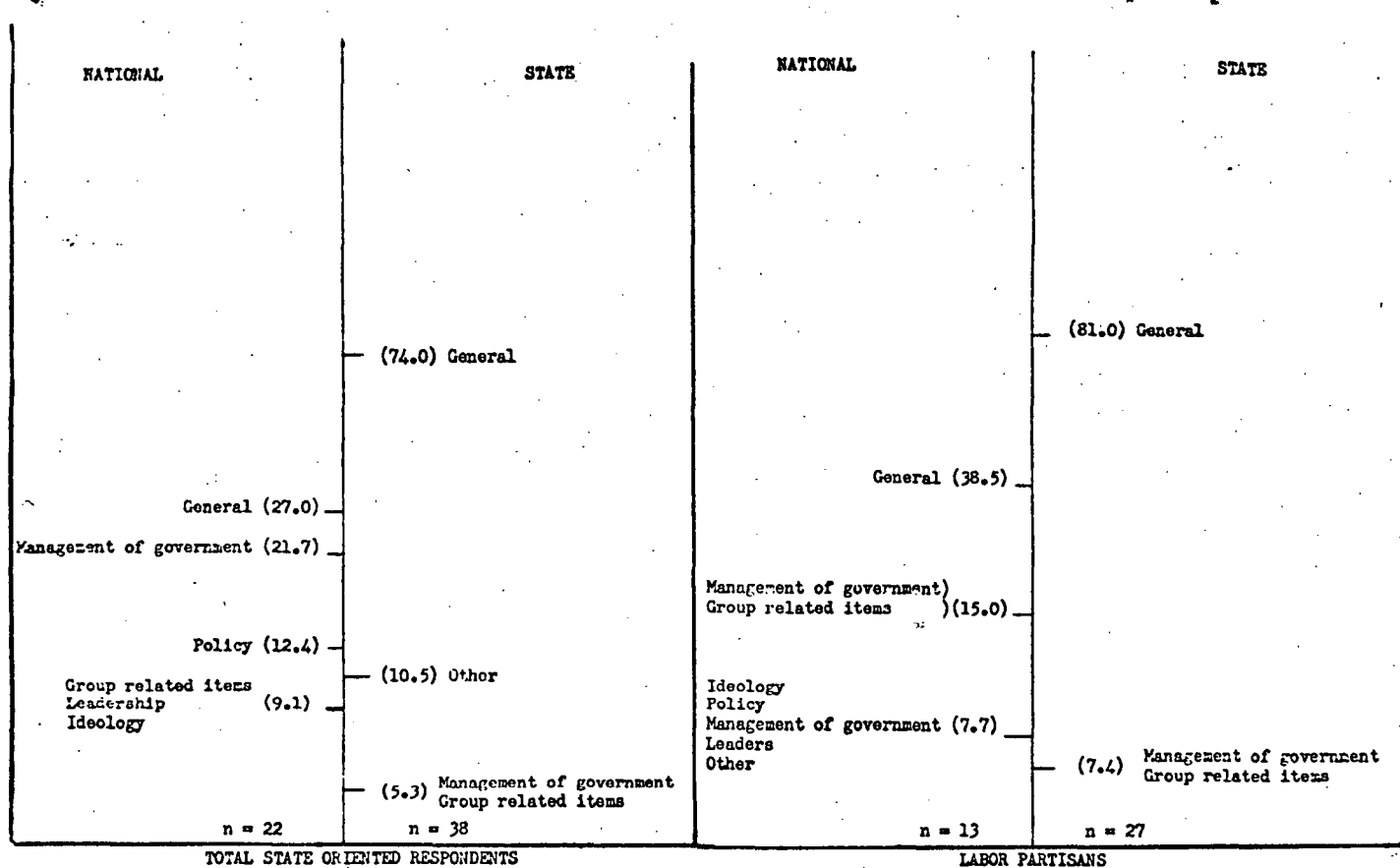


Image Category	National Party Politics	State Party Politics
	N	N
Ideology	1	
Policy	1	
Management of Government	2	
Leaders	1	
General differences		5
Other	1	1
Total Responses	6	6

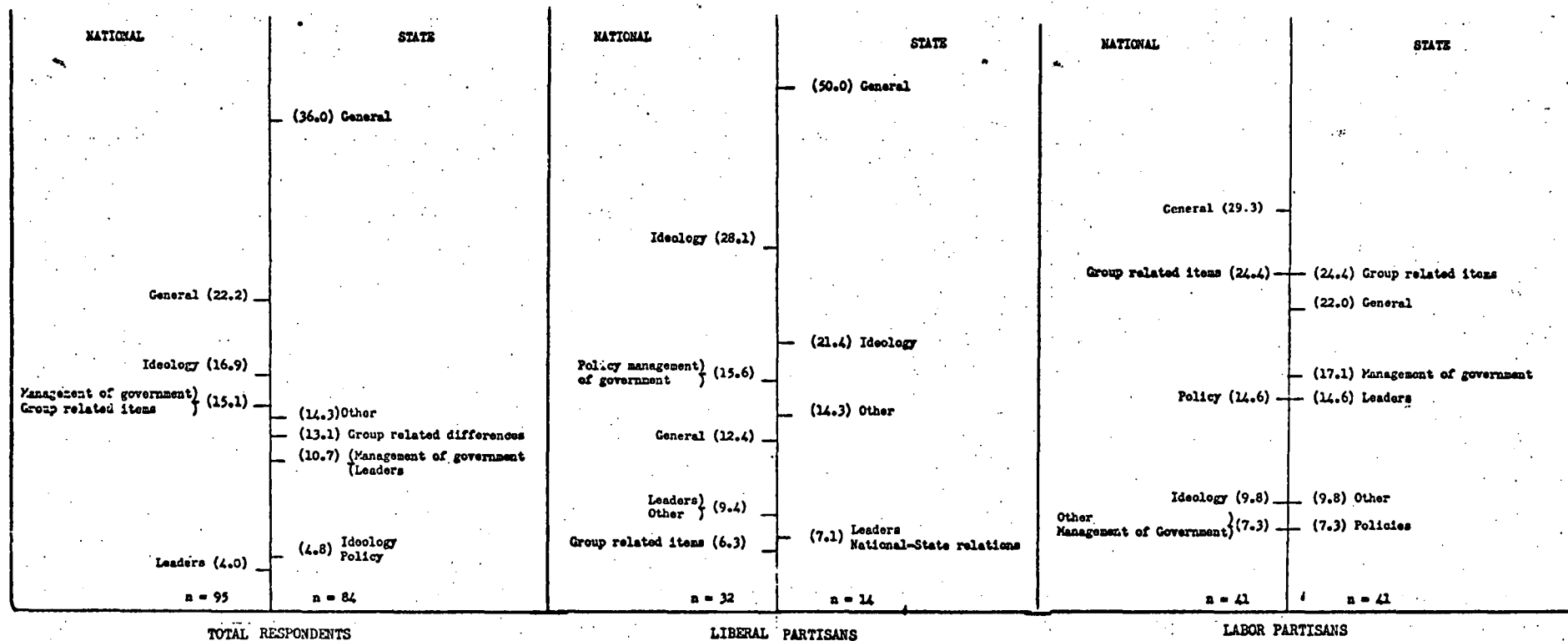
LIBERAL PARTISANS

Note: actual responses are shown rather than percentages as the number of responses is so few.

As hypothesized earlier, images of party conflict at the two spheres are in fact most similar among respondents who answered that both sets of elections are of equal importance. Figure 6.3 indicates that while this is the case among both Liberal and Labor partisans, it is again particularly the case among Labor partisans. Among Labor supporters more than 40% of the responses with respect to both spheres relate to general differences or sectional interests while to Liberals there is similarity in the prominence of ideology and general differences.<sup>1</sup>

Thus it appears that among nationally oriented and state oriented respondents, there are somewhat distinct images of party conflict at each sphere, but with less distinctness among Labor supporters. But among respondents who regard both electoral spheres equal in importance, images of party conflict are much more integrated across spheres. This is particularly so again among Labor partisans. Indeed this is clearly the case when note is taken of the partisan difference in the number of respondents who provided images of state party competition among those who regard both sets of elections as equally important. That is to say, while there is some similarity across spheres in the images of party competition among both Liberal and Labor identifiers of this orientation, the disparity in response rates is much greater among Liberals. A similar number of responses comprise the images of Labor identifiers whereas the number of Liberal responses comprising the national image is twice that comprising the state image.

FIGURE 6.3 Images of Party Conflict by Respondents Regarding Both Electoral Contests Equal (% in brackets)





#### 4) Summary and Conclusion.

In Chapter 3 it was shown that perceptions about both the degree and nature of party conflict varied according to the sphere of politics being considered. National party conflict is more prominent than state politics and there are differences between the images of national and state party competition. When, in Chapter 5, perceptions about the relationship between the spheres of government, (and thus of the overall system) were examined it was found that while the national sphere is considerably more salient than the state sphere, the largest proportion of respondents suggested that both spheres were of equal importance.

The central theme of this chapter has been an examination of the extent to which these findings are related. In other words the focus has been on the extent to which perceptions of party conflict are related to perceptions about the structuring of the system in which party competition takes place.

Tables 6.2 and 6.5 indicated that party politics at the national sphere is proportionally the most salient to nationally oriented respondents whereas state party politics is proportionally the most salient to state oriented respondents. However the relationship is stronger with respect to the national sphere than with respect to state party politics. In examining partisan patterns (using the question concerning elections as the measure of system orientation) no statistically significant relationship was found with respect to the national sphere among either Liberals or Labor partisans. However the trend relating to the state sphere does indicate a relationship among Labor partisans. Moreover, the

tables clearly show that irrespective of system orientation, national party politics is more salient to Liberals than to Labor partisans. National politics is also more salient than state politics among Liberal partisans for each orientation. For Labor partisans this only holds good among nationally oriented Labor partisans. To state oriented Labor supporters and to the respondents who answered that both spheres are equal, state party politics is more salient than national party politics.

In examining the aggregate images of party politics at the two spheres, it was shown that after controlling for partisanship there remains some distinctions in the contours of the images relating to system orientation. This is especially so at the national sphere but also to a lesser extent at the state sphere. Yet perhaps it should be stressed that these are variations in the prominence of items rather than graphic differences in the overall images.

National and state images of party politics for each orientation were then compared. The comparison indicated that different images were most apparent among respondents with a national perspective while respondents who regarded both electoral contests equally provided images of some similarity. It was also found that images from Labor respondents tended to be less divergent than the images from Liberals. Nationally oriented Labor supporters however, tended to differentiate to a greater degree than other Labor supporters.

The crosstabulation of system orientation with perceptions of party competition reinforces trends noted in earlier chapters. Overall there is a greater visibility of national politics compared with state politics. Even among those respondents who answered that state elections are the more important electoral contests, almost 50% also answered that it mattered which party wins national elections, not many fewer than the number who felt that it mattered which party wins power in the state.

This nationalizing trend supports conclusions drawn from earlier studies. Aitkin has observed from data derived from his 1967 and 1969 surveys "that the pull of politics is essentially a national one."<sup>1</sup> More recently Kemp has suggested that there has been "an increasing nationalization of mass political responses in Australia from 1940 to 1972."<sup>2</sup> From an analysis of voting trends in House of Representatives elections over this period he has shown that national forces have become increasingly more important than either state or electorate forces.

However the data in this chapter provides evidence of a significant partisan variation within this trend toward national

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1. Aitkin, op.cit., p.47.

2. Kemp, op.cit., p.257.

dominance. While it does appear that there may be a significant movement toward a national identification among Liberals, among Labor supporters such a trend is not nearly so pronounced. State politics seem to provide greater significance to Labor partisans irrespective of which set of elections is considered of greater importance.

As suggested in Chapter 2, these trends provide important findings relating to electoral behaviour in partisan terms which suggest one source of Liberal weakness in Tasmanian politics. The state sphere of political activity is simply not as important to Liberals as to Labor partisans. Even to state oriented Liberals, it does not appear to matter as much as it does to Labor partisans which party governs. If this is the case there is less incentive for Liberals to actively campaign in state elections and indeed to vote for Liberal candidates.

This is especially significant given proportional representation with seven member electorates. If state politics is less significant to Liberals than to Labor supporters then it may be that Liberals tend to migrate in preference distribution to a greater degree than Labor partisans. This is particularly likely given the extent to which the image of the Labor party contain elements that are favourable to Liberals.

To a degree this may be the equivalent to the electoral behaviour of some Liberals in provincial elections in Canada. Wilson and Hoffman have shown that one source of Liberal weakness in Ontario politics was that strongly national oriented Liberals tended (in 1967) to abstain from voting in provincial

elections.<sup>1</sup> Migrating in preference distribution might well be the Denison equivalent to abstention in Ontario.

There is a further possible pattern of voting deriving from partisan differences in perspectives toward the federal system. This relates to the "balance-theory" of electoral behaviour. Until discounted by Wilson and Hoffman,<sup>2</sup> and Jean Havel,<sup>3</sup> shifts in electoral fortunes between electoral spheres in Canada had been thought to derive from a propensity for voters to balance the party in power nationally by voting the national opposition party into power in the provinces.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, this explanation has on one occasion been applied to the failure of the Liberal Party in Tasmania.<sup>5</sup> The Denison survey tested this proposition and found the evidence insufficient to explain Labor's success in the state.<sup>6</sup> But it should not be dismissed. A variant of this notion in terms of a transference of antagonism might well apply in the case of a national Labor government. Since Liberals tend overall towards a national perspective, a national Labor government could be expected to result in the transference of

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1. Wilson, J., and Hoffman, D., "The Liberal Party in Contemporary Ontario Politics", in Canadian Journal of Political Science, VIII, No. 2, June 1972, p.201.

2. ibid.

3. Jean Havel, Politics in Sudbury, Laurentian University Press, 1966, p.85, but see also George Perlin and Patti Peppin, op.cit. p.282.

4. See R. MacGregor Dawson, The Government of Canada, University of Toronto Press, 1946, p.575.

5. The Mercury, 21-3-1960, p.4.

6. Out of 84 respondents who agreed that it is "important that there be a different party in government in Tasmania to the party in government in Canberra" only 7 (1.9%) voted consistent with this view. See Appendix 1, question 20.

national sentiments to the state sphere. This would give state politics greater significance, to Liberals and greater incentive to vote and campaign for the Liberal Party. The state election would become in effect, a national by-election to Liberals.

It could be argued that the Labor party has benefitted from a similar tendency. In fact the most recent state election campaign was fought to some extent on issues presented as national responsibilities.<sup>1</sup> But this must be set against party images and perceptions of state party competition. That is, Labor partisans appear to have more reason to vote Labor (irrespective of the vagueness of their expectations) than Liberals have to vote Liberal. In fact the examination of party images revealed that Liberals are not too unhappy with the performance of the state Labor Party.

But would this remain the case under a national Labor government? The answer is a speculative no. During Labor's period as the national government it is reasonable to suggest that a state election may have resulted in the defeat of the state Labor government. Yet some twelve months later (after the defeat of the national Labor government) the Labor party in the state was returned with no loss of support from the previous state election in 1972.<sup>2</sup> It is suggested that a Liberal win would have been a victory as a national by-election. The implication from this study is that the Liberal Party's weakness in relation to state politics derives from

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1. Particularly unemployment. An account of the Labor Party's strategy is the theme of Alistair Scotts' unpublished honours dissertation. The ALP's Campaign for the 1976 Tasmanian Election, University of Tasmania, 1977.

2. Labor first preferences in Denison were: 1972, 46.3%; 1976, 46.8%.

the perspectives of the party's supporters in relation to the federal system. Because these perspectives are essentially national, the party's state future rests in elevating state politics to national significance.<sup>1</sup> Labor has the advantage in state politics. But it is because state politics is much more important to Labor supporters than it is to Liberals.

But this is not to say that Liberals in Tasmania are not concerned for the interests of the state. Indeed as revealed in Chapter 5 just over 50% of Liberals regard themselves foremost as Tasmanians. It appears however that this state identification is embedded within an overall national perspective. To Liberals the federal system appears to be an hierarchical arrangement in which state interests are seen as best promoted from the national level of the structure. In this sense Liberals have an integrated perspective of the federal structure.

The perspective of Labor partisans is more complex. On the one hand there is a significant percentage who are nationally oriented. In general however, the state sphere has greater relevance than it does to Liberals whatever the orientation with respect

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1. This in fact occurred in the 1975 South Australian elections. See John Summers, Australian Political Chronicle, South Australia, Australian Journal of Politics and History, Vol. 22, No. 3, 1976, pp.98-107 and also John Warhurst "Review of the South Australian Elections", in The Australian Quarterly, Vol. 47, No. 3, Dec. 1975, pp.124-128. The most explicit example however is perhaps the 1947 Victorian election when the Victorian Legislative Council refused Supply to the Victorian Labor Government in order to test public feeling towards the national Labor Government's bank nationalisation legislation.

to the system. To a small but significant percentage of Labor partisans the state sphere is the more important despite the vagueness in the perceptions about the content of party politics. The evidence suggests that to most Labor supporters the system is not hierarchical but comprises two interdependent yet autonomous spheres of political activity. While to Liberals (as well as to some Labor partisans) the system is characterized by levels of political activity, to most Labor supporters the system is characterized by spheres of political activity. This means that Labor partisans have two avenues through which to promote their interests.

It is here that the partisan differences in the comparisons between national and state images of party competition become significant. It is argued that not only do Liberals (and some Labor identifiers) view the system as a hierarchy, but their perceptions about party competition reflect the same perspective. State politics is less visible than national politics while many of the comments that are made about state party competition tend to reflect a national focus. Among Labor identifiers however, images of party competition at each sphere tend to merge together, especially the traditional element of the image as the party for the working man. To Labor identifiers, the spheres are autonomous. But their political demands and interests are directed at either sphere; not so much perhaps in terms of specific policy goals, but in terms of attitudes and values that govern policy formulation.



## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSIONS

#### Summary.

The Australian voter is a participant in a federally organised system of government within which the same parties are the major contenders for political power at both national and state spheres. A sample of electors from the Tasmanian electorate of Denison was interviewed about their perceptions of this environment and the responses have been presented and discussed in the foregoing chapters. The survey data have enabled a mapping of party preference patterns, a comparison across spheres of perceptions of party competition and party images, and provided evidence of the salience of the spheres of government and the strength of national as against state political identification in the electorate.

In Chapter 2 patterns of party preference were examined. Irrespective of the measure used, party identification or reported voting behaviour, a high degree of integration is apparent. For more than 70% of the sample a preference for a party at one electoral sphere is retained with respect to the other sphere. Indeed, of those identifying with a political party some 88% identify with the same party at both spheres. But there is a partisan difference evident. Both measures of party preference indicate that Labor support is slightly more integrated than is Liberal support.

Mixed patterns of party preference are also evident. There are respondents who identify with a party at one sphere of the system only and others holding a dual identification, an attachment to one party at one

sphere and a different party at the other. Electorally these patterns are of sufficient strength to be significant with the Labor Party advantaged at the state arena and the Liberal Party favoured at the national arena. But they are less significant as a source of decentralizing pressure in the party system.

The greater stability in party preference at state elections than at national elections indicated by the data in Chapter 2 is supported with parallel data relating to perceptions of party competition examined in Chapter 3. More respondents answered that it makes a difference which party governs nationally than answered that it makes a difference which party governs in the state. In combining these responses it is found that for some respondents it makes a difference which party governs only with respect to the national sphere, and for others only at the state sphere. For some respondents differences between the parties at both spheres are irrelevant or insignificant. However, for most respondents it makes a difference which party wins power at both spheres.

These response patterns provide three conclusions relating to perceptions of party competition in the federal context.

- 1) Some respondents are oriented towards politics at only one sphere in the system; to some this is the national arena; to others it is the state arena.

- 2) To other respondents a polycentric perception is implied; party competition is of some significance at both spheres.

- 3) With party competition at the national sphere more visible overall than that at the state sphere a degree of nationalization of perceptions about politics is indicated.

Moreover the response patterns indicate differences relating to socio-economic status and partisanship. Liberals and higher status

respondents comprise the majority of those who answered that it makes a difference which party governs nationally. Labor identifiers and lower status respondents comprise the majority of those who perceive party conflict only at the state arena. It is also Labor identifiers more than Liberals who hold a polycentric view of party conflict.

While party preference is integrated across the spheres there are clear differences in the images of party competition. There is greater definition in the images of national party competition. Whereas most responses about party competition at each sphere refer to specific differences between the parties, a much larger proportion of the responses about state party competition are generalized statements about the parties. Secondly, there are differences in the emphasis placed on the specific differences mentioned. References to policy matters and ideology are much more prominent with respect to the national sphere than the state sphere. Policy matters, ideology, management of government and party relations with associated groups are the main categories of specific items describing national party competition. The main categories describing state party competition, on the other hand, are management of government, relations with groups and a category relating to state party competition only, national-state relations.

The difference in emphasis placed on policy and ideology apply to both Liberal and Labor partisans. However, Liberals offered proportionally more generalized statements than did Labor identifiers with respect to state party competition while the converse is the case with respect to national party competition. This partisan difference in perceptions about the content of party competition at the two spheres corresponds to the differences noted earlier in the percentages of respondents who answered that it did matter which party governed at the two spheres. Taken together these responses indicate that whereas national politics dominates

the perceptions of Liberals, state politics is as visible as national politics among Labor identifiers. This is further indicated by the prominence of national-state relations in the descriptions of state party competition offered by Liberals. These responses portray a perception of state politics that is derived from an hierarchical perspective of national dominance. In contrast, the prominence of the group related element in both national and state images provided by Labor identifiers suggests a degree of similarity in perceptions of politics at the two spheres.

Party images also vary across spheres. The main component in the national image of both parties comprises references to policy matters. This item is much less significant in the state images. Management of government is a relatively important element in the Liberal image nationally but is twice as significant in the Labor Party's state image. State Liberal personalities and the party itself attract much more comment than national Liberal personalities. For the Labor party, group related items and ideology are predominantly components of the party's national image while comments relating to the party itself is an element predominantly relating to the state image.

It is clear therefore that despite the integration across the spheres in party preference, respondents collectively perceive differences in the prominence, style and content of party competition between the two spheres and in the characteristics of national and state branches of both parties. Moreover both the response rates and the images suggest that, to Liberals, the parties nationally are more visible than the parties at the state sphere. To Labor identifiers however, both branches are equally prominent.

Parallel to the perceptions of party competition across the two spheres, are perceptions about the relations between the units of government. The evidence provided in Chapter 5 shows that to a third of the

sample the national sphere of government is more important than state government; to at least 11% the state government is the more important; but to most respondents both spheres are equally important, again reflecting a polycentric view. In addition, the combination of this view with the national perspective indicates a degree of nationalization of political orientations. Nonetheless, it is also clear that the state sphere is strongly entrenched in people's perceptions of the federal system. More than 50% of the respondents answered either that both spheres are equally important or that the state sphere is the more important sphere. This is reinforced by the strength of a state political identity. More than half the sample consider themselves Tasmanians first and foremost. Indeed, even among respondents who are nationally oriented, almost half consider themselves to be Tasmanians rather than Australians.

Clear partisan differences are evident in these perceptions as in the perceptions relating to party competition. Liberals are more nationally oriented than are Labor identifiers, and inversely, they are less state oriented. This is the case with respect to orientations toward the governmental system and also to political identity. Labor identifiers are also more likely than Liberals to regard both spheres as equally important.

Party competition takes place within the context of the federal system. In Chapter 6 perceptions about the structure, system orientations, were related to perceptions of party competition. System orientation was crosstabulated with perceptions of both national and state party competition thus facilitating comparisons across spheres for each orientation and between orientations for each sphere. The results provide further evidence of a nationalizing trend, particularly in that national party competition is almost as prominent as state party competition to

state oriented respondents. Among those with a polycentric view however, a similar percentage (a majority) answered that it makes a difference which party governs nationally as answered similarly with respect to the state sphere. In addition, images of the content of party competition differ across spheres for each orientation. However, variations are most evident among national and state oriented respondents; they are less divergent among those respondents who regard both spheres as equally important.

The partisanship differences noted in the earlier chapters remain through Chapter 6. With Liberals more nationally oriented than Labor identifiers, and inversely with Labor identifiers more state oriented than Liberals, it is suggested (in Chapter 6) that one reason for the Liberal Party's failure in Tasmanian state elections is that, to Liberals the state sphere is relatively unimportant.

Thus apart from the integration of party preference evident in Chapter 1 which is qualified by the political images examined in the two subsequent chapters, each chapter reinforces four main characteristics evident in the attitudes and perceptions of Denison voters. In summary these major characteristics are:- 1) The prevalence of a national orientation toward political affairs and the political system;

2) A polycentric perception which is the major perspective; to 30% of the respondents it matters which party governs at both national and state spheres of the federal system; and to 40% of the respondents both spheres or both sets of elections are equally important.

3) A small but significant proportion of the respondents are primarily oriented to the state sphere. This perception is reinforced by the strong sense of state attachment evident in

respondents' political identity and in the polycentric perception, attributing equal importance to both spheres.

4) Identifiable in each of these perspectives and indeed in the degree of integration perceived in the party system, are significant and consistent partisan differences.

In the remainder of this chapter each of these characteristics are considered separately and some suggestions are offered as to the directions that further research might take. But before proceeding to these topics the perceptions about the party system are drawn together.

#### Perceptions of the Party System.

Among political analysts it has been common to regard Australian parties as comprising a single party system. This is no doubt due to the degree of integration that is apparent in the same parties competing for representation and political power at both national and state arenas. However, when party structures have been analysed it has been shown that all parties are federally organised. It is not only the Liberal Party which has been described as a "composite of seven Parties"<sup>1</sup> but also the Labor<sup>2</sup> and the National Country Parties.<sup>3</sup> Each party is comprised of a national component and autonomous state components.

It is also clear that to the electors of Denison both the Liberal Party of Australia and the Australian Labor Party comprise national and

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1. Katharine West, Power in the Liberal Party, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1965, p.261.

2. Michelle Gratton, "The Australian Labor Party" in Mayer and Nelson (eds) Australian Politics: A Third Reader, pp.389-406.

3. Keith Richmond, "The National Country Party" in Graeme Starr, Keith Richmond and Graham Maddox, Political Parties in Australia, Heinemann Educational Australia, Richmond, 1978, p.125.

state components. Notwithstanding that party support is integrated between electoral spheres, the respondents hold perceptions about the parties that indicate they distinguish between national and state wings. In addition, it is also apparent that distinctions are made between national party competition and that pertaining in the state arena.

For the Denison respondents at least then, the party system is decentralised. Respondents make distinctions between national and state parties as well as perceive variations between the two spheres in the nature of partisan competition. With this decentralizing force operating on the party system it is not surprising that intra-party tensions and conflicts are an enduring feature of the Australian party system.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that strains which surface between national and state politicians as well as between national and state party organisations may derive not only from differing policy preferences of party activists<sup>2</sup> but in response to differing electorate expectations about the goals of government at the two spheres.

#### National Orientations.

As noted in the previous chapter, the data presented in this study provide evidence that, as a general trend, national political affairs are more prominent in citizen perceptions than state affairs. National party competition and the national branches of both parties are more visible than state party competition or the state branches of the parties. These perceptions are replicated in attitudes about the federal structure and re-inforced when system orientation is related to perceptions of party competition.

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1. A. Wildavsky, "Party Discipline Under Federalism: Implications of Australian Experience", Social Research, Vol.28, No.4, Winter 1961, pp.437-458.

2. Holmes and Sharman, op.cit., p.114.



A major contributing factor to this trend is the prevalence of a proportion of respondents who are nationally oriented. Some 20% of the sample answered that it mattered which party governed only with respect to the national sphere and 36% answered that the national government is the more important sphere of government in the Australian federal system. In addition, some 40% of the sample identify themselves with national rather than state citizenship. These perspectives are most prevalent among respondents of higher status, and among the higher educated respondents particularly. This implies that the electorate not only contains centralizing tendencies but to the extent that the population is becoming increasingly better educated, these attitudes are embedded in an increasing segment of the electorate.

Implicit in attitudes oriented toward the national sphere is the assumption that the federal system is hierarchically structured into levels of government. The important problems are seen as national responsibilities and the states as administrative agencies or as having responsibility for the relatively less important areas of policy. This view is often implicit in analyses and prescriptions about the system. It is an implied perception among those who have advocated changes to the financial arrangements between the component governments as well as among those who have argued for a widening of national responsibilities. For example it is the view of Mathews and Jay<sup>1</sup> that "it is the Commonwealth Government which must determine policy objectives in relation to economic development, stabilization .... and the inter-personal distribution of incomes and wealth... [T]he Commonwealth .... must exercise the ultimate economic power, and the federal financial arrangements must not restrict its authority in this area." The authors continue: "The role

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1. R.L. Mathews and W.R.C. Jay, Federal Finance, Nelson, Melbourne, p.312.

of State governments, on the other hand, should be concerned with securing an efficient use of resources in the provision of public services, within the framework of national policy laid down by the Commonwealth. Only by adopting this kind of criterion will it be possible to achieve the advantages of the federal system which flow from the combination of decentralized administration and centralized control."<sup>1</sup>

Davis<sup>2</sup> has also speculated on the prevalence of an hierarchical perspective and has offered the suggestion that voting behaviour may be determined by perceptions that ascribe specific functions, based on their perceived importance, to levels of government. He suggests the view "that each party is fitted to particular levels of responsibility: thus, a party which is most likely to pursue an aggressive developmental policy of the basic communal services is best suited to State Government, but not to the more hazardous decisions of national policy ... Labor succeeds in State elections ... because it is Labor, and for this very same reason it generally fails in Federal elections." This view has been echoed in a geographer's explanation for patterns of voting behaviour in Tasmania. Solomon<sup>3</sup> has asserted that "it is clear that in the 1950s and 1960s the population of the capital city (Hobart) area has favoured the Liberal Party in matters affecting external security, national development and taxation, whereas in Tasmania as a whole domestic issues have maintained Labor ascendancy."

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1. ibid., emphasis added.  
See also James Cutt. "Harmonization of Multi-Level Resource Allocation Decisions" in Mathews, Responsibility Sharing in a Federal System, p.164.
  2. Davis, op.cit., pp.651, 652.
  3. Solomon, "The Geography of Political Affiliations in a Federal-State System", op.cit., p.33.

Although there is no clear evidence in this study that such a functional differentiation is perceived by those respondents with a national orientation, it is certainly implied. Figure 6.1 (Chapter 6) indicates that party competition at the state level<sup>1</sup> is perceived as much less specific than party competition at the national level. That is perceived differentiation in the functions of government between spheres is implied by the greater definition in images of national party competition. Policy matters are also much more prominent in perceptions of party conflict nationally than at the state sphere.

It is also evident that the state Labor Party is less disliked than is the national Labor Party. Moreover a majority of nationally oriented respondents felt that it did not make much difference which party governs in the state. This is consistent with both Davis' and Solomon's speculations. It is suggested that it is this national perspective which contributes to the success of the Labor Party in the state; not so much that the party is preferred, but that the state level is not particularly important and a reasonably competent Labor Government is not unacceptable.

Thus it is evident that a nationally oriented perspective toward politics in Australia is a significant perception in the electorate. To this extent analysts who prescribe or assume an hierarchical structure are in tune with some popular attitudes. But it is not the only view. Indeed, for the Denison respondents it is not the majority perspective.

#### Polycentric Orientations.

The dominant perspective about the system evident from the data is one that implies a polycentric or multi-nuclear structure.

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1. The term 'level' is appropriate to this national and hierarchical perspective.

Despite substantial integration in party preference patterns, party images vary between the spheres and for more than a third of the respondents party differences are a matter of importance at both the national and state arenas of the system. This trend is reinforced by the patterning of attitudes about the relationship between spheres of government. More than a third of the respondents answered that both spheres are equally important. It is thus a view which implies agreement with the Queensland Premier's insistence that state governments as well as the national government are each properly to be regarded as Australian governments.<sup>1</sup> In other words state government is vested with equal legitimacy and status in the total governmental system to that which has been previously ascribed only to the national government.

The prevalence of this perception is an important finding. It is a view, which because of the extent to which it is held, challenges the appropriateness of prescriptions and assertions deriving from assumptions about the federal system as an hierarchical structure of levels of government. Indeed, the dominance of this polycentric perspective implies a need for research into attitudes about the system and the way they are translated into political behaviour derived from such a model rather than the hierarchical one. Two alternative sets of attitudes and responses seem possible.

One is that a polycentric perspective entails a functional differentiation between the spheres of jurisdiction, so that two clearly distinguished sets of functions would be regarded as equally important.

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1. "The implication (from the changing of the name of the national government from the Commonwealth Government to the Australian Government in 1974) is that there is only one Australian Government. In fact, the government of Queensland is an Australian Government." J. Bjelke-Petersen, quoted by Hugh Lunn in JOH: The Life and Political Adventures of Johannes Bjelke-Petersen, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1978, p.161.

In fact, it is often asserted that people do, or should, clearly distinguish between national and state functions. For example, the Victorian Premier<sup>1</sup> has stated that: "It is the essence of proper organisation for good government that people in a federation should know clearly which government is responsible for which function and who is to answer to them for the manner of its administration."

There is no clear evidence from this survey however, that a functional differentiation is in fact perceived. In Chapter 6, Figure 6.3 portrayed the perceptions of party competition with respect to both spheres. It is shown that perceptions of party competition do vary in that images of state party competition are much more general than the national images. It is also seen that state policy matters appear much less significant than national policy matters. In addition there is some evidence of perceived functional differentiation contained in the management of government category. This theme includes references to state matters such as the bridge restoration, promoting state interests and control of various non-departmental authorities. However, there is no firm evidence to suggest that respondents who regard both spheres of the system as equally important clearly ascribe different sets of functions to each sphere.

The alternative perspective is one related to access to the political system rather than to functions. To regard both national and state governments as equally important can validly imply that citizens perceive the two spheres as providing equal and alternative channels to the political system. The two spheres would provide equal and alternative

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1. R. Hamer, Australian Constitutional Convention 1973, Official Record of Debates, 3rd - 7th Sept., 1973, Government Printer, New South Wales, Sydney, 1974, p.20.

avenues through which to make demands on the system or to express grievances about political decisions or administrative arrangements.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the most accessible channel for citizens to signal grievances to the political system is provided by the electoral system. Australia's federal structure with bicameral parliamentary government provides abundant opportunities to express dissatisfactions with either state or national governments by the frequency of elections. Although no empirical evidence is available, there has been speculation in the literature that trends in voting figures may indicate that voters have made use of these opportunities. For example, Rawson has suggested that voters have punished parties in national elections for the actions of parties in power at the state sphere. "Two of the greatest paradoxes of recent Australian politics are, in part, examples of the transfer of the voters' antagonism from state to federal politics. South Australia, which has had non-Labor state government since 1933, is regularly the state most favourable to the ALP in federal politics... In Queensland this situation was reversed."<sup>2</sup> More often however, state election results have been interpreted as indicating dissatisfactions with national policies, particularly by political leaders.

In Chapter 2 it was shown that 18% of the voting respondents did switch party allegiances between the national election of 1975 and the 1976 state election. More recently, a poll taken prior to the 1978 NSW election found that 26% of people who voted Liberal-NCP at the

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1. This is the approach of public choice analysis. See M.H. Sproule Jones, Public Choice and Federalism in Australia and Canada, Research Monograph No.11, Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations, The Australian National University, Canberra, 1975. See also Vincent Ostrom, "Can Federalism Make a Difference?" in Publius, Vol.3, No.2, Fall 1973, pp.197-237.

2. D.W. Rawson, Australia Votes, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1961, pp.221, 222.

1977 House of Representatives election intended to vote Labor at the state election.<sup>1</sup> The same poll however, indicated that only 4.5% of the intending switchers said they were changing their vote because they were disillusioned with the national government. More research is needed to determine the extent to which this facility provided by the federal system is utilized by voters. If further research indicates that voters, perceiving the federal system as a polycentric structure, do channel responses arising from one political sphere to the other, then different criteria are needed against which to evaluate the functioning of the political system.

On the demand side of the voter's interaction with the political system, corresponding questions are raised from a polycentric perspective. To what extent do citizens channel demands through either national or state parliamentarians? That is to say, do citizens differentiate between spheres of government in making representations to members of parliament? To what extent do citizens raise state matters with national parliamentarians and vice versa? If this occurs what is the response from the politician? Indeed, do citizens and interest groups consciously use the duality of access points to the system that is provided by the federal structure?<sup>2</sup> Among respondents with a polycentric perspective there is a degree of similarity in perceptions about the content of party competition at each sphere centred on the sectional element of Labor Party's images. To this extent there is some evidence

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1. David Hickie, "Poll Shows Big Labor Victory", National Times, October 7th, 1978, p.13.

2. See for example, Richard A. Wier, "Federalism, Interest Groups and Parliamentary Government: The Canadian Medical Association", Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies, Vol.11, No.2, July 1973, pp.159-175 and H. Zeigler, Interest Groups in American Society, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood, Cliffs, 1964, pp.42-52.

that there is a degree of similarity in expectations about the goals of government at each sphere. But this evidence is merely suggestive that a duality of access points to the political system is a salient feature of the federal structure. Much more research is needed to explore the potentialities of this polycentric perspective.

Particularly is this the case with respect to citizen perceptions about the nature of national and state responsibilities. The images of party competition at the national sphere provide some evidence that education for example is now firmly entrenched in citizen attitudes as a national responsibility. Yet it is not a constitutionally defined functional area of the national government. It has been transferred to the national sphere through political processes involving citizen attitudes and expectations, attitudes and expectations deriving from perspectives about the political system. A mapping of the electorate's perceptions about the content of national and state jurisdictions is needed. Such a mapping related to citizens' perspectives about the system, hierarchical or polycentric, would contribute significantly toward an explanation of the functioning of the system.

#### State Orientations.

The polycentric perception of the system indicates that state government is considered by most respondents as an equally important unit in the federal structure. To a small yet significant minority of respondents it is the more important sphere. In addition, some respondents felt that party differences are important only with respect to the state sphere. It is clear then that the electorate contains a percentage of respondents who are oriented primarily, and perhaps solely, to the state political sphere. The evidence also indicates that these are respondents primarily of lower socio-economic status.



This finding, that the electorate contains a percentage of respondents who are oriented to state politics provides an important normative justification for the federal form of government. If one element of democracy is taken to be the institutional provision for access to and participation in the governing process then a system of divided power and jurisdiction enhances this provision. It is not simply whether or not federalism brings government closer to the people. It is that a divided system provides a centre of power and authority that is accessible and identifiable to people with local orientations who might otherwise be denied that access and identification or indeed be alienated from the system. It gives people the opportunity to identify with a sphere of government commensurate with the scope of their political horizons. To the extent that those with local as opposed to national orientations comprise a significant percentage of a population, the provision of a centre of authority related to a limited sphere of jurisdiction must enhance the system's capacity to engender regime support.

Notions of 'states rights' have historically found support in Tasmania especially in the state's propensity for rejecting referenda proposals. Tasmanians have also shown a willingness to support non-party candidates in Senate elections<sup>1</sup> and to vote against government candidates in House of Representatives elections.<sup>2</sup> Riker has asserted

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1. Tasmania elected Independents to the Senate in 1961, 1967, 1970, 1974, 1975.
  2. In commenting on the ALP's 1972 national victory Townsley noted that "time could well confirm the adage that Tasmanians were much more anti-Canberra than anti-Liberal". "Political Chronicle, Tasmania", Australian Journal of Politics and History, Vol.19, No.2, August 1973, p.283. In the House of Representatives elections of 1975, the five ALP MHR's were replaced with five Liberal MHR's.

that "If citizens, when asked their citizen identification, reply 'I am an American' to the exclusion of 'I am a Hoosier' or 'I am a Texan', the scene is set for centralization. But if they reply first and foremost 'I am a Virginian' or 'I am a Buckeye', then it is difficult to imagine much centralization."<sup>1</sup> With 53% of the sample labelling themselves first and foremost as Tasmanians to the exclusion of Australians as against 44% who answered Australian, and the strong sense of state attachment indicated by the patterns of attitudes toward the relationship between the spheres, the federal system as functioning in Tasmania is constrained by significant decentralizing forces. Indeed, when political identity is crosstabulated with system orientation it is seen that state identity cuts across national as well as state orientations. In fact only 18% of the respondents are fully nationally oriented, while dual loyalties are held by a substantial majority of the respondents.

But this may be more prevalent in Tasmania than in other states. Kemp's data indicated that the Australian electorate is becoming increasingly nationalized.<sup>2</sup> It may well be that the degree of nationalization is less in the Tasmanian portion of the Australian electorate than in other states. At the least it seems likely that it is less than in the larger states. In other words if, following Livingston,<sup>3</sup> the essence of federalism lies in the society itself rather than in the constitutional or institutional structure, the degree of federalism

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1. Riker, op.cit., p.104.

2. Kemp, Society and Electoral Behaviour, Ch.7.

3. W.S. Livingston, "A Note on the Nature of Federalism", Political Science Quarterly, Vol.67, No.1, March 1952, pp.81-95.

differs from state to state. Australia would be an assymetrical<sup>1</sup> federal system in which the balance between integration and autonomy, in terms of citizen attitudes and perceptions, differs throughout the system.

Considered in this way, that is federalism as a psychological phenomenon, the effect of boundaries assumes considerable importance. Reynolds and McNulty<sup>2</sup> suggest that political boundaries coinciding with natural barriers re-inforce social communication networks either side of the division. This appears particularly applicable to Tasmania, separated not only politically but also geographically. The extent to which such barriers serve to promote local perspectives would perhaps explain the degree of state identity and federal sentiment evident in the data.

#### Partisanship Differences.

There is one final thread that has been consistently prominent throughout this study. Cutting across each of the patterns identified in the data is a similar partisan difference. Party preference is more integrated for the Liberal Party than for the Labor Party; Liberals are more nationally oriented than Labor identifiers while Labor identifiers are clearly more state oriented than are Liberals. This is evident in perceptions of party competition, in the salience of the spheres of government and in political identification patterns. Clearly and unequivocally, among the respondents, Liberals are more nationally oriented than are Labor identifiers.

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1. See C.D. Tarlton, "Symmetry and Assymetry as Elements of Federalism", The Journal of Politics, Vol.27, 1965, pp.861-74.
  2. D.R. Reynolds and M.L. McNulty, "On the Analysis of Political Boundaries as Barriers: A Perceptual Approach", The East Lakes Geographer, Vol.4, Dec. 1968, pp.21-38.

Yet this contradicts the partisan rhetoric and policy positions of both parties. It is the Liberal Party which places the most emphasis on "states rights" and the value of federalism as a political system of divided power; it is the Labor Party which espouses national approaches to problems, and expansion in national responsibilities.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless the partisan patterns identified do correspond with the only comparable data available. Emy<sup>2</sup> has reported similar trends among politicians in his report of a survey of the role perceptions of national parliamentarians. More Liberals than Labor M.P.'s indicated national perceptions. Conversely, more Labor than Liberal M.P.'s were delegates, those who seek primarily to represent their constituents and their interests. A third category identified by Emy are M.P.'s who endeavour to reconcile both national and local interests. Among the Labor sample most M.P.'s (50%) saw themselves in this role but among Liberals only 37% described their role in this way.

The correspondence between Emy's results and the Denison<sup>3</sup> survey results provide significant implications. The patterns counsel caution in accepting federalist/centralist labels too readily. Indeed, they imply that Liberal Party policies, or more correctly the implementation of policies, is likely to be more centralist than the party's rhetoric implies. It was noted above that education has effectively become a national responsibility. But it was a Liberal national government which initiated the transfer with the establishment of the Universities Commission in 1958.

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1. See for example the articles by Robert Cotton (Liberal) and E.G. Whitlam (Labor) on "The future of Australian Federalism", in R.L. Mathews (ed) Intergovernmental Relations in Australia, Ch.12.
  2. Hugh V. Emy, The Politics of Australian Democracy, Macmillan, Melbourne, 1974, p.481.
  3. It can also be noted that Denison's incumbent Liberal MHR has publicly expressed a desire to eventually become Prime Minister.

In 1975 the Liberal-NCP coalition came to power with a policy on federalism to redress a perceived imbalance of power in the federation by giving the states a share of income tax revenue and to transfer Grants Commission responsibilities for local government funding to the states. An analysis of the Commonwealth Grants Commission Act 1976 however indicates that central control has not been removed.

"Mr. Fraser's federalism policy has removed neither the federal ministry nor the federal bureaucracy from the constitutional domain of the states: it merely has removed their presence from centre stage to the wings."<sup>1</sup>

Wood attributes the "distortions to Mr. Fraser's federalism policy ... to the determination of the Treasury to retain its control over expenditure".<sup>2</sup> But the nationalist perspectives embedded in the Liberal Party suggests the probability for centralist tendencies to be endorsed by the party and become translated into policy outcomes. Given the strength of an hierarchical perspective of the federal system among Liberals,<sup>3</sup> the character of policy outcomes in terms of national as against local tendencies may be a fruitful area for investigation.

In Chapter 6 it was suggested that the apparent contradiction among Liberals between their rhetoric, extolling the virtues of federalism and "states rights", and their national orientations can be explained. It was suggested that to Liberals the federal system is an hierarchical structure in which state interests are seen as best promoted and reconciled at the national level rather than through the

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1. Michael Wood, The "new federalisms" of Whitlam and Fraser and their impact on local government" in Dean Jaensch (ed) The Politics of "New Federalism", Australian Political Studies Association, Adelaide, 1977, p.111.

2. ibid., p.113.

3. This is also apparent in the following Liberal Party platform item. "The detailed administration of general national policy as far as possible being carried out by State Governments or local authorities to avoid undue centralized control." The Liberal Party of Australia, Federal Platform, October, 1974, p.7.

political processes of bargaining and conflict between autonomous national and regional governments. Hence, the Senate becomes particularly important to Liberals as an institutional mechanism through which state interests are injected and defended in the national policy process. It is at the national level, for Liberals, where the "cake" is divided into state shares. The Senate then becomes important as a device through which state representatives influence the size of the share. For Tasmanian Liberals then, it is important to secure as large a Liberal Senate contingent as possible not only to provide protection against centralist Labor governments but, and perhaps more importantly, to provide security against centralist Liberal governments.<sup>1</sup>

More research is needed to further explore these speculations. One avenue of approach would be to adapt the questionnaire to use specifically with a sampling frame of politicians and party officials. Another is to adapt models used by political geographers to construct spatial images of Australia's political system held by politicians.<sup>2</sup> The differences in image patterns between national and state politicians,<sup>3</sup> between politicians and party officials, each on a partisan basis could be explored. But as well as partisan differences, such an approach is likely to point up significant differences between state samples.

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1. On the Senate's importance to Tasmania see, Campbell Sharman, "The Senate as a States House" in Dean Jaensch (ed), The Politics of New Federalism, Australasian Political Studies Association, Adelaide, 1977, pp.64-75.
  2. See for example P.R. Hills and R.L. Reiser, "A Suggested Method for the Measurement of Perceived Political Space", Horizon, Vol.19, 1970, pp.31-36. For other research on environmental perceptions see G. Goodey Perception of the Environment, Occasional Paper No.17, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, The University of Birmingham, 1971, and Peter Gould and Rodney White, Mental Maps, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1974.
  3. For a comparative study of federal perspectives of state legislators, see E.J. Heubel, "Michigan and Ontario Legislators: Perspectives on the Federal System", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol.32, No.4, Nov. 1966, pp.443-454.

Whether or not the patterns in the aggregate are distinctively Tasmanian, the data and resultant patterns identified by this study represents important ingredients in Australian political culture. It is not only that federal sentiments may vary between states or regions. This study shows that federalism as a psychological disposition ingrained in citizen attitudes and perspectives varies within regions and communities. Some citizens are drawn toward national politics, others toward state politics. Yet others, and in Denison this is the majority, display dual loyalties and orientations. To this group both political spheres are important units of government in the total political system. As Jean Holmes has put it: "the federal situation in the various parts of the system is likely to be variegated and disparate, following Grodzins' famous marble-cake analogy - 'characterized by an inseparable mingling of different coloured ingredients, the colours appearing in vertical and diagonal strands and unexpected whirls.'" <sup>1</sup> This study has identified some of the ingredients and colours that go to make up citizen attitudes in relation to political parties and the governmental structure. They do intermingle and coalesce. More importantly the mixture is complex and although not all the colours may be apparent at least some of them have been identified. Those that have been identified challenge the appropriateness of simple explanations and prescriptions about the system they produce.

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1. Holmes, "A Federal Culture", p.228.

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## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX 1

### THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Attitudes towards aspects of Australia's federal system of government.

**INTRODUCTION** Goodmorning, I'm an interviewer for the Political Science Department at the University. They are doing a study of peoples' opinions on some aspects of Australia's system of government.

How many people .. 18 years old or older are living in your household?

**Circle** 0\* 1 2 3 4 Or more

(\*If "0" Terminate interview)

How many of these adults are residents of the Denison electorate?

**Circle** (If "0" Terminate interview)

NUMBER OF ADULTS IN HOUSING UNIT

	1 adult	2 adults	3 adults	4 or more
0 Men	Adult	Youngest Woman	Oldest Woman	Oldest Woman
1 Man	Adult	Woman	Man	Youngest Woman
2 Men		Youngest Man	Oldest Man	Oldest Man
3 Men			Oldest Man	Youngest Man
4 or More				Youngest Man

NUMBER OF MEN IN HOUSING UNIT

**Circle** How many of these are men?

\* This format is taken from Charles H. Backstrom and Gerald D. Hursh, SURVEY RESEARCH, North Western University Press, 1963.

1. Would you tell me how long you have lived in Tasmania?

**Circle**

less than 1 year.....	(1.7%)	1
1 - 5 years .....	(8.3%)	2
6 -10 years .....	(7.2%)	3
More than 10 years ...	(82.9%)	4
No answer or DK .....	(-)	5

2. How long have you lived in this electorate?

**Circle**

less than 1 year.....	(9.9%)	1
1 - 5 years .....	(20.4%)	2
6 -10 years .....	(16.9%)	3
More than 10 years ...	(52.8%)	4
No answer or DK .....	(-)	5

3. Generally speaking do you think of yourself as Liberal, Labor, or preferring any other party?

**Circle**

1. Liberal	(34.3%)	Which Party? _____ (name of party)
2. Labor	(43.6%)	
3. Other	(3.1%)	
4. No preference	(17.1%)	
5. Don't know )	(2.0%)	
6. Refused )		

→ If 4,5 ask question 4b.

→ If 1,2,3 ask question 4a.

4a. **If respondent prefers a party**

Would that be at the Federal level, the State level, or both?

**Circle**

1.	(5.8%)	Federal
2.	(4.2%)	State
3.	(71.0%)	Both levels

**If respondent prefers a party at one level only ASK:**

What about the (other) level; Do you prefer a party?

**Circle**    1. YES (3.9%)                      2. NO (6.1%)

**If YES ask**    Which party? \_\_\_\_\_  
(name of party)



4b. **If respondent has no preference ASK:**

Would that be for both the Federal and State levels or just one level?

If one level State or Federal?

**Circle**

1. (1.1%) Federal level
2. (-) State level
3. (16.1%) Both levels

**If one level only, ASK:**

Do you have a preference at the (other) level?

1. YES (-)
2. NO (1.1%)

**If YES**

Which party? \_\_\_\_\_  
(name of party)

5. If you could think now of federal politics only;

Do you think it makes much difference which party governs in Canberra?

**Circle**

1. YES (57.2%)
2. NO (34.0%)
3. Don't know (8.8%)
4. Refused (-)

6a. **If YES, ASK:**

Why, what difference?

6b. **If NO, ASK:**

Why not?

Now, I would like to ask you what you like and don't like about the two main parties in Canberra - the Liberal Party led by Mr. Fraser and the Labor Party led by Mr. Whitlam.

7. Is there anything you like about the Liberal Party in Canberra?

8. Is there anything you don't like about the Liberals?

9. Is there anything you like about the Labor Party in Canberra?

10. Is there anything you don't like about the Labor Party?

11. Which level of government do you consider the more important, the Federal or the State government, or do you consider both governments are of equal importance?

**Circle**

1. (36.2%) Federal Government
2. (17.4%) State Government
3. (41.4%) Equal importance
4. ( 4.7%) Don't know
5. ( 0.3%) Refused

12. As far as you are concerned personally, which government affects your life the most, the Federal government, the State government, or do they affect you equally?

**Circle**

1. (39.5%) Federal government
2. (22.9%) State government
3. (30.7%) Equal
4. ( 6.4%) Don't know
5. ( 0.3%) Refused
6. ( 0.3%) Other

13. Which elections do you consider the more important, Federal elections or State elections, or do you consider both sets of elections equally important?

**Circle**

1. (39.8%) Federal elections
2. (11.3%) State elections
3. (46.1%) Equal
4. ( 2.8%) Don't know
5. ( - ) Refused

14. Thinking now of Tasmanian political affairs, do you think it makes much difference which party is in government in Tasmania?

**Circle**

- |                       |                   |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. YES (48.1%)        | 2. NO (39.8%)     |
| 3. Don't know (11.9%) | 4. Refused (0.3%) |

15a. **If YES, ASK:**

Why, what difference?

15b. **If NO, ASK:**

Why not?

Now I would like to ask you what you like and don't like about the main parties in Tasmania - the Liberal Party led by Mr. Bingham and the Labor Party led by Mr. Nielson.

16. Is there anything you like about the Liberal Party in Tasmania?
17. Is there anything you don't like about the Liberals?
18. Is there anything you like about the Labor Party in Tasmania?
19. Is there anything you don't like about the Labor Party?
20. Do you think it important that there be a different party in government in Tasmania to the party in government in Canberra?

**Circle**

- |                       |                   |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. YES (23.2%)        | 2. NO (64.6%)     |
| 3. Don't know (11.3%) | 4. Refused (0.9%) |

21. As you know it is compulsory to vote in both state and federal elections, but if a law was passed so that you didn't have to vote, but could if you wanted, in which elections would you be most likely to vote, federal elections, state elections, both or none?

**Circle**

- |            |            |
|------------|------------|
| 1. ( 8.3%) | Federal    |
| 2. ( 8.8%) | State      |
| 3. (72.9%) | Both       |
| 4. ( 6.1%) | none       |
| 5. ( 3.9%) | Don't know |
| 6. ( - )   | Refused    |

22. Regardless of which party is in power, what would you say are some of the most important things that the Federal government is concerned with?

Is there anything else that you think the Federal Government should be concerned with?

23. If you were overseas and being introduced to someone, would you prefer to be introduced as a Tasmanian or as an Australian?

**Circle**

- |            |            |
|------------|------------|
| 1. (53.3%) | Tasmanian  |
| 2. (41.4%) | Australian |
| 3. ( 3.9%) | Don't Know |
| 4. ( 1.4%) | Other      |

24. If you could think now of the way you have voted in past State elections, has the party in government in Canberra made any difference to your vote in the State elections?

**Circle**

- |                      |                   |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. YES (8.8%)        | 2. NO (84.8%)     |
| 3. Don't know (4.7%) | 4. Refused (0.3%) |

25. **If YES, ASK:** What difference? When?

26. Now I would like to ask you how you voted in recent elections.

a. In last year's state election to which party did you give your first preference?

**Circle**

1. Liberal (36.2%)
2. Labor (47.8%)
3. UTG (3.0%)
4. Workers Party (-)
5. Socialist Workers Party (0.6%)
6. Other (1.7%)
7. Informal (0.6%)
8. Didn't vote (5.2%)
9. Don't know (2.2%)
10. Refused (2.8%)

b. In the 1975 federal House of Representatives election?

**Circle**

1. Liberal (43.6%)
2. Labor (42.3%)
3. Workers Party (-)
4. National (Country) Party (0.3%)
5. Other (0.6%)
6. Informal (-)
7. Didn't vote (6.6%)
8. Don't know (3.9%)
9. Refused (2.8%)

c. What about in the 1974 federal House of Representatives election?

**Circle**

1. Liberal (31.8%)
2. Labor (46.4%)
3. Other (0.6%)
4. Informal (-)
5. Didn't vote (11.0%)
6. Don't know (6.9%)
7. Refused (3.0%)
8. D.L.P. (0.3%)

d. Can you remember how you voted in the 1972 federal House of Representatives election?

**Circle**

1. Liberal (29.0%)
2. Labor (40.3%)
3. DLP (0.3%)
4. UTG (-)
5. Australia Party (-)
6. Other (0.3%)
7. Informal (0.3%)
8. Didn't vote (18.2%)
9. Don't know (8.6%)
10. Refused (3.0%)

e. And for the 1972 State elections?

**Circle**

1. Liberal (24.9%)
2. Labor (39.5%)
3. UTG (0.6%)
4. Independent (1.1%)
5. Other (-)
6. Informal (-)
7. Didn't vote (22.7%)
8. Don't know (8.3%)
9. Refused (3.0%)

27. Thinking of Tasmanian politics again, regardless of the party in power, what would you say are some of the most important things that the state government is concerned with?

Is there anything else that you think the state government should be concerned with?

28. Some people say there are social classes in Australia while others disagree. If you think that Australia does contain social classes, which of these names (HAND RESPONDENT CARD 1) generally used to describe classes would you say you belonged to?

**Circle**

- |                    |                      |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Upper (2.2%)    | 5. Other (1.4%)      |
| 2. Middle (50.0%)  | 6. Don't know (1.9%) |
| 3. Working (35.4%) | 7. No classes (5.5%) |
| 4. Lower (1.9%)    | 8. Refused (1.7%)    |

Now I have just a few questions about yourself.

29. What is your occupation?

and the occupation of your husband/wife?

30. What level of formal education have you received?

**Circle**

- |  |         |
|--|---------|
| 1. No education)                       | (17.7%) |
| 2. Primary )                           |         |
| 3. Secondary (without matriculation) ) | (58.3%) |
| 4. Matriculation )                     |         |
| 5. Tertiary (other than university)    | (9.1%)  |
| 6. University                          | (14.1%) |
| 7. Refused                             | (0.8%)  |

31. From this list (HAND RESPONDENT CARD 2) would you please indicate the letter corresponding with your age grouping?

**Circle**

- |                     |                      |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1. A (18-24, 16.3%) | 7. G (50-54, 5.0%)   |
| 2. B (25-29, 10.2%) | 8. H (55-59, 5.0%)   |
| 3. C (30-34, 12.4%) | 9. J (60-64, 7.7%)   |
| 4. D (35-39, 8.0%)  | 10. K (65 + , 18.8%) |
| 5. E (40-44, 10.2%) | 11. Refused (0.8%)   |
| 6. F (45-49, 5.5%)  |                      |

32. From this list (HAND RESPONDENT CARD 3) would you please indicate the letter corresponding with your family income?

**Circle**

- |                                |                                  |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. A (0-3,999, 21.0%)          | 8. H (16,000-17,999) - (8.6%)    |
| 2. B (4,000-5,999)             | 9. J (18,000-19,999) - (8.6%)    |
| 3. C (6,000-7,999) - (15.5%)   | 10. K (20,000-21,999) - (8.0%)   |
| 4. D (8,000-9,999)             | 11. L (22,000 and over) - (8.0%) |
| 5. E (10,000-11,999) - (20.4%) | 12. Don't know ) - (11.0%)       |
| 6. F (12,000-13,999) - (15.5%) | 13. Refused )                    |
| 7. G (14,000-15,999)           |                                  |

## 33. Have you any religious affiliation?

If so Which denomination?

**Circle**

1. Anglican (32.9%)
2. Catholic (19.9%)
3. Uniting Church (5.5%)
4. Other Protestant (7.5%)
5. Other (4.4%)
6. None (29.0%)
7. Refused (0.8%)

## 34. A question about language and cultural background.

Do you have a background in any other language and culture as well as the English language and Australian culture?

**Circle**

- |                |               |                   |
|----------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 1. YES (13.8%) | 2. NO (85.4%) | 3. Refused (0.8%) |
|----------------|---------------|-------------------|

If YES, ASK:

Which language and culture?

(eg. Italian, Greek, Dutch etc.)

## 35. One final question.

If Mr. Fraser had called an election and you had to vote next Saturday, which party would you vote for?

**Circle**

1. Liberal (36.7%)
2. Labor (43.6%)
3. Australian Democrats (5.5%)
4. Other (0.8%)
5. Don't know (10.2%)
6. Refused (2.8%)
7. Informal (0.3%)

INTERVIEWER: As you thank the respondent

36. CASUALLY ASK RESPONDENT WHETHER HE?SHE WOULD AGREE TO BEING INTERVIEWED AGAIN AT A LATER DATE.

Circle

1. YES (29.6%)                      2. NO (70.4%)

If YES, Ask for the respondent's name

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Complete after the interview

37. Sex of Respondent

Circle

1. Male (42.8%)  
2. Female (57.2%)

38. Address

39. Date of Interview. (Oct. 1977)

40. No. of calls to obtain interview

41. Name of interviewer.

APPENDIX 2

PERCEPTIONS OF NATIONAL PARTY COMPETITION.

Categorization of responses to question 6 by pattern of party identification.

Question 5. "If you could think now of federal politics only, Do you think it makes much difference which party governs in Canberra?"

If Yes: Ask

If No, ask

6a. Why, what difference?

6b. Why not?

\* National and state identification are shown with the national attachment given first. Partisans are respondents identifying with the same party at both spheres. The number of responses are given in brackets.



Responses to question 6a.Ideological (36)Labor Partisans (10)

*Disagree with liberal point of view, socialist government better.*

*Liberals too capitalistic.*

*Private enterprise, employment.*

*Liberal - free enterprise, Labor-free spending.*

*Have different approaches to problems*

*Their philosophies are different.*

*Socialist Labor looks after the workers.*

*Labor more socialist and thus more state intervention*

*Frazer is a fascist*

*Libs tend to favour private enterprise.*

Liberal Partisans (19)

*The Liberal Party is for private enterprise.*

*Lib philosophy is the reason I came to Tasmania - to come away from communism.*

*Labor more communist minded*

*Lib better, no communists*

*Philosophical differences*

*Prefer what we have now to a socialist run country*

*Socialism and free enterprise*

*Labor party is synonymous with socialization*

*I can't dissociate the ALP from communism*

*ALP devoted to socialism, Lib: Laissez faire*

*Liberals against nationalization and socialization and for free enterprise and incentives for workers.*

*There should be just one party against the communists*

*Labor - socialistic leanings*

*Philosophy*

*(Libs) saving us for a little while from straight pure socialism*

*Labor party's socialism*

*Labor more socialistically inclined where Liberal more inclined for country.*

*Labor much more socialistic*

*Labor more socialistic whereas Liberal more capitalistic.*

Non-Partisans (5)

*One is capitalist and one is returning a share to worker*

*Labor - communist*

*Govt at the moment very right wing*

*Labor socialist, Liberal capitalist*

*Labor govt. too left wing*

Liberal-Labor (1)

*Labor - tied up with the communist party*

Australian Democrat (1)

*Whole philosophy different.*

Policy - economic (12)

Labor Partisans (3)

*The effect on the economy.*

*Economic policy differences*

*Economically*

Liberal Partisans (4)

*Labor caused too much money - caused unemployment.*

*State of the economy*

*Basic differences if employer is making investments or planning ahead*

*Taxation*

Labor - No Preference (1)

*Basic economic policies of the parties are different.*

Liberal-Labor (1)

*Labor tends to be more centralist and increases in taxation.*

Non Partisans (2)

*Liberals mean there's a lot of unemployment.*

*Effect on incomes. Labor decrease, Liberals increase.*

Other - Labor (1)

*The country must be run on a more economic level than at present.*

Policy - social welfare (15)Labor Partisans (8)

*Labor Party thinks more of aged pensioners*

*Entirely different policy - not enough for unemployed*

*Fraser affects pension situation - Whitlam more helpful*

*Labor give more concessions to pensioners*

*Totally different ideas in social welfare etc.*

*Medibank*

*Welfare of underdog*

*Social Welfare*

Liberal Partisans (4)

*Social security policy different.*

*Liberal Party not good for welfare. Labor Party is.*

*Labor different ideas - e.g. Medibank*

*They can determine our style of life in taxation, health services.*

Non-Partisans (2)

*In field of social welfare*

*ALP platform of social assistance and the Liberals conservative platform*

Communist (1)

*Social yes - economic no.*

Policy - other (8)Liberal Partisans (2)

*Liberals better for farmers.*

*Foreign policy (Latvia)*

*Education grants*

Labor Partisans (4)

*Industrial relations, uranium, administrative secrecy*

*Foreign affairs*

*Education - quality of life, Australian ownership, union bashing*

*Education spending*

Labor - no preference (1)

Defence policy.

Management of government (26)Liberal Partisans (16)

Liberal Party for private enterprise not like the Labor Party  
spending the hard working man's money on bludgers.

Rash expenditure by Mr. Whitlam

One party more learned

Persons with support of 'money' people the country is better run  
- people with investments want their money well spent

Better people in office for Lib.

Greater experience and knowledge as a whole - Lib party

Don't want an extreme government

Liberals do better job than the ALP. Better managers financially.

Liberal Party more conscious of general effect in Australia - trust  
them far more

Govt is more peaceful under the Liberals, not so much crisis

Liberal governs better

Liberals can control the country generally

Labor so seldom in power and has to do things in a hurry resulting in  
sloppy drafting

Because of Labor's financial ideas - incompetence

Labor govt went mad and spent money wholesale

Liberal - DK (1)

(Lib) policies not so far fetched. Labor will give this, give that.

Liberal - Labor (2)

*Liberals more level headed, more commonsense.*

*Labor seems to take more than it gives.*

No preference - Labor (1)

*Government spending*

Labor Partisans (4)

*Liberals not confident enough in handling of economic situation*

*Liberals have mucked up everything*

*Things are worse now because of the Liberals*

*Labor - smoother running industrial climate - general state of affairs better under Labor*

Non- Partisans (2)

*Labor gets in an economic mess*

*Traditional conservative government of Liberals is completely different to the unstable radical Labor.*

Serving the people (9)Liberal Partisans (3)

*More for people and not for themselves*

*Go there to "feather their nests", money only.*

*Liberal does most for people*

Labor Partisans (6)

*Liberal Party not for the people*

*For the majority of people need different policies, legislation for the benefit of all.*

*Labor Party work more for the people.*

*Liberal Party is less inclined to be concerned with people than Labor. Labor more concerned with quality of life.*

*Labor do more for people than Liberal*

*Labor policies benefit the community generally - more progressive.*

Group related differences. (31)Labor Partisans (22)

*Labor is for the working man.*

*Liberals are for the upper class.*

*One's for the working class and the other is for the working man.*

*One for the workers one for enterprise*

*Labor gives workers a go*

*Labor for the workers*

*Labor for working, Liberal for capital*

*I think libs are too much for the multinationals*

*Labor policies better for the working man*

*Labor for the working class*

*Don't like union control of the Labor party at the federal level*

*Socialist Labor looks after people ie. the workers*

*Labor makes a big difference to the working man - policies matter*

*General policies, general balance of priorities different reflect power bases they reflect*

*Workers idea*

*Tendency to represent working class*

*Labor for workers ... Liberal is not*

*Labor party is out for worker Liberal party isn't*

ALP geared towards individuals and quality of life - other towards big business.

They represent differing groups

Labor is more for ordinary people than the Liberal Party

Labor for the working man - just different in general ways

#### Liberal Partisans (5)

Trade unionism

Labor tends to look after labouring people, Liberal broader span of people.

Do try to put down unionists. Too much harm done by unions

One more concerned with industrial action whereas the other has a broader outlook on the whole community.

Businessman - liberal platform, family trust systems more for independent businessman.

#### Liberal - No Preference (2)

They don't let trade unions rule them

Unions or people running the country

#### Non Partisans (1)

Different vested interests of parties

#### Refused (1)

Labor too inclined to be led by unions



Leaders and Leadership (11)Labor Partisans (3)

Fraser does no good

Not doing anything at the moment need new leader

Mr Fraser unsatisfactory re uranium. With Whitlam the majority of the party voted against uranium.

Liberal Partisans (6)

Gough has too much to say and Bob Hawke and they are always slating the Liberals

Don't like Whitlam

Mr. Fraser goes about things the right way

The leaders

Mr. Fraser is doing his best

There have been good Labor PM's but last was very clever but borrowing from countries which would have left Australia under foreign control.

Non-partisans (2)

Frightened of Mr. Whitlam not as far as governing country is concerned  
Leadership

Other (23)Liberal Partisans (5)

But now it doesn't seem to make any difference

Prefer a more centralist approach to things i.e. Liberals

Government should always have opposition

*They seem to make more of the rules and regulations. Affects us more. They seem to have last word.*

*If they have the majority their ideas will go forward*

Liberal - Labor (3)

*There should be different parties because they compete for popularity*

*They have the main say in everything*

*Labor govt tends to be more centralist...*

Liberal - DK (1)

*Provided one doesn't stay in too long*

Labor Partisans (6)

*Affect the states*

*Which ever party governs has the say*

*More power*

*Distribution of wealth and power*

*Govern us from there*

*Moral difference*

Labor - No preference (2)

*Not much as have good job*

*Policies made in Canberra filter down and affect our every day life.*

Workers Party. (1)

*Lib and Lab are the same and try to keep socialists out of the country.*

Non-partisans (4)

*Should be amalgamated so both are important*

*Depending on year - not related to policies*

*Change attitude towards parties in Tas.*

*Depending upon the individual members of parliament*

Refused party identification (1)

*Good to have a good government*

Differences - generalized (43)Liberal Partisans (11)

*Like their policies*

*Their different policies*

*Prefer Lib policy*

*Prefer Lib. Party policies*

*On certain issues*

*Policies*

*Prefer Liberal in Canberra too*

*It does make a difference*

*Liberal by nature*

*A great effect on what is going on in Australia*

*Generally prefer Liberals - upbringing*

Liberal - No Preference (2)

*Different systems of governing*

*Outlook, approach totally different*

Labor Partisans (24)

*I would prefer the Labor Party....*

*Labor govt better*

*Labor should be in*

*At present time a lot*

*Labor would govern much better*

*Different policies*

*Major differences in some aspects of their policies*

*Different policies, ideas and policies*

*Different policies, practices and philosophies*

*Prefer Labor*

*Libs never been any good, doing nothing for country*

*You know whats going on - unemployment cruel*

*Whitlam Govt has made a difference*

*Don't think Liberal Party has any at all whereas Labor is*

*Labor gives a better deal*

*Labor are the best*

*I like Labor*

*Depends on current platform, promises*

*Policies are really different*

*Different policies*

*Feel Labor relate better*

*Basic differences in party line*

*The different outlook of parties*

*Different platforms*

Aust. Democrat (1)

*Every difference in the world*

Non-partisans (4)

*Lib slightly better*

*Different excesses from different parties*

*Emphasis of each party different...*

*External and internal policies*

Non-partisan - other (1)

*In the policies they adopt - make a difference the way the country is run*

QUESTION 6b.No difference (40)Labor Partisans (20)

*No difference between them*

*Not much difference*

*Much the same*

*Both much the same (3)*

*All the same*

*Over last 2 years everthings still the same*

*Both parties cater for 51% of the population insipid policies*

*Both the same*

*Both the same*

*Not on the overall, on particular things, yes*

*They don't seem to be much different, everyone complains whoever it is.*

They are all the same aren't they  
 Seems much the same with either party  
 There isn't much difference between the parties  
 Both parties seem much the same  
 They both have much the same policies  
 Not a vast amount of difference between govts.  
 Much of a muchness

Liberal Partisans (5)

Both parties act the same way  
 Both have advantages and disadvantages - balance each other out  
 No changes with Liberals or Labor: My life doesn't change  
 All the same when in power  
 All the same

Liberal-Labor (1)

They both do much the same job

Aust. Democrats (1)

Strong competition no matter what party, all do much the same eg. money loans overseas.

Other - Liberal (1)

The ends not very different, only means

Other - Labor (1)

Do same things policies similar

Non-Partisans (6)

*Few differences between Labor and Liberal policies*

*Both same*

*Both much the same*

*Politicians much the same*

*Both have some weird ideas*

*All about the same*

No Preference - Labor (2)

*Policies basically the same*

*Much of a muchness*

No Preference - Liberal (1)

*All the same*

Refused Party Identification (2)

*Much the same*

*Because there's faults with both parties no matter which is in*

Both parties seen as equally incapable (30)Liberal Partisans (7)

*I don't like the way either of the parties run the country*

*Lfbs haven't got their Jim Cairns, Juni Morossi, etc - but they haven't done what they said they'd do*

*Neither seems to do much good*

*Both parties have made a mess of things*

*Bpth make a hash of it.*

*Such a mess at moment, nothing seems to be getting done.*

*They're both as hopeless as each other at present*

Liberal - No Preference (1)

*Australia is at critical moment and it is same as in other countries,  
it will pass whatever party governs*

Labor Partisans (8)

*The country is in a mess and it really doesn't make any difference  
because neither can solve the problems that have been made.*

*Never seem to get any further ahead*

*No one does any better for us*

*Neither seem to be able to do things both have a go and no better*

*They can't do any worse than now*

*Can't improve situation as far as inflation and unemployment is  
concerned*

*They all bugger it up*

*Neither party seems to get anywhere*

Labor - No Preference (1)

*Neither seem to have much direction*

Aust. Party (1)

*Both parties aren't getting anywhere*

No preference - Labor (3)

*Neither are very good at it*

*Seem to fight a lot*

*It should but it doesn't judging by results*



Non Partisans (7)

*Well they both make a mess*

*For past 7 years both parties have done nothing to help anyone, just as bad as each other.*

*Argue too much*

*Don't think there is much difference. Neither party has improved economy*

*Leaders not much good in either party*

*Both limited by situation - economic doing same things*

*Same problems all over the world*

Refused Party Identification (2)

*Because there's faults with both parties no matter which party is in*

*Neither party any good at the moment*

Distrust of Politicians (12)Labor Partisans (7)

*All out to fill own pockets*

*They are all in it for the one thing*

*All in for own benefit*

*Don't think any politicians are good, break promises*

*Both the same, all after money*

*All after one thing, own preservation, feather own nests*

*All much the same - self seekers*

Non - Partisans (4)

Only in to win

Only there to fill own pockets

Not to me. Politicians are all in politics for themselves and money seems to be their God

All there just for money

No Preference - Liberal (1)

They're all useless, the wrong people in the top jobs

Other (22)Labor Partisans (8)

People are to blame not govt.

Own ideas

Look after the people

State level is the one opinion is based on

There is not much cooperation whoever is in either position

If you've got a particular govt in the state it doesn't make much difference who's in Canberra

Only interested in state level

By the safety factors in the constitution

Liberal Partisans (6)

Still Liberal

Whoever is good for the country should govern

If they don't make personal issues out of it everything should be done for people

As long as the opposition is stronger than at present

Some get country in more mess than others

*All a matter of whether they are nice open minded people...*

Liberal - Labor (1)

*Prefer to see change of govt every two years*

Liberal - no preference (2)

*Still have to rule Australia*

*More concerned with knocking opposition off than helping the country*

Non Partisans (3)

*None of the parties cooperate together anyway*

*Both just do their job*

*No - if you've the right people in power...*

No Preference - Labor (2)

*Take advice of senior members*

*People make decisions, govt just carry them out*

APPENDIX 3.

PERCEPTIONS OF STATE PARTY COMPETITION

Categorization of responses to question 15 by pattern of party identification.\*

Question 14: *\*Thinking now of Tasmanian Political affairs, do you think it makes much difference which party is in government in Tasmania?\**

If Yes ask

If No, ask

15a) *\*Why, what difference?\**      15b) *\*Why not?\**

\* National and state identification are shown with the national attachment given first. Partisans are respondents identifying with the same party at both spheres. The number of responses are given in brackets.

QUESTION 15aManagement of government (23)Labor Partisans (15)

*Labor does a good job*

*The Labor party has run Tas for a great number of years and they have done a good job.*

*Labor has done well so far*

*They (Labor) get on with what they do. They (Labor) do as they say*

*Labor only ones who do anything*

*Labor really cares*

*Labor getting things done moneywise*

*Labor has done a good job here and will continue to do so*

*Labor do try to do as they ought to do*

*Labor are more acquainted with what people want - Lib are no-hopers*

*Labor have done best job for Tas*

*Labor have done a good job - but all make mistakes and spend too much money*

*Labor state for so long it probably wouldn't work as a Liberal state*

*Contributes to whole scene*

*Partly more ability among the Labor members*

Liberal Partisans (3)

*How they handle the deficit*

*Libs would have handled the bridge situation much better*

*Liberal members better*

No Preference - Labor (1)

*Labor on performance and policies is better for this state.*

Liberal - No Preference (1)

*Labor have more experience than Lib*

Non Partisans (3)

*Libs make a mess but Labor have the experience*

*Labor party more aware*

*Labor looks after Tas interests....*

Group related differences (22)Labor Partisans (16)

*Labor are for the working class*

*Labor gives worker a go*

*Workers get better deal from Labor*

*Labor for the working man*

*Labor for the working class*

*Labor is for the workers and Lib party for the big business. Libs look after themselves*

*Socialist labor looks after the workers*

*Labor more on workers level*

*Labor because they're from my class of work*

*Certain parties represent certain interests*

*Labor backs the worker*

*Labor gives working man a better deal*

*Being Labor and workingman it is natural*

*Labor care more for the workers than Liberals - they (Lib) are for business people*

*Labor because it is more for the workingman than Liberals*

*Labor supports the working class*

Liberal Partisans (1)

*There are more working people in Tas so Labor is more appropriate*

No Preference - Labor (1)

*Tas always been Labor - more working class state*

Non - Partisans (3)

*They are more suited to working class*

*Labor will be more aware of the working class's needs*

*Unionists are far better off under Labor*

Communist (1)

*Labor less inclined to pander to businessman*

National - State relations (14)

Labor Partisans (3)

*When different parties in 2 govt - harder for state govts to operate*

*Easier to achieve if both fed and state Labor*

*ALP tends to be more independent whereas Libs would toe Fraser line*

Liberal Partisans (6)

*Sensible to have same govt in state as in Canberra*

*Better if Libs in fed and state*

*If fed Lib then state also Lib*

*More sympathy to Lib states from fed (Liberal Govt.*

*Makes a difference with the federal govt*

*If state and (fed) govt same colour more harmony*

Liberal - Labor (3)

*State govt act independently for Tas. Bingham takes Fraser for gospel*

*Good to have different party in power in state*

*They can make demands on fed govt., they answer to fed. govt, - link between fed. govt and people - influence distribution of what fed. govt gives state*

Aust Democrat (1)

*Preferably same govt party in Canberra as in Tas*

Non Partisan (1)

*Depending on what is in Canberra*

Leaders and Leadership (12)Labor Partisans (8)

*Don't want Max Bingham*

*Labor is better government, Mr. Bingham has a big mouth*

*Don't like leader of opposition and his outlook*



*Mr. Bingham never satisfied*

*Don't like Bingham*

*Wouldn't like to see Bingham in Govt.*

*Liberals no good - look at leader!*

#### Liberal Partisans (1)

*Depends who is their leader. Group is now more interested in jobs for the boys.*

#### Non Partisans (3)

*Depends on the man, Libs have to prove themselves*

*In Tas Labor has much stronger line up of leaders and ministers*

*Labor because Bingham's only a scandal monger*

#### Ideological (9)

#### Labor Partisans (5)

*Liberals, concerned, and free enterprise*

*Socialist Labor looks after the worker*

*Because of different party ideology*

*Differing platforms, socialism versus free enterprise*

*Party philosophy*

#### Liberal Partisans (4)

*I am concerned about communist influence and therefore see Liberals as the best alternative*

*Too much left wing element in the Labor party*

*Ideology; ALP devoted to socialism; Liberals, laissez faire, but Tas ALP traditionally far to the right of federal ALP*

Policy Differences (9)Social Welfare (5)Labor Partisans (4)

*Labor look after young and old*

*With Labor, pensioners get better deal*

*Labor more concerned for less privileged*

*Welfare and education expenditure*

Non Partisans (1)

*Labor govt give more social benefits than Liberals*

Economic and other (4)Labor Partisans (2)

*Taxation in the state*

*Industrial relation, provision of public services*

Liberal Partisans (1)

*Differing policies on taxation, housing, transport etc.*

No Preference - Liberal (1)

*Tax, unemployment, hydro*

General Differences - Policy (25)Labor Partisans (12)

*Different ideas*

*Don't like Liberal policy*

*Both have different ideas*

*Because of their policies*

*Different policies*

*Policies*

*Labor policy better for Tasmania*

*General approaches to govt*

*Everyone is affected by the particular leanings of the party in power*

*Allocation of money is different with each party*

*Different outlooks of the parties*

*Labor policies are better*

Liberal - Labor (1)

*Their policies*

Liberal Partisans (7)

*Liberal outlook*

*Because of political views*

*Both offer different policies*

*Party promises make it decisive*

*Don't like ALP policies*

*I like their policies better (e.g. on probate)*

*Interests and work would be affected by whichever party is in...*

Labor - UTG (1)*Different priorities*No Preference - Other (1)*On the basis of their policies it must make a difference*Non Partisans (3)*Different policies**Different priorities (but closer than federally)**Policies*General DifferencesOne party is better or more progressive. (27)Labor Partisans (16)*Labor is better for the state**Labor is important**Labor better than Liberals**Labor**Labor has made a lot of progress**Prefer Labor for state**Labor should stay in**Like Labor**Labor important**Labor suits us**Used to Labor so would prefer them to stay**Labor are the best**I am Labor*

*I like to see a Labor govt*

*Lab is more progressive than Liberal*

*Lab more progressive*

Liberal Partisans (4)

*Liberals do more for us*

*Rather have Liberals - glad Mr. Neilson is going away*

*Just don't uphold much in Labor views*

*Prefer Liberal*

Labor - No Preference (1)

*Labor all the way*

Non Partisans (3)

*Rather see Labor in power*

*Like Labor to govern in Tas*

*Labor too fence sitting*

Liberal - No Preference (1)

*Rather see Libs in govt.*

Labor - No Preference (1)

*Labor - just prefer them*

Liberal - Labor (1)

*Labor govt better for Tas*

Just different (5)Liberal Partisans (3)

*Everything, money, work*

*Different ways - no specific reason*

*But not to the extent that I would worry*

Labor Partisans (1)

*Little difference*

Refused (1)

*Nothing specific*

Other (a residual category) (21)Labor Partisans (10)

*Public opinion*

*Tas a Labor state*

*Finance in state isn't high - smaller and more industrial state*

*Capital exploits - no thought for future*

*Small state*

*Vote for Labor because we are so cut off*

*Always conflict between Liberal and Labor*

*Mr. Goodluck outspoken even though Liberal - he's working class*

*Lib party - no policies - only after power*

*In some issues have a bit of say*

No Preference - Labor (1)

*They are dragging Tas into the same mess they are in.*

Liberal Partisans (4)

*Tas is small decisions vitally affect the community*

*The who trendin which the state will go*

*People are different*

*At state level more participation in branch level - easier to formulate policies*

Aust. Democrats (2)

*Because Canberra holds the purse strings*

*?*

Non- Partisans (3)

*Issues don't matter...*

*Small state needs strong party in power*

*Tas more working class*

Refused (1)

*Important they change regularly*

QUESTION 15bBoth parties similar (54)Labor Partisans (15)

*Both try their hardest*

*Both much the same*

*No difference at all*

*Yes. Attitudes to large industries - same attitudes but for different reasons*

Both govts are slow moving and conservative, and over concerned with pragmatic issues

Both the same and are all after money

All ends up the same

Their policies are similar

Not much difference between them

Both have similar policies ...Neither adheres to ideologies

Fairly similar policies

Can't see any difference in them

If Libs got in, stick to same policies

Similar politics

Labor and Liberal are fairly even in Tasmania

#### Liberal Partisans (12)

Nothing changes

Both seem to do a pretty good job

Same point of views

Both have advantages and disadvantages

Always seems to Labor in govt ...it doesn't matter much

The parties are so similar

Similar points of view of each party

Minor differences - but carry on the same...

Both parties basically doing the same things...

Much the same

Doesn't matter which so long as they are fair and honest

Don't suppose it does - Labor done more than Bingham - I think

#### No Preference - Labor (1)

All trying to do the same thing



No Preference - Liberal (1)

*For and against with both parties*

Liberal - Labor (2)

*Very similar*

*State parties should be fighting for similar things*

Other - Labor (1)

*So far what Labor have done is satisfactory*

Non Partisans (12)

*Both parties adopt conservative line*

*Libs were little different from Labor*

*No new ideas, no one's perfect*

*Both should do their best for the state*

*Both pretty central*

*Both moderate parties*

*Neither party makes much difference to the way we live*

*Both Liberal and Labor equally divided*

*Tried both and no difference*

*Try to do the same things*

*Lib and Lab much the same in Tasmania...*

*Same people*

Liberal - No preference (3)

*Haven't noticed any difference*

*There doesn't seem to be much difference between them*

MLabor - No preference (1)

*All have basically similar attitudes*

Minor parties (3)Workers Party

*Very little difference*

Socialist Workers Party

*Both parties too bourgeois*

Australian Democrats

*Both equal, neither one thing or the other*

Refused party identification (3)

*Much the same*

*Both more or less the same*

*All working for similar things*

The moderation of the Labor party (9)Labor Partisans (5)

*Right winged Labor govt*

*Labor party is a conservative party. Not much difference in policies*

*Labor party too much interested in power for sake of it and not much better than Liberals*

*Labor give you a fair go*

*All Tas politicians are right-wingers*

Liberal Partisans (4)

*Not while Labor in power but if left wing was in power - Yes*

*State Labor doesn't affect business at all whereas Fed labor did affect business*

*Much of a muchness. Labor very right wing*

*Neilson is moderate and reasonable in most matters*

A Limited State Governmenta) Dominance of the national government (15)Labor Partisans (4)

*They all have their answer from Canberra anyway and the mainland*

*Way we are isolated and getting things done from Canberra*

*Fed government has say in most things anyway*

*Don't think state government has much to do with anything*

Liberal Partisans (7)

*Dont set real policies, get money or permission from federal government*

*Federal level overrides any policies*

*Just spenders of Fed money*

*Both parties basically doing the same things and are limited by federal government*

*All the money comes from Canberra, the state govt spends money how its told to.*

*They have to toe the line. They only get a certain amount of money from Canberra - limited amount they can do with it*

*We're only just administering federal funds we're very dependent on Federal government for grants*

Non Partisans (4)

Canberra seems to dominate state

Financially dominance of Canberra

Too much managed by Federal scene

Because relatively in effectual hand outs from Federal

b) Limited by financial constraints (6)Non Partisans (3)

Because both work for state and can only get assistance from the money th (national) government gives them

Both limited due to finance

A certain amount of money to spend

Liberal Partisans (2)

They haven't got the means to influence our lives

No money and very little power so it doesn't matter two hoots

Liberal - No Preference (1)

They're both governed by their budget

Low profile of state politics (6)Labor Partisan (4)

Govt in a small state tends more to be on an ad hoc basis than federal government

Doesn't affect overall picture - federal more influence - eg. income tax; social services

Small town politics - decisions not that important

Tasmania is a parochial place, run by the city fathers

Liberal Partisans (2)

Because the state doesn't affect eh international level

Only have to look after roads, bridges, education and health

Personalities (5)Labor Partisans (3)

Same people - depends on the people there more than the party

Depends on the person who stands

Personalities involved - neither party presents a clear cut political attitude

Non Partisans (1)

Its the individual who makes the difference, not the party

Labor - No preference (1)

Basically we are such a small state and know each other (personally - doesn't matter which.

General Criticisms of the parties and politicians (21)

Labor Partisans (7)

*Does not matter who's in, opposition will go against, will not work together. I want more cooperation between the two parties*

*Don't keep promises*

*Neither party really does anything after the first few months*

*Both as bad as each other*

*None are doing any better than the other*

*Both do a lousy job*

*Neither have made any changes lately that have worked*

Liberal Partisans (9)

*Each one pulls the other apart without any constructive criticism*

*All pick at each other - no better off with Liberal Party*

*Both promise, but when in power they diminish to nothing*

*Mentality of Tasmanians is so far behind mainland that it doesn't matter - they are all bad - All still under authority of Canberra*

*Neither good - not very strong people in them*

*Liberals no more to offer than Labor until economy picks up*

*They are much the same when they are in. Neither of them get down to tin tacks - neither has a very good leader*

*Neither have done much*

*Both the same - promise everything until they get in*

Non Partisans (3)

*Politics is a dirty business no matter who runs the state*

*They often don't cooperate*

*They both look after themselves*

Refused party identification (2)

*Same thing happens; they get in, they do a lot of good for the first year only*

*Because no man on either side capable of leading*

Other (a residual category) (14)Labor Partisans (3)

*Not as much as Federally*

*Don't worry about politics in Tas*

*Tas gets share of benefits and revenues e.g. shipping rates, isolation*

Liberal Partisans (7)

*Labor party runs this state, that's why its a mess*

*As long as the Liberal Party is in Canberra*

*Haven't had Lib government in to find out - not personally affected*

*Not usually, but because of the left wing element at the present time there is a difference*

*Can't do anything about it once they're in*

*Been Labor state for a long time*

*If they go into it for the good and are able to do it*

Liberal - Labor (1)

*Because the Labor party has been in too long*

No Preference - Labor (1)

*Take advice from senior members of the public service*

Non Partisan (1)

*Bill Neilson is an astute young man. Bethune was my personal friend.*

Liberal - Don't Know (1)

*Support Labor in Tas.*



APPENDIX 4.

NATIONAL PARTY IMAGES

Categorization of responses to questions 7, 8, 9, 10 by pattern of party identification.\*

"Now, I would like to ask you what you like and don't like about the two main parties in Canberra - the Liberal Party led by Mr. Fraser and the Labor Party led by Mr. Whitlam."

Question 7. "Is there anything you like about the Liberal Party in Canberra?"

Question 8. "Is there anything you don't like about the Liberals?"

Question 9. "Is there anything you like about the Labor Party in Canberra?"

Question 10. "Is there anything you don't like about the Labor Party?"

\* National and state identification are shown with the national attachment given first. Partisans are respondents identifying with the same party at both spheres. The number of responses are given in brackets.

THE LIBERAL PARTYFavourable ResponsesPolicy (41)Economic (23)Liberal Partisans (10)

*Yes they are good, they have tried to solve inflation; Trying to get the economy down to a working level - to being solvent; Trying to get us out of this mess, trying their best; Guts to stick it out and put the economy back (on) an even keel; Concern with overspending at this time with the over escalation of wages. Good thing to cut down on public spending - good to put workforce back into private enterprise; Handle economy better; Cut taxes a little bit; It endeavours to reduce annual deficit; Its attempt to restrain wage explosion; I think they are trying to pull us out of the mess; Feel they have tried to do something about inflation.*

Labor Partisans (5)

*Inflation rate down, but down on social security; Perhaps financially more responsible; Taxation - indexation; ... Concern about inflation; Trying to be more responsible economically.*

Non-Partisans (3)

*Their efforts to control employment; Bringing inflation down; concerned with stabilizing economy.*

Liberal-Labor (1)

*Financial policies.*

Liberal - No Preference (1)

*Hardline money policies.*

Labor - Other (1)

*Reduced inflation a bit.*

Australian Democrat. (1)

*They have placed inflation as No. 1 enemy.*

Other (1)

*Trying to reduce inflation.*

PolicyIndustrial (7)Liberal Partisans (4)

*Anti-union stand; Do not listen too much to the unions; No union involvement; On who is running the country they are succeeding in not giving over to the unions.*

Labor Partisans (3)

*Liberal Party may be able to control unions; They seem to be more inclined to stop this union anarchy; Stand against militant unions.*

PolicyOther (13)Liberal Partisans (6)

Overall policies, nothing specific; Better policies; Attitude toward people and social welfare - it's a harder line than the Labor attitude. Most Liberal politicians are businessmen of repute; Consistent in overseas policies; Policy on uranium mining. Seem to be more freedom of choice between medibank and MBF.

Labor Partisans (3)

Some conservation type ideas; Ideas on uranium transportation; Better go for farmers with coalition;

Non-Partisans (2)

Their aim to mine uranium. Don't borrow too much money from overseas; Try to keep businesses Australian.

Labor - No Preference (2)

Defency policy; Quite forceful with uranium.

General (27)Liberal Partisans (17)

Yes, everything; Yes, my husband thinks they are good; Do a better job; Better for Australia; They stick together, good for the country; Getting somewhere with them, whereas we were not with Labor; Most things but they do not have a fair go because of unions; General feeling; Better than Labor; Everything; Yes, nothing specific; Libs doing a good job overall in Canberra; Quite a lot but I am not as sure as I was; Seem to get more done, stick to word; I go along with their policies in general; Just an alternative to Mr. Whitlam; Suitable to our country.

Labor Partisans (4)

*Everything; Trying to do more; They are all alike; Nothing wrong with them.*

Non Partisans (3)

*They have done some things to help the country; Do their job; Trying to do a job.*

Liberal-Labor (2)

*They are doing a good job; Most things.*

Liberal - No Preference (1)

*Trying their best.*

Management of Government (19)Liberal Partisans (8)

*Fact they are very definite in what they do - make definite decisions; More realistic in approach to everyday affairs; Stronger men in office, cleaverer; Their thinking, not extreme; Educated and sensible people, do not criticise others; Managing things to the best of their ability; Give me a feeling of more solidity; Better expertise...*

Labor Partisans (1)

*Admire their general efficiency and teamwork, basic pragmatism.*

Non-Partisans (6)

*Like more moderate viewpoint; Yes more peaceful; More efficient in business approach - they have a pool of expertise which the Labor party do not; More straight forward - no union affiliations; Strength, fact that they want to make place safe and secure; Stability, general feeling.*

Liberal - Labor (1)

*More realistic policies than Labor.*

Labor - No Preference (1)

*Take quite a lot of trouble into making enquiries into some problems.*

No Preference - Liberal (1)

*Doing a big job of cleaning up. They are economists.*

No Preference Labor (1)

*Cautious, more business-like.*

Personalities (21)Fraser (12)Liberal Partisans (8)

*Kind of man who never slates Whitlam and Hawke as they do him; Fraser does try to do the best; Mr. & Mrs. Fraser give good image, more refinement...; Mr. Fraser is a good man; Fraser not so dictatorial; Mr. Fraser, like his character - hard working. Fraser is trying to keep to his promises but is finding it difficult; good leadership;*

Liberal Partisans (8) (continued)

*Feel I can trust Fraser - everyone makes mistakes but he is honest and upright.*

Liberal - Labor (1)

*He (Fraser) is trying his best - he is fair.*

Non-Partisan (3)

*Fraser impresses me favourably; Mr. Fraser more of a man that is for his country; Agree with Mr. Fraser - life is not meant to be easy, believe in work.*

Others (9)Liberal Partisans (3)

*Mr. Bruce Goodluck, not only acting for himself; Andrew Peacock made it easier to buy a house with the savings grant; specific people.*

Labor Partisans (4)

*Like Hodgman;  
Some (liberals) alright; Several good men; Nice well spoken men.*

Non-Partisan (1)

*Straightout men, e.g. Goodluck.*

Other (1)

*Only the members.*

Ideology (15)Free Enterprise (10)Liberal Partisans (4)

*Like their policy of free enterprise; Prepared to give private enterprise a go; Like their policy for free enterprise; Support free enterprise.*

Labor Partisans (2)

*Liberals say they stand for private enterprise; believe in free enterprise.*

Workers Party (1)

*Make a half hearted attempt to keep private enterprise alive.*

Non-Partisan (3)

*Their attitude to free enterprise; Support free enterprise; Policy of free enterprise.*

Anti-socialist (5)Liberal Partisans (3)

*Not communists; Yes, not left wing; Anti-socialist.*

Non-Partisan (1)

*Move away from socialism.*



Australian Democrat (1)

*Basic philosophy.*

Other (9)Liberal Partisans (3)

*Bit more democratic; Things would be the same whichever government in power; Freedom of speech and choice.*

Labor-Partisans (3)

*Academics in the party; ...Certain individuals you can like but the party is controlled itself by the executive; A conscience vote permitted on many issues.*

Non-Partisans (2)

*Personality is the most important thing; More nationalistic than Labor.*

Socialist Workers Party (1)

*A lot of revolutionary nature will push workers to revolt.*

Unfavourable ResponsesPolicy (81)Economic Management (19)Liberal Partisans (4)

*Economy...; Tariffs on textiles are bad; They waste money like the other lot; Unnecessary expenditures. Budget definitely wrong.*

Labor Partisans (13)

*Yes, their general attitude to the economy; Mucked up economy; Economy; Do not like how they handle our pension rises; Holding purse strings too tightly to help unemployment; Economic incompetence; Quite a lot - we are on a pension; hard even on a pension; They hoard money...; Postponing the pension; Economic policies; Total emphasis in management; Not dealing with inflation very well; Cut back on government spending too much - trying to reduce inflation by increasing unemployment.*

Other - Liberal (1)

*Doing everything to reduce inflation and neglecting other needs.*

Communist (1)

*Use of economics to increase profits.*

Employment (14)Liberal Partisans (3)

*Employment...; Lack of effort for employment; Have not yet done enough about unemployment.*

Labor Partisans (7)

Unemployment; Unemployment; Does not help unemployment; Policy on unemployment...; Their attitude towards unemployment; Unemployment getting worse under their government; Unemployment bad.

Non Partisans (3)

Unemployment...; Should be more concern with employment; Unemployment by getting inflation down...

Other - Labor (1)

Unemployment worse.

Uranium Mining (12)Liberal Partisans (2)

Do not agree with uranium policy; Uranium policy.

Labor Partisans (6)

Uranium; Uranium; Uranium, they have not found a decent way of mining it...; Uranium - should be mined; Uranium; Uranium, leave it in the ground.

Non-Partisans (2)

Uranium issue; Uranium policy.

Labor - Other (1)

Uranium mining stance.

Communist (1)

*Uranium.*

Taxation (7)Liberal Partisans (6)

*Could have done more about relieving taxation - do not like the probate or the payroll tax; Do not approve of provisional tax; Do not like their tax system - especially to small businessman; Company tax; Taxation; Taxation.*

Non-Partisans (1)

*Overtax while reducing social service benefits.*

Industrial relations (6)Liberal Partisans (4)

*Should institute more power in dealing with strikes; Could be stronger in dealings with trade unions; Not forceful enough with unions; Do not understand politics - If Liberals in power then do something about union strife.*

Labor - Other (1)

*Anti-union line.*

Communist (1)

*Industrial legislation.*

Policy, Other (22)

(Education, Social Welfare, Defence, Foreign Affairs, Federalism)

Liberal Partisans (7)

*Tertiary cut backs; Attitudes towards tertiary education. Especially TCAE should not leave it to state ministers; Could give more pension - same as unemployed; Welfare cuts; Cut down too much in social welfare and overseas aid; Apartheid policy - keep out of South Africa; Defence, not allocating enough.*

Labor Partisans (9)

*Spending more on education; Policy on education; Cutting out of RED scheme; Defence, legalisation of dope; Foreign policy; Federalism policy - getting out of responsibility, failure to take account of quality of life issues; ...Do not support minority groups financially; Allocation for home lending for young ones is poor; Should help young more - letting too many foreigners run country.*

Non-Partisans (3)

*Attitudes toward education spending; ...Cut back on spending in education and social services; Lack of concern with resources and welfare of individuals.*

Liberal - Labor (1)

*On the Medical Benefits and Medibank business.*

Communist (1)

*Failure to prevent foreign ownership.*

Other (2)

*Do not think their policies are marvellous; Does not do anything to help foreigners in Australia.*

Personalities (57)Fraser (53)Liberal Partisans (8)

*Mr. Fraser; Fraser very dogmatic and likes his own way; Malcolm Fraser; Leadership - not the man for the job; Malcolm Fraser; Do not like Mr. Fraser very much; An increasing arrogance in the leadership; Fraser is too arrogant, keeps breaking his promises.*

Labor Partisans (20)

*Mr. Fraser; Power seeking leader; Mr. Fraser; Do not think a good leader; Mr. Fraser is arrogant, is not practising what he preaches; Fraser; Fraser, all out of same mould; Mr. Fraser; Mr. Fraser; Mr. Fraser's dogmatic approach to economic and unemployment policies; Fraser...; Mr. Fraser never answers a question, just skirts around it; Fraser stabs people - Gorton, Sneddon; Fraser; Leader arrogant; Fraser; Fraser; Do not like leader or tactics; Mr. Fraser's attitudes; Fraser.*

Liberal - Labor (3)

*Do not like the coalition, their leader...Fraser is a bit bombastic; Fraser; Fraser, a man who has stabbed his contemporaries in the back - not a good leader.*

Labor - No Preference (2)

*Too much domination of Fraser; Mr. Fraser has too much influence for my liking.*

Liberal - No Preference (1)

*Mr. Fraser trying to run a one man band.*

Australian Democrat - Labor (1)

*Everything, Mr. Fraser particularly.*

Non-Partisan (13)

*Mr. Fraser seems to make such a mess; Mr. Fraser; Standover tactics of Fraser; Fraser two faced; Fraser too dogmatic - does not think of the underdog; Mr. Fraser; Fraser a dictator; No really efficient leader since John Gorton; Mr. Fraser a bit aggressive; Fraser as a leader; Do not like Fraser, anything he is doing, he is an opportunist; Mr. Fraser's attitude, wastes money; We need a new leader...*

Others (4)Liberal Partisans (2)

*Weak personalities of members - insincere and rubbish; ...Wentworth, it's about time he stayed home.*

Labor Partisans (1)

*The leaders.*

Liberal - Labor (1)

Mr. Lynch, the Treasurer.

Management of GovernmentLiberal Partisans (12)

Do not like them on the radio - no manners; Liberal ministers consider themselves as part of ruling class - should tone down upper class attitudes; Always putting blame back onto the Labor Party; Too much talk and not enough action; Sit on the fence up to a point; They all back bite instead of getting on with the job; Could explain a bit more about what they are doing, could be firmer; Not pulling their weight to improve things; Do not take people into their confidence. Could explain more on lay level; Get on with running country; Their occasional actions suggestive of political gamesmanship rather than statesmanship; Do not think they are doing much good, lot of talk - no action.

Labor Partisans (7)

Generally their dictatorial attitude to the community - e.g. uranium trade unionism; Arrogant attitudes; Too cocksure; Too much knocking of opposition; All promises; All talk and no action; Do not think they are doing the job.

Liberal - Labor (1)

Quite often slow to bring in things that need to be brought in ...;

Liberal - No Preference (2)

Could be more forceful; Tends to be too much expediency.



Non Partisans (4)

*Think they are born to rule; Taking things too easy; Too much backbiting, no real governing; Buck passing of blame to preceeding party in power.*

No Preference - Labor (1)

*Slow with decisions, do not go back on policies which is not always good.*

Sub Theme - Dishonesty, Insincerity (15)Liberal Partisans (2)

*Have not done what they said they would; ...Not doing things they said they would.*

Labor Partisans (10)

*Things they said they would do and have not done; They do not follow up what they say; Does not keep promises; Do not keep promises; They are cynical and dishonest; Promises not kept; Cannot keep promises; Less open, less honest; Never kept his word; Saying things, e.g. reducing inflation...when not possible.*

Liberal - Labor (1)

*Quite often do not fulfill promises they make.*

Non Partisan (1)

*Awful lack of honesty to the people of Australia. e.g. misquoting of gallup polls, contradict their own statements, bluffing the public.*

No Preference - Labor (1)

*Have not carried out election promises.*

Group related items (31)For Big Business (18)Liberal Partisans (1)

*Lean to the rich, taxation too severe on middle and lower wage earners.*

Labor Partisans (12)

*It represents interest of big business; Help rich and business; Do not like the way they lean to the money people - sell us to America; Do not look after the small people only the big companies; Representing more vested interests; A lot - policies of the rich, they are wasteful and extravagant; They are for the big man all the time - the man with money; More concerned with share market etc. than people; Their policies slanted towards certain sections of society. e.g. they stopped funding of A.A.P.; Seem to be intent on the interests of small businessmen rather than nationalising e.g. hospitalisation. Cater for a different group in society; Yes, largely run by big business; I do not like how they help big business too much.*

Non-Partisans (3)

*More orientated towards higher middle class; Worry too much about big business, and not middle man...; Just for the big man.*

No Preference - Other (1)

*Their orientation to growth and industry.*

Australian Democrat (1)

*Big business monopolies.*

Against the People/Workers (13)Liberal Partisans (1)

*Knock back of aboriginal funds.*

Labor Partisans (8)

*Do not do any good for people; Do not think they are for the working man; Not for working class people; Not a cross section of the community; For the minority not majority - a minor portion of Australia governed; Do not have the interests of the average person at heart; Not much help to community in general; Do not seem to be doing anything for the family man.*

Labor - No Preference (1)

*Appears a fairly wide range disregard for various groups in community such as handicapped and elderly.*

Other - Labor (1)

*Their treatment of the working people - they have a right to live as much as anyone.*

Socialist Workers Party (1)

*Look after own interests.*

Non Partisan (1)

*They have no conception of real needs or the way the ordinary man feels.*

Ideology (22)Free Enterprise (11)Liberal Partisans (3)

*Have adopted a lot of socialistic policies; Extreme right wing; Too right wing.*

Labor Partisans (5)

*They are for private enterprise; Capitilize tendencies; Policies wrong, lean to private enterprise; Yes, philosophy and methods of putting their philosophies into action; General capitalist philosophy.*

Labor - Other (1)

*Their support of the capitalist system and multi-nationalists.*

Workers Party (1)

*Never keep private enterprise alive.*

Non-Partisans (1)

Conservative attitudes (11)Labor Partisans (8)

*Yes, their attitude; Exclusiveness, not well informed - one sided;  
 Could be a bit more radical in their ideas; Too reactionary;  
 Liberals grade people educationally and grade people accordingly;  
 They are elitist, power hungry, corrupt, devious, lies to Queen  
 and U.K.; Ruthless - e.g. use of Senate in 1975 - willingness to  
 drop convention; Their arrogance, upper class backgrounds.*

Non-Partisans (3)

*Sometimes they tend to be a little conservative; Tory touch -  
 conservative, policies out of date; The resistance to change factor.*

Party Related Items (18)Disunity (12)Liberal Partisans (7)

*They are divided at the moment; Do not appear to be co-ordinated  
 at the moment; Tend to be a bit argumentative between themselves;  
 Too many internal disensions - out for power - not for people;  
 Stupid way they brawl - personality clashes; Too much bickering  
 and arguing; Do not like personality clashes.*

Labor Partisans (2)

*Their fighting; They jump down each other's throats.*

No Preference - Liberal (1)

*Not combining well - too much back biting not running as machine.  
 Fraser going his own way.*

Non-Partisan (1)

*Far too much internal bickering in party, too much self-centredness.*

Other (1)

*Arguing between backbenchers.*

Authoritarianism (5)Labor Partisans (3)

*Do not like the way they operate, one man government; One man show;*

*Dominance of the party by the cabinet.*

Liberal Partisans (1)

*There should be more discussions in Cabinet before they state things.*

Liberal - Don't Know (1)

*Too dictatorial.*

Non-Partisan (1)

*Too much of a one man show.*

General (17)Liberal Partisan (1)

*Politicians deteriorated of late.*

Labor Partisans (8)

*A lot of things; There are thousands of things; Just about everything; Just do not like them; Everything; Virtually everything - do not like upper class - majority of Liberal politicians upper class; Do not like anything; Do not like them; do not believe in their policies*

Liberal - No-Preference (1)

*I do not like any of them.*

No Preference - Labor (3)

*Bunch of idiots, all politicians; Nothing, just do not like either party in particular; I am not a hip pocket voter. There is not a single aspect in major areas ... that I wish to be associated with.*

Non Partisans (3)

*Have not done any good at all; Plenty; Most things.*

Australian Democrat (1)

*Everything.*

Other (15)Liberal Partisans (8)

*Politicians only think of themselves and money. Do not even listen to each other; Not in touch with state level enough - leave states to themselves; Do not like them talking about elections ... keep to certain period they are elected for; No party is perfect ... do not*

Liberal Partisans (8) (Continued)

know all details about the Lodge's renovations and Mrs. Fraser's trip to Sydney; Do not approve of either party running around the world - half the time away; Too many backbenchers have nothing to do; Should not have voted for higher salaries for themselves; Attitude towards businessmen could be more generous.

Labor Partisans (6)

Let down the people of Albury-Wodonga; Do not like their platform; Do not like the way the parties pull each other to pieces; The way things have gone since they have been in - unsatisfactory; They have caused the present problems; That they hoard money ... Do not agree with coalitions.

Non-Partisan (1)

Spending too much money on wages for parliamentarians.



THE LABOR PARTYFavourable ResponsesPolicy (94)General (13)Labor Partisans (6)

*People informed about policies; Their policies - progressive;  
Nothing specific but their program is better; Policies; All  
policies from 1972 - e.g. A.A.P. and Karmel report; Generally  
their policies - more progressive.*

Liberal Partisans (3)

*Most policies O.K.; Ideas that Labor government have introduced  
that are good; More moderate approaches to our way of life.*

Liberal - Labor (1)

*Liked new policies introduced but tried to do too much too quickly.*

Liberal - No Preference (1)

*Yes, some of their policies.*

Liberal - Don't know (1)

*Good ideas but cannot administer.*

Australian Democrat (1)

*Like policy of social change.*

Social welfare (36)Labor Partisans (15)

*Going for age pensioner; Like their handling of pensions; Better for the pensioners; More for pensioners; Yes, better for pensioners; Concern for the underdog; Medibank; Great social advances; Progressive in social services...; Concern for social welfare; Attempts at social reform; Approve of Labor's social policies; Their expenditure on welfare areas; Social services are important; Better policy on social security.*

Liberal Partisans (11)

*Increases in pensions; Help us with pension; Fairer to underprivileged; Trying to make people equal but it is not possible; Social reforms; Like their favourable attitude to welfare; Social welfare programmes good up to a point; Did introduce long overdue social reforms; A lot of social reforms and some of their policies; Attitude to social welfare - put it high on priorities - good; Agree with medibank.*

Liberal - Labor (1)

*Policies for the poor in the community.*

Liberal - No Preference (1)

*Original ideas to help poor.*

Workers Party (1)

*Have libertarian approach to ideals in non economic spheres.*

Communist Party (1)

*Legal aid.*

Non-Partisans (6)

*More concerned for the underprivileged; More effort to look after disadvantaged - pensioners; More funds released for social services; Yes, some welfare programmes.*

Education (17)Labor Partisans (7)

*Money for students; Education; Spent more on education; Education; Policy on ... education; Their expenditure on...education; Education policies.*

Liberal Partisans (2)

*Yes, Good for education; Ideas of equality - particularly for children in education.*

Labor - No Preference (2)

*Yes, Good for education; Policies in education.*

Non-Partisan (2)

*Interest in education; Outlook on government spending (on) education; Education - student's allowance; Education.*

No Preference - Labor (1)

*Believe in educational programs, education.*

Other - Labor (1)

*Their expenditure on ... education, schools etc.*

Unemployment (7)Labor Partisans (6)

*Fund projects to create employment; NEAT scheme; Policy on unemployment; Red scheme for unemployed; More outspoken about unemployment; I think unemployment was not so bad when Labor was in.*

No Preference - Labor (1)

*Unemployment policies.*

Uranium and Conservation (6)Labor Partisans (4)

*Prefer their attitude to uranium and conservation; Not backing uranium; Uranium; More attuned to conservation issues.*

Liberal Partisans (1)

*Agree with uranium issue.*

Non Partisans (1)

*More concerned with environment.*

Policy - Other (15)Labor Partisans (9)

*More sound economic policy than previously; Do a better job than Liberals - would bring down unemployment and inflation; Some of the ideas that Hayden has on monetary policy; Attention they give to minority groups e.g. ethnic affairs; Money spent on the arts; Support of unionism; Less trouble with unions; Urban, transport reform; Help pay for bridges and roads.*

Liberal Partisans (1)

*Lowering voting age and abolishing national service.*

Non Partisans (2)

*For ethnic groups; Better policies and attitudes e.g. ethnic groups.*

Labor - Other (1)

*Give more money to the arts.*

Communist (1)

*Aborigines, foreign affairs, community involvement in social programmes, planning, highways.*

Personalities (22)Whitlam (13)Labor Partisans (9)

*Mr. Whitlam was doing all right and he probably would be O.K. again;  
Gough Whitlam and all he stands for; Gough Whitlam is fairer*

Labor Partisans (9) (Continued)

*man than Fraser; Whitlam; Gough on right track; Mr. Whitlam...;*

*Whitlam - outspoken person; Leadership; Like Mr. Whitlam.*

Liberal Partisans (2)

*Whitlam; Mr. Whitlam looks nice but talk and no support.*

Liberal - Labor (1)

*Mr. Whitlam.*

Non Partisan (1)

*Whitlam is good.*

Others (10)Labor Partisans (4)

*Hayden seems to have a more genuine holding for the good of everyone, not the few and can relate with the public; Mr. Hayden would be very good for financial affairs; Hayden; Would prefer Bob Hawke.*

Liberal Partisans (5)

*Some are quite capable e.g. Mr. Hayden; Bill Hayden would make a good leader; Bob Hawke tries to be honest in what he says; Mr. Hawke - one of the strongest men; Don Dunstan.*

Non-Partisan (1)

*Hayden.*

Group Related Items (32)Labor Partisans (27)

Trying to help the working class; They try to help the working man;  
 Party for the working class; Their consideration of the working class;  
 The Labor Party is the workers; The person in the street gets more;  
 More for working man; Helped working man; Try to look after the low  
 wage earner; Are for the working class; More go to the working man;  
 Idea (they have) got for the average man; Attitude towards general  
 working class people; Caters for working people; They help the  
 ordinary people; Fight better for the worker; All for the worker;  
 Represent general run of the mill people more than Liberals and try  
 to cater for them; They try to do more for worker; More for the worker;  
 Tend to look after the interests of the common man; More for the  
 workers; Work for the working people; They are genuinely interested  
 in the welfare of the average Australian; Working towards better  
 standards for working people; ...Perhaps their policy a bit better for  
 working people; Ready to give help to ordinary man.

Liberal Partisan (1)

Like the way they promote the working man.

No Preference - Labor (1)

Work for the average person and try and give average person more of a  
 go.

Non-Partisan (3)

Represents average working person; Done a lot for working man;  
 Probably more interested in the welfare of the ordinary people.

Party related items (20)Unity, progressive ... (15)Labor Partisans (11)

*Greater unity since in opposition; Freedom of discussion within the party; More democratic; Greater degree of democracy within party e.g. elected Cabinet rather than appointed; Safeguards of caucus electing cabinet; Appears to be an effective alternative government despite limited members; All their tactics; Better ideas and methods; Yes, straight forward; They are progressive; Labor more enlightened than Liberal Party.*

Liberal Partisans (2)

*Outspoken; Show solidarity.*

Liberal - Labor (1)

*Internal discipline.*

Non-Partisan (1)

*Spirit of party.*

Party members (collectively) (5)Labor Partisans (2)

*better cross section in politicians - stronger now that they are in opposition; Like attempts to get new blood into party.*



Liberal Partisan (1)

*They have some good men.*

Non-Partisan (1)

*Some good politicians in the party.*

Other (1)

*Only the members.*

Management of Government (7)Labor Partisans (6)

*Record in Office; Go into more detail and carry out more than Liberals - follow up what they say; Say what they mean - stick up for our rights; Prefer their kind of government - I think they are more honest; More sympathetic than Liberals; When in power tried to get as much done as possible.*

Non-Partisan (1)

*When they were in power they did something - did their job - were not afraid to take steps.*

Sub Theme - Serving the People (10)Labor Partisans (6)

*Look after the people; Do more for the people; Relate more to the people; Do best for people - particularly older people; Concerned with issues that affect individual people; Party for people as a whole.*

Australian Democrat (1)

*More in touch with people than present Liberals have turned out to be.*

Non-Partisans (3)

*Yes they are more down to earth, close to the needs of the people;  
Try to help the people - fixed income groups; Reach a wider range of people.*

Ideology (10)Labor Partisans (7)

*Like their policies of gentle socialism; General socialist policy;  
Socializing policies I like; Yes, socialist attitude - e.g. social welfare; Socialism is good; Like its objectives; Philosophies.*

Liberal Partisans (2)

*Like some of their ideals...; Like socialism (but theirs is too extreme).*

Non Partisan (1)

*socialism - as an ideal, i.e. brotherhood of man.*

General (17)Labor Partisans (11)

*Everything; Do their best; Fair and reasonable party; More down to earth; Everything; No - always voted Labor; Yes, fighting for the*

Labor Partisans (11) (Continued)

cause of good things; I always vote Labor; Yes; Good things done since been there; I just like them.

Liberal Partisans (2)

Some politicians I like; Yes, they have done a lot of good.

Labor - No Preference (1)

Most things.

No Preference - Other (1)

Some individuals have good ideas.

Non-Partisan (1)

I saw Gough Whitlam grow up. He's a surprise packet. Not at all like his father - but upright.

Other (1)

No different to Liberals.

Unfavourable ResponsesPersonalitiesWhitlam (60)Labor Partisans (21)

Do not like the leader; Yes Mr. Whitlam & way he carried on, lost his temper too often; Need new leader; Do better under Hayden than

Labor Partisans (21) (Continued)

under Whitlam; Whitlam; Leadership; Gough putting his wife in a good job; Whitlam as leader; No electorally viable leader; Whitlam and other ministers; Mr. Whitlam moved too quickly; Do not like Whitlam as a politician; Gough; Gough Whitlam; Gough is egotistical; Gough Whitlam - don't seem to have strong leadership anymore like the Liberals; Whitlam; he is too aggressive - he wants to get things done too quickly; Cannot stand Whitlam; Gough ... probably (has) too much influence; Gough Whitlam; Not really impressed with Whitlam.

Liberal - Partisans (24)

Leader; Leader; Do not trust Whitlam; Whitlam - especially with Caldwell; Gough Whitlam; Whitlam an absolute rogue; Gough; Mr. Whitlam; Whitlam is disgusting; Mr. Whitlam; Gough Whitlam; Mr. Whitlam - wants to be Australia's first dictator; Gough rather dictatorial; Leadership; Gough Whitlam; Gough Whitlam; Whitlam; We knew what he did to us i.e. with Latvia; Whitlam is blatantly dishonest; Do not like Whitlam; Under the leadership of Mr. Whitlam it has been catastrophic for them; Gough; Whitlam is just as bad as Fraser and cannot lead his party properly; Do not like leader, become unpopular, need new leader; Whitlam's dogmatic manner.

Liberal - Labor (2)

Whitlam; I thought Mr. Whitlam was pompous.

Liberal - No Preference (1)

Mr. Whitlam too drastic.

Australian Democrats - Labor (1)

Mr. Whitlam.

Non-Partisans (10)

Mr. Whitlam; Need new leader; Whitlam; Whitlam too dictatorial;  
Do not like Whitlam; Mr. Whitlam, dictator...; Do not like Whitlam;  
Looking backwards under Whitlam; Whitlam as leader; Only I am  
frightened of Mr. Whitlam.

Refused (1)

Mr. Whitlam.

Others (24)Labor Partisans (13)

Mr. Hayden would make a better leader if he had a bit more  
confidence; Biggest problem Hawke because he has two jobs to fulfill  
- Labor Party and ACTU, conflict there; Do not like Bob Hawke;  
Cairns mucked up - and helped to ruin the ALP government; Cameron;  
Power seeking leaders; The people who run it; Some of the blokes  
that get into parliament; A lot of inexperienced men in Labor Party;  
Doubtful about some personalities; More effort needed by some  
members of the party; Like to see them rid themselves of the old  
brigade - Creans, Camerons, Joneses etc.; The old guard element.

Liberal Partisans (7)

Do not like Mr. Hayden's backbiting; Hayden ... Hayden probably  
has too much influence; Do not like Bob Hawke; Do not like Hawke;  
Leaders; Some politicians are no good; Leader and other personalities.

Labor - No Preference (1)

*Bob Hawke.*

Non-Partisans (3)

*Deputy Minister (Uren?); Not many capable men; Mainly the personalities.*

Group Related Items (45)Union Affiliation (41)Labor Partisans (7)

*Union sway; Association with trade unions; No control of unions; Unions - I think they have too much control when they strike - The Labor party should not help them so much; Too many small unions making too many demands; Weakness in attitude to unions; They are controlled to some extent by the unions.*

Liberal Partisans (19)

*Run by unions; Do not like union heads - have more sway than government officials - disrupt progress, especially in Tasmania; Let unions have too much say; Connection with the unions; Country ruled by Mr. Hawke; Lack of control of unions; Unions - should toss them out. They are ruining the country. Do not listen; Listen too much to the unions; Do not like strikes; Union domination at high level; Too many unions; Country being run by the political unions ... do not agree with them as political bodies; Support of union radicalism - used by the left; Do not like link with unions-pressure from unions helped to ruin them while they were in power; Unionism behind it (their spending too much). Unionists do not speak up for themselves and decisions are made by officials or some secretary and*

Liberal Partisans (19) (Continued)

they do not improve conditions; I hate strikes; Union influence -  
 worker participation - no right to hire and fire under Labor;  
 Unions getting too much power; Do not like the way they are letting  
 the unions control their thinking.

Liberal - Labor (4)

Tied up too much with the unions and with communists; Run by unions;  
 Alignment with union movement; Yes its policies are dictated by  
 outside groups.

Liberal - No Preference (1)

Union influence on Labor party.

No Preference - Labor (2)

Too much in with unions - not in favour of what unions are doing;  
 They are more liable to be dominated by the unions.

Non Partisans (8)

Union affiliations; Unions - some are communist controlled.  
 Union power; Links with unionism; Unions running the country is  
 whole trouble - too powerful; Union element; They collapse under  
 unions; They are more liable to be dominated by the unions.

Against Groups (4)Liberal Partisans (2)

Bias against property owners, business people, particularly those

Liberal Partisans (2) (Continued)

who own businesses; Not good for country people and small businesses.

Socialist Workers Party (1)

Not orientated towards worker bourgeois.

Non Partisans (1)

Do not believe in working class being Labor - they are same as Liberals.

Policies (38)General (5)Liberal Partisans (4)

Policies; Their policies; Policies; Do not like some of their policies.

Liberal-Labor (1)

Their policies.

Economic (17)Labor Partisans (3)

Tax scheme - too much paper work involved; Tendency not to cost out proposals - their ability as economic managers still suspect; Do not like employment at all costs - tends to ruin environment.



Liberal Partisans (10)

*Tariff policy; Incessant spending - wasted; ...The economy;  
Big spenders, but who pays; Spend a lot of money and nothing to  
show for it; Do not understand economics; Do not know how to  
operate buoyant economy; Spend lots of money but did not seem to get  
to heart of things; Dislike their irresponsible finance. Their  
selective taxation levy on property income; Country into debt.*

Workers Party (1)

*All economic ... values.*

Non-Partisans (3)

*Blame for present trouble - spent too freely; Do not like the extra  
taxes; Run the country into debt, i.e. overspend, lack of  
responsibility.*

Social Welfare (5)Liberal Partisans (3)

*Too far towards looking after people - no incentive to save money,  
work; Attitude towards social welfare; Medibank - the worst thing.*

Workers Party (1)

*All ... social welfare values.*

No Preference - Labor (1)

*A bit unrealistic in welfare programmes - should be based on  
contributory system.*

Non-Partisan (1)

*Country cannot afford all these social services.*

Policy - Other (11)Labor Partisans (3)

*Immigration; Sometimes they are not radical enough - do not go far enough; Do not think they go far enough - re socialism.*

Liberal Partisans (6)

*Immigration policy - too many people already to get homes etc.; Free tertiary education, no support for mothers at home and too much for the working mother; Education policies - open style they favour; Against abortion; International politics; Do not like the way they try to nationalize everything.*

Non Partisan (1)

*Mr. Whitlam's attempts to bring in insurance companies.*

Refused (1)

*Does not do anything to help foreigners in Australia.*

Ideology (33)Labor Partisans (4)

*Too left - communism; Tended to become too socialist; Yes left Wing domination; Too tied to ideologies - will not change with the times.*

Liberal Partisans (15)

Labor - too much like Communist Party in my Country (Poland);  
 Foster communism; Some of the party members, left wingers;  
 Connection with communism, left wing; Do not like left wing policies,  
 left winged; Bit communistic; Too much communist influence; I am a  
 bit worried about communist influence; Went astray with communism;  
 Basic socialist philosophy; Increasing bureaucracy - not enough free  
 enterprise; Pulling far too far to left, communists, left wing  
 taking over; Socialistic leanings of Whitlam; Socialist attitudes;  
 Too socialistic.

Liberal - No Preference (3)

They have a stronger leaning towards communism or socialism;  
 Leaders communist ideas; Basically do not like socialistic attitude.

Australian Democrats (1)

Socialism.

Other - Liberal (1)

Policies too ideological.

Non-Partisans (9)

Detest their extreme left influences; Very left views; Do not like  
 socialist tendencies; Do not like communist trend; Too pro-  
 communist; Do not support free enterprise; The socialist platform  
 developed over last 25 years; Tendency to nationalize and socialise;  
 Leftist attitude.

Management of Government (28)Labor Partisans (11)

*Did not help the country stay sound; Gough rushed things a bit; Half-hearted promises; Rush into things far too quickly; Do not follow through their ideas; Pushing things too far for the masses to dissolve - reason for being kicked out; Yes, inexperience in leadership of government. Weakness in times of crisis - stand back and let it happen; Made too many mistakes; A bit erratic - do not stick to one thing - talk and do not do much; Make rash promises - that (they) cannot do anything about; Sometimes suffer from excess of enthusiasm, e.g. when they got to power last time, slightly too concerned with ideology rather than practicalities.*

Labor - No Preference (1)

*Try to do too much too quickly - too radical.*

Liberal Partisans (6)

*They made such a mess; Try to do too much too quickly; Make a lot of mistakes; Tried to do too much too quickly; Too dogmatic; Promise a lot and give nothing.'*

Liberal - Don't Know (1)

*Good ideas but cannot administer.*

Australian Democrats (1)

*Social changes too rapidly.*

No Preference - Labor (1)

*Too hasty with decisions - radical and rash virtually overnight decisions.*

Non-Partisans (7)

*They have no professionalism, no pool of expertise to govern effectively. They are not in tune with the consumer way of life, have no business approach; Do not get what he promises; Too much talk no real government; Buck passing of blame to preceeding party in power; Move too quickly, unwise spending; Mr. Whitlam did things too quickly; Change too quick - most people do not like.*

Performance as Opposition (21)Labor Partisans (8)

*(Labor) side dodge a lot of issues; Too much talk no action; Do not like bickering between parties as opposition always does; Do not speak up for their rights enough; Not setting themselves as alternative government as well as they should; Do not like the way they pull other parties to pieces; Their lack of sufficient opposition; Wish they would take a stand on uranium one way or the other.*

Liberal Partisans (10)

*Never have a good word for Liberal(s); Backbiting; Too busy abusing Liberals to do anything constructive; Always running down government; Not providing valid opposition; Pulling country apart, rather than helping as opposition; Back biting; Too much talk and not enough action; Do not like the slandering - lot of untruths - deceive people; They go in boots and all - make a lot of noise.*

Communist (1)

*Ineffective in opposition; not positive in attacks.*

Non-Partisan (2)

*Could be more forceful in backing up their ideas - do not seem to do much; Continual criticism of Liberal policies of which I approve.*

Party Disunity (20)Labor Partisans (8)

*Internal problems; Work ethic faction of the party; Yes, factionalism; Too much in fighting - too divided; Power of the caucus, unweildly; Not united enough, not strong enough as a group; No discipline or co-ordination within the party; Disadvantages (with caucus electing cabinet) if those with least ability are selected.*

Liberal Partisans (7)

*Too many disagreements; Squabbling with each other; They all get tarred with the one brush by sticking to party policies; M.P.'s do not have the freedom of their own conscience to vote; Do not like the way they criticise each other; Too much bickering and arguing; The way they are set up - caucus used not be elected by people.*

Non Partisans (4)

*Members of party have to support party policy - cannot speak out against it; Jealous squabbling; Too many extremists; Caucus system.*

Refused (1)

*Too busy fighting personalities.*

General (13)Labor Partisans (1)

*A few things.*

Liberal Partisans (8)

*The Labor Party in general; Not interested in Labor Party; A lot;  
Everything; Everything; Just do not like them; Lots of things;  
Do not identify with Labor - family upbringing.*

Liberal - Labor (1)

*I just do not like them.*

Australian Democrats (1)

*I just do not like them.*

No Preference - Labor (1)

*Do not like either party.*

Non-Partisan (1)

*Most things.*

Other (8)Labor Partisans (4)

*Public debate are shocking ; parliamentary sessions broadcast - waste of time; Do not like the way they treated the Governor-General; Tendency to be centralist; Pragmatic in their aims.*

Liberal Partisans (2)

*Their electioneering advertisements; Their method of pre-selection - old men in safe seats.*

No Preference - Other (1)

*Lack of committment to growth.*

Non Partisans (1)

*Do not know what they stand for anymore.*



APPENDIX 5.

STATE PARTY IMAGES.

Categorization of responses to questions 16, 17, 18, 19 by pattern of party identification.\*

\* Now I would like to ask you what you like and do not like about the main parties in Tasmania - the Liberal Party led by Mr. Bingham and the Labor Party led by Mr. Nielson."

Question 16. "Is there anything you like about the Liberal Party in Tasmania?"

Question 17. "Is there anything you don't like about the Liberals?"

Question 18. "Is there anything you like about the Labor Party in Tasmania?"

Question 19. "Is there anything you don't like about the Labor Party?"

\* National and state identification are shown with the national attachment given first. Partisans are respondents identifying with the same party at both spheres. The number of responses are given in brackets.

LIBERAL PARTYFavourable ResponsesPersonalities (33)Liberal Partisans (19)

Mr. Bingham is a gentleman; Does not criticise, only when he has to (Mr. Bingham); Mr. Bingham - he should come over more - need men of legal training; Mr. Bingham seems more sincere, keep his promises, as a person has more appeal; Mr. Bingham type of leadership; Mr. Bingham a good leader; Mr. Bingham; Mr. Bingham; Like Mr. Bingham - good premier; Mr. Bingham; Mr. Bingham - pretty fair; Have respect for Mr. Bingham; Bingham ... extremely able; Mr. Bingham a good leader; Bingham a man you can trust - man who given a chance would do a lot; Mr. Bingham's attitude; I am a great fan of Mr. Bingham; Max Bingham only; Max Bingham, would be a very strong leader, given the opportunity.

Labor Partisans (7)

Good agitator, Mr. Bingham; Bingham; Mr. Bingham has good policies, is very fair; Yes, Mr. Bingham - good field of thought; Bingham; Bingham a good speaker; I think they have a good leader.

Communist (1)

Bingham adventurous in some areas of law reform.

Non-Partisans (5)

Mr. Bingham - knowledgeable, good ideas; Mr. Bingham seems alright; Bingham; I like Bingham; Max Bingham.

Refused (1)

Some of Mr. Bingham's statements.

Others (7)Liberal Partisans (2)

...Mather, Baker extremely able; Pearsall is the only one who follows his convictions.

Labor Partisans (3)

Mr. Hodgman; Townley; Geoff Pearsall, John Beattie - extremely helpful.

Liberal - Labor (1)

I like Mrs. Walters...

Non Partisan (1)

Bruce Goodluck - his interest in his electorate.

Party Related ItemsThe Party Members (16)Liberal Partisans (10)

Peopled by men of good repute, educated and businessmen; Personalities; Only better members; A couple of decent fellows here. Coates would have been better as a Liberal; Younger members; A little more educated than Labor; Good Liberal members; Style of candidates; Have some capable men and would make a good government but it does not matter too much; It does not have Mr. Batt.

No Preference - Labor (2)

More dedicated. Politicians older. Work as a team; Some of their spokesmen perhaps.

Labor - No Preference (1)

Really have some capable people here.

Non Partisan (3)

*Honest members in Tasmania only; More well educated; It does not have Mr. Batt.*

Style (7)Liberal Partisans (5)

*Not as arrogant as Labor; Stand up for principles - courage of convictions; More open minded; Yes, more broad minded in its approach towards governing; More for the people than Labor.*

Labor Partisans (1)

*Straight out.*

Liberal - Labor (1)

*Straight forward.*

Organisation (2)Labor Partisan (1)

*They did at least make an attempt at last election to get some younger, more energetic people into parliament.*

Non-Partisan (1)

*Impressed with the way they organise.*

General (18)Liberal Partisans (10)

*Yes, everything; Do try as a rule to do something better than the Labor Party which seems to be rather ordinary; Most things; Approve of whole party generally; Yes, I like them; Everything; What they have done for the state; Got a lot of good ideas but generalise rather than putting specifics down; Yes, but cannot think of any; Far better than federal level.*

Labor Partisans (1)

*Sometimes have a few good ideas.*

Liberal - Labor (1)

*Yes, but I do not know exactly what.*

No Preference - Labor (1)

*They are better than their federal counterparts.*

Non-Partisans (4)

*They are not a bad group; Yes, but I do not know; Some good ideas;*

*Both parties generally good.*

Refused (1)

*Some aspects - nothing specific.*

Role as Opposition (17)Liberal Partisans (6)

*Yes very helpful to me personally - immigrant; Doing the best they can; They are allowing the Labor Government to run to full term - that is good; Value their opposition to closed shop tactics. They oppose fairly regularly; Do their best; Prepared to stand up and say how they think and feel about issues.*

Labor Partisans (7)

*They offer a good opposition; In opposition they have to do more work, they are the workers; Striving - but not the answer to the problems; Strong opposition; Keep Labor Party on toes; Do a fairly good job; They do a good job I suppose - We need an opposition.*

Non-Partisans (2)

*Opposition party to put a brake on unreasonable things; Yes, try to do an honest and conscientious job; Good as opposition.*

Refused (1)

*Liberal Party have helped me a lot.*

Ideology (9)Liberal Partisans (6)

*Their attitudes; Like the philosophy - free enterprise etc. - they do not want to run my life; Some aspects of their philosophy e.g. supporting free enterprise; A few Catholics in the Liberal Party - that is good - Catholics fight against communism; Like philosophies; More interested in private enterprise.*

Labor Partisans (1)

*A small 'l' Liberal Party.*

Liberal - No Preference (1)

*Supporting free enterprise.*

Non-Partisan (1)

*Pro-business and private enterprise.*

Group Related Items (3)Liberal Partisans (1)

*A little stronger in relationship with different bodies - councils, private employers.*

Non-Partisan (2)

*More for the country people; They are more business orientated.*

Policies (4)Liberal Partisans (2)

*Were promising and cleaning up environment such as polluted Derwent;*

Liberal Partisans (2) (Continued)

*Liberal Party did bring in daylight saving. They would like to lessen death duties.*

Labor Partisan (1)

*Like their way of making peace with the unions - trying to stop strikes.*

Labor - No Preference (1)

*Like their approach to law reform.*

Other (4)Liberal Partisan (1)

*Regarding all parties - not enough tourism in Tasmania.*

Labor Partisan (1)

*Being in power cannot improve anything.*

Other - Liberal (1)

*Used to like a lot about it.*

Liberal - No Preference (1)

*Like to see what Liberal Party can do for us.*

Unfavourable ResponsesPersonalities (63)Bingham (58)Liberal Partisans (14)

*Not an aggressive enough leader; Do not like Mr. Bingham running government down; Do not like Bingham - never says anything much - abuse; Leader; Do not like Mr. Bingham; Mr. Bingham - admire him but his manner prohibits him from popularity, does come*

Liberal Partisans (14) (Continued)

down to people's level; Way Mr. Bingham criticizes people at personal level; On personal level I have not liked Mr. Bingham's attacks on personalities - unkind, uncalled for and small minded; Their leader; Could have a better leader - more popular figure; Mr. Bingham - weak kneed, pleasant man but not strong enough for the job; Mr. Bingham - too busy with personalities and silly little things; Not strong leadership; Not very keen on Mr. Bingham, could have someone with a bit more bounce.

Labor Partisans (32)

Do not like leader; Mr. Bingham; Mr. Bingham is a stirrer; Leader; Do not like leader - he avoids things; Bingham likes to help but cannot do much; Bingham overbearing; Leader no good; New leader needed; Do not like Bingham as a leader; Max Bingham; Do not like Mr. Bingham; Do not like Bingham; Mr. Bingham; Mr. Bingham; Cannot stand listening to Bingham ... whinging and knocking; Bingham; Mr. Bingham too much of a stirrer; Max Bingham - weak; Bingham is a theorist; Yes, Mr. Bingham - self assuredness irritating - thinks his born to rule; Bingham; Do not like Mr. Bingham; Do not go much on Mr. Bingham; Do not like Mr. Bingham; Mr. Bingham, arrogant, self opinionated; Mr. Bingham - he is of English descent ... he is pompous; Bingham a whinger, no constructive criticism; Bingham's style of leadership; Lack dynamic leadership. Tend to nit-pick rather than look for alternative policies; Leader, Bethune was better - not much; The leadership.

Liberal - Labor (1)

Disappointed in their leader.

No Preference - Labor (1)

Do not like Max Bingham.

Non Partisans (10)

Their leader; Mr. Bingham; Bingham; Mr. Bingham; Do not like Mr. Bingham -



Non Partisans (10) (Continued)

*Mud slinging; Very bad losers ... undignified, snide, ridiculous comments from Mr. Bingham when he lost - undignified for man of his standing; Mr. Bingham; Mr. Bingham - a scandal monger; Max Bingham; Mr. Bingham is too sarcastic.*

Others (5)Liberal Partisans (2)

*Do not like Bruce Goodluck; Deplore Pearsall.*

Labor Partisans (2)

*Cannot stand listening to ...Pearsall whinging and knocking members; Michael Hodgeman, Pearsall, Baker, Gilmore.*

Communist (1)

*Gilmore, Baker very conservative.*

Role as Opposition (53)Weak (32)Liberal Partisans (11)

*Weak - not enough support; Not enough go; Too honest; Pretty easy going - not a strong opposition; Never able to demonstrate themselves as a viable alternative; Never hear much about what they are doing, not very active in opposition; Not ruthless enough; Not a strong team; Colourless; Not quite forceful enough in stating their policies - difficult as minority to make an impression; Not forceful enough.*

Labor Partisans (6)

*No, merely insipid; Not effective opposition; Completely and utterly ineffectual; Bumbling and amateurish - lack of talent; They are weak; I do not think they present a good opposition.*

Liberal - Labor (2)

*Do not believe they are an effective opposition; Not a good opposition.*

Labor - No Preference (1)

*Do not think they have enough opposing views - too quiet.*

Labor - Don't Know (1)

*Not strong enough.*

Non-Partisans (10)

*They are too inconspicuous; They are unconstructive in operation; Not strong enough; Their low profile; Lack of strength; Could be a stronger opposition; Weak - no guts; Ineffectual opposition; Are not positive, aggressive enough; Bunch of amateurs.*

Refused (1)

*Perhaps a bit weak kneed.*

Over critical (21)Liberal Partisans (6)

*A bit negative, a bit nigly; Too negative in many respects; Constantly knock Labor without any real issue; Do not like them crying 'wolf' so much whilst in opposition, should be more constructive; Too busy knocking other party to ever say what they would do themselves. Bingham makes cracks instead of stating alternative policies; Too pretty minded.*

Labor Partisans (9)

*Too much backbiting, arguing about little things; Cannot see they do anything except backbiting; Too critical of the man rather than the government; Bits of knowalls; Too arrogant; Backbiters; Too critical of Labor policy; They are very critical and unconstructive e.g.*

Labor Partisans (9) (Continued)

blocking moves of government just for the sake of it; They are knockers without being constructive in their criticism - Should be putting forward more alternatives.

Liberal - Labor (1)

Do not come out with our policies, just criticise.

No Preference - Labor (1)

In opposition they are pretty - picking out flaws but not in any way constructive.

Liberal - No Preference (1)

Far too destructive as opposition group.

Non Partisans (2)

Heckling; Nit-picking - attacking personalities.

Refused (1)

Knocking of opposition.

Party related items (20)Disunity (12)Liberal Partisans (8)

Too many lawyers in it; Cause troubles, disagree, not friendly with each other, competitive; Snarling between one another; Tend to develop into groups of their own, factional; Do not seem to be very unified; Mr. Bingham has had a raw deal from colleagues - little loyalty there; Squabbling and fighting - Mr. Bingham coming down to their level; There seems to be a bit of apathy among them which means they do not stand as a united force.

Other - Liberal (1)

*People thought to be genuine now pushing policies for various self interests.*

Labor Partisans (3)

*Two factions opposing each other; Do not like factions forming in the party; Lyon's affair.*

Party Members (8)Liberal Partisans (2)

*Members - not politically aware of speaking out; I do not like some of their members.*

Labor Partisans (3)

*Mainly the candidates; Men not high enough standard generally; No common sense.*

Liberal - Labor (1)

*Do not like them as leaders.*

Labor - No Preference (1)

*Their leaders.*

No Preference - Other (1)

*Certain individuals I do not like.*

Policies (18)General (9)Labor Partisans (8)

*No constructive policies; Repressive ideas regarding society - conservative; Cannot achieve what they preach; No constructive policies; Different policies in each party that I like and dislike;*

Labor Partisans (8) (Continued)

*Do not like their policies; Liberal philosophy in general; General policies.*

Australian Democrats (1)

*All policies.*

Policy Items (9)Labor Partisans (9)

*Do not worry about unemployment; Do not tackle areas such as Parks and Environment problems; Their opposition to legalisation of marihuana; Have not got an environmental conscience; Trying to break unions.*

Labor - Other (1)

*They take too hard a line on union disputes.*

Non-Partisans (3)

*Give in to unions; Taxation; Do not agree with capital punishment as voiced by Bingham.*

Group Related Items (8)Liberal Partisan (1)

*Worry more about the haves than the have nots.*

Labor Partisan (6)

*Do not think they are for the working class; Only look after the business people, not the poor people; They are not for the workers; Seem to go for the bigger man all the time; Too concerned with business friends; Feeling that they think too much of profit making, not concerned about the wage earner.*

Labor - No Preference (1)

*Tend to represent middle class and business people instead of working class.*

General (8)Labor Partisans (7)

*Everything; Most things; Do not like Liberals; Everything; The fact it exists; Quite a lot; Just do not like them.*

Non-Partisans (1)

*Everything.*

Other (10)Liberal Partisans (2)

*Were not in long enough to do anything. They voted with Labor for rise in salaries; Just prior to elections they are willing to listen to people but once they get in you cannot get them for love nor money.*

Labor Partisans (4)

*Did not get around to doing much; Opening of bridge wrangle; Should be local, smaller industries rather than large scale industries; Trouble is both parties are the same - take a lot of time in the press and the air with political propaganda that is unimportant often.*

Workers Party (1)

*Too many regulations.*

Non-Partisans (3)

*Always unsatisfied with federal opposition when in government; Have not had a chance to do much because they have not been in long; All manipulated by money.*

LABOR PARTYFavourable ResponsesManagement of Government (98)Capable Managers (49)Labor Partisans (26)

*Do get things done; They get the job done to the best of their ability; Yes they have done a good job; Doing a good job; Like the way they handle affairs at the moment; Like the job they do overall; Are trying to keep things moving; Do fair job; Doing the job; Steady - on an even keel - do not rush off in different directions; They have done a pretty good job all round; They do seem to be trying; Appear to be moving on; Competant members - handled state's affairs well; They are doing a pretty good job; Stability; They try and get their two cents worth in; Seem to do more; They are doing their best; Doing their job; Doing their best; Try a lot harder than the Liberals to get things done. More enthusiastic; Provided stable consistent style of government; They try; More capable - seem more confident.*

Liberal - Labor (1)

*Like them to lead government.*

Liberal Partisans (11)

*Like Tasmania and they have run the state for so long; Done a good job; Done a good job; Doing a pretty good job; Have not done a bad job since they have been in; Doing a reasonable job; Have done some good things - bridge, roads, and connections etc.; Doing a fair job - Liberals will not do any better; Got solidarity - doing a fair job under difficult position; Think they do a good job and they try hard; Doing fairly good job - running smoothly.*

Australian Democrats (1)

*Have been happy with Labor.*

Liberal - No Preference (1)

Battlers.

Labor - No Preference (1)

Like the way they run the state as a whole. Does attempt to do best it can for the community.

Non-Partisans (8)

They have done a good job; They have not done a bad job really;  
Doing a good job; Done a good job; They receive from the federal government; Doing good job; Think they have done a good job;  
Done a reasonable job - financial affairs handled.

Look After State's Interests (14)Labor Partisans (4)

It puts state's interests ahead; Have helped Tasmania over the years generally; Always trying to boost tourism and state in general and the people; They have more understanding of the Tasmanian scene.

Liberal - Labor (1)

State had pretty good deal under Labor over past 20 years.

Australian Democrats - Labor (1)

They have made Tasmania a wonderful place to live.

Australian Democrats (1)

They have more understanding of the Tasmania scene.

Liberal Partisans (4)

Try to do best for state; More Tasmanian than the Liberals - project a profile that seems more interested in local affairs; Looking after the state now; Think Labor Party has done more for Tasmania than Mr. Bingham.



Liberal - Don't Know (1)

*Admire approach - are Tasmanian.*

Non-Partisans (2)

*They are concerned for Tasmania; Yes, Government effective for the state.*

Handling of Tasman Bridge Disaster (12)Labor Partisans (6)

*Handling of bridge repairs; Have done very good job with bridge in difficult circumstances; Bridge back up; They did a lot to get the bridge back up; Done a good job on Tasman Bridge; Good job on bridge - quick organisation after bridge went down.*

Liberal Partisans (3)

*Tasman bridge action; The way they handled the bridge - pretty good; I think they have done a pretty good job, particularly after bridge affair.*

Non Partisans (3)

*Handled bridge disaster well; Manage the state well e.g. Bridge restoration; Tasman bridge restoration handling.*

Fair, Honest, For the People (23)Labor Partisans (18)

*On the peoples side - more capable to govern; Honestly trying to do the right thing in Tasmania; All out to help everyone as far as they can; Seem to give a fair go - fair party - do not walk on anybody; Good cross section - know more about what the people want than do the opposition; More approachable; They are O.K. - they care; More for the people; More pliable for personal contact; Do everything possible to help all aspects of life - employment, tourism etc.;*

Labor Partisans (18) (Continued)

*Straight forward; Always gives us a good go; They are pretty fair;  
Can talk to them - answer questions readily - good hearing. They  
do a good job; More progressive; Plodders, sincere, do look after the  
state; Concern for people.*

No Preference - Labor (3)

*They try to help everyone, they have a good track record; I like sense  
of realism in Labor.... They bind different ideologies in a way which  
responds to human needs; More for people.*

Liberal Partisans (1)

*Some of them are fair.*

Labor - No Preference (1)

*Their apparent willingness to listen and respond to people.*

Personalities (59)Nielson (33)Labor Partisans (12)

*Mr. Nielson has his heart in Tasmania; Mr. Nielson tries hard;  
Nielson's a trier; Mr. Nielson; Mr. Nielson; Nielson been good for  
Tasmania; Personalities - Mr. Nielson; Yes Mr. Nielson's fair -  
says what he means and does it; Nielson made better Labor premier  
than 75% of Tasmanians thought - done Labor Party good; Nielson  
proved himself capable against adversary; I like Mr. Nielson;  
Bill Nielson.*

No Preference - Labor (1)

*Bill Nielson - a bit more honest.*

Liberal Partisans (13)

Mr. Nielson has done his best; Mr. Nielson, more centre of road; Yes, I think under Bill Nielson some good policies formulated; Like Mr. Nielson - very down to earth; Nielson's in tune with needs of the State; Mr. Nielson; I suppose a man like Nielson - trying though with a problem like his health; Mr. Nielson is an honest man if uncouth. Has had good of Tasmania at heart; Nielson the best we have got; Mr. Nielson a jolly good man - of people; Nielson's forthrightness - his occasional denunciation of irresponsible union action; Nielson all right; Nielson's done a good job.

No Preference - Liberal (1)

Mr. Nielson is certainly all for Tasmania.

Australian Democrats (1)

Premier.

Labor - No Preference (1)

Seems to be well run under Nielson.

Non-Partisans (4)

Mr. Nielson seems to do all right; Bill Nielson; Bill Nielson, honest like many of Labor Party members in Tasmania; Mr. Nielson has some good ideas - buying of old IXL buildings.

Lowe (15)Labor Partisans (5)

Mr. Lowe; Yes, I like the idea of Doug Lowe being Premier; Premier elect (Lowe) very suitable; I like Doug Lowe; Lowe.

Other - Labor (1)

Like Doug Lowe - gets things moving.

Liberal Partisans (7)

Mr. Lowe doing a good job; Doug Lowe; Mr. Lowe; Like Mr. Lowe - genuine person; Mr. Lowe is quite a good type - On outward appearances seems quiet and dignified; Doug Lowe; Interested in seeing what Doug Lowe does - much stronger personality than Bingham or Nielson.

Non Partisans (2)

Like Mr. Lowe; Doug Lowe.

Others (11)Labor Partisans (4)

Mr. Batt, when he behaves himself; Ogilvie - there's been good men, Reece; Personalities ... Mr. Reece; Better under Reece, run things smoothly.

Liberal Partisans (3)

Mike Barnard; Coates; Admire Mr. Reece.

Non Partisans (4)

Barnard, Baldock; Brian Harradine; Reece; A few good premiers.

Policies (28)General (5)Labor Partisans (5)

Most of their policies - housing policy; Yes, some policies - housing development - roads; Believe in their policies; Policies e.g. health - environment; Pursuing the right policies.

Education (6)Labor Partisans (2)

*Emphasis on education and equality in education, concern for less privileged; Education system has been good.*

Liberal - Labor (1)

*They have done a lot for education.*

Liberal - Partisans (2)

*Education policy; Labor is good in education matters.*

Non-Partisans (1)

*Education policy.*

Welfare (7)Labor Partisans (3)

*Helped pensioners a lot; Reasonable priorities on social welfare, education; Concessions to pensioners.*

Liberal - Labor (1)

*Have tried to help our lowest class - people who are struggling in poverty.*

Non-Partisans (2)

*It is more concerned with welfare class; Making efforts to distribute wealth and try to help families.*

Refused (1)

*Done more for pensioners.*

Policy - Other (10)Labor Partisans (4)

Get folk back to work; Prepared to spend on public service; Enquiry into victimless crime very good; Doing the right thing to allow the H.E.C. to complete plans.

Labor - Other (1)

More sympathetic to preservation of wilderness area and alternative energy sources.

Liberal Partisans (3)

Stuck out for H.E.C.; It has tried to overcome the employment situation; Agriculture well handled.

Communist (1)

Work on anti discrimination areas, civil rights and greater support for community groups.

Liberal-No Preference (1)

They work well with unions.

General (20)Labor Partisans (10)

Yes; Like the Labor Party no matter where they are; Most things; Just about everything - they try; Yes, like what they stand for; Yes; Everything; Everything; Yes; Bit better than the Liberals.

Liberal Partisans (5)

They are O.K. I suppose; Like everything; Do not really mind the Labor Party; Yes; Have no complaints.

Labor - No Preference

*Everything.*

Non Partisans (3)

*Both good; They mean well; Seem to be O.K. at present.*

Refused (1)

*No objection.*

Party Related Items (15)The Members (9)Labor Partisans (5)

*Young candidates; Like the people in the party; The candidates;  
Prefer personel in the party; Younger members.*

Liberal Partisans (2)

*The attitude of one or two individuals; Some good blokes as with  
Liberals.*

Non Partisans (1)

*Impressed with some of the younger members of the party.*

Refused (1)

*Only the members.*

Other (6)Labor Partisans (1)

*More democratic than the Liberals.*

Liberal - Labor (1)

*Not as union dominated.*

Liberal Partisan (1)

*Less union orientated than Federal.*

No Preference - Other (1)

*Letting more younger members into the party which is good.*

Liberal - No Preference (1)

*Do not worry too much about Caucus which is good.*

Non Partisan (1)

*Not governed by unions.*

Group Related Items (10)Labor Partisans (7)

*Try and help the working man; They look after the working people;  
Yes, because Liberals do not suit working man; More legislation  
suited to my working class interests; Help workers; Labor more for  
working man; Help the working man.*

No Preference - Labor (1)

*Average man's party.*

Liberal Partisan (1)

*Supposed to help people more and stand for workers.*

Non Partisan (1)

*More for working people.*

Ideology (6)Labor Partisans (2)

*Ideology; Socialist party.*



Liberal Partisan

*Have been centre of road or right wing.*

Labor - No Preference

*Fairly forward looking outlook.*

Non-Partisans (2)

*Their ... liberal attitude; More moderate than Labor in other states.*

*Closer to English Liberals.*

Other (10)Labor Partisans (4)

*Know most of the politicians personally and often go to Parliament and listen; Equalising effect; I am neutral - past achievements better; Admire Don Chipp.*

Liberal Partisans (4)

*Some ideas all right - but financially speaking Liberals are better; Good for a laugh : Nielson's done the right thing finding a nice little job for himself; Yes, the mess they make will enhance the chances of the Liberal Party winning the next election; They have been in power too long.*

Other - Liberal

*Bill Nielson going and Doug Lowe coming.*

Non-Partisan

*Need opposition to federal government.*

Unfavourable ResponsesParty Related Items (48)Left Wing Influence (15)Labor Partisans (2)

*Lead to left wing; Emergence of extreme left.*

Liberal - Labor

*Threat of left wing gaining control.*

Liberal Partisans (9)

*Dominance of left wing; Left wing element; Left wing faction; Do not like left wingers; Too much left wing element gaining control; Communist element; After factional fight, wrong section has come out - begin to lean left from now on; Extreme left is getting powerful; Being overtaken by left.*

Other - Liberal

*Extreme left wing element.*

Non-Partisans (2)

*Controlled too much from extreme left; Do not like growth of left wing.*

Disunity (21)Labor Partisans (7)

*The infighting and witch hunting; They are not straight enough - some MP's do not respect the party line; Infighting, disunity; Discussion of left and right of party - should be just Labor; Do not like factions forming in party; A lot of overt back-stabbing; No great unity or strength*

No Preference - Labor

*Individuals trying to build own platform, do not work as a team.*

Liberal Partisans (8)

*They are always arguing; Do not listen to each other's ideas - they are just there for what they can get out of it; Demise of party through internal squabbling; Too easily led; Bickering; Internal rows; Tendency for caucus rule over the individuals in parliament; Do not like the way they are all yes men.*

Australian Democrats

*In party fighting and the basic structure of the party.*

Labor - Other

*Faction fighting.*

Labor - No Preference

*Too much power in one or two individuals.*

Non-Partisans (2)

*Heckling among the members; Internal dissention - no agreement at all.*

Party members (12)Labor Partisans (3)

*Men not high enough standard generally speaking; About 2/3 of cabinet - critical of poor quality of cabinet ministers; Mainly personalities.*

Liberal Partisans (4)

*Only personalities; Some of the older members are one-eyed; Two or three members that I know reasonably well and I would not really trust; Not many of our ministers competent to govern any state.*

Liberal - Don't Know

*The tail's too long.*

Non-Partisans (3)

*Certain ministers; Not enough good politicians - e.g. Baldock as minister for transport; Not enough strong personalities.*

Liberal - No Preference

*All greedy mongrels.*

Management of Government (44)Labor Partisans (11)

*All promises; Talk too much - not enough action; Do not succeed very well; Should not subsidize Mt. Lyall or other industries - not comparable with S.A. government which is more successful; Some wild spending; They go on with wasting time in parliamentary debate - sometimes talking about personal matters; Not forward thinking enough for the state; Lack Dunstan's foresight; Slip road business not well handled; Main problem is that they have been there so long they have run out of steam to a certain extent. Lack of talent; Have not fought hard enough for Tasmania as an island.*

Liberal Partisans (15)

*Pettyness - name calling; Slow way they make decisions; Too slow in what they do; Both waste time; Spend so much money on unnecessary things; They seem to rush in more; Lacking in initiative; Policies politically motivated for votes - e.g. transferring CAE to Launceston because they lost federal election up there; They are a bit petty, too many trips. We have not heard anything about them; Not enough foresight. Does not look any further than the next lot of elections - if that far; Decisions are just political rather than taking into account what is best; A lot of trouble with boards - Fruit Board is chaotic, Fire and ambulance out of control for years; Not very taken*

Liberal Partisans (15) (Continued)

with TAB - They do not seem to be getting the government revenue they should. Did not take costs into account when setting it up; Do not like undue power given to HEC; Way they handled health and transport, RHH business with Farquar, ambulance board, Tasman bridge.

Workers Party

Do not do anything.

Communist

Not courageous in updating the law.

Liberal - No Preference

Fail to use local expertise. Tend to sit the fence. Playing the game between State and Federal Government.

Labor - No Preference

Action on mainland advice to make law without sufficient discussion - especially TCAE.

Non Partisans (5)

Do not know what they are doing - cannot organise the simplest task; Ministers could present a better public image - get a feeling of arrogance; They have given into bureacuracy. They have too much bureacuracy; Do not see any evidence of get up and go; Fact that been a government too long; Main problem is that they have been there so long they have run out of steam to a certain extent. Lack of talent.

(b) Handling of Bridge Restoration (8)Labor-Partisans (3)

Time it took to rebuild the bridge; Opening of bridge wrangle; Bit of a mix up over bridge but all politicians are bunglers.

Liberal Partisans (3)

*Handling of the ferries; Could have been quicker with bridge;  
They prevarcated and procrastinated and messed about over the  
bridge. Did not like the way they treated that man (Clifford)  
over ferries.*

Australian Democrats - Labor

*They took a long time about rebuilding the bridge.*

No Preference - Labor

*Some of their performance has been pitiful, especially after the  
bridge disaster in particular.*

Personalities (43)Nielson (19)Labor Partisans (7)

*Do not like Mr. Nielson leaving before his three years. Should keep  
his promise to be in for that time; Party head not doing enough;  
Do not approve of Mr. Nielson leaving party for new position; Feel  
Mr. Nielson will never replace Mr. Reece; Premier Nielson; Leader;  
Bill Nielson.*

Liberal Partisans (7)

*Do not like the Premier - do not trust him; Do not think much of  
Nielson or his team; Mr. Nielson; Do not like Mr. Nielson retiring  
on a fat pension and giving himself a fat job as Agent-General;  
Do not like their leader much; Billy Nielson; Bill Nielson.*

Non Partisans (5)

*Need new leader; Bill Nielson; Nielson; Mr. Nielson leaving; Bill  
Nielson.*

Others (24)Labor Partisans (7)

*Mr. Batt; Batt - a tool to be manipulated - he is too weak; Yes, Neil Batt; Neil Batt; Do not approve of Mr. Lowe being given position so easily - should be voted in; Mr. Chisholm; Mr. Miller.*

Liberal-Labor

*I do not like Mr. Lowe.*

Liberal Partisans (9)

*Mr. Batt; Neil Batt; Do not like the way Mr. Batt carries on; Neil Batt; Batt's a vile man; Mr. Batt; Mr. Batt - snide nastiness; Lowe is weak; Worry about future leadership.*

Labor - No Preference (2)

*Potential deputy leader; Disapprove of Mr. Batt being in ALP.*

Liberal - No Preference

*Dislike inefficiency of ministers - e.g. Chisholm, Farquar.*

Non-Partisans (3)

*Mr. Batt; Lowe will be weaker than Nielson; Back benchers who are ineffective - e.g. Green.*

Refused

*Do not like Mr. Batt - bombastic.*

Policies (25)Education (6)Labor Partisans

*Do not like policies on tertiary education.*

Liberal Partisans (4)

Education - what was done to TCAE; No action on TCAE; I do not like their attitude to education - do not want to know about specific learning difficulties; Education cuts.

Liberal - No Preference

Cut in education.

Conservation (7)Labor Partisans (4)

Lack of concern for conservation issues; Attitude to conservation abhorrent - e.g. woodchipping, Lake Pedder, Gordon River; Environmental policies; Too development at any cost oriented.

Liberal-Labor

Left it too late to save some of the wilderness area.

No Preference - Other

Environmental track record.

Non-Partisan

Not satisfied with their attitude towards national parks - and railways.

Other (12)Labor Partisans (5)

Not enough going for young; The hydro works are going a bit overboard; Transport policies; Police powers were adequate and should not have been increased - civil liberties infringed soon; Could be doing more for inflation.



Liberal Partisans (4)

Do not promote the state properly as a tourist venue; Do not do enough for promotion of state; Excessive tax on urban property, their encouragement of excessive tourism, preoccupation with woodchipping industry; Giving orchardists a frightful go; pulling things to pieces; not keen on all that money H.E.C. are getting.

Australian Democrats

Rest of policies.

Non-Partisans (2)

Could do more for children - no facilities; Record in housing and transport very poor.

Ideology (15)Communist - Left Wing (6)Liberal Partisans (5)

Labor Party are communists; Object to pro-communist attitudes; Some have false ideas - communistic; Quite a lot of their policies too left wing; Do not like left wing attitudes.

Non Partisans

Socialist aspect.

Conservative - Right Wing (9)Liberal - Labor

They are too right wing.

Labor Partisans (6)

Towards right - more conservative as compared with other states; A bit too conservative and like Liberals; Too conservative; A bit conservative; In Tasmania over conservative; Too moderate.

Liberal Partisan

*Deputy premier fence sitting.*

Non-Partisan

*Same as Liberals.*

Group Related Items (15)Labor Partisans (5)

*Union problems; Labor Party is run by Trade Unions; Do not like Labor having so many strikes; No sympathy with strikes; They are not taking a strong enough action against unions.*

Liberal - Labor

*The party is all tied up with unions.*

Liberal Partisans (4)

*Connection with the unions; More tied up with unions; Not firm enough with unions; Could do a lot more for the people rather than big business with the power they have.*

Socialist Workers Party

*Not orientated towards worker - sell them out and compromise with capitalists.*

Non Partisans (4)

*Unions; Only the fact they are Labor and they are not for the ordinary man; Favour communists; Affiliation with Federal Labor Party.*

General (6)Liberal Partisans (5)

*Everything; Everything really; Lots of things; Do not like them; Yes,*

Refused

*Quite a lot.*

OtherLiberal Partisans (2)

*They draw their numbers from the senior educated - those who appeal to the masses; Have not been helpful to me - especially John Coates.*

Non-Partisans

*Always unsatisfied with federal opposition when in government;  
All trying to do their bit - scmethings right, others wrong.*