ISSN 2233-6974

선거연구

ELECTION STUDIES

한국선거학회지 4권 1호 2014년 통권 6호

일반 논문

김종갑 대통령선거 결선투표제 도입논의와 대안의 모색: '변형된 선호투표제(Modified AV)'를 제안하며

김욱 정치제도 및 민주주의 모델이 의원의 대표성에 미치는 영향

고선규 일본민주당의 성공과 실패, 그리고 유권자의 유동성

정상호 민주적인 정당 기율을 통한 의회의 효율적인 갈등 관리 방안 연구

정하윤 세대와 정책투표 연구의 현황 및 쟁점

선거 현황

조영호 2013 독일 연방하원선거

권순미 2013년 일본 참의원 선거의 특징과 주요 쟁점

이소영 2013년 오스트리아 총선과 전망

Jeffrey Robertson The Sept. 2013 Australian Federal Election: One era ends, and another begins

The Sept. 2013 Australian Federal Election

One era ends, and another begins···

Jeffrey Robertson(KDI School of Public Policy and Management)

The Australian Federal Election held 7 September 2013 saw the conservative Liberal-National Coalition come out victorious, with a two-party preferred vote of 53.45 percent to the progressive Australian Labor Party (ALP) vote of 46.55 percent, a two-party swing of 3.65 percent[1]. On 18 September 2013, Coalition leader Tony Abbott was sworn in as Australia's28th Prime Minister.

The trajectory of Abbott's victory was set in motion well before the election date. It was the culmination of a highly challenging and uncertain parliamentary environment, increasingly acerbic partisan politics, recurring instability in the leadership of the ALP, and ultimately the demise of Australia's first female prime minister.

Abbott's victory was not unexpected. Indeed, it could be ar-

---

1) Australian Election Commission (AEC), Election 2013 Results, http://results.aec.gov.au/17496/Website/Default.htm, accessed 13 December 2013.

gued that progress towards victory was set in motion after the August 2010 election. The August 2010 election resulted in both the ALP and the Coalition each winning 72 seats, leaving four independents and two minor party members to determine the balance of Australia's first hung parliament since 1940. After an intense 17 days of negotiation, the ALP secured the support of the Australian Greens and three independent MPs on the basis of confidence and supply. Julia Gillard thus continued as Prime Minister under the narrowest of margins. The narrow margin of Julia Gillard's victory reinforced the instability that had marked the lead-up to the August 2010 campaign. Labor held a 76–74 tally of votes on the floor of the House of Representatives. The hung parliament made each piece of legislation an acerbic contest in which a minor loss of support would place the government in difficulties.

Yet, arguably, Abbott's victory was set in motion even earlier than the August 2010 election. Julia Gillard replaced Kevin Rudd as leader of the ALP and became Prime Minister in June 2010. The move, prompted by concerns of the parliamentary members of the ALP regarding Rudd's leadership style, proved unpopular with the Australian public. From that point on Gillard was tainted with having usurped a first term prime minister. Additionally, despite being ousted by his own party, Rudd held onto his prime ministerial ambitions. It has since been credibly argued that immediately after being replaced, Rudd commenced a campaign to destabilize Gillard[2)]. Much of this is historical record.

In February 2012, Rudd contested the leadership of the ALP.

Gillard won the ballot 71 votes to 31 and vowed to lead the ALP to the 2013 election, while Rudd promised full support. By the end of the year, talk of a looming leadership contest was again highlighted in the media, reaching a frenzy as parliament returned for the new year[3]. In January 2013, Gillard took the unusual step of announcing a proposed election date of 14 September 2013, hoping to both solidify her support with in the electorate and with in her own party[4]. In March2013,with continuing speculation that Rudd would again contest the ALP leadership, Gillard called for a ballot. Rudd refused to contest the ballot and Gillard held the ALP leadership unopposed. Rudd once again promised full support and vowed to never again contest the ALP leadership[5]. Finally, on 26 June amidst further speculation on the future of the ALP leadership, Gillard again called for a ballot, under the condition that the loser would retire from politics. Rudd contested and won 57 votes to 45. Kevin Rudd was returned to the federal ALP leadership and installed as Prime Minister on 27 June 2013.

Rudd's return ended recurring instability in the leadership of

---

2) Erik Jensen, "Kevin Rudd's unrelenting campaign to regain power", *The Monthly*, No. 89, May 2013.

3) Phillip Coorey, "Gillard backers firm as Rudd camp stirs", *Australian Financial Review*, 15 February 2013.

4) Julia Gillard (Prime Minister), "The work of 2013: Address to the National Press Club, Canberra", National Press Club, Canberra, 30 January 2013.

5) Ben Packham, "I wouldn't have stood a chance in caucus vote: Kevin Rudd", *The Australian*, 22 March 2013.

the ALP and increased the competitiveness of the party in the looming federal election. However, it also left an indelible mark on the tenure of Australia's first female prime minister. As Rudd moved to address the looming challenges to his popularity in the electorate, there remained a degree of quiet discord within his own party. Arguably, there also remained a degree of discord within the electorate - the only beneficiary of which, was the Coalition and Tony Abbott[6].

The campaign was dominated by economic issues, including industry support and public service cuts (and implicitly employment), the impact of the carbon tax, alleged plans to change the Goods and Services Tax (GST), and aged care. Underpinning each of these issues were ongoing debates regarding policy costings and the timing of a return to budget surplus. At the same time, asylum seeker policy continued to attract attention with the mainstream parties allegedly undertaking a 'race to the bottom' seeking to exploit anxieties regarding national security, unemployment and demographic change[7]. Mainstream media coverage of the campaign was noted for its overwhelming support of the Coalitio n[8]. In particular, News Corporation, which controls around 70

---

6) Andrew Bolt, "Kevin Rudd a gift that keeps on giving for Tony Abbott", *Herald Sun*, 25 July 2013.

7) Jane McAdam, "Australian parties in 'race to bottom' on asylum seeker policy", CN N Opinion, 4 September 2013, http://edition.cnn.com/2013/09/03/opinion/austra lia-asylum-seekers-mcadam, accessed 13 December 2013.

8) Brian McNair and David Holmes, "Election 2013: the role of the media", *The*

percent of the mainstream press, called for the defeat of the ALP on the opening day of the campaign.

Thus, Abbott's victory was set in motion well before the election date. Yet, few would have estimated the size of the victory. The ALP primary vote of 33.38 percent was its lowest in 100 years. In the House of Representatives, the Coalition would hold 90 seats to the ALP's 55 seats. Minor parties would hold three seats and independents two seats.

〈Table 1〉 House of Representatives Party Representation

House of Representatives Party Representation
90 - Coalition
55 - Australian Labor Party
2 - Independent
1 - Katter' s Australia Party
1 - Australian Greens
1 - Palmer United Party

Source: Australian Electoral Commission (AEC), http://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/Federal_Elections, accessed 11 December 2013.

As required under the Australian constitution, half of each state's senate allocation, and both senators from each territory, were up for election. Newly elected state senators commence

---

Conversation, 9 September 2013, https://theconversation.com/election-2013-the-role-of-the-media-17543, accessed 13 December 2013.

their term on 1 July 2014 and territory senators commenced their term immediately after the election. Of the senate seats up for election, the Coalition won 17 seats, the ALP won 13 seats, the Australian Greens won three seats, and one independent was returned. Accordingly, until 30 June 2014, the Coalition will hold 34 seats, the ALP 31 seats, the Australian Greens 9 seats, while two seats will be held by minor parties and independents. On 1 July 2014, when the new senators take up their seats, the Coalition will hold 33 seats, the ALP will hold 25 seats, the Australian Greens 10 seats, while 8 seats will be held by minor parties and independents.

〈Table 2〉 Senate party representation

Senate party representation until 30 June 2014	Senate party representation after 1 July 2014
34 - Coalition	33 - Coalition
31 - Australian Labor Party	25 - Australian Labor Party
9 - Australian Greens	10 - Australian Greens
1 - Independent	2 - Palmer United Party
1 - Democratic Labour Party	1 - Independent
	1 - Democratic Labour Party
	1 - Liberal Democratic Party
	1 - Family First
	1 - Australian Motoring Enthusiast Party
	1 - Australian Sports Party

Note: A petition has been lodged with the High Court of Australia, sitting as the Court of Disputed Returns, regarding results of the election in Western Australia. See below for further information.
Source: Australian Electoral Commission (AEC), http://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/Federal_Elections, accessed 11 December 2013.

End of the Rudd era

The significance of Abbott's victory in the wider context of Australian politics is also in what it was not – a Rudd victory. Like him or hate him, Kevin Rudd dominated the Australian political scene for the last ten years. Since becoming opposition spokesperson for foreign affairs in November 2001, he held a particularly prominent public profile. As Opposition Leader (Dec. 2006 to Dec. 2007) and Opposition Foreign Affairs Spokesperson (Nov. 2001 to Dec. 2006), he was a refreshing alternative, leading the ALP to victory against Australia's second longest serving prime minister, John Howard.

As Prime Minister (Dec. 2007 to June 2010 and June 2013 to Sept. 2013) and Foreign Minister (Sept. 2010 to Feb. 2012), his record was not as strong. In private he was thought to be "autocratic and dysfunctional"; and in public marked by "too much talk", "lofty ambitions" and neglectful of the "painstaking details of government[9)]". Yet, he remained unswervingly popular with the Australian public.

The end of the Rudd era is also significant in the context of ALP reform. Rudd was not a member of one of the dominant factions in the ALP. His removal from the leadership of the ALP and

---

9) Phil Mercer, "Kevin Rudd: Farewell to Australia's polarising leader", *BBC News Asia*, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-24936492, accessed 13 December 2013.

the prime ministership in June 2010, was blamed on "faceless men" – faction leaders and non-elected party members and union officials working beyond the public's view[10]. On returning to the leadership of the ALP, Rudd sought to implement reforms that would reduce the public's distrust internal ALP processes. This included having the election of the ALP parliamentary leadership weighted 50-50 between the parliamentary party and the wider party membership[11].

However, perhaps the most significant marker of change is in the retirement of key ALP parliamentary figures, including Julia Gillard, Simon Crean, Greg Combet, Craig Emerson, Martin Ferguson, Peter Garret, Harry Jenkins, Robert McLelland, Nicola Roxon, and Stephen Smith. Also included in this list, but announced after the election results, is former Foreign Minister, Senator Bob Carr and Kevin Rudd himself. In Rudd's final farewell to parliament on 14 November 2013, he noted his aims to work on indigenous recognition, organ donation, homelessness, and foreign language learning. The farewell speech was representative of the Rudd era – sudden, ambitious, elaborate, and even lofty. Yet, his speech and the public's reaction to the announcement, above all demonstrated one fact – Rudd held an enduring popu-

---

10) Phillip Coorey, "Rudd takes on faceless men", *Australian Financial Review*, 9 July 2013.

11) Katharine Murphy, "Labor caucus backs Kevin Rudd's leadership reforms" *The Guardian*, 22 July 2013.

Media attention focused on the election of candidates from the Australian Motoring Enthusiasts Party and the Australian Sports Party, two parties which were virtually unknown to the wider Australian public, had no record of political activity, and whose policies on key issues were yet to be established[12]. The Australian Motoring Enthusiasts Party candidate won just 0.53 percent of the primary vote in Victoria, but after preferences be at a Liberal Party candidate with 10.52 percent of the primary vote. The Australian Sports Party candidate won 0.22 percent of the primary vote in Western Australia, but after preferences be ata n ALP candidate with 12.33 percent of the primary vote.

In addition, the large number of candidates and minor parties necessitated very large ballot papers and small print. This made voting in narrow poll booths difficult and necessitated assistance for older voters. Further complaints were also made regarding name confusion, with the accusation that voters in NSW may have become confused between the minor Liberal Democrats party and the mainstream Liberal Party, resulting in a 'donkey vote' due to the position of the former party's first place listing on the ballot paper.

Finally, and most significantly, on 15 November 2013, the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) asked the High Court to declare the Western Australian senate vote void. This was in re-

---

12) Lenore Taylor, "Liberal party director flags reform of senate voting after rise of micro parties", *The Guardian*, 23 October 2013.

sponse to an inquiry into 1300 missing Senate votes in Western Australia. The inquiry led by the former commissioner of the Australian Federal Police, Mick Keelty found "significant failures in the handling, movement and storage of ballot papers[13)]". In the initial count before the votes went missing Western Australian representation in the Senate for the fifth and sixth places went to Zhenya Wang of the Palmer United party(PUP) and Louise Pratt of the ALP. However, in the recount after the votes went missing, Wayne Dropulich of the Australian Sports party and Scott Ludlam of the Australian Greens were elected.

Understandably, court action is split between those benefitting from the initial count and those benefitting from the recount after the votes were lost. Given the closeness of the vote, it is highly likely that Western Australia will have to again undergo an election to determine the state's representation in the Australian Senate. With an election for Western Australian representation in the Senate likely to occur only after the High Court sitting as the Court of Disputed Returns rules, certainty in the balance of the post 1 July 2014 Senate may be substantially delayed. Indeed, it may be the case that a High Court ruling is not made before the post 1 July 2014 Senate sits.

---

13) Australian Electoral Commission (AEC), "Keelty Report released", Media Release, 6 December 2013, http://www.aec.gov.au/media/media-releases/2013/12-06a.htm, accessed 13 December 2013

Parliament and Australia going forward

Coalition leader Tony Abbott was sworn in as Australia's 28th Prime Minister on 18 September 2013. His new cabinet included Julie Bishop as Foreign Minister; Warren Trussas Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Infrastructure & Regional Development; and Joe Hockey as Treasurer. The cabinet contains a variety of newer members and more senior members, but still attracted criticism due to the lack of female representation[14].

The ALP's substantial defeat in the September Federal Election, and the retirement of key elder figures, provided space for renewal in the shadow ministry. The leadership was decided under reformed rules implemented by Kevin Rudd, which allowed input from parliamentary party members and rank and file party members. A contest between Anthony Albanese and Bill Shorten resulted in the latter's victory. Bill Shorten appointed a new shadow cabinet, including Tanya Plibersek as opposition foreign affairs spokesperson, Stephen Conroy as opposition defense spokesperson, and Chris Bowen as opposition treasury spokesperson. The shadow cabinet blends youth with experience, and as pointed out by Bill Shorten, contains "more working parents than ever before[15]".

---

14) Heather Ewart, "Sue Boyce and Judith Troeth express dismay over Tony Abbott's male-dominated Cabinet", Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) News, 16 September 2013, http://www.abc.net.au/news/2013-09-16/senior-female-coalition-figures-slam-male-dominated-cabinet/4961344, accessed 13 December 2013.

The first sitting period of the 44th federal parliament occurred from 12 to 21 November 2013. With ceremonial procedures aside, the Abbott government nominated Liberal Party stalwart Bronwyn Bishop to become Speaker of the House of Representatives. Bronwyn Bishop is a highly experienced senior politician, having been a senator from 1987 to 1994 and since then a Member of the House of Representatives. As could be expected, the opposition argued against her appointment on the basis of impartiality–an accusation that is likely to continue to be leveled, given the Bronwyn Bishop's background and decision to continue attending parliamentary party meetings.

Issues on the parliamentary agenda for the first sitting period were not unexpected. The government sought to implement its election promises, including the repeal of the carbon and mining taxes, and signaled its intention to raise the debt ceiling. It also faced challenges as a result of its dismantling of the Australian international aid agency, Ausaid, and its amalgamation into the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT); and the Indonesian reaction to revelations made in *The Guardian* that Australian intelligence agencies had listened in on the personal conversations of key Indonesian politicians. This understandably had a negative impact on Australia-Indonesia relations, impacting

15) Naomi Woodley, "Shorten unveils Gen X frontbench", *PM*, ABC Radio National, http://www.abc.net.au/pm/content/2013/s3872319.htm, accessed 13 December 2013.

the Abbott Government's attempt's to gain Indonesian support for its election promise to reduce illegal boat arrivals.

After a two-week break, parliament resumed on 2 December. In this final sitting period for 2013, there would be indications highlighting the conservative direction, which the parliament and Australia would take under the Abbott Government. The government sought to again move on the implementation of its election promises, with the repeal of the carbon tax as the priority. The ALP announced its firm opposition to the repeal of the carbon tax without an emissions trading scheme to replace it. A number of other issues, including the closure of General Motors automobile manufacturing in Australia, increasing foreign ownership limitations on Qantas airways, and the return of Temporary Protection Visas (TPVs) for asylum seekers, set in place a widening ideological and partisan divide between the Abbott Coalition government and the ALP. The election year saw the ALP focus more upon political struggles within its own party, rather than the external struggle to meet the Coalition challenge. If the final sitting weeks of 2013 are any indication, the now refreshed, more united, and increasingly confident ALP will not make the same mistake in 2014.

Parliament wound down for the year with a rare show of bipartisanship. Both Prime Minister Abbott and the Leader of the Opposition, Bill Shorten, departed together to attend the memorial service of Nelson Mandela. They returned in time for the final sitting day of the year. As Christmas messages and thanks were ex-

changed in Parliament, both the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition expressed their hopes that new areas of bipartisanship would be found in the new year[16]. When the first parliamentary sitting period commences on 11 February 2014, Christmas messages, thanks, and hopes of bipartisanship may be long forgotten – a new era would have begun.

16) Judith Ireland, "Politics live: December 12 2013", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 December 2013, http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/the-pulse-live/politics-live-december-12-2013-20131212-2z77c.html, accessed 13 December 2013.