

Filling the Vacuum

A report into

Labor's

2019 Election loss

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About the Authors

John Collins and Vince O'Grady are two Labor Party members from the Federal Division of Jaga Jaga in the Northern Suburbs of Melbourne.

They have known each other for the last ten years. They met and became friends through various community organisations and activities.

Each has a background in communication – John as a Printer and then TAFE teacher and Vince in Telecommunications and a part time TAFE teacher.

Both men share the values of the Labor Party and have demonstrated those values as volunteers for the less fortunate – helping the homeless in the inner suburbs of Melbourne.

Reading is a shared past time with a particular interest in History and Family History which has its basis in the social struggles of the working class and the folly of War.

Vince's father was a sailor in the Royal Navy during the second World War, whilst John's father was in a Howitzer Battery on the Western Front in France and Belgium in the first World War. Particularly in the horrendous battle of Passchendaele (Third battle of Ypres).

John and Vince have been collaborating on a history of John's father's Battery during that conflict from personal diaries, pay books and memories as well as Official Unit Diaries.

They are also keen Policy advocates and have talked endlessly about what constitutes successful campaigning in Elections and the nature of Political Leadership and campaign techniques. Because of these discussions they decided to collaborate on an in depth analysis of the reasons why Labor failed to win the May 2019 Election, despite a sound set of developed and costed policies.

The finished paper uses a tried and tested Harvard University methodology, adapted to the political arena. It analyses the policies of each major political party. It segments the market and then looks at how relevant that policy is to each segment and the messages used to deliver the policy details. It also does a SWOT analysis and then offers reasons for the failure and ideas to improve for the next round.

It does not apportion blame or criticise the organisation or individuals within the organisation but recognises that to win the contest of ideas, requires huge hard work, the bulk of which has been done.

We believe in *social justice* as a philosophy. A society must be *compassionate and fair* and strive for *equality* for its citizens, (particularly those down on their luck). We believe that only the Labor Party can deliver that social justice in a fair and balanced manner.

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Executive Summary.

There is no doubt that the Election result on 18 May 2019 was a shock to the Labor faithful and to many other progressive parties who wanted to see action on Climate Change and hopefully a resolution to the suffering of Asylum seekers on Manus and Nauru.

The Polls pointed to a comfortable win for Labor with a good working majority. In the Authors circle of friends there was an expectation of hope for a new look at tomorrow.

Labor had done the hard Policy yards and were a disciplined and talented group in the Parliamentary Party.

A comprehensive set of policies were offered in Health, Education and Social Services as well as the most important area of Climate Change.

Eagerly awaited were the costings for this suite of policies, done by the Independent Parliamentary Budget Office and checked by a group of independent experts.

The Coalition could not lay a finger on the veracity of the costings and the policies were balanced and fair to the objective observer. Labor appeared to be in a winning position, yet they were narrowly beaten by 2 (could be 1) seat(s) (As at 29 May 2019).

By any fair business analysis Labor should have won easily. Labor thought so, the press thought so and even the Liberals and Nationals thought so, (despite their protestations that their polling showed the race to be tightening and their claims of a marketing genius in the Liberal director Hirst using superior tactics and strategy).

The Labor Party had developed a comprehensive policy platform and had managed to fund it by reducing Taxation concessions to wealthy retirees and investors and tightening up Taxation rules generally for allowable deductions. There were 4 main areas of discussion by both sides during the Campaign. They were Climate Change, Dividend Imputation, Negative Gearing and some Taxes Labor never had on their policy book.

So why did Labor lose? The Authors of this report used a well founded and respected analytic approach to look at the Marketplace for Labor and Coalition products (policies) and the specific products offered in terms of "Product" (Characteristics) "Pricing" (What pricing does this mean for the buyer (voter), and what cost or benefit does it provide the budget), "Promotion" (How is the message of the "Labor Party" gotten across to the Market (Public) and lastly "Place" or where is the message(s) distributed, through what mediums.

We firstly examined the Political marketplace in Australia and looked at all the Political Parties and all the message inputs which would affect certain demographic characteristics. Not in detail but as a general set of characteristics which might affect that voting choice.

We then conducted a SWOT analysis and looked at the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats to each of the 4 P's described above.

From our overview of the marketplace we learned that voter perception is influenced by a type of reverse brand advertising which is carried on during non election periods in order to stamp a view of a particular party in the mind of the voter. In this case we concluded that the message which the Coalition consistently repeats in all forms of messaging is a negative one where Labor cannot handle money, is run by the Unions who are thugs and want to control everything and take away their money.

From our analysis of the Product or policy developed by Labor, we concluded that the changes to Tax concessions in the areas of Franking Credits, and Negative Gearing concessions were fair and defensible and that dramatic Climate Change needed to be implemented to arrest that warming trend as part of a world wide effort.

Our analysis of the pricing and costing impacts also showed that the policies of Negative Gearing, Franking Credits and other reform, provided a much necessary boost to consolidated revenue, which then allowed a substantial investment by the Commonwealth into areas of need such as NDIS, NBN mitigation, health generally, education across all streams and still leave a surplus budget. ***The Parliamentary Budget Office and the independent experts agreed with the policy costings and revenue projections (Both Income and Expenditure).***

The authors noted that there had never been such a comprehensive set of policies brought before the Australian public. They exhibited a general non controversial suite which were all aired publically long before the Election was called and were being sold by individual members in some cases for years before this election.

An analysis of the promotion of the products (policies) was difficult. Firstly the suite of policies were on the website and were well explained, but that fact was not promoted or if it was such promotion was not successful. The authors also recognise that many hours of work go into policy development and that policies per se are not as simplistic as the public would like the explanation to be. The wording of Dividend Imputation or even Franking Credits are not easily understood. They were described correctly and well but such wording allows the opposition to use words and phrases which tended to muddy the policy water. The people who this affect is a difficult message to convey and the Coalition took a toll on the policy credibility by the use of such words.

An analysis of the category "Place" is problematic and covers every Press medium and advertising hoardings on main highways and transport hubs. The message might be fine but the placement of it is difficult and expensive. Television Ads and newspaper ads have less reach now than targeted social

media and internet advertising which are less costly but require some degree of expertise and finesse to gain maximum reach. Dollars are a huge criteria in getting the message out there. There is no doubt that the huge spend of millions by Clive Palmer made a significant difference in the Australian Psyche, especially in Queensland.

We see Labor's Achilles heel as a combination of Promotion and Distribution of that messaging, confounded by a negative perception in the population about Labor and the unions and their values and beliefs.

The negative overall message about Labor was then reinforced with a well concocted tissue of lies about Labor being the Party of Taxation – particularly the lies about a Labor Death Tax.

If one casts one's mind back to the 2013 election, that is what Tony Abbott did. He talked incessantly about a Carbon Tax lie that Julia Gillard told. He reinforced that lie every time he was on the television or had been interviewed by a Newspaper reporter. His lie was repeated Ad infinitum. It worked. The Press misquoted it and repeated it. I even remember seeing a caption at the bottom of a photo of Julia Gillard visiting somewhere with Ted Baillieu. It read Juliar Gillard..... even the ABC parroted the nasty name calling.

The same was true of the 2016 Election when Malcolm Turnbull took up the gift of the dispute between the United Fire Fighters Union and the Country Fire Authority. Once again the Unions wanted safe working conditions in their EBA and the CFA refused them, even after the dispute had gone to arbitration and the EBA was declared non controversial. There were 13 areas of dispute which after the sacking of the Board and the cudgel against the UFU being taken up for the CFA volunteers by the VFBV, the number of disputed clause rose to 50. Apparently Dan Andrews and Peter Marshall had made secret deals and the UFU was going to take over everything. The Liberals put up a website called Handsoffthecfa. It was registered to the Liberals Victorian Division by a man who once worked for the Liberal member for Corangamite, Sarah Henderson. She mentioned him in her first speech in parliament. Corangamite was a very marginal seat with loads of CFA Volunteer Stations. The VFBV made posters on a Friday morning and on the Sunday following Malcolm Turnbull was addressing the CFA Volunteers holding these posters in their scores. **(The Liberals are very good at this stuff)**

So we come to the messaging in the 2019 Election. It was there and it was good and plentiful, the thing that absolutely won it for the Liberals was the press. They repeated Liberal lies again and again. The phrase Retiree Tax overtook the exemption of pensioners from the Franking Credits. Meanwhile Tim Wilson was holding an Inquiry into the Franking Credits and loading it with Self Funded retirees from Affluent suburbs who all had the same message from the website the Liberals had established. The website even had a pro forma submission to the Inquiry. Outrageous conduct by Wilson, but apparently all within Parliamentary rules.

One Press journalist from Channel 10 decided to ask a brilliant Gotcha Question. "When are we going to see the costing for your Climate Change policy?" He might well have asked how long is a piece of string.

As you know there were a variety of options on choice for business to mitigate change under the policy so it was an impossibility to cost. Never mind the question he could have asked the Liberals "What is the cost of doing nothing?"

All of these negative messages by the Coalition, of which copies are in the Appendix and the partisan press, hurt Labor badly.

It is our contention that Labor lost this election (narrowly) because of a vacuum in the party. That vacuum started under the Howard Government when he went on the attack against working people. It was two pronged.

Firstly he changed the way trades people worked. Every factory used to have a maintenance department. In the late 1990's businesses had almost divested of all of their maintenance departments. The consequence of this was that tradespeople had now become small businesses and Howard treated them as such. He also tried as hard as he could to destroy the Unions and their influence in Australia. He tried very hard to convince the workers that unions were not necessary and in large part he succeeded. He went too far with workchoices though.

The Labor Party, the party of workers suffered through this period in association with Unionism and further suffered in Liberal attacks. If the unions were unnecessary then so would be the Labor Party.

The reason we named this report "Filling the Vacuum" is because of the vacuum of a response to the Liberal narrative about the Labor Party and Unionism.

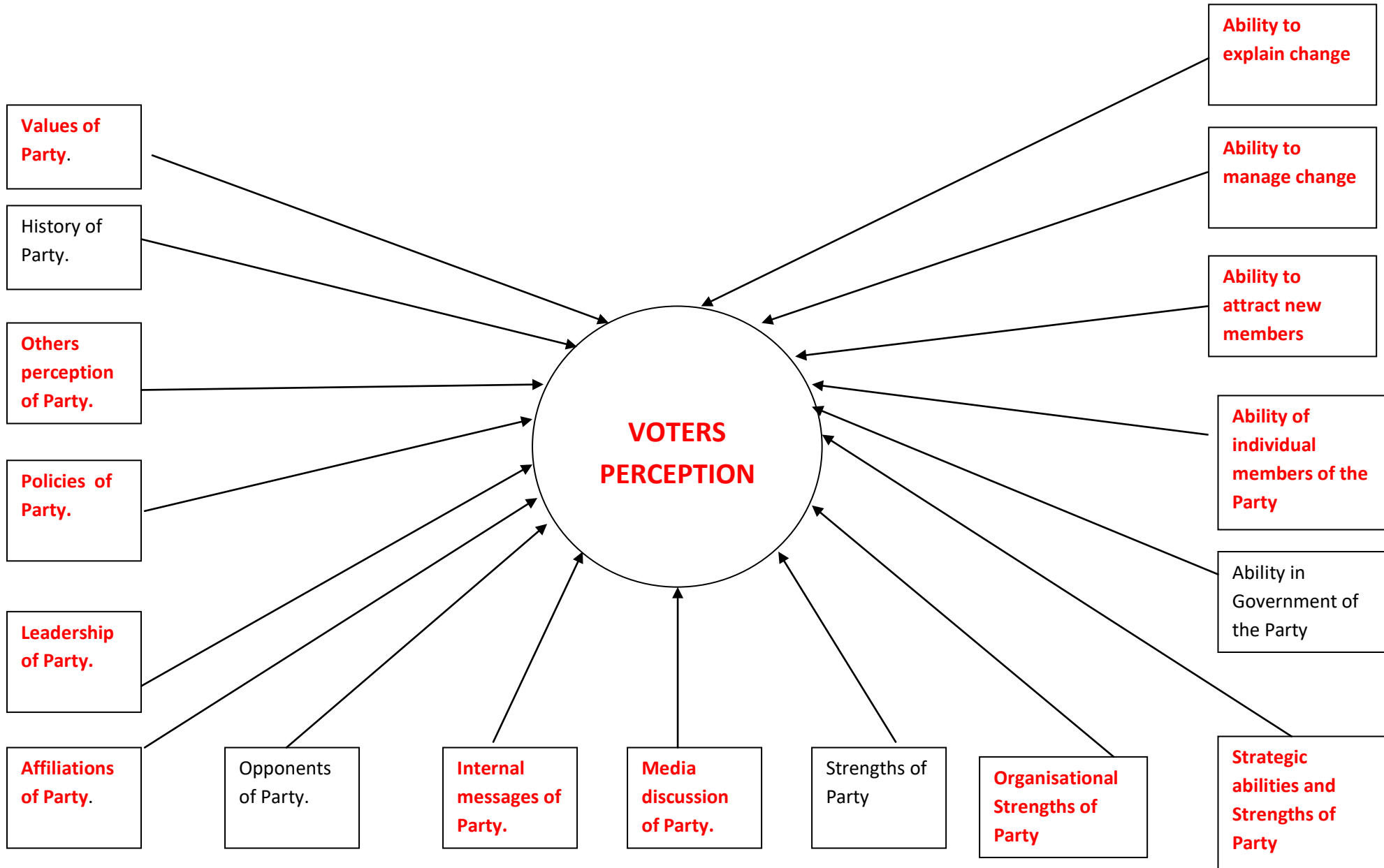
Painting a group of people with a brush of thuggery is clever and achieved the result in and of itself. If someone is called a thug, they might be likely to tell the caller to F**k off, in which case the charge is proved. See, they use foul language; therefore they must be a thug.

The Labor Party is also guilty of the same vacuum, when you join, you get a plastic card to carry and that is all. There is no DVD of the history of Unions or the Union movement or even why Unions exist because of the invention of machinery and the Agricultural and Industrial revolutions. The provision of a deep understanding of "Why Labor" "Why Union" is completely missing from the lexicon. How the Labor Party functions is also missing as is a copy of the rules and the access point to the platform and policy. How the Electoral system works and why Labor votes on Legislation the way it does. All a complete vacuum. Perhaps the best example of this is the Adani silence which was explained well by Tony Burke but a volunteer told us on Election night we should have slammed Adani like the Greens.

In Summary

- 1/ Poor (no) general perception message between elections in response to an ongoing and vociferous attack on Labor and the unions by the Coalition parties.
- 2/ Inability to counter lies of the Liberals in the actual Election Campaign. Such as the lie about a Labor 40% Inheritance Tax. This message from the Liberals was well described leading us to believe it was professionally done. (Perhaps this needs a legislative response, Media and Political Practices Act?)
- 3/ The Partisan press against Labor and our inability to counter them. (Legislative approach again as in 2?)
- 4/ Poor use of Social Media. Inability to use Social Media platforms as a conduit to published material and arguments on the internet and Labor Party web site.
- 5/ Not recognising the need for an ongoing media strategy to address perceptions of the unions and Labor Party.
- 6/ Not selling the Party or Union Movement within the membership well enough.
- 7/ Communicating with the Electorate at Division level.
- 8/ Training for Electorate Staff (Professional Development).
- 9/ Not employing Marketing and then Advertising professionals to develop strategy and messages with which to sell policies.***
- 10/ One perception made to the authors was that Bill Shorten acted like a typical Liberal leader who stood behind a lectern at rallies and appeared wooden, whereas Scott Morrison was out and about mixing with the people, albeit with zero policies.

Elements which influence voters of a political Party.
there general distribution to the public and their knowledge of these elements 25/05/2019



2.0 An overview of the Political marketplace in Australia.

2.1 The Liberal Party.

Web Site: Beliefs and history: <https://www.liberal.org.au/party>

Web Site: Policy: <https://www.liberal.org.au/our-policies>

The Liberal party took 37 policy Plans to the 2019 Federal Election.

Liberal Party values are small Government and opportunity for everyone to thrive in a competitive marketplace. Their mantra is competition and through that they see the individual rising up and fulfilling their potential.

They are the “Hands Off” party where they say they like to let the “Market” take care of itself. More “**Lazy unfair**” than Laissez Faire.

Because of this value and policy stance, they are fundamentally opposed to any sort of “Common Wealth” in its true sense. They do not believe in the welfare state and they are opposed to Medicare and have tried to break it up continuously.

They don’t believe in organised Labor and are against Unions and their power to bargain for the Worker. Their message is that Unions are now unnecessary. Because the economic conditions they provide are good.

However it’s OK for them to form business associations and right wing Think Tanks to try and test the waters of new “Capitalist” style policy initiatives such as changing the circumstances of Workers, Pensioners and the Disabled.

Examples of these right wing think Tanks are

- The IPA, a secretive organisation which have representatives appearing on ABC television all the time, espousing the Liberal “Message”
- The Centre for Independent Studies, styled as a Think Tank which produces so called policy documents as a precursor to Liberal Party policy.

Examples they have worked on include

1/ The Privatisation of the Electricity Industry in Victoria. A plan developed by the IPA called Project Victoria. This fed into the Privatisation of the Electricity Trust of South Australia and both sales created a false market place, raised the cost of power for the consumer and lined the pockets of the buyers. Victoria before it was sold off had the 8th cheapest power in the OECD, it was well run and employed 13,200 staff who were made redundant when it was sold off. See Sharon Beder Publications and John Quiggin reports on the privatisation of the power networks.

2/ The reduction of the amount of people on the Pension in 2015 and the reduction of the payments of pensions. In 2015, the then Minister for Social Security, now Prime Minister, Scott Morrison put in place a system which was called rebalancing the Pension Assets. What he actually did was use this clever title to kick 320,000 off the pension and to reduce the part pensions of at least 400,000 pensioners so that they were under the Henderson Poverty line.

3/ It has been a fact of life for years all over the world that people are afflicted with a range of ailments and have little capacity to work. The disability pension used to provide for these people and Labor brought in the National Disability Insurance Scheme to assist the more chronically disabled. In 2013 the Social Security minister Kevin Andrews made various untrue remarks about the DSP population and proceeded to change the impairment tables so that it would be extremely difficult to apply for and receive a Disability Support Pension.

Since 2001, to 2013 the department responsible used to publish a yearly report entitled "Characteristics of Disability Support Pensioners" This report was last product for the 2013 year.

The report was an excellent guide for the types of demography explained in the data and would have been an excellent input to policy development. However the Coalition government just changed the definition of disability and put everyone onto Newstart, at a lower rate of benefit and with onerous job searching requirements.

Their complete disdain for the disabled is also shown in the chronic underfunding of the NDIS scheme.

These three examples show the real Liberal/National Coalition and their real "concern" for those less well off.

2.2 The Australian Labor Party.

Web site: Platform (Including values): <https://www.alp.org.au/about/national-platform/>

Web Site: Policies: <https://www.alp.org.au/policies/>

Labor took 173 Policies to the 2019 Election.

Styled as a Party for the workers, the Australian Labor movement has a rich history of fighting for the underdog and has developed as a social Democratic Party.

Labor were formed as a political party because the unions didn't have a representation in the Parliament, the place where laws governing society generally are made.

Generally speaking the rise of the combination of workers into unions is not well understood by the rank and file and it is as well to remind readers as to why the working class decided to combine into unions.

To do this we must travel back in time to Wiltshire in England and to the farm of one Jethro Tull, a well heeled landowner who liked to tinker. In 1700 he invented a seed drill (a device to plant crops automatically). By 1715 he had perfected it.

England in 1700 was an agrarian society where the land was owned by the gentry and their workers were tied to their land by a feudal past as well as being in the boss's cottage. They eked out their existence on what was known as common land by running a few chickens, fattening a pig or grazing a cow.

With the invention of the Seed Drill however the Landowners decided that they needed more land and of course less labour, so the movement of workers to the cities began and the enclosure of the land commenced as well. This was accomplished by Acts of the Parliament. Of course the class that sat in the Parliament were the land owners. They cared little for the workers as long as they made a quid (or lots of quids).

By 1799, the Agricultural Revolution was well under way and the Industrial Revolution had started.

The working class were not happy that they had been further disenfranchised and wanted to combine and form Unions to bargain for better conditions.

In 1799 the first Combination Act was passed, which prohibited workers combining to form groups or unions.

With the movement to the larger cities and unemployment, underemployment, long hours for small pay and poverty, it was little wonder that crime was rife.

The easiest way to rid themselves of crime was to hang people and also to transport them as convict labour to the Colonies in America.

After the War of American Independence, this door was closed to the Authorities and in 1788, as we know the first fleet was sent to Australia. Australia became a brutal penal colony to which 168,000 convicts were transported between 1788 and 1868.

The class system was also transported and any dissent was brutally repressed.

Back in England the Combination Act of 1799 was repealed and replaced by an even stricter version in 1800. This was repealed in 1824. In 1825 the Combination of Workmen Act was passed which allowed trade unions but severely restricted their activity.

However the plight of workers both on the land and in the cities was dire. Wages were low and various groups were formed and violence ensued.

Even though the Combination Act of 1800 had been repealed, conditions for workers were dire.

Perhaps the best example of this treatment and the response to it is the story of the Tolpuddle Martyrs.

Tolpuddle is a little rural village in Dorset in the South of England. In 1834 a group of Agricultural workers formed a union called the Friendly Society of Agricultural Labourers to protest about the lowering of Agricultural wages. They refused to work for less than 10 shillings a week, but the wages had been lowered to 7 shillings and were due to go down again to 6 shillings a week.

A local landowner and magistrate (yes they had all the power), wrote to the Prime Minister and complained. Back came the advice to charge them under an act called the [Unlawful Oaths Act 1797](#), a law which had been enacted after the royal Navy Mutinies at Spithead and the Nore.

A reading of the case shows coercion by the magistrate. Two locals swore the oath to join and then turned against the original 5 labourers. The leader was a Methodist preacher and shepherd.

They were arrested, charged and convicted and all sentenced to 7 Years Transportation to Australia.

After they had been transported, 4 to NSW and one to Van Diemen's Land, 200,000 people rioted in London and in 1836 they were pardoned and returned to England.

However the powers that be in England had sent word out to the Australian colonial authorities that they were to be treated harshly.

In his book "The Fatal Shore", the author, Robert Hughes describes the attitude of the Master of one of the convicts, who had his boots and clothes stolen on the way to his place of work. The master made him work without suitable clothes or shoes until his next allocation and threatened to take him before the local magistrate (normally a friend) to have him flogged.

This is one of the best examples of the draconian attitude of the upper class to workers trying to live a normal life.

The history of the Trades Union Movement in Australia can be found at the ACTU site here.

<https://www.actu.org.au/about-the-actu/history>

It is a fascinating read about the seesawing back and forth of successive Coalition Governments to curtail the workers from bargaining for wages rises and better conditions.

Notably under John Howard in 1996 and 1999 and then his horrendous Workchoices legislation which saw him thrown out in 2007 with the loss of his own seat.

It is fair to say that the response to fair working conditions and wages by the conservative parties and their business backers have always been negative.

In earlier times in the 1800 and 1900's such a negative approach was met by anger and in some cases violence.

The last such incident was actually by the conservative side of politics in the Waterfront Dispute under the John Howard conservatives, where the workers were locked out and thugs with dogs and balaclavas were guarding their workplaces. Alternative (SCAB) labour was bussed in.

Contrast the Howard years with a significant hiatus which was achieved under a Labor Government led by Bob Hawke, where an accord was struck between business and the Trades Unions movement to work in a more harmonious manner. This was trashed by John Howard.

In more recent times the Labor Party has sought to be non confrontational (compared to previous times) about wages and conditions and the conservative side of politics have taken advantage of this approach and abolished Penalty rates and struck Free Trade deals which allow unqualified labour to enter Australia and to be paid under award wages.

The Seesaw continues apace in 2019.

Many Labor supporters find this quiescent approach to Industrial Relations perplexing. It is almost as if a strong voice on the workplace has diminished to a whisper.

2.3 The Australian Greens

Web page. <https://greens.org.au/policies>

Nine main Policy Areas in the 2019 Election.

The birth of the Australian Greens was because of the environmental abuse about to be committed in Tasmania on the Gordon below Franklin Dam. A Coalition Liberal/National State Government had approved it and Bob Hawke; the Labor Federal Prime Minister stopped it.

However the Greens Party continued to grow. Their signature policies revolve around the environment, but have now branched out to include a full suite of policies in aspiration one day to govern the country.

Their main base is in the Senate, but they have had a Member in the house of Reps for a while now as well.

The senate is where their power lies as a balance of Power Party.

Unlike the Nationals and the Liberals, they are not in Coalition with Labor, who are also a progressive party. In right/left terms the Greens are to the left of Labor and sometimes have startling support for extreme right wing policies.

A recent examination of the 150 HoR seats shows that greens preference flows (actual and not how to vote) show at least 20% flowing to the Coalition parties. It must be recognised that not all of that 20% were 1st preference Greens voters and may have been 2nd preference Green and 3rd preference Coalition Party.

The main policy areas the Greens favour and talk about are Asylum Seekers and the Environmental approval of new Coal Mines in a vociferous climate change debate.

Many things in politics are not simple and the Asylum Seeker issue is one of these. It should have sparked a larger policy debate about armed intrusions into countries thousands of kilometres away, but hasn't.

The larger question is should Australia send troops to wars in the Middle East? The reason that question needs to be asked is because of the consequences of trashing another country. One of those consequences has been the rush across the world to come to Australia.

Under refugee law this is not illegal and anyone is entitled to seek asylum.

For political reasons, John Howard politicised this situation and refused entry to Asylum seekers which had been picked up by a cargo ship. He sent the Special Air Service regiment onto the ship in defiance of International Law.

Playing a race card he refused them entry and generally made up stories about these refugees. That, for example they threw their children deliberately into the water.

As well as this illegality, the legality of the Iraq War was also called into question.

Many other issues such as the mental health of soldiers on foreign deployment were also raised.

Such politics were a boon to the Greens. Let them all in they cried, no detention for any period of time.

Labor wanted a planned and orderly assimilation and processing, but seeing an opening the Greens ramped up the noise and blocked every initiative to make this work. As did the Coalition parties. Both Greens and Coalition played hard ball. The Labor party became wedged in the middle and adopted the Coalition stance and policy for one month before they were booted out of Government in Sept 2013.

The Greens see themselves as an alternative to the ALP and are striving hard to harvest voters from the ALP to the Greens.

Their second signature policy (The Environment) also highlights this approach.

Whilst there is a lawful approval process to follow the Greens keep hammering Labor over their silence on the Adani mine.

Once again a wedge. In Queensland the people think there will be jobs for a depressed jobs market, further south people think Labor are weak on Climate Change. In both places Labor is seen in a different light. In the southern states as a supporter of the Adani mine (which is detrimental to them electorally) and in Queensland as a supporter of the Greens against the mine and the jobs it brings).

During the 2015 Parliamentary session the Greens made a decision to back the changes to pensions, believing the lies which Scott Morrison used to sell the policy. This was a decidedly non progressive thing to do.

There are a cohort in the Greens who are young and also educated and they think that the Baby Boomers have stuffed their future opportunities up in life. They blame them for being greedy and for having all the housing and leaving nothing for the next generation. These sort of generalisations don't take into account the large diversity in the Baby Boomer profile and belie the so called intelligence of the younger Green voter.

3.0 General Perceptions of Labor in the Australian Psyche

3.1 Changing Prime Ministers

The Rudd/Gillard/Rudd years are seen as an era of chaos in Labor.

The dumping of Kevin Rudd, completely ruined Labor's chances of being in Government long term.

The opposition attack on Julia Gillard was horrendous and vile but reform continued.

The attack on Julia Gillard re the Carbon Tax lie was also relentless and a lie in itself. The Press willingly helped this relentless lie. Australia should be ashamed of allowing it to continue and the Press should also forever hang their heads in shame.

3.2 Asylum seeker policy

When Rudd came back he had scant time before an election and he made a fundamental mistake of giving into the wedge of the greens and Coalition and adopting the Coalitions Policy re detention and resettlement. Six years later Australia is seen as a heartless and cruel place and Peter Dutton has managed to blame Labor for the severe discomfort of the Asylum seekers, despite the policy only being in place for a month under Labor.

3.3 Climate Change policy.

In 2009 Labor put up a proposal for an abatement strategy and it was voted down by the Liberals/Nationals and the Greens (showing their ability to place politics above values and conviction).

Rudd dropped the ball. The ball was picked up again by Julia Gillard and with the help of the Greens passed in 2010 in a minority Labor Parliament. She had said there would be no carbon Tax and Tony Abbott immediately characterised the abatement scheme as a Carbon Tax. He was relentless and cut through with his own lie.

The differences of opinion between Labor, the Greens and the Coalition have been intractable. Abatement of carbon is a dirty word. Climate change denial is alive and well.

3.4 Industrial relations.

There is no doubt that when Tony Abbott said that the Workchoices of the Howard Era was dead buried and cremated, he was being untruthful. As described above in the history of the Labor movement, it has ever been the fact that capital always wants to suppress labour.

The attack on Labor and the Unions ramped up during the short prime ministership of Abbott.

3.5 Home Insulation Scheme Under the Rudd Government

Firstly Abbott worked to establish a Queensland Royal Commission with the connivance of the Queensland Liberal Government into workplace deaths. This was done through the then Attorney-General Jarrod Bleijie. The cynical political objective of the Coalition parties was to embarrass ex

Prime Minister Rudd by pinning the blame for the deaths onto him and his Labor Government and also to show that Labor were hopeless at organising the Insulation Stimulus Package.

This despite the fact that the three people killed in Queensland died as a result of either workplace practices in OH&S not carried out or by wiring which had existed in roofs for many years. The employers of the dead installers had been to court and had each been fined for their negligence.

It is of note that the press didn't report the fact that there had been inquiries before and that they had found no negligence on the part of the Federal Government. Workplace laws are the province of State Governments.

The Author wrote about the whole details of the deaths and inquiries into them here.

<https://vinceogrady.wordpress.com/2013/07/08/the-old-chestnut-the-home-installation-scheme-the/>

3.6 Royal Commission into Trade Union Governance and Corruption

Once again established as a political witch hunt by Prime Minister Tony Abbott.

The first thing to note about this Royal Commission is the title. The word corruption is a clever use of words as in Australian Law it is not defined apart from in the NSW ICAC Act.

<https://www.legislation.nsw.gov.au/#/view/act/1988/35/part3/sec8>

So Australia wide the application of this State Act is only valid in New South Wales.

The governance of unions is in the Workplace Act and all of those provisions are Civil penalties.

Efforts were made to embarrass Julia Gillard and her conduct as a Solicitor in setting up a workplace association for her boyfriend for the AWU in Western Australia. Much dirt had been dug and much of it failed to stick. The commission concluded that Julia Gillard had committed no offences.

Next was the attempt to smear Bill Shorten for his time as the Secretary of the AWU.

After being asked about 900 questions Shorten was released from the witness box. It was of note that he knew his subject of the nuisances of workplace agreements and their anomalies, much better than council assisting Jeremy Stoljar who appeared to not quite 'get' the intricacies of workplace bargaining.

During the detailed answers which Shorten was able to give, he was chastised by the Commissioner Heydon reported in the SMH thus

“Bill Shorten has been warned that his credibility as a witness is at risk, by royal commissioner Dyson Heydon, who chastised the Labor leader for using the inquiry into trade unions as a political platform.”

Given that the whole commission was a political exercise by the coalition accusing Shorten of using the commission as a political platform was a bit rich.

I suspect he was frustrated that Stoljar just couldn't nail Shorten because there was no wrongdoing on his part.

None the less the press were scathing of the Unions and Shorten.

As an exercise in Political Kabuki it was second to none and the partisan conservative press lapped it up.

The Coalition star witness Kathy Jackson however turned out to be a classic exploding bomb for the Coalition. In the end it had to refer her for allegedly dipping into the till of the HSU to the tune of \$100,000 of member's funds.

Attempts to smear the CFMEU as it was then were farcical, where John Agius SC acting for the Union made the Assistant Police commissioner Fontana look like a fool in his cross examination. It is worth while looking at this again and again as how not to give evidence.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=160dxxkw27c>

In the final report 47 people or Organisations were referred for 90 Matters.

Those 90 matters consisted of.

Commonwealth Fair Work	27 Civil
NSW Fair Work	7 Civil
Fraud	5 Criminal
False Evidence	2 Criminal
Misleading Statements	1 Criminal
ACT Fair Work	5 Civil
Corrupt commissions	19 Criminal
False Accounting	13 Criminal
Taxation	1 Criminal
Revoke Charity Status	1 Civil
ASIC	5 Civil
Aid and Abet	3 Criminal
ACT Criminal Offence	1 Criminal

A total of 42 Criminal Offences and 48 Civil Offences.

Other people were referred in the Interim report.

The totals are shown in this report by Tony Slevin, one of the barristers appearing on behalf of the CFMEU.

<http://classic.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/PrecedentAULA/2016/40.html>

He says that overall 72 people were referred over 147 offences of all types.

If the TURC cost \$46 million that is \$312,925 per offence referred.

The point being that as far as I can ascertain only one conviction has been obtained.

<https://www.smh.com.au/business/workplace/another-turc-star-witness-in-legal-trouble-20170406-gvewo5.html>

And the star witness against him has been fined for workplace offences as well as other star witnesses at the TURC have gone broke owing millions in Canberra.

Yet the damage done to the unions and the Labor movement has been immense. The message given to and received by the public was one of wrongdoing and corruption, where little if any actually existed. *In contrast the banking Royal Commission had 15,000 breaches against the law and virtually nothing was said.*

3.7 Newstart.

As a Socially Demographic party the Australian Labor party has failed in its avowed value of looking after workers who do not have a job.

The Level of Newstart payment is below the poverty line and is being used by the Coalition Government as punishment for the recipients being on the payment in the first place.

The simple message is that there are not enough jobs in the country to have full employment and the Coalition regime of punishing the unemployed was and is not being well handled by the Australian Labor Party.

The people who are unemployed lack the dignity that Labor values have always stood up for. Labor have rightly been shamed by their lack lustre response to this payment being raised if they got into power.

Not only did it go against traditional Labor values, it was a poor decision not to promise and deliver a rise in the Newstart payment. An inquiry was not enough. *A rise should have been costed in.*

The perception of Labor here was an uncaring Party and Liberal lite. With good cause.

3.8 Conclusion.

These Policy areas when plugged into the Map of the Voters perception show a Labor party which is disorganised, at war with itself and unhelpful and a little arrogant in the mind (perception) of the general Public. Aloof from their general concerns.

To assist this perception along the way the Coalition Government have gamed the message using a variety of devices like Royal Commissions to enhance their message to the public that the Unions are corrupt and that the Labor Party is part of that corruption.

It matters not a jot that those perceptions are not correct in fact. They are in the mind of the voter.

We hear them all the time. Politicians are all the same.

The greatest travesty is that the Labor Party and the unions haven't done anything concrete to change the perception that the Coalition have fermented in the mind of the Public.

John Howard was a master at making the public think that the role of unions was over in Australia and that he would look after them. He was successful in that message by treating workers moved from payed employment as small business owners and giving them large sums of money from the mining boom. They had arrived. They were no longer blue collar workers but part of the great Australian business community and were lost to the Unions movement and the Labor Party.

It was therefore easy to see that they had changed sides and if they were now employers and had to kowtow to the demands of the union based agreements they had before been so willing to embrace.

There is a real need for unions to embrace their membership with a program of reinvestment in the movement and to explain to them why the Labor movement isn't dead and why it is important to belong to a Union.

It is of the utmost importance for the Labor Party to also explain to their membership why the Labor movement is necessary and to have a suitable introduction pack for each member of the party, to make them feel welcome but to also teach them that the struggle between capital and Labor is an ongoing battle which must be continually fought.

4.0 Policies of the Labor Party. Should we have grouped these better?

Start of policies

<https://www.alp.org.au/policies/>

- 1/Better hospital fund
- 2/ Better fund for Australian schools
- 3/Labor's plan for higher wages
- 4/Medicare cancer plan
- 5/Labor's plan for local jobs
- 6/Cheaper child care
- 7/Fee free TAFE
- 8/Cheaper cleaner renewable energy
- 9/Nation building infrastructure
- 10/Making Multinationals pay their fair share
- 11/Fairer tax cuts for working Australians
- 12/Plan for small business
- 13/Australian investment guarantee
- 14/Australian Shipping Industry
- 15/Help close the gender pay gap.
- 16/Real action on climate change
- 17/Battery metal manufacturing
- 18/Emergency Dept waiting time blitz
- 19/Plan to protect our environment
- 20/Better and fairer trade agreements
- 21/Labor's banking fairness fund
- 22/Trusts reform

23/Labor's plan for solar schools

24/Protecting local workers.

25/City partnership program

26/Reforming Dividend imputation

27/Labor's plan to improve the NBN.

28/Science at the centre of government

29/Australia in space

30/AI excellence

31/Negative gearing and capital gains Tax

32/Labors plan for secure jobs

33/Regulate power prices

34/The Liberals Medicare freeze

35/Standing up for pensioners

36/Labor's plan for strong borders

37/Labor's plan for Apprentices

38/Private health Insurance

39/Pre School and kindy program

40/Labor's plan for neighbourhood renewable

41/Research and Development

42/Solar and batteries for household

43/Just Transition for Energy Workers

44/Future proof our Energy Network

45/Labor's plan for hydrogen

46/National Plan to reduce homelessness

47/Drug and Alcohol treatments

48/Olivia Newton John cancer research

- 49/Investing in headspace plus
- 50/National Integrity Commission
- 51/National rural health strategy
- 52/First Nations children
- 53/Labor's plan for Australian women
- 54/Whistleblower protections
- 55/Judicial Appointments
- 56/Corporate bribery
- 57/Victorian Pride centre and Joy FM
- 58/Advanced manufacturing jobs
- 59/Disability Royal Commission
- 60/Stronger gas export controls
- 61/Energy efficiency
- 62/Building safety
- 63/Rail manufacturing jobs
- 64/Commitment to Multicultural Australia
- 65/National Inquiry into research
- 66/NDIS more jobs Better Purposes
- 67/National Principals Academy
- 68/Research integrity
- 69/Students with disability
- 70/Swim Smart
- 71/Bursaries for Top Achievers
- 72/Community language schools
- 73/Evidence institute for schools
- 74/Asian languages and literacy

75/Naplan review

76/More university places

77/Building TAFE for the future

78/Better Medicare and Centrelink services

79/Farm productivity

80/Protect the ABC

81/University Pathway fund

82/Support our dairy Industry

83/COAG process for drought reform

84/National Leadership on Animal Welfare

85/Better deal for Auto dealers

86/Food and fibre education support

87/Bank victim compensation package

88/Fairer Tax Administration

89/Reviewing Newstart

90/Childcare inducements

91/Overseas money transfers

92/Tougher anti dumping regime

93/Save workers super

94/Playgrounds and toy libraries

95/Preventing family violence

96/ADF troops equipment

97/Investing in cancer research

98/Banking Royal commission

99/Infrastructure investment Bank

100/Military Covenant

101/Strengthening Australia's diplomatic engagement

102/Honouring Veterans

103/International Development assistance

104/Global Humanitarian crisis

105/Labor's plan for the AFP in Hobart

106/Urgent humanitarian relief

107/Veteran's Employment Package

108/Veteran's recovery centre

109/Anti Slavery commissioner

110/Western Front Fellowship

111/Food and fibre manufacturing

112/Veteran's support hub in the NT.

113/Support for defence personnel and veterans

114/University Future Fund

115/Pensioner dental plan

116/Women's reproductive rights

117/Labor's future Asia plan

118/Labor loves live music

119/Inquiry into Post Secondary Education

120/Hotel pricing

121/Make Superannuation fairer

122/Boost Super nest eggs

123/Services and support centre for cancer patients.

124/Labor's plan to fix the NDIS

125/Help developing countries fight multinationals

126/Your car your choice

127/Labour hire

128/Pay transparency for large Company CEO's

129/Cooperatives and mutual enterprises

130/Fairer markets for a fairer Australia

131/Tradie pay guarantee.

132/Better regional communication

133/Unfair contract terms

134/Housing affordability

135/Fairer long stay parent Visa

136/National bike paths strategy

137/Marine Science

138/Council of super custodians

139/Protection for casual workers

140/LGBTIQ Australians

141/Environmental laws

142/National Park and ride fund

143/Indigenous justice gap

144/Indigenous rangers

145/Save the Murray–Darling Basin

146/Cultural water

147/Urban Rivers and corridors

148/Ocean protection

149/Stop the super trawler

150/Online safety for children

151/Plastics waste and recycling

152/Labor's plan for climate science

153/Native species protection fund

154/Supporting recreational fishing

155/A fair go for first Australians

156/New jobs Tax cut

157/Climate adaption and Coastal rehabilitation plan

158/Forestry

159/A better deal for young Australians

160/Sustainable fisheries and aquaculture

161/Deduction cap for managing Tax affairs

162/Electric vehicle innovation and manufacturing

163/Australian Republic and Head of State.

164/Great Australian Bight study

165/Aged care

166/Australia's creative economy

167/Renewing creative Australia

168/Wage underpayments

169/Great Ocean road

170/Plan for regional development

171/Plan for cities

172/Local Government

173/Plan for local Government

End of policies

4.1 Grouping Of Polices in (Economy or Community?)

A.Women Policies	3 Policies
B.Environment	No specific overall policy.
C.Health	18 Policies
D.Transporation	No specific overall policy.
E.Education	20 policies
F.Employment Conditions	8 policies
F1Cost of living	8 Policies
F1.1Conditions	4 Policies
F1.2Wages	3 Policies
F1.3OH&S	1 Policy
G.Climate change	16 Policies
H.Housing	1 Policy
I. Employment Statistics	0 Policy
I1.1Unemployment	0 Policy
I1.2Underemployment	0 Policy
I1.3Participation rate	0 Policy
I1.4Contracting	1 Policy
J.Industry	10 Policies
J1.1Telecommunications	3 Policies
J1.2Law relating to communications.	0 Policy
K.Industrial relations	No specific overall policy.
L.Foreign Affairs	4 Policies
L1.1Diplomacy	6 Policies
L1.2Trade	4 Policies
M.Defence	2 Policies

M1.1Procurement	1 Policy
M1.2Security (ASIO and ASIS)	0 Policy
N.Indigenous Affairs	1 Policy
N1.1Treaty	1 policy
N1.2Incarceration.	1 Policy
O.Financial System	1 Policy
O1.1Banking	3 Policies
O1.2Insurance	0 Policy.
P.Social Services	
P1.1Aged Pension	1 Policy
P1.2SMSF	0 Policy
P1.3Deemed pensions	0 Policy
P1.4Industry Super	1 Policy
P1.5Fin Service super.	0 Policy
Q.Taxation.	6 Policies
Q1.1Income TAX	1 Policy
Q1.2Family trusts	1 policy
Q1.3Allowances	3 Policies
Q1.4Company Tax	0 Policy
Q1.5Super.	3 Policies
R.Government Federation/State relations.	1 Policy
R1.1COAG.	14 Policies
R1.2Judiciary.	6 policies
S.Agriculture.	2 Policies

T.Faith? (recognising a wide range of beliefs and groups). No specific overall policy.

U.Tourism. 1 Policy

V. Science and Technology. 11 Policies

5.0 Marketing analysis

5.1 Product

There is no doubt that the Labor Party produced a comprehensive set of policies. Which we have seen as the product, but the product is also what the Labor Party stands for and more importantly is seen to stand for. That of course is a function of perception which can be changed by subtle and not so subtle messages from the other political parties.

The product doesn't stand by itself. It must be viewed as part of a mix of factors in the mind of the voter.

5.2 Price

Price may mean many things, depending on the person viewing. For example in economic terms we look at the cost to the budget of the policies enunciated. Whether they are a plus or a minus to consolidated revenue. In this case they were well balanced to gain revenue and also well crafted to deliver a set of policies for individual sections of the community generally which should have been well received.

5.3 Promotion

The Labor Party Website was not the best representation of the policies. Each of the 173 policies was coloured, with no apparent colour representing a particular area like Health or Education. Individual policies were all over the place and not in any sort of order and all jumbled.

This didn't matter because there was no advertising saying that the policies were on the Website so it was a double failure.

Television use of attack ads is so out of date and negative. Same old same old. Like throwing money away in wads for no gain.

Newspaper advertising, although a medium which is diminishing was also a very damaging thing for the Labor Party. ***Throwing \$60 millions at a campaign in the Newspapers and also on TV in saturation mode hurt us greatly.***

Internet Webpages and Graphics and Video media ability needs to be used more and more.

Where a policy is contentious and might be harmful for the Party, the clever use of graphics and storyboards is recommended. A classic example of the Dividend Imputation policy showed this to be a real problem.

Detailed information on the effect of this policy was available through the parliamentary budget office through costings asked to be done by Senator Leyonheilm. No doubt the costings and impact of this policy were also asked for by the Labor Party. It could have been

explained in a much better fashion than it was. Utilising video graphics produced by experts in these disciplines.

5.4 Place

In Australia, the authors see this as a problem for the Labor Party. The Newspapers across the whole of Australia are dominated by a conservative news organisation, which is also strongly against the Labor Party and always has been. To expect balanced reporting from that section of the print media is to expect too much. It is always in our opinion going to be negative.

It is our opinion that the reach of this particular Newspaper group is far too large to actually have any balanced coverage of Labor Party policy.

Likewise their television arm is also unbalanced and therefore biased against Labor.

The Other News organisation The Fairfax group has recently been taken over by Channel 9 which is also biased against Labor as is the 7 news group.

They are unlikely to be a balanced commentator for any Labor policy.

The last bastion of Free Media in the country used to be the ABC, which had always been a fair contributor to the debate, but following funding cuts in 2014 and since and the culling of programs such as Lateline, where sound analysis and debate were to be had, the remaining programs remaining, fall far short of any balanced view of Australian politics.

ABC journalists took up the refrain of the Coalition parties during the Election campaign, including, but not limited to the referral to the dislike by the electorate of Bill Shorten in the opinion polls. A fact which has never been proven and should not have been part of the debate.

The Media Landscape for the Australian Labor party is a bleak place presently and has been for some years since the Rudd, Gillard Rudd years where a debt was left after the global Financial crisis and repeatedly referred to by the Coalition parties with nary a word spoken by journalists across all platforms about the Coalition doubling that debt.

The rest of the world thought that the Australian Government and Wayne Swan did a wonderful job in keeping Australia out of recession.

6.0 Swot Analysis

6.1 Strengths

The Strengths of the Labor party lie in policy development for the whole of Australian society and the suite of policies developed for the 2019 election and beyond were an excellent plan to steer Australia into the next 50 years.

6.2 Weaknesses

As we have said before, the Authors see the Weaknesses in Labor's ability to become the government of Australia in the following terms.

1/ The inability of the Labor Party (and by inference the union Movement) to spell out in simple terms what they are about, their values and the ideological basis for their existence

2/ The Inability to counter an ongoing media campaign by the Liberals and Nationals which paints the Labor party and unions as some sort of a communist threat where both organisations are coming to destroy your life and livelihood. That the alternative is a much better choice because they a) will always be better at...(add in some unquantifiable words) b) They will always be better managers of money, c) they will keep Australia safe from outside unspecified people.

3/ The Inability to have a strategy and media messaging to refute lies about specific policies or made up policies.

4/ The perception in the mind of the membership and the public that Labor lacks the will to fight hard for Labor values

5/ The inability to tell the Union/Labor story on Labor's terms rather than them listening to the Coalitions ideas about Labor.

6/ The inability to cut through the media landscape which is virtually 100% against Labor.

6.3 Opportunities

The Opportunities are threefold. A) to counter the negative perceptions of the public on an ongoing basis and B) To counter the specific lies and tactics of the Coalition Parties and the Australian Greens. C) To maybe form an alliance/Coalition with the Greens to work together for a better Australia.

6.4 Threats.

There is one threat to not acting to fix these demonstrated problems. That threat is that Labor will not get back onto the government benches until it recognises and acts on these problems.

7.0 Segmentation of the Australian voting Public and response to Labor's 2019 Election policies.

Who are the Labor party? AND What do they stand for?

The authors found the best way to segment the Political landscape was to take into account the demographics of three Age groups in the Market,

- a. The Younger generation where employment and Education are the main aims. Those Aged 15 to 35 years. This cohort represents 6,356,837 persons (33.38%) from a voting population of 19,039,287.
- b. The middle generation where they have mostly completed their education and are hard at work making a life for their family, paying off a mortgage and schooling their children. This cohort represents 7,704,274 persons (40.46%) from a voting population of 19,039,287.
- c. The retired generation, where they live from the proceeds of their working life and have aspirations for their children and their grandchildren. This cohort represents 4,976,160 persons (26.13%) from a voting population of 19,039,287.

A Democratic Socialist party with policies for Social justice in:-

- 1/ Industrial relations
- 2/ Health
- 3/ Education
- 4/ Inclusion and multiculturalism
- 5/ Fairness under Domestic and International Laws.
- 6/ Retirement.

Across all three cohorts/segments.

7.1 How did they score under 1/ Industrial Relations?

According to the Author's grouping of 173 individual policies there was not one *pure* industrial relations policy or Strategy. There were however parts of policy, such as penalty rates being brought back, Wages being increased, Newstart being reviewed.

Generally the Labor party and the unions seem to be riven, when they should be in lock step.

In the Authors view the Industrial relations policy, especially in regard to the increase in Newstart, which hasn't increased for 25 years was weak and ineffectual.

457 Visa workers are coming to Australia under the various Coalition Trade agreements. Recently for example I was astonished to hear that there were Seventy foreign Welders employed at Hobart Hospital.

Of most harm to Labor was the mixed/ absent coherent message on the Adani Mine. In the Southern States, the perception was that Labor was strong on Climate change and against the Adani Mine. In Queensland however that message wasn't going down well, because of the Jobs promised.

Labor failed to neutralise the LNP message of jobs. It's a simple truth that clean air doesn't put money in your pocket or clothes on your back.

Conclusion.

As a market segment Newstart represents at Least a Million people, those on Newstart and those who maybe on Newstart (they are relying on their family) should the payment be higher. We might also include those on casual and insecure work and who would look to this safety net to survive unemployment.

A million people in a voting population of 15 million in 2019 is 6.62%. This is a conservative estimate of the persons who are affected by any policy in this area.

It is also a fact that Queensland represents 30 seats in the HoR of which Labor won 6. 19.86% of the total HoR seats of which Labor won 4%.

A failure to enunciate a strong Job creation policy in Queensland because the message got scrambled up with Climate change.

7.2 How did they score under 2/ Health?

There is no doubt that under the Coalition Health costs for people with illnesses have risen. The cost of prescription drugs and the cost of scans are prohibitive for many people.

Especially for things like Teeth and Eyes and the gap one has to pay for a visit to the GP.

Labor had a good set of policies and in this section, especially for Cancer and Dental work.

Conclusion.

Labor always scores well in this area and the damage done to the Health portion of the Welfare state is always difficult to fund once it has been decimated by the Coalition. It must be said however that Health is only a subject at the front of mind when the individual or individual family member is ill.

7.3 How did they score under 3/ Education?

Once again Labor enunciated a broad range of Education policies, highlighting the fact that an Educated country (in all areas from Kindy to PhD) drives the economy and productivity in Industry and services.

Pre School, Primary Secondary, TAFE (reinvestment) and University were all strong positive policies.

Conclusion.

Labor always scores well in this area and the damage done to the Education portion of the Welfare state is always difficult to fund once it has been decimated by the Coalition. Once again it's a long term policy area where results are years in the making. So not front of mind.

7.4 How did they score under 4/ Inclusion and multiculturalism?

This area goes to the fundamentals of Who Australians think they are in the 2019's and who they want to be included.

As a Multicultural country it is an unfortunate thing that Australia have been embroiled in wars over the years which were ideologically or religiously based and that those wars were supported by the conservative side of politics with conventional arms and soldiers, who more often than not did more damage to the infrastructure of the country they were fighting in than good. Of particular note are Vietnam and Iraq.

Both conflicts saw no clear outcome for Australia and a clear defeat and even more trouble for the west in both cases.

If you go to war in a country, then The Authors believe that you have some responsibility for the people you have disrupted during the conflict. Such was the case with Vietnam, where a previous coalition government decided to settle refugees in Australia as a result of that conflict.

In the Iraq case there has been a total lack of leadership and responsibility with those who were disrupted as a result of Australia illegally entering a war with Iraq. We also have a responsibility to provide Foreign Aid to help developing and distressed countries.

Rather than maintain the moral and legal high ground on the settlement of refugees which we helped cause, the Labor party decided to change stance and implemented an offshore detention regime for approximately one month before the 2013 Election in September of that year.

6 Years on and we have a humanitarian disaster on our side because the Labor values of fairness and inclusion have been thoroughly trashed by this policy. It is astonishing that Political expediency has been used where international law and fair dealing should have been upheld.

The irony of the Policy, is that it has probably cost more to detain a small amount of people than to allow them to come and stay in Australia. Many of them have died and mental health issues are rife.

It is a disgrace that a party such as the Labor party shows such Cognitive Dissonance about this area of policy.

In Short the Labor party have been played like a musical instrument by the coalition over this issue and have ceded good leadership to extremely bad moral leadership.

Conclusion.

On a political level, many Labor supporters have left the party and joined the Greens, further weakening the Proud traditions of Labor.

7.5 How did they score under 5/ Fairness under Domestic and International Laws?

See 4/ above.

7.6 How did they score under 6/ Retirement?

This was the biggest Achilles heel for the Labor party at this election. Not because they had poor policies but they failed in the selling of those policies.

Not only did they not negate the Lies of the Liberals and Nationals, they didn't make a simple enough explanation of dividend imputation or franking credits.

These are words not used by a generally innumerate population and they are open to confusion, which the Liberals jumped on with glee. Then strengthening and confusing the population more by inserting Labor policy which didn't exist. (an inheritance Tax). The total Policy was confusing to this group of the public.

Conclusion.

Labor failed abysmally to construct a clear explanation of this policy. Their messaging was detailed and confusing and not directed to an outcome. That outcome was a positive for the budget and the other policies that could be implemented because of the money that would not flow out of consolidated revenue.

It also highlighted a deficiency in Australian Law.

Where it is an offence to lie about a product or service under Australian consumer Law, it's anathema when one does it in a political sense but is not illegal.

Not only is that another dissonance, it's a dissonance in the people who want to be elected to make the Law in itself.

That aside the Labor party failed to identify the weaknesses in their Policy message. That it could be exploited by the Liberals and also misunderstood and believed by 4 million retirees.

Framing it as a retiree tax was a clever if deceitful way to fool a lot of voters. In total according to the 2016 census there were 4,976,160 persons over the age of 60 on census night. This represents 32.97% of the voting population, who's only income is their Pension or their Super.

Within that retiree range there are 3 broad cohorts.

Government pensioners Representing 3.7 Millions of voters but with 320,000 beneficiaries of Franked credits. This group was exempt from the change. (see PBO costings)

Self Funded retirement people, representing the other recipients of franking credits

Super funds (Industry and Financial) representing the other recipients of franking credits

The Labor party failed to use the costings done by the Parliamentary Budget Office to explain in simple terms who would not be affected.

Overall conclusion.

The Labor party didn't look at the segments that their policies affected and summarise them

There are two main areas which can be easily seen to affect an overall result.

They are in Welfare (Newstart) and changes to Franking Credits (Retirees)

By being weak in the Newstart area, Labor may not have had the support of 6.62% of the voting population.

By not explaining their policy which affected retirees and not refuting the lies of the Liberal party, Labor may not have had the support of 32.97% of the voting population.

This represents 39.59% of the voting population of Australia at the 2019 Federal Election.

One other area where Labor policy is good but maybe better is regarding the lot of the females and policy stances in Australia. Domestic violence and pay parity at work, as well as the consequential unfairness of smaller retirement incomes is an area where 51% of the voting population are affected.

In our view the inability to use professional marketing professionals and techniques to evaluate policies gone wrong (and those which potentially go right) was the failure of the Labor party to win the 2019 Election.

Labor didn't trumpet the fact that the Economy wasn't doing as well as was claimed by the Liberals. That failure to nullify their "Strong Economy" message hurt us badly.

8.0 Bibliography of messages regarding Labor by the press.

Greg Jerico. 25 May 2019.

<https://www.theguardian.com/business/grogonomics/2019/may/25/the-big-swing-to-george-christensen-should-be-where-the-lesson-for-the-election-is>

Valid Point.

“If you can’t get excited about something, you will vote for the fear.”

“Now he himself did not get much of an increase in the primary vote; the big increase was to One Nation (in 2016 they didn’t bother running a candidate in the seat). You could say Clive Palmer’s party picked up a lot of votes but, to be honest, with just 4,000 votes, almost as many in the seat voted for the Greens as voted for the UAP.”

Goes to Voting Pattern.

It is why it is good (if extremely belated) [to hear Tony Burke suggesting the ALP must treat climate change as an industry policy](#). They need to show there is a future, because voters will be more likely to ignore the science and believe the snake oil climate-change deniers if they are the only ones who appear to be holding out the promise of a job (however illusory it really is).

Goes to the Message

The reality is that the market for thermal coal is dying – BHP said as much [this week](#), and Glencore said much the same [back in February](#). But until there is sense of jobs to take their place, people will still hold out misguided hope that a new mine will save them all.

Message and Policy detail

A number of other Media examples of Analysis are appended here. Most of them deal with False Liberal Party advertising, which wasn’t contained or refuted well enough.

https://twitter.com/Oliver_Yates/status/1131010580133736448

and

<https://twitter.com/ShiannonC/status/1132721118698098688>

and

<https://twitter.com/PaulBongiorno/status/1132975399468580870>

and

<https://twitter.com/CarolKirkby1/status/1135407074861494273>

and

https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/jun/08/it-felt-like-a-big-tide-how-the-death-tax-lie-infected-australias-election-campaign?CMP=share_btn_tw

and

https://7news.com.au/politics/federal-politics/federal-election-2019-fraudulent-how-to-vote-cards-told-greens-voters-to-preference-peter-dutton-c-119724?utm_campaign=share-icons&utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=social&tid=1559873890611