



Appendices A–C and J are available on request

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APPENDIX D: DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPT GROUPS

The analyses of concepts in the texts of political parties and organised movements yielded exactly the same concept groupings. Therefore, the definitions of the concept groups, and the key terms that comprise them, for parties and movements, are presented together. Terms in parentheses indicate phrases commencing before or after the term in question.

Republic

This concept group contains the term republic and its grammatical variations, including any adjectives or, in the case of the term 'republican,' any noun which describes republic. This includes: (Australian, federal, anti-, Crowned) republic/s/an/s/ism (debate, movement, issue, model, change).

Head of State

This concept group contains the terms head of state, president, governor-general, queen and monarch/ queen (in discussion as head of state versus president) and any grammatical variations of these terms. The term Queen, for example, is usually categorised under monarchy because, although the Queen is, arguably, Australia's head of state, the queen is mentioned in the context of her personal qualities and the qualities of monarchy generally, as it relates to retaining the constitutional monarchy.

Government

This concept group contains references to government institutions and their grammatical variations, as well as judicial bodies apart from the constitution itself. The terms in this group are: government, federal, ALP, Labor, Liberal, National, party, Prime Minister, Commonwealth, (Houses of/ Members of/ Federal) Parliament/ary, laws, Ministers, federation, States, duties/ functions, power, conventions, status, opposition, non-partisan, politician, (Westminster/ political) system, Senate, remove, dismissed, cabinet, Territory, appoint, parliamentarians, joint sitting, advice, office, administrative, legislation, Executive Council, dissolve, officers, codify, precedent, rules, justiciable, adjudicated, (High) court, resolution, 1975, confidence, supply, authority, chosen, censure, premiers, Coalition, Senate, committee, post, stability, Democrats, nominate, candidate, process, Leader, role, veto, reform, non-politicians, ceremonial, Paul Keating, unity, stability, instability, and insecurity.

Democracy

This concept groups contains references to democracy and refer to government of and by the people, and their grammatical variations. It includes the structures and processes which ensure that the people or the majority makes choices about government, elections, as well as the qualitative aspects of democracy, such as freedom and egalitarianism. The term people is organised under democracy when it refers to access to the political system. The category democracy does not include terms such as consultation: these are discursive devices. The study of discursive devices is a process of stepping outside the window and looking in at the domain of movements itself,

seeing how the participants went about convincing their audience of the rightness of their perspective, in effort to set up some 'rules of the game'. It includes democracy, vote, elect, majority, referendum, people, popular, mandate, public, majority, equal, domination, merit, representative, ballot, delegate, and independent.

Constitution

This concept group contains only references to the written document and unwritten constitutional conventions and their grammatical variations. This includes constitution, convention and preamble.

Monarchy

This concept group contains references to monarchy, constitutional monarchy (as opposed to republic rather than system of government), Queen (in the context of monarchy not head of state versus president), royalist, Crown and inherited, (Constitutional) Monarch/y; Crown/ed (Republic), (British) Queen (of Australia), birthright, gender, religion, past, subjects, Her Majesty, duty, service, and oaths of allegiance.

Australia

This concept group contains references to Australia and terms which describe Australia with reference to other countries, and their grammatical variations. The significant references are references which relate to Australia in its international context, that is, in relation to other countries. This means, for example, that a uniquely 'Australian' head of state will be in this category, but mere reference to an 'Australian' republic does not shed light on a movement's interpretation of the term republic because we know, in any case, that the issue is an Australian republic. This category contains terms in an explicitly international context, such as world, countries, United Kingdom, and also the features of a nation, such as population, qualities such as independence, patriotic and unique, as well as symbols, such as flag. In the instances in which the term people doubles for the term Australians, this term is organised under the head of Australia. The terms are: Australia/n/s (citizen/today); United Kingdom; Great Britain; Ireland; countries; Commonwealth of Nations, international/ly, regional, United Nations, race, religion, culture/al background, land, unique, population, world, diversity, tradition/s, unity/ed, independent/ce, geography, (national) identity, future, children; people, recognised, nation/s, represent/ative, patriotic, Commonwealth, flag, region, centenary, British, parent-child relationship, loyalty, government (as opposed to British government), nationalism, patriotism, jingoism, drums, chests, decade, past, present, sensibilities, ambitions, United Nations, Commonwealth of Nations, citizens, overseas, abroad, love, unity, external affairs, *Australia Act*, common good/ cause, continent, recognition, appendage, parties (as opposed to British), parliament (as opposed to British), power (as opposed to British), laws (as opposed to British), courts (as opposed to British), resident, attachments, hearts, minds, history, society, United Kingdom/ Britain, USA, Canada, Switzerland, Sweden, 100 years, southeast Asia, reflexive, inclusive, multi-racial, forward-thinking, Sydney Olympics, anniversary, unique opportunity, time, and 2001.

APPENDIX E: DEFINITIONS OF DISCURSIVE DEVICES

Although there are difference in the discursive devices employed by political parties and movements, there is also overlap. Where there is overlap, the same devices have the same definitions. The definitions of all discursive devices are presented together in this summary.

The text places the debate in a formal and structured context.

The texts of the parties formally introduce themselves and the position held in the monarchy-republican debate and present their arguments in a structured manner. This includes terms such as the 'we' in the context of a team espousing a particular view, such as stating, 'we' believe and terms formally introducing the party, for example 'the Labor Government proposes'. Other terms in this category are issue, idea, question, mechanism ('for resolving the issue'), agenda, matter, Coalition, National Party, Democrats, Australian Greens, movement, WWW site, interesting, informative, ARM, organisation, ACM, issues, company, accordance, annexed, Memorandum of Articles of Association and Monarchist League.

The text acknowledges two sides of the debate from which the audience must choose.

The texts show an explicit awareness by the author that they are presenting their 'view', or their 'preferred' 'model' to the audience, acknowledging that theirs is not the 'only' model and that the audience must consider 'both sides' of the issue. This sets up the requirement that the text persuade the audience to accept their point of view. Other terms in this category are agreement, acceptance, undertaking, arguments/ argue, options, ask, outlined, framing, opinion, think, decide, declaration; platform; elements; central aim; issue; options; support/ing; policies; objectives; should; suggest; notion; advocating; maintain; mandate; views; hold; resist; charter; policy; believe; defend; assert; committed; oppose; reject; contemplate; stand; platform; simple; clear; unwavering alternative, consider and one.

The text seeks to persuade the audience to adopt their position in the debate.

Closely related to the 'Choices for the Audience, each movement seeks to persuade the audience to subscribe to their view. These terms are subjective and qualitative and frame the argument for the author. These terms promote the argument of the author and criticise the arguments of their opponents. The terms in this category are: inappropriate, confirm, successful, ensure, few, minority group, republicans, argue, they, expensive, complicated, opposes, defence, endorses, upholds, maintained, removed, amended, believe, wrong, promote, advocate, proposal, preference, offering, choices, attracted, say, put forward, remind, adopted, suggested, case, 18 million, identity, doubt, and efficacy.

The text seeks legitimacy by appealing to credible sources.

Terms in this category are used by the parties and movements to derive legitimacy by drawing on sources whom, and which, they believe the audience will find credible. The terms are: Dun and Bradstreet; Business Review Weekly; constitutional lawyers;

judges; ex-High Court judges; 14 000; supporters; former Prime Minister Paul Keating; Republican Advisory Committee; Australian Labor Party; Democrats; Australian Greens; Independents; Liberal MPs, majority, Ann Summers, *Damned Whores and God's Police* and many people.

The text seeks to identify as one of the audience.

This category includes the terms we, us and our in the context of 'fellow Australians', ethnic; generations; experiences.

The text seeks to appear to be objective.

This category includes the terms why, hence, example, consideration, balance, reason, observer, examined, think, evidence and convince, and examination.

The text seeks to appear to be consultative.

This category includes the terms consultation/ consulted, discussion/ discussed, educational, schools, libraries, community groups, country, welcome, *Australia Consults*, program, National Australia Council, support, organisations, conversation, determined, involve/d, constitutional convention, plebiscite, respond, Joint Select Committee, recommendations, put, debate/d, the people, representation, universities, dinner tables, Republican Advisory Committee, elitist, campaign, mood, attitudes, feelings, say and constitutional centenary foundation, encourage, understanding, grass-roots involvement, promote, awareness, and knowledge.

The text presents 'politics' as undesirable

The texts perceive that the audience finds 'political' matters distasteful by advocating a limited role for 'politicians' in public decision-making. The other term in this category is non-politician.

The text expresses disapproval of the conduct of the debate itself

Some parties and movements believe that the debate itself is a distraction. Terms in this category are force, lead, wait, change, necessity, point, wants, forced agenda, unnecessary, irrelevant, divisive, distracting, real, challenges, theory, envy, ambition, few, debate, history, national fervour, prejudices, business, costs, spent, unemployment, urgency, youth, future, reconciliation, Asian nations, economy, public health, education, debate, minority, biased, media, conduct, debate, myths, real issues, divisiveness, racial tensions, economic issues and community.

The text perceives the audience's aversion to change.

The texts perceive that the audience is conservative and does not like change, which is evident in presenting the changes which they propose in a defensive or 'played down' manner and maximising the changes which their opponents propose. The terms in this

category are change/d, unchanged, alter/ed, small, remain, undiminished, still, retain, current, radical, continue and same.

The text uses strong or emotional language.

The author presents their view with more strength or emotion over and above the language necessary merely to convey the meaning. Terms in this category are vocal elements, forced and abandon used car salesmen, buy, car, make, model, ignorance, and safety devices.

Reluctance to Change

Terms in this category reflect a perception on the part of the movements that their audience disapproves of change. The movements have used terms to play down change on their own part and highlight the proposed changes of other participants in the debate. The terms are minimum; change; retaining; remain; unchanged; still; continue; same.

Strong/Emotional Language

The category strong or emotional language comprises opinions presented using language designed to evoke a strong reaction in the audience, beyond an objective account of the facts. The terms are: shockingly; demands; agitation; forced; push; outdated; discredited; imported; hurt; angry; bunch; demand; impose; vigorously; denigrate; vilify; subjugate.

APPENDIX F: CONCEPTUAL THEMES OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Republic - ALP - Party Platform

The way in which the five terms in the concept category 'republic' was used by the political parties shows how they interpret the concept differently. There are two themes in the ALP platform:

- The first mention of the concept 'republic' in the ALP platform clearly outlines the ALP position: 'we are republicans'.
- Three references describe the workings of a republican model, which would be minimalist, in that 'the actual workings of Australian government would remain unchanged.'

Republic - ALP - Leader's Address

The 20 references made to 'republic' by Prime Minister Paul Keating, the parliamentary leader of the ALP are grouped in two themes:

- That a republic is desirable and necessary. Paul Keating's address differed from the ALP platform in that he presented arguments in favour of a republic in 11 of his 20 references to 'republic.' The 'arguments the Prime Minister used were that there were symbolic reasons for the change to a republic (which justified the minimal changes and retention of Australia's current system of government). For example, the Prime Minister suggested that becoming a republic is about asserting our unique 'identity,' developing a heightened 'sense of unity' (x2) and about having an 'Australian as (our) Head of State.'
- That 'minimal' changes are desirable, and the desire to retain Australia's system of government as it is (six references).

The flavour of the ALP literature is support for a republic within the context of, and indeed with minimal changes to, the current operation of Australian government.

Republic - Liberal Party - Party Platform

There is 'one theme in the five references to republic:

- While not explicit, the statement leans toward support for retaining the constitutional monarchy, with the view that 'Australia's current constitutional arrangements have served our nation well.'

Republic - Liberal Party - Leader's Address

The parliamentary address by John Howard, then Leader of the Opposition, featured two themes in 20 references to the concept 'republic':

- The debate should also involve broader constitutional issues (two references, p.5).
- Australia should not, in any case, become a republic. John Howard's address covered a broader span and was not as focused on whether or not Australia should be a republic as was Paul Keating, most of whose address presented arguments for Australia becoming a republic. Nevertheless, Mr Howard was more decisive than the

Liberal Party's platform in advocating a retention of the Constitutional Monarchy, stating that an Australian republic would 'end this nation's link with the second-oldest institution in civilization (p.2).' The document entitled 'The Federal Coalition's Position on Constitutional Change' is exactly the transcript of John Howard's parliamentary address, and therefore does not need to be addressed.

Republic - National Party - Party Platform

The National Party's one-page 'Policy Statement' explicitly opposes an Australian Republic and presents two themes in six references to republic:

- In a fashion more direct than the Liberal Party, five of the six references to a 'republic' show that 'the Nationals are opposed to a republic' which has been 'forced (onto) the national agenda.'
- The National Party explicitly rejects an Australian government as being in direct opposition, and incompatible with, the current, democratic model of government (emphasised by their reference to 'republicanism'). They 'find no evidence that a republic would protect the freedoms enjoyed by Australians currently provided by our Constitutional Monarchy.' Indeed the National Party is concerned that 'by becoming a republic...freedoms could be eroded and the safeguards inherent in our existing Constitution could be removed.'

Because the National Party are the junior partner in a coalition with the Liberal Party, both in government and in opposition, no National Party leader's address was made.

Republic - Democrats - Party Platform

The 2 republican references represent two themes:

- The first of two references to a 'republic' in the Statement, make it clear that the Democrats 'support Australia becoming a Republic'.
- Second, the majority of the Statement is devoted to spelling out the workings of a republican model.

Republic - Democrats - Leader's Address

The difference between the leader's address and the party statement differed more in the case of the Democrats than for the ALP and the Liberal Party. The 20 references to 'republic' in Cheryl Kernot's address, entitled 'Ladies, Bring a Template: Women and the Australian Republic,' embrace three themes:

- First, in support of an Australian republic, Ms Kernot states that her 'first choice,' as an 'avowed republican,' is 'to move to an Australian republic as soon as possible (p.2);' in fact, for 'Australia to be a republic by the Sydney Olympics' (p.7), because it is important for Australia's future (p.6).
- Second, Ms Kernot advocates 'minimalist change' with I argue is not actually the case (p.7).
- Third, Ms Kernot emphasises the importance of public opinion through consultation with the Australian people (2 references, p.3). Ms Kernot fears that John Howard, who is 'not a republican (p.3),' would seek to stack a Convention with 'anti-republicans' (p.5), and fail to involve the wider community (p.3). Third, the terms of

the debate are broader than for the ALP. Ms Kernot argues that some Australians have been alienated from the debate (3 references, pp.1-2), notably women, through masculine symbols (2 references, p.2), and that an Australian republic must reflect a 'multi-racial and inclusive society' (2 references, p.3).

Republic - Greens - Party Platform

The four references to 'republic' in the one-page Policy Statement of the Australian Greens, represent three themes:

- First, 'the Australian Greens strongly support Australia becoming a republic by 2001.'
- Second, the Greens regard 2001 as a 'symbolically appropriate time' to become a republic.
- Third, the Greens are concerned about too much power in the hands of the 'republican Head of State.'

Head of State - ALP - Party Platform

The ALP platform features a total of 30 references under the concept head of state. There are six themes in the ALP platform on the head of state:

- The first theme involves five of the seven specific references to 'Head of State' in the ALP's Policy Statement, which centre on the importance of the Head of State being 'Australian' or an 'Australian citizen,' someone who is 'one of us' and could 'represent us'. The ALP suggests that the plebiscite ask: '*do you want an Australian to be Australia's head of state?*'
- The second theme concerns the title of the head of state is 'president' (one reference to head of state and one reference to president).
- Third, that the role of the president would be the same as for the current governor-general: that is, symbolic and ceremonial, following the advice of the elected government (nine references to president). The ALP Policy Statement made six references to governor-general, all emphasising that the role of a president in an Australian republic would be the same as the current governor-general.
- Fourth, the president would have certain reserve powers, the use of which would be guided by unwritten conventions (2 references to president).
- Fifth, direct election (though appealing at first glance) would guarantee a politician who could hold excessive power, and many eminent people would not nominate themselves for a process which involved popular election (4 references to president). More specifically, to obtain provide bipartisan support for the president, the ALP platform recommends that a president be appointed rather than elected, or dismissed in the case of serious misconduct, by a two-thirds majority of a joint sitting of both houses of the federal parliament (one reference to president).
- Sixth, in terms of the details of the appointment of a head of state, the ALP suggests that former and serving parliamentarians should be excluded from nomination for five years following their departure from parliament (one reference to head of state).

Head of State - ALP - Leader's Address

The parliamentary address by Prime Minister Paul Keating, Leader of the ALP, features 84 uses of terms under the umbrella of 'head of state,' representing six themes which are:

- First, the need for a uniquely 'Australian' Head of State (41 references). Specifically, with regard to having a uniquely Australian Head of State, the Prime Minister's address was similar to the ALP Policy Statement. The Prime Minister emphasised the need for an 'Australian (as our/their) head of state' (pp. 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 11, 12) who was 'truly one of us' (p.3), who could 'embody and represent Australian values and traditions, (our) modern aspirations (p.3), (and) the things for which we stand (p.4)'. '(An) eminent and widely respected (person)(p.9) (could have a) unifying role (and) provide national leadership (p.6)'. Comparing Australia with other countries, Mr Keating pointed out that the 'Queen is not one of our own citizens' (p.3), that on visits abroad the Queen represents the particular interests of the United Kingdom (p.4), and that the 'majority of countries in the Commonwealth of nations have their own (p.3) not (a) foreign (p.4) head of state (p.3).'
- Second, a system of selection rather than election (15 references). To avoid this, in one of the nine references to 'head of state' concerning the method of appointment, Mr Keating suggested that their 'direct election would give them more power than the Prime Minister (pp.8-9)'. Mr Keating twice made the point that to elect the head of state would itself create a politician (p.9). Therefore, Mr Keating suggested that the head of state be selected, and be able to be removed (p. 10), by a two-thirds majority of a joint sitting of both Houses of the federal parliament (p.9), which This would ensure that the head of state has 'the blessing of all the major parties (pp.9-10)'. It was further suggested that the head of state be allowed a maximum of one five-year term (p.10), and that no former politician be allowed to occupy the position until at least five years have passed since their leaving parliament (p.11). It was also noted that election by two-thirds of the sitting parliament was at least more democratic than the current system in which only the Prime Minister appoints the head of state (p.8).
- Third, and closely linked to the second, that the head of state would have a symbolic role only in the workings of Australian government (10 references). In 15 of the references to 'head of state,' Mr Keating argued that they must act in a symbolic role, 'on advice' from elected ministers (p.6), and be 'above "politics" (p.9)'.
• Fourth, that reserve powers should be codified (with an acknowledgment that there was considerable debate)(seven references). Having acknowledged that codifying the reserve powers of the head of state would contribute to legal clarity, over which the High Court can adjudicate (two references, p.7), the remaining five references to 'head of state' which relate to reserve powers argue for retaining the reserve powers of the head of state as uncodified (ea. p.8, 10). The basis for this rests on the importance of the unwritten conventions, which govern the operation of responsible government in Australia (p.8), which are 'consistent with the national interest and continued effective operation of our political system (p.8).'
- Fifth, that the head of state's role should mirror that of the Governor-general (with the exception of 1975), although acting as the Queen's representative (eight references). In supporting the theme of a symbolic, rather than politically active, head of state, the Prime Minister made six of the references targeted the Governor-

general and two targeted the Queen, retaining their current role, the Whitlam government's dismissal being an exception (p. 10).

- Sixth, that the Australian States were free to have their own relationship with the Queen. The Prime Minister addressed the possibility that the states may have a different constitutional relationship with the head of state than the federal government, but that one would expect them to 'follow suit (p.11).' In terms of the broader debate, the Prime Minister suggested that future conventions would be more effective if limited to discussion of the republic and head of state, rather than other constitutional issues (p. 12).

In contrast with the ALP Policy Statement, the Prime Minister's address did not feature the term 'president' to describe Australia's head of state. Apart from the policy that politicians cannot occupy the position for at least five years after leaving parliament, the Prime Minister described the symbolic nature of the role and proposed means of selecting (rather than electing) the head of state in greater detail than did the ALP Policy Statement, which was almost entirely devoted to the theme of a uniquely Australian head of state.

Head of State - Liberal Party - Party Platform

The Liberal Party's policy statement contained four references to head of state, one to governor-general, and one to president, six in total, comprising one theme:

- 'The Governor-general has become Australia's effective constitutional Head of State' (also the party's only reference to the term governor-general, 3 references to head of state). In the two remaining specific uses of the term head of state, the Liberal Party sets the issue aside from other constitutional issues, which it believed should be debated (1 reference to head of state).

Head of State - Liberal Party - Leader's Address

The Liberal Party's Leader's address features eight references to head of state, nine to governor-general(s/ship), and ten to president, a total of 27 references, organised into four themes:

- The first theme is that Australia has a 'neutral' head of state (3 references to head of state, p.2). In seven references to governor-general, John Howard contends that governors-general have 'been subsumed by the great traditions and conventions developed over centuries of the Crown' (p.3), and in five of those seven references, uses the examples of Sir William McKell, Lord Casey, Sir Paul Hasluck and Bill Hayden and the political neutrality of their conduct in office (pp.2-3).
- A second theme concerns the reserve powers of the Australian head of state, the Prime Minister's reluctance to codify them (p.3), and the view of Professor George Winterton, a republican, that if Australia's constitutional relationship with the monarchy was severed the continued existence of the unwritten reserve powers of the Australian head of state could not be relied upon (3 references to head of state, 2 references to governor-general, pp.3-4, and 1 reference to president, p.3).
- The third theme is that, if the time is ripe for consideration of the role of the Australian head of state, it is also ripe for considering a range of other constitutional issues (2 references to head of state, p.5). president: inconsistent in taking advice

- from Constitutional convention by rejecting its advice on reserve powers but taking its advice on the method of appointing the president (2 references to president, p.3).
- The fourth theme concerns the method of appointing the president. Mr Howard suggested that, even though some Australians may support the parliamentary appointment model (p.6), a two-thirds majority of the two houses of parliament does not necessarily represent bi-partisan support, given, for example, the 69% parliamentary dominance of the post-war Chifley government (8 reference to president, p.4).

Head of State - National Party - Party Platform

The National Party's policy statement features one reference to head of state. This reference conveys the theme that:

- 'The appointment or election of a President will add an extra political dimension to the Head of State that currently does not exist.'

Head of State - Democrats - Party Platform

The policy statement of the Democrats featured one reference to head of state, 11 references to president, and one reference to governor-general, a total of 13 references, representing three themes:

- The first theme concerns the appointment of a President, which the Democrats believe should be by a two-thirds majority of both houses of parliament (4 reference to head of state).
- The second theme is the role of the head of state, which feature six of the ten references to president. The Democrats contend that the current powers of the governor-general are 'extensive' and that 'the vast majority of Australians do not want to see a repeat of the events of 1975 (2 references to president)'
- Third, to avoid a repeat of the use of the considerable power of the governor-general, the Democrats argue that 'leaving the reserve powers unchanged leaves the President with the same powers as the Governor-General', whereas 'codification of the President's powers' will avoid this and 'provide certainty about the role of the President (1 reference to governor-general, 2 references to president)' The policy statement suggests four specific powers which should be codified in the constitution. These are: the power, first, to appoint the Prime Minister, second, to dismiss the Prime Minister, third, call an election, if they do not have the support of the majority of the House of Representatives, and, fourth, to appoint and dismiss Ministers on the proposal of the Prime Minister. The Democrats suggest that 'consideration ... be given to limited discretionary powers' such as the power to request parliament to reconsider legislation, and 'to refer for consideration and decision to the High Court any action by the Prime Minister which the President believes to be unconstitutional (2 references to president).

Head of State - Democrats - Leader's Address

The address by Democrats leader Senator Cheryl Kernot features one reference to head of state and 4 references to president, comprising four themes:

- The first theme is that Australia's head of state should be an Australian, not 'a person who lives in another country (one reference to head of state, p.2).' For this reason, Senator Kernot 'like(s) the (Australian Republican Movement) slogan: 'A Resident for President' (one reference to president, p.2).'
- The same reference to the term head of state which shows Senator Kernot's desire for an Australian head of state also reveals a second theme, that Australia should not have as its head of state a person 'whose legal and constitutional position...is inherited...who is not elected and who did earn their place through endeavour or merit (1 reference to head of state, p.2).'
- The third theme involves the method of selecting the head of state, which Senator Kernot believes should be via a two-thirds majority of both houses of parliament, because of the 'conflicting lines of authority that would flow from a popularly elected President and a political party-elected Prime Minister' (2 references to president, p.7).
- The fourth theme concerns the nature of reserve powers which, according to Senator Kernot, should be 'spelt out' (1 reference to president, p.7).

Head of State - Greens - Party Platform

The Policy Statement of the Australian Greens presents the term head of state three times, representing two themes:

- The first theme (and the first two references) are that 'the role of (the) Head of State should be purely *ceremonial*, and that the power to dismiss the Prime Minister should reside in the House, by explicit vote.'
- The second theme (and third reference to head of state) concerns the *method of appointment* which, in the view of the Greens, should be via 'a special majority of a joint sitting of Federal Parliament...(and)...(n)ominations should come from an independent commission of non-politicians appointed by the elected Constitutional Convention (1 reference to head of state).'

Government - ALP - Party Platform

The party platform of the ALP employs 84 concepts relating to government, which represent five themes:

- First, of the 9 specific uses of the term government or governments, three references are significant in that they clarify the ALP's position on the actual workings of Australian government in an Australian republic which would 'remain unchanged', in that 'the day to day handling of national government would remain with the Ministers led by the Prime Minister,' and '(t)he President would follow the advice of the elected government.' Two of the nine references to parliament also support the ALP's position that the workings of government remain the same in an Australian republic. The platform states that 'the people would still elect the members of Parliament', and that 'Parliament would still make the laws'. One of the seven references to prime minister reflects the ALP's position that government continues to operate as it currently does, stating that '(t)he day to day handling of national government would remain with the Ministers led by the Prime Minister'. Three of the six occurrences of the term power/e also reveal the ALP's interpretation of government, that the actual workings of Australian government should stay the same under a republic. Two

references describe a situation in which '(a) popularly elected President could come to hold power far in excess of anyone else,' whereas, currently, 'political power... is shared by members of parliament.' One reference is that the 'States would be undiminished in status and powers.' 'Laws' was mentioned once in the context that the ALP supports the current operation of government, in which '(t)he people would still elect the members of Parliament and the Parliament would still make the laws.' 'Ministers' was mentioned once and is also a significant reference, that '(t)he day-to-day handling of government would remain with the Ministers.' Three references are made either to 'duties' or 'functions,' all of which are significant and follow the ALP's desire to retain the current system of government. One reference is made to the 'Westminster-style system,' the 'balance' of which the ALP feels is under threat if the new President is directly elected.

- The second theme is the appointment of the head of state. Three of the nine references to the term parliament suggest that the successful candidate for the role of head of state would need a parliamentary 'majority' (x3). One of those references points out that 'serving and former parliamentarians' would not be permitted to be head of state for five years following service. The term was used to point out that the ALP would hold a plebiscite soon after the sitting of a new 'parliament,' and that representatives of 'parliament' will form a consultative committee. There are two references to the 'house' or 'houses' of parliament, in which the ALP seeks a head of state who is 'appointed' or 'removed' by a two-thirds majority of both 'houses' of parliament. The only reference to 'Senate' is significant and supports the ALP's concern that an elected President would not retain our current operating system of government, in which 'political power is shared among the men and women of the House of Representatives and the Senate.' Three of the seven references to Prime Minister also concern the comparing the appointment of the head of state, comparing the power of an elected head of state with a Prime Minister not directly elected by the people. The platform states that '(a)t present the Queen follows the advice of the Prime Minister,' and that '(t)he Prime Minister and cabinet are ...appointed by a majority of the governing party.' A third use of the term refers to the possibility that an elected President could have more power than 'the Prime Minister.' The single reference to 'cabinet' is significant because it presents the ALP's concern that the head of state could have more power than elected officials. Even the 'cabinet (is) not directly elected, but appointed by a majority of the governing party, and they can be dismissed by the governing party.' The single references to 'remove' and 'dismissed' reflect the ALP's desire to ensure bi-partisan support for the head of state, but, through the analysis, have revealed themselves as democratic concepts rather than significant government concepts. One of six references to appointed is significant in its concern that an elected head of state will have more power than any officials who are 'appointed by a majority...of the governing party.' Three of the six references to 'appointed' are democratic and concern bipartisan support in the election of the President. Two of these references feature in the ALP's suggestions that the 'President be appointed by a two-thirds majority...of Parliament (x2).' Five of the seven references to politics, political system, or politicisation, are significant in the desire of the ALP for a head of state who is not elected but appointed by a parliamentary majority to ensure that they are 'above politics,' and 'to avoid politicisation.' This is seen as important in preserving Australia's current political system, reflect also in the ALP's concern that an elected President would hold greater 'political power' than others in Australia's 'political system,' given the view that '(P)opular election would almost certainly ensure the President is a politician (2

references).’ One of the eight references to politics, political system, or politicisation, is not significant and deals generally with the election of the head of state, the ALP contending that only ‘political parties’ are large enough to organise election, and an election will discourage some of Australia’s eminent citizens from nominating. This also involves one of three references to ‘party’ or ‘parties,’ this one being non-significant as a government concept. Two references to ‘party’ or ‘parties’ are significant in that they reflect the concern that an elected President may have more power than other officials who are ‘appointed by a majority of the governing party, and...can be dismissed by the governing party,’ thereby threatening the current system of government in Australia.

- Third, one specific reference to government outlines the role of the head of state in an Australian republic, to appoint members of government bodies, and another points to the bipartisanship required for the successful appointment of the Head of State, requiring the approval of both the government and the opposition. Three references to government merely provide more detail on its current operation, that ‘power is shared among the men and women’ of parliament, and that leaders are ‘appointed’ and ‘dismissed by the governing party.’ One reference outlined the reserve powers which can be used ‘without...or...against’ the government’s advice. According to the ALP, the new President’s ‘functions...(and) duties...would essentially be those currently performed by the Governor-General (x2),’ ‘duties (which) would be symbolic and ceremonial.’ Two of six references to ‘appointing’ or ‘appointed’ are significant, including the ALP’s expectation that the new head of state will continue the role of the current head of state, as determined by ‘precedent’ (only reference to precedent, p.7), such as ‘appointing members of government bodies.’ This is also the case in the statement, ‘the Queen follows the advice of the Prime Minister in appointing the Governor-General,’ to avoid a repeat of the events of ‘1975.’ One of two references to conventions is significant, that, in keeping with the current system, the new head of state would be ‘guided by the same unwritten conventions which have guided our Governors-General.’ Some of the ‘symbolic and ceremonial’ duties of the head of state would be to appoint ‘members of government bodies.’
- Fourth, three of the six references to power/e deal with the reserve powers of a head of state, that the head of state would be ‘guided in their use of the reserve powers by...unwritten conventions’ and that they would inherit from the present head of state a ‘small number of ...reserve powers (x2)’ which could be exercised without or against the advice of the government.
- The fifth theme relates to the more detailed workings of an Australian republic. One of the three references to ‘Commonwealth,’ as for the only reference to ‘parliamentarians,’ the only reference to ‘Territory,’ and one of the two references to ‘States,’ is not significant in explaining the ALP interpretation of government, and describes the restrictions the ALP would like to put on former parliamentarians, ‘Commonwealth, State and Territory.’ The references to ‘federation,’ ‘status,’ and the other reference to ‘States,’ are significant references in explaining the ALP’s interpretation of government, by stating that ‘Australia would remain a federation, and the States would undiminished in status and powers.’

ALP - Government - Leader’s Address

The address by the then Prime Minister Paul Keating features 25 references to the term ‘government’ itself and 224 within the concept of government, comprising five themes:

- First, seven of the 25 references to the term government clearly outline the ALP leader's position that the actual workings of Australian government can and should remain the same in an Australian republic. The Prime Minister stated that 'our governmental arrangements will be exactly the same as they are now. the day to day handling of national government will remain with ministers led by the prime minister' (one of four references to ministers, two of 40 references to government, one of eight references to prime minister, p.5), that the 'Cabinet will continue to deal with the major issues' (one of two references to cabinet, pp.5-6), and that 'the role of the House of Representatives and the Senate will remain the same' (one of nine references to House and one of three references to the Senate, p.5). The Prime Minister wants to 'retain the name Commonwealth of Australia', given that the term commonwealth 'reflects both our popular tradition and our federal system' (two references of 10 to Commonwealth, and one of three references to federal, one of three references to system, p.5). In one of eight references to states and one of 24 references to power, Mr Keating emphasises that the 'role and power of the states...will remain unchanged' (p.5). The passage of the 'referendum' demands 'the agreement of a majority of voters in a majority of states and a majority of voters overall' (three references to majority, one reference to referendum and one of eight references to states, p.11). Australia would 'still be a federation' (one of three references to federal/federation, PS)
- Second, two of the seven references to prime minister show that Mr Keating considers the parliamentary appointment of the head of state better than 'the prime minister (having) exclusive power in appointing an Australian head of state' (one of seven references to appointing, one of eight references to prime minister, one of 24 references to power, p. 8), although the candidates would be elected 'on the nomination of the Prime Minister and Cabinet', one of two references to cabinet (one of eight references to prime minister, p.9). Currently, the governor-general is 'appointed' by the Queen (one of seven references to appointed, p.8). One of the 10 references to commonwealth convey the prime minister's fear that a directly elected head of state could hold more 'authority' than 'Commonwealth office holders' including 'the prime minister' (and one of four references to authority, and one of eight references to prime minister, one of six references to office, p.9). Another of the 10 references to commonwealth involve a reiteration of the prime minister's view that the head of state should be elected or 'chosen' by a 'joint sitting of both houses of the Commonwealth parliament' (only reference to chosen, p.8, two of 12 references to parliament, two of nine references to houses of parliament, one of three references to joint sitting, one of nine references to house, p.9). Mr Keating is concerned that the head of state does not have more power than those indirectly elected through 'parties,' and that direct election will guarantee 'political parties' (two of six references to parties, p.9). The Prime Minister seeks to ensure that the 'office' is not 'politicised' (one of six references to office, one of 13 references to politics, p.11), and that the office is 'above politics' (3 references of 13 to politics, p.9). The prime minister's view is that direct election will produce 'political outcomes,' 'political campaigns' and a 'politician' for a head of state (3 of 13 references to political/politician, p.9). This is contrary to Australia's current 'political system' (4 of 13 references to political, pp.8, 9, 10). 'Election' of the head of state would mean that they would 'inherit a basis of power...fundamentally at odds with our Westminster-style system of government' (two of three references to system, two of 24 references to power, p. 8), with 'powers...nominally greater' than other officers' and centred on 'one person' (one of two references to officers, two of 24 references to power, p.9).

- Third, the ALP suggests, in four of its 40 references to government, that the role of the new head of state, including 'formalising government regulations (p.6),' will be carried out on 'the advice of the government of the day' (two of five references to advice, p.6), and that the direct election of a President 'would be fundamentally at odds with our Westminster-style system of government (p.8).' One of the 40 specific references to government is that 'the practical character of Australian government has dramatically changed (p.4).' One of the seven references to prime minister seek a continuation of the role 'and powers' (one of 24 references to power) of the head of state as acting 'on the advice of the prime minister' (one of five references to advice, p.3). Two of the 18 references to convention supports a similar role and 'eve; of 'authority' (one of four references to authority, p.8) for the new head of state as for the old: namely the 'convention' that the queen appoints the governor-general on the advice of the prime minister (p.3), and that 'the head of state will assume the governor-general's...duties, most of which are, by convention performed in accordance with the advice of the government of the day' and of the 'federal executive Council', and as determined by legislation (two of five references to advice, only reference to executive, one of 40 references to government, the five references to duties, only reference to legislation, p.6). Three of the 18 references to conventions is made in regard to the ALP's desire that the 'processes and conventions at present governing (the exercise of reserve powers) should be' and 'would be' transferred to the Australian head of state without alteration,' (p.8, p.10), a concern that a head of state may act 'without regard to the conventions' (p8), and another reference to conventions involves the prime minister's view that the term of office be 'consistent with the convention for governors-general' (10). The role of the new head of state will be the same as for the governor-general, including 'summoning and dissolving...parliament' (one of 12 references to parliament, p.6), and involve the same 'administrative duties' and 'functions', such as 'appointing public officials' (only reference to officials, one of seven references to appointing, only reference to administrative, p.6, the two references to functions, p.6). The prime minister argues that the role of the head of state should stem from the 'representative power of the House of Representatives and the proportional power of the Senate' (two of 24 references to power, one of nine references to House, one of three references to Senate, p.10). Mr Keating expects the head of state to act in the same way as the queen has done, 'on the advice of the prime minister' (one of eight references to prime minister). The 'office' of the head of state would be held by a citizen of high standing, and there would be 'public' and ceremonial aspects of the 'office' (two of six references to office, pp.4, 6).
- Fourth, four of 40 references to government are significant, and refer to uncodified reserve powers, the first of which is that if reserve powers are codified they may become justiciable 'which would...result in fundamental change in our system of government (p.7).' The three others which concern the reserve powers, one of which also refers to conventions, are: 'there is the risk that governments may occasionally find themselves in conflict with a head of state who exercises political judgement without regard for conventions' (one of 13 references to political, p.8), such as abusing 'the Senate's powers over supply' (one of 24 references to power, one of three references to senate, the two references to supply, p.8), and that 'the governor-general (has) the power to dismiss...the government,' and 'the power to appoint' and 'dismiss the prime minister' (one of seven references to appoint, only reference to dismiss, two of 40 references to government, two of eight references to prime minister, two of 24 references to power, one of seven references to appoint, p.7). The

head of state has the reserve power to 'refuse a request by the prime minister to dissolve...the...parliament' (only reference to dissolve, one of eight references to prime minister, p.7). 'Reserve powers...may be exercise without, or possibly contrary to, ministerial advice' (one of five references to advice, one of four references to minister, and two of 24 references to power, p.7). The Prime Minister states, in three of the 18 references to conventions, that 'it would be possible to fully codify...these conventions,' or 'powers...which are imprecise and governed by...convention,' although an option remains to retain them as 'unwritten conventions' (and one of six references to codify, and four of 24 references to power, p.7). Some argue that it is impossible, or difficult, although an advantage, to 'codify' the reserve powers, or question the 'rules' that need to be established (four of six references to codify, only reference to rules, p.7). Such rules can become 'justiciable' to be debated by 'Justices' and 'adjudicated' by the High Court (only reference to justiciable, only reference to justices, the two references to adjudicated, the five references to (High) Court, pp.78). Codification may see 'political disputes' in court (one of 13 references to political, p.8). On balance, the prime minister argues that it 'would not be desirable to attempt to codify the reserve powers' (one of six references to codify, one of 24 reference to power, p.8). In another reference to conventions, the Prime Minister points out an advantage of 'clarity' in 'codifying the conventions' (p.7). One of the reserve powers is to 'dissolve one or both houses of parliament' (p.7), and the codification of the reserve powers may 'result in a fundamental change to...the status of the High Court in relation to the executive and the parliament' (two of 13 references to parliament, one of five references to court, one of nine references to house, one of two references to executive, p.7). The prime minister believes that not codifying the reserve powers runs the risk of repeating the events of 1975, in which the 'government' with the 'confidence' of the 'House of Representatives' was denied supply (one of nine references to House, one of 40 references to government, only reference to confidence, p.8). Mr Keating argues that because the head of state's 'authority' derived 'from the parliament,' that this counterbalances the lack of codification of the reserve powers (one of 1) references to parliament, two of four references to authority, p. 10). The power of a 'joint sitting' of both houses of parliament, which would also be the 'head of state's powers' (one of 24 references to power, p.10), would keep the head of state in check in the absence of codified reserve 'powers' (two of three references to joint sitting, two of 24 references to power, p.10). Reserve 'powers (must allow) the continued effective operation of our political system' (two of 24 references to power, p.8). The prime minister is concerned that the judicial consequences of codifying the reserve powers will lead to the 'resolution' of issues in the court rather than in the electorate (the two references to resolution, p.8).

- The fifth theme concerns the detailed workings of the role of the head of state. Two of the 10 references to commonwealth involve the prime minister's suggestion that 'former parliamentarians - Commonwealth, state and territory' not be remuneration by the 'commonwealth' in addition to their pension until five years have passed since their departure from office (one of six references to office, one of two references to parliamentarians, only reference to territory, one of eight references to state, p.10). The prime minister suggests that 'each state...within the federation' (one of three references to federal/federation, one of eight references to state, p. 11). . . (can) decide how...they would appoint their respective heads of state,' though expecting that the 'states would follow' the federal government (one of eight references to state, one of seven references to appoint, p. 11). Either way, 'the position of the states

within the federation would not be substantially affected' (one of eight references to state, and one of three references to 'federation/al,' p. 11). The prime minister suggests that the 'term of office' be five years (one of six references to office, p. 10). The prime minister suggests 'removal' or 'censure' by the same means as 'appointment' (the three references to removal, the two references to censure, one of seven references to appointment, p.10).

Government - Liberal Party - Party Platform

The Liberal Party Platform features 19 government-related concepts, which feature as a single theme:

- That our system of government is good as it is, having delivered 'stability, cohesion and tolerance' (only references to stability, cohesion and tolerance).

Government – Liberal Party – Leader’s Address

The 134 terms relating to the concept government are represented in five themes:

- First, Australia’s system of government is good as it is, delivering a united, stable and tolerant nation, that is, a highly successful 'system' of 'government', not one to 'divide' or be 'divisive' in the nation (the three references to united, only reference to harmony, two references to stable, tolerant, 20 references to government, two references to system, the two references to divide, pp. 1, 2, 4). As a young 'Member of Parliament,' and listening to the 'Prime Minister,' Mr Howard observed that 'we do have a very strong, free, liberal and democratic system of government,' with a 'politically neutral' head of state, exemplified by the 'appointment' of former 'politicians' both 'Labor' and 'Liberal,' serving the 'House,' the 'office' and 'parliament' well, all 'politically' 'neutral', in one case granting a 'double dissolution,' in the 'vice regal post' (the only reference to post, 11 references to the Prime Minister, one of two references to appointment, one of three references to Member of Parliament, the only reference to neutral, four of nine references to politically, the only reference to double dissolution, the only reference to office, one of 15 references to parliament, one of 7 references to House, two of 25 references to government, one of nine references to politically, four of seven references to Labor, the two references to Liberal, pp.2, 3). Mr Howard's praises Australia's 'Westminster parliamentary system of government,' which follow centuries-old 'traditions' and 'conventions' (only reference to traditions, one of four references to conventions, only reference to Westminster, one of 15 references to parliamentary, one of 25 references to government, p.2). The idea of becoming a 'federal' republic with one or more 'States' outside the system appeals Mr Howard (one of three references to federal, one of five references to States, p.4). Mr Howard argues that our system has worked well, including the functioning of 'federalism' and the 'House/parliament' (three references of 22 to House/Parliament, one reference of three to federalism, p.5). Mr Howard said that some Australian's will wonder whether a move to a republic is absolutely essential to finally confirm the independence of this country (only reference to independence, p.2).
- Second, reserve powers is an issue of contention for supporters of an Australian republic. Professor George Winterton points out that 'conventions' relating to

- 'reserve' 'powers' may not automatically translate to the republic (three of eight references to powers, four of five references to conventions, pp.3, 4).
- Third, Mr Howard believes it is wrong to look at the changes in purely 'legal' terms (three of four references to legal, p.4).
 - Fourth, Mr Howard argues that, if we are considering a republic we should also consider other issues, including the 'external affairs' 'powers' between the 'Commonwealth' and the 'States', and 'federalism' generally (the two references to external affairs, two references of eight to powers, one of five references to federalism, p.5). Other issues include role of old and 'new' 'States', and the 'Northern Territory,' the 'legislative,' 'executive,' 'powers' and 'functions' of the 'federal' and 'state' 'governments,' and the possibility of four year terms for the 'federal' 'parliament' (three references of five to states, the only reference to the Northern Territory, three references of five to federal/federation, the only reference to legislative, the only reference to executive, one reference of eight to powers, the only reference to functions, one reference of 22 to House/Parliament, p.5).
 - Fifth, by changing to a republic, Australia will end the links with the Westminster system (only reference to links, p.2).

Government - National Party - Party Platform

The 27 government related terms in the platform of the National Party comprises one theme:

- The system of Government has worked well - Australia's system of 'government' has provided 'Australia' with 'stability,' has protected our 'freedoms,' and enabled us to avoid 'conflicts,' 'racial' 'tensions,' 'instability,' 'divisiveness,' (16 references to government, the three references to in/stability, the two references to freedoms, only reference to conflicts, the two references to tensions, the two references to divisiveness). The National Party states that 'to argue the case for a republic means arguing a case for a better 'alternative,' which they cannot see (only reference to alternative).

Government - Democrats - Party Platform

There is one theme among 58 terms in the interpretation of Government in the party platform of the Australian Democrats:

- The Democrats are happy for the 'Houses of Parliament' to 'choose' the head of state, from the 'short-list' compiled by members of the community only reference to short-list, only reference to choose, two of eight references to parliament/House of Representatives). The Democrats are concerned that the president will have the same 'power' as the governor-general and want to ensure that they follow constitutional 'convention,' and that the 'reserve powers' of the president should be 'codified' to avoid a repeat of '1975' and provide certainty about the 'role' of the president (the two references to codified, only reference to role, only reference to 1975, five of 14 references to powers, only reference to convention). It is envisaged that the president would have the 'power' to 'appoint' or 'dismiss' the 'Ministers' and the 'Prime Minister', depending on whether or not they have the 'confidence' of the 'House of Representatives', to call an election following dismissal, in the absence of an alternative 'candidate, and to request 'parliament' to reconsider, but without 'veto'

over 'legislation,' or to refer matters to the 'High Court' (only reference to High Court, only reference to legislation, only reference to veto, only reference to appoint, the three references to dismiss, only reference to Ministers, nine of 14 references to power, 24 references to Prime Minister, five of eight references to parliament/House of Representatives).

Government - Democrats - Leader's Address

The 103 terms relating to the concept of government, as presented by the Leader of the Australian Democrats, are in two themes:

- First, the system of government is not working - Senator Kernot argues that the system is 'broke' (only reference to broke, p.2). The debate, and indeed 'politics', 'history', and 'decision-making,' has excluded women and 'aborigines', so she acknowledges her lack of use of 'cooking skills and is delighted that her 'ideas', not her 'pikelets' are on display, and that she has brought a 'plate' not a 'template' (only reference to history, p.1, the four references to politics, pp.2, 4, 5, only reference to decision-making, p.3, the two references to aborigines, p.4, only reference to cooking skills, only reference to ideas, only reference to pikelets, only reference to template, only reference to template, p.1). Senator Kernot argues that 'women's' role and voices are less prominent, and they are disillusioned, unrepresented, treated less equitably, subservient, and are less interested in the debate, and that they want positive and constructive change in a participatory and co-operative environment (36 of 39 references to women, p.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7). History treats 'men' as 'heroes' and 'women' as 'victims' and 'onlookers' (only reference to heroes, only reference to onlookers, one of 25 references to men, one of 39 references to women, p. 1). A non-token woman, Pru Goward, and 'Office of the Status of Women,' and the 'Affirmative Action Agency', are merciful exceptions to this underrepresentation (only reference to Pru Goward, only reference to Affirmative Action Agency, two of 39 references to women), but funding has been cut to the 'Sex Discrimination Commissioner' (only reference to Sex Discrimination Commissioner, p.6). Senator Kernot suggests that the debate, the history and environment of Australian politics is too 'male' dominated, 'blocky' and 'masculine,' centred on 'men', and placing the 'struggle' and 'achievements' of men at the centre of the real 'action' (only reference to struggle, only reference to achievements, only reference to action, 22 of 25 references to male/men/blocky/masculine). The nation was set up by affluent, middle-aged and elderly, white men, looking after their 'property' interests, and Cheryl Kernot wonders whether strong 'males' like 'Paul Keating,' the Prime Minister and 'Malcolm Turnbull,' in the modern debate, cause women to turn off? (only reference to property, only reference to Prime Minister, only reference to Paul Keating, only reference to Malcolm Turnbull, four of 25 references to males). Cheryl Kernot fears that a constitutional convention would turn into a 'quibbling male lawyers talkfest' (one of 25 references to male, only reference to lawyer's, p.5). 'Business', 'union' and 'farming' 'interests' and entrenched male 'hierarchies' are tied to the other 'parties' (only reference to business, only reference to union, only reference to farming, only reference to interests, only reference to hierarchies, only reference to parties, p.6). Men have created a system dominated by 'economic rationalism' (p.2).
- Second, the question of a republic is central to Australian government - Women feel that the republican debate, in its present form, is irrelevant to their 'daily lives,' 'concerns,' and 'aspirations,' but Ms Kernot challenges this (only reference to daily

lives, only reference to concerns, only reference to aspirations, p.2). Senator Kernot argues that more attention should be paid to 'childcare', 'legal aid', 'labour market', 'higher education', 'social security', 'domestic violence', 'health', and the allocation of resources in the 'economy' in general (only reference to childcare, only reference to legal aid, only reference to labour market, only reference to higher education, only reference to social security, only reference to domestic violence, only reference to health, only reference to economy).

Government - Greens - Party Platform

The 3 occurrences of government concepts used by the Australian Greens comprises one theme:

- Australia's system of 'government' needs 'reform' (one of two references to reform, only reference to government). 'Non-politicians' should comprise an independent commission (only reference to 'non-politicians').

Democracy – ALP – Party Platform

The ALP party platform presents 15 terms relating to the concept of Democracy, and they are arranged in three themes:

- First, the prevailing political system relies on what the people decide, the contest in which 'vote' is also referred to (the two references to vote; the three references to people).
- Second, a republic can only succeed through a successful 'referendum' (only reference to referendum).
- Third, the term 'elected' is used to argue for election by parliament, through a 'majority' vote, and against direct election of the head of state (the eight references to elected, the only reference to majority).

Democracy - ALP - Leader's Address (54 terms)

The 54 democratic terms in the ALP leader's address are organised into four themes:

- First, it was made clear that the 'democratic' process would govern the outcome of a 'referendum,' and that no-one could 'dictate' the outcome to the Australian 'people' (seven of eight references to democratic, the seven references to referendum, the only reference to dictate, only reference to people, pp. 1, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12).
- Second, the proposed change was said to have no implications for the design of Australian 'democracy' (one of eight references to democratic, p.5).
- Third, the election of the head of state by the parliament would need a majority 'vote' of the house, and therefore that the 'candidate' had the 'blessing' and 'support' of all the major parties, and ensure that they, under the influence of 'public pressure,' were 'representative' of the people (only reference to public pressure, p.8, only reference to support, the four references to vote, only reference to representative, only two references to candidate, only reference to blessing, pp.9, 10)
- Fourth, the head of state must avoid a popular 'mandate' from the 'electorate.' Otherwise, if popularly 'elected' 'he or she would inherit a basis of power that would be fundamentally at odds with our Westminster-style system of government' (12 of

14 references to elected, only reference to mandate, the two references to electorate, pp.8, 9). The desire for popular 'election' stems from the 'democratic' sentiment (one of 14 references to elect; one of eight references to democratic, p.8). Therefore, the debate is...between those who support popular 'election' and 'election' by parliament (one of 14 references to election, pp.8).

Democracy - Liberal Party - Party Platform

The Liberal Party platform presents 18 democratic terms, which are organised into two themes:

- First, that the Coalition will put the issue to a 'referendum' if there is sufficient support (one reference to referendum).
- Second, that the Coalition is prepared to follow the 'people' in how they want to 'vote' and whether they want their head of state 'chosen' by 'election' (the five references to the people, the eight references to vote, the only reference to chosen, the three references to election).

Democracy - Liberal Party - Leader's Address

The 32 democratic terms in the Liberal leader's address are organised into three themes:

- First, the primacy of the 'democratic' system is established when Mr Howard states that 'we do have a very strong, free, liberal and democratic system of government in Australia' (the two references to democratic, p.2).
- Second, the people need to decide how they will 'vote' at the 'referendum' to ensure that they have their 'say' (the five references to vote/choose, the 10 references to referendum, the only reference to say, pp.4,5,6,7).
- Third, there is disagreement over whether a 'majority' of the parliament should elect the head of state or whether they should be directly 'elected' by the 'people' (the two references to majority, the seven references to elected, the five references to the people, pp.3,4,5,6).

Democracy - National Party - Party Platform

The 12 democratic terms used by the National Party are presented in three themes:

- First, the National Party also affirms the primacy of Australia's 'stable' and 'democratic' system of government (the three references to stable/ility, the four references to democratic).
- Second, the National Party does not trust the republican system to protect the 'freedoms' of the current democratic system, even if there is an 'election' for the head of state (two references to freedom, only reference to election).
- Third, the 'People's Convention' is necessary to defer the decision to the people (only reference to People's Convention).

Democracy - Democrats - Party Platform

The single theme, comprising three references, of the Democrats' writing on Democracy is:

- the perceived importance of 'democracy', and with a 'majority' in the parliament 'electing' the head of state (only reference to democracy, only reference to majority, only reference to electing).

Democracy - Democrats - Leader's Address

The Leader's Address of the Australian Democrats uses 32 terms relating to the concept of democracy. These are represented as four themes:

- First, 'democracy' is a central feature of Australian government (two references to democrat, pp.2, 5).
- Second, the outcome of the republican debate of course relies on the 'election' of 'candidates' and 'delegates' put up for Australians to 'vote' at the 'ballot' box. (the two references to candidates, the four references to election; only reference to delegates; the six references to vote, the two references to ballot, pp.2, 4, 5, 6).
- Third, the democratic system needs 'reform'. Women's 'representation' is 'inequitous', women 'participate' less, men 'dominate' the numbers, and the 'balance' needs to be redressed (only reference to reform, the six references to representation, the two references to inequitous, the three references to participate, pp.2, 4, 5, 6).
- Fourth, unlike the monarchy, people should hold office according to 'merit' and 'endeavour' (only reference to merit, only reference to endeavour, p.6).

Democracy - Greens - Party Platform

There are two democratic themes among six references in the platform of the Australian Greens:

- First, fundamental 'reforms' to our 'democratic' structures are needed (two references to reforms, only reference to democratic).
- Second, the head of state should be 'elected' by a two-thirds 'majority' in the parliament (only reference to elected, only reference to majority).
- Third, an 'independent commission' should be established, comprised of non-politicians (only reference to independent commission).

Constitution - ALP - Party Platform

The two references to Constitution in the ALP's platform represent one theme:

- The recommendation for a 'constitutional' amendment is the fundamental task, in the ALP's view, to make Australia a republic (two references to Constitution, p.2).

Constitution - ALP - Leader's Address

The four references to Constitution in the ALP Leader's Address represent two themes:

- First, under the 'Constitution', the Queen is Australia's head of state. This contradiction sets up for the ALP the need to become a republic (one of three references to Constitution, p.3). One of the 41 references to 'government' is significant for the concept 'Constitution'. In conveying the importance of unwritten

conventions, the Prime Minister states that '(a)nyone reading the Australian Constitution who is unfamiliar with the practicalities of Australian government would assume that the role of the monarch was central (p.3)'

- Second, the Constitution would not state that the Australian head of state would have to be Australian, if drafter today, because it would be taken for granted (two of the three references to Constitution, pp.2, 3).

Constitution - Liberal Party - Party Platform

The five references to Constitution in the Liberal Party platform are represented in two themes:

- First, that Australia's 'Constitutional' arrangements have served the nation well. The 'success of our present Constitution' (two of the five references to Constitution).
- 'Constitutional' referendum will be encouraged if the People's Convention approves it (three of the five references to Constitution).

Constitution - Liberal Party - Leader's Address

The Liberal Party Leader's Address features 22 variations on the theme of Constitution, and they represent seven themes, which are detailed below:

- First, Mr Howard has been and is a strong supporter of the present 'Constitution' (five of 22 references to Constitution, p.1).
- Second the Liberal Party is happy to examine role of head of state and external affairs powers in the 'Constitution' (two of 21 references to constitution, p.5).
- Third, one can't necessarily transfer reserve powers over to the new 'Constitution' (two of 21 references to 'Constitution,' p.6).
- Fourth, a 'Constitutional' prerogative of two-thirds parliamentary majority does not necessarily involve two parties, (two of 21 references to Constitution, p.4).
- Fifth, powerful feelings of the Australian people cannot be reassured in 'Constitutional' terms four of 21 references to Constitution, p.4).
- Sixth, some argue that the new 'Constitution' is irrelevant under foreign debt and other issues (three out of 21 references to Constitution, pp.4, 5).
- Seventh, it is questionable whether a new 'Constitution' will build on national unity (two of 21 references to Constitution, p.,5).

Constitution - National Party - Party Platform

The theme of the single reference to Constitution in the National Party's platform is:

- That freedoms and safeguards could be eroded if our 'Constitution' was changed.

Constitution - Democrats - Party Platform

There are no references to Constitution or associated term in the Democrats' party platform.

Constitution - Democrats - Leader's Address

The six references to Constitution in the Leader's Address of the Australian Democrats represent three themes:

- First, the 'Constitution' is a document of political 'compromise' (only reference to compromise, one of three references to Constitution, p.3).
- Second, the 'Constitution' is irrelevant and has lost much of its 'symbolic' value (one of three references to Constitution, only reference to symbolic, p.3).
- Third, our indigenous brothers and sisters should be recognised in the 'Constitution' 'preamble' (one of three references to Constitution, one reference to preamble, p.7).

Constitution - Greens - Party Platform

The theme of the Australian Greens' account of the 'constitution' is that:

- the constitution is in need of reform (only reference to constitution).

Monarchy - ALP - Party Platform

The four references to terms relating to the concept of monarchy, in the ALP party platform, represent two themes:

- First, under a republican constitution, an Australian citizen, rather than the British 'monarch' would be Australia's head of state (only reference to monarch).
- Second, the 'Queen' has followed the P[ri]me Minister's advice in appointing the governor-general, and the new head of state would be expected to perform the same functions as the current 'Queen's representative (the three references to Queen).

Monarchy - ALP - Leader's Address

The ALP Leader's Address features eight terms under the concept of monarchy, and these represent five themes:

- First, having the British 'monarch' as our head of state is increasingly anomalous (two of four references to monarch).
- Second, the Constitution places the 'monarch' at the centre of Australian government (one of four references to monarch).
- Three, in reality, the 'monarch's' role in Australian government has been limited, and the 'Queen' acts on the advice of the Prime Minister (one of five references to Queen, one of four references to monarch).
- Fourth, Australians have genuine affection for the 'Queen' (one of five references to Queen)
- Fifth, the 'Queen' of Australia is also 'Queen' of 14 other countries in the UN (three of five references to Queen).

Monarchy - Liberal Party - Party Platform

No reference is made in the Liberal Party platform to a term relating to the concept monarchy, although the current Constitution is defended. This is because the Liberal

Party is defending the governor-general as Australia's 'effective' head of state, and the best way to avoid the charge of the Queen's irrelevance is to leave her out altogether.

Monarchy - Liberal Party - Leaders Address

The six terms which embody the concept of monarchy, as presented in the Leader's Address of the Liberal Party, is represented in four themes:

- First, the move to a republic involves an official cessation from the 'monarchy' (three of six references to monarchy, pp.3,4)
- Second, the possible continued links of states with the 'monarchy' in an Australian republic concerns Mr Howard (one of six references to monarchy, p.4).
- Third, a different view of the constitutional 'monarchy' held by different generations (one of six references to monarchy, p.2).
- Fourth, Conventions are linked to the Crown, confining the Prime Minister's attachment of the monarchy with Australia's system of government (only reference to Crown, p.3).

Monarchy - National Party - Party Platform

The seven Monarchist terms used in the National Party platform are represented in three themes:

- First, Australia's system of Government is a Constitutional 'Monarchy' (two of six references to Monarchy).
- Second, Constitutional 'Monarchy' is a successful system, which is fully supported by the National Party (four of six references to Monarchy).
- Third, the 'Monarchist' argument is not the 'Royalist' argument (only reference to Royalist, one of six references to Monarchy).

Monarchy - Democrats - Party Platform

There are no references to monarchy or associated terms in the Democrats party platform.

Monarchy - Democrats - Leader's Address

These two monarchist terms, in the Democrats Leader's Address, are represented in two themes:

- First, the British monarch is an unacceptable head of state in a democracy because her legal position in relation to us is 'inherited' (only reference to inherited, p.2).
- Second, the Constitution perpetuates an inappropriate attachment to the British 'Crown' (only reference to Crown, p.3).

Monarchy - Greens - Party Platform

There are no references to monarchy or associated terms in the party platform of the Australian Greens.

Australia - ALP - Party Platform

The four references to Australia/ans in the ALP platform embrace a single theme:

- 'Australia's' head of state should be an 'Australian'. The ALP proposes to ask: Do you want an Australian to be Australia's Head of State? (Italics in original)(The four references to Australian). This sums up the ALP's desire for an Australian republic.

Australia - ALP - Leader's Address

These 137 terms which relate to the concept of Australia, in the ALP leader's address, are organised into six themes:

- First, 'Australia's' head of state should be an 'Australian.' Our deepest 'respect' and 'loyalty' is for 'Australia's' 'heritage'. Our deepest 'affection' is for 'Australia.' Our responsibility is to 'Australia's' future (Italics in original)(only reference to loyalty, only reference to respect, only reference to heritage, only reference to affection' only reference to responsibility, only reference to future, the 34 references to Australian, pp.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7). One of the seven references to parties is an 'Australian' concept that 'all Australians from all parties and walks of life belong to the same nation' (only reference to parties, p.6). One of the 13 references to parliament and two of 24 references to power relate to Australia - the prime minister describes the independence of Australia, in which 'the parliament of the United Kingdom relinquished the last vestiges of its power to make laws applying to Australia' (also, one of two references to laws, p.5). Australian courts because the ultimate arbiters of Australian law, the only reference to courts and one of two references to law (one of two references to laws, only reference to courts, only reference to parliament, the two references to power, p.5).
- Second, nationhood. Of the 40 specific references to 'government,' four terms are not significant for understanding the ALP leader's interpretation of government, but are significant for the concept 'Australia.' The first is that 'the governor-general's role (is) 'the single highest expression in the Australian governmental structure of the idea that all Australians...belong to the same nation (only reference to government, p.6).' The 'Australia Act' confirmed a lot of our uniqueness (only reference to Australia Act, p.5). Australian 'citizens' need not apologise for 'nationalism' (only reference to citizens, only reference to nationalism, p.3). This republican initiative is not an exercise in 'jingoism' it is not accompanied by the beating of 'drums' - or 'chests' (only reference to jingoism, only reference to drums, only reference to chests, p.3). We need a symbol of our 'independence' and the government of our own 'affairs' (only reference to independence, only reference to affairs, p.3). The move to an Australian republic gives expression to our best 'traditions,' and our current 'sensibilities' and 'ambitions' (only reference to traditions, only reference to sensibilities, only reference to ambitions, p.3). We number among our great qualities 'fairness', 'tolerance', 'love' of this country, and working for the common 'cause' or 'good' (only reference to fairness, only reference to tolerance, only reference to love, p.4, the two references to cause/good, p.12). Our symbols should have a 'uniting' role (the two references to uniting) on our 'continent' (the two references to uniting, p.4, 6, the only reference to continent, p. 12).
- Third, a modern and mature relationship with Britain. We have a friendly but independent relationship, in 'peacetime' and in 'war,' with 'British' people, empire,

heritage, colonies, government, institutions, Prime Minister and dominions (only reference to peacetime, only reference to war, p.2, the 11 references to British, pp.2,4). We need a 'modern' not a 'parent-child' relationship, and this is not 'rejection' but 'recognition' (only reference to modern, only reference to parent-child, the two references to rejection,, the three references to recognition, p.2).

- Fourth, own unique identity from other countries. This is not a rebuke to lands 'overseas' p.4. As never before we are making our own way in the 'world' (one of four references to world, p.2). We are friends with Britain with separate destinies to carve out in the 'world' (one of four references to world, p.2). The people of modern Australia are drawn from virtually every 'country' in the 'world' (one of three references to world, p.2). Australia occupies a 'unique' place in the 'world' and makes a 'unique' contribution to it (one of four references to world, one of three references to unique, p.2). We are not a political or cultural 'appendage' of another country' past (the two references to appendage, one of three references to past, p.4). It asserts nothing more than our 'unique' 'identity' (only reference to identity, one of three references to unique p.4). We need to symbolise our evolving relationships with 'Asia' and the 'Pacific,' as we have developed our 'external affairs' (only reference to Asia, only reference to Pacific, only reference to external affairs, p.3, 5). We have been an early and active member of the 'United Nations' (the two references to United Nations, pp.3, 4). We can continue as members of the 'Commonwealth of Nations' (the two references to Commonwealth of Nations, p.3), many of whose members have their own head of state.
- Fifth, shared history. We are approaching the 'twenty-first century', the 'centenary' of our 'nationhood' only reference to twenty-first century, only reference to centenary, two references to nationhood, pp. 1, 2). We share a past, 'present' and future (one of three references to past, only reference to present, one of two references to future, p. 12). We have unique opportunity this 'decade' (only reference to decade, p.3).
- Sixth, we are a nation of cultural 'diversity' and we need to reconcile with 'Aboriginal' Australians (only reference to diversity, only reference to Aboriginal Australians, p.3). Seventh, this is an opportunity for equal rights and opportunities for women, and equal representation (only reference to equal rights, only reference to women, only reference to equal representation, p3.).

Australia - Liberal Party - Party Platform

The three references to Australian, in the Liberal Party's platform, reflect two themes:

- First, simply because someone does not endorse a republic does not make them less 'Australian' (one of three references to Australian).
- Second, the governor-general is effectively 'Australia's' head of state (two of three references to head of state).

Australia - Liberal Party - Leader's Address

The 17 terms under the theme Australia, used in the leader's address of the Liberal Party, are organised into two themes:

- First, the nationalistic theme does not necessarily support a republic. Mr Howard suggests that the debate is not about who is the better 'Australian' (three of five references to Australian, pp. 1, 2, 4). Mr Howard argues that the Australian system of

government delivers a neutral set of arrangements for an 'Australian' head of state (one of five references to Australian, p.2), and, also, that conventions of the constitution are not 'uniquely Australian' and therefore may not transfer to an Australian republic (one of five references to Australian, p.3).

- Second, Australia does not need a republic to be unique and independent in the world. Mr Howard refers to the natural historical drift apart between Australia and the 'United Kingdom', but does not believe a republic is needed to express Australia's sense of 'independence' as a 'nation,' nor its national 'identity' (only reference to identity, only reference to united Kingdom, the five references to nation, pp.4, 5, the five references to independence, p.4).

Australia - National Party - Party Platform

The nine Australian themes in the National Party platform are organised into two themes:

- First, 'Australia' is unique in the world, sharing the age of its democratic systems with a mere five other countries: Britain, USA, Canada, Switzerland and Sweden (the three references to Australia, the only references to Britain, USA, Canada, Switzerland, Sweden).
- Second, Australia has been served well for almost 100 years.

Australia - Democrats - Party Platform

The two thematic references to Australian embody a single theme:

- That Australia's head of state should be an 'Australian' (the two references to Australian).

Australia - Democrats - Leader's Address

The 46 terms under the concept democracy comprise two themes:

- First, a republic will confirm a unique 'Australian' identity in the world, and starting with a 'resident' for president (only reference to independent, p.7, the 20 references to Australian, pp. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7). This is appropriate for an 'independent' and modern 'nation,' where our future lies increasingly in south-east Asia (only reference to independent, p.3, the three references to nation, pp.2, 7, only reference to southeast Asia, p.3). Symbols reflect Australia's uniqueness, including our '100 years' anniversary, the Centenary of 'Federation,' the 'Sydney Olympics,' 'sentimental attachment' (only reference to 100 years, the two references to Federation, p.5, only reference to Sydney Olympics, p.7, only reference to sentimental attachments, p.3).
- Second, supporting the view that this present an important democratic opportunity, with which Australia can develop into a 'forward-thinking,' 'reflexive,' 'inclusive,' 'multi-racial' society, and reconcile itself with Australia's 'Aboriginal' peoples (only reference to reflexive, only reference to inclusive, only reference to multi-racial, only reference to Aboriginal, p.7). This will allow the 'hearts' and 'minds' of Australians to connect with their 'past' 'history' and make the most of Australia's 'future' (only reference to hearts, only reference to minds, the two references to history, only reference to future, p.3).

Australia - Greens - Party Platform

The 1 reference to Australia is represented in one theme:

- Australian symbols are important including the year 2001, which is a unique opportunity and a symbolically appropriate time (only reference to Australia).

APPENDIX G: DISCURSIVE DEVICES OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Discursive Devices - ALP - Party Platform

There are 103 discursive terms in the ALP Party Platform. These are organised into 7 discursive themes:

- First, that the context is formal and their audience expects them to formally introduce themselves and the idea. The platform commences by stating that '(T)he Federal Labor Government' (the seven references to Government or Labor), 'outlined' or 'proposes,' after which the platform sets about 'framing' the 'issue', 'idea' or 'question' (only reference to framing, the eight references to outlined or proposes, the two references to issue; the two references to question; only reference to idea), and provides the 'mechanism' for resolving the issue, which has been placed on the national political 'agenda' (only reference to mechanism, only reference to agenda). 'We' hold these views, starting, for example, with 'we believe' (the seven references to we).
- Second, acknowledges that there are two sides from which the audience can make their decision. They are competing for the audience's approval. The ALP acknowledges 'both sides' of the issue, and outlines its 'preferred' 'model,' which is not the 'only' model from which the Australian 'people' can make their choice. It will only come into place 'if' the government is re-elected (only reference to if, only reference to both sides, the 3 references to preferred, the 4 references to model, only reference to only). The language used by the ALP is also cautious, instating that directly electing the president 'seem' to be democratic, at first 'glance,' but this is not the case in 'practice.'
- Third, establishes the author must express their view and seek to persuade the audience of the virtue of their position. In three sentences the platform commenced with their 'View' or that they 'believe' (the three references to view/believe/s).
- Fourth, demonstrates a desire to appear objective and deliberative, such as, stating 'why' they hold their position, and establishing logical arguments, using, for example, the term 'hence' (only reference to why, only reference to hence).
- Fifth, that the author empathises as 'one of them' through using the terms we/us/our (fellow citizens)(the four references to we/us/our).
- Sixth, establishes that there is an expectation of consultation and discussion with the people (only reference to consultation, only reference to discussion). The ALP expects this to take place through the distribution of 'educational' materials in 'schools,' 'libraries,' and 'community' groups across the 'country' (only reference to educational, only reference to schools, only reference to libraries, only reference to community groups, only reference to country). The 'welcome' the 'Australia Consults' 'program' established by the 'National Australia Council' (only reference to welcome, only reference to Australia Consults, only reference to program, only reference to National Australia Council). The ALP offers 'support' for all such 'organisations' whose help generate a national 'conversation' (only reference to support, only reference to organisations, only reference to conversation). The ALP is 'determined' to 'involve' as many Australians as possible in the republican 'debate' (only reference to determined, only reference to involve, only reference to debate). They refer not to what they consider to be a phony or elitist 'constitutional convention' (the two references to constitutional convention). The party promises to hold a 'non-binding' 'plebiscite' within 'twelve months' of their next term, to which the people will have

the 'chance' to 'respond' (only reference to non-binding, the three references to plebiscite, only reference to twelve months, only reference to chance, only reference to respond). A 'Joint Select Committee' will also be set up to develop 'recommendations' to be 'put' to the people (only reference to Joint Select Committee, only reference to recommendations, only reference to put).

- Seventh, minimises weaknesses. They are afraid that the audience will think they are making major changes. The specific technique that the ALP uses is to make the consequences of its own changes appear minimal and the consequences of changes it wants to avoid appear catastrophic. This occurs in the ALP argument that the only real 'change' is symbolic and the actual operation of government would remain 'unchanged,' as opposed to directly electing the president, which would involve radical 'change' and pose real 'difficulties', and that it could seriously 'alter' Australia's system of government. This conservative approach is further exemplified by couching further changes in defensive terms. Rather than being significant or important changes, various aspects of public life will be in 'small number,' or 'remain' 'undiminished' or 'still' be as they are or 'retain' their 'current' qualities.

Discursive Devices - ALP - Leader's Address

The ALP leader's address employs 192 discursive terms which are organised into seven discursive themes below:

- First, that the context is formal and their audience expects them to formally introduce themselves and the idea. The platform commences by the Leader refers to the view as that of 'the Government' (the 11 references to government, pp. 1, 3, 5).
- Second, acknowledges that theirs is not the only view from which the audience can choose re-elected. They are competing for the audience's 'acceptance', or 'agreement,' and, therefore, want to sound cautious, and neither complacent nor overly confident (the two references to agreement, only reference to acceptance, p.7). The Prime Minister reminds the audience of an 'undertaking' he had given (the two references to undertaking to pp. 1, 3). The prime minister puts his 'arguments' and his 'preferred' position, and wants to appear to provide 'options,' to 'ask' people for their 'opinion'/for what they 'think,' so that they can 'decide' on the republican issue (only reference to arguments, p.11, only reference to preferred, p.5, only reference to options, p.1, only reference to ask, p.5, the eight references to opinion, p.8, only reference to think, p.6, only reference to decide, p. 11).
- Third, establishes that they must persuade their audience. The prime minister proceeds to express what he 'believes', the 'view' that he holds, his 'intention' (the four references to believes pp. 1, 3, 5, the three references to view, pp. 1, 7, 8, only reference to intention, p. 11), and states the 'advantage' of the audience following the course of action which he believes 'should' happen (only reference to advantage, p.7, the two references to should, p.7).
- Fourth, demonstrates a desire to appear objective and deliberative. This occurs in spelling out 'example(s)' of national identity which need 'consideration' and being seen to deal with issues even-handedly, such as using the terms 'on balance' (only reference to example(s), only reference to consideration, p. 7, only reference to (on) balance, p.8).
- Fifth, that the author seeks to identify as one with the audience through using the terms we/us/our (the 85 references to we/us/our, pp.1,2,3,5,6,9,10,11).

- Sixth, establishes that there is an expectation of 'consultation' and 'discussion,' and to generate a national political 'debate' with the 'people,' through and at 'representative' and 'community' bodies, 'schools,' 'universities,' and 'dinner tables' (the two references to people, only reference to consultation, p. 12, only reference to discussion, p. 11, the three references to community bodies, the two references to representative bodies, the only reference to schools, the only reference to universities, the only reference to dinner tables, p.1, the five references to debate, p.1, 8). The prime minister supports the 'Republican Advisory Committee' and other 'Committee (s),' and raises the possibility of a 'convention' which he suspects will be 'elitist' (only reference to elitist, p. 12; the nine references to convention, p.9, the three references to committee pp. 1, 9, 11). The prime minister states the, before the referendum 'there will be an extensive "campaign" which arguments for and against a republic will be put,' (only reference to campaign, p. 11).
- Seventh, minimises weaknesses. The prime minister presents all changes which he opposes as having catastrophic consequences, and changes which he seeks, as being minimal, or certainly not 'radical'. For example, he states that direct election 'would constitute very dramatic...fundamental...(p.7) and undesirable change to a system which...has served us well' (p.9)(only reference to radical, p.3, the 15 references to change/alter, pp. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7). Similar terms which convey this theme are 'retain,' 'remain,' 'still,' 'continue,' 'same' (the 13 references to retain, remain, still, continue, same, pp.5, 6, 7, 8, 11). The prime minister seeks to ease his audience's concerns by reminding them that 'Australia's Constitution cannot be changed in any way without a referendum, and to succeed in a referendum a proposed change must win the agreement of a majority of voters in a majority of states and a majority of voters overall' (p. 11).

Discursive Devices - Liberal Party - Party Platform

There are 58 discursive terms in the Liberal Party platform, which are organised into eight themes:

- First, that the context is formal and their audience expects them to formally introduce themselves and the issue. The platform commences by stating the position of the 'Coalition' after which the platform sets about outlining the 'issue,' 'idea' or 'matter' (the two references to issue/matter, only reference to idea).
- Second, acknowledges that theirs is not the only view from which the audience can choose re-elected. They are competing for the audience's 'choices' (only reference to choices). The Liberal Party acknowledges that many 'Australians' are 'attracted' to the idea of a republic (only reference to Australians, only reference to attracted).
- Third, establishes that the author must express their view and seek to persuade the audience of the virtue of their position. The platform outlines what the Coalition 'believes,' and they 'promote' and the 'proposal' or 'preference' they are 'offering' (only reference to promote, only reference to offering, only reference to believes, the two references to preference, the four references to proposal). The Liberal party acknowledge other views 'despite' the 'success' of the present constitution (only reference to despite, only reference to success). It seeks to dissuade the audience from accepting the opposing view. The Liberal Party platform explicitly challenges 'Paul Keating's' 'comments' which they perceives as an 'attempt' to 'imply' that an opponent of the republic is unAustralian (the two references to Paul Keating's, only reference to comments, only reference to attempt, only reference to imply). Against

the perceived ALP view that the current head of state is not Australian, the Liberal party uses the strong term that this is 'unthinkable' (only reference to unthinkable). The platform suggests that the audience appears to fear 'change' (the three references to change). The Liberal Party presents the changes proposed by the ALP as being major, and prefer to 'retain' our current system (only reference to retain). The specific technique that the ALP uses is to make the consequences of its own changes appear minimal and the consequences of changes it wants to avoid appear catastrophic. This occurs in the ALP argument that the only real 'change' is symbolic and the actual operation of government would remain 'unchanged,' as opposed to directly electing the president, which would involve radical 'change' and pose real 'difficulties', and that it could seriously 'alter' Australia's system of government. This conservative approach is further exemplified by couching further changes in defensive terms. Rather than being significant or important changes, various aspects of public life will be in 'small number,' or 'remain' 'undiminished' or 'still' be as they are or 'retain' their 'current' qualities.

- Fourth, the platform seeks to identify with the audience. The Liberal Party perceives that the forthcoming election may itself be a referendum on the republic and seeks to neutralise this as an issue by stating that no matter who wins the next election, the Australian people will vote about the republic. Further, the Liberal Party states that no one, therefore, should feel that the issue of the republic should in any way 'influence' his or her vote (only reference to influence).
- Fifth, establishes that there is an expectation of a 'consultative' process at all 'stages', so that the 'options' are fully 'debated' and 'discussed' with the aim of reaching 'consensus' (the three references to consultative, only reference to stages, the seven references to options, the three references to debated, the two references to discussed, the three references to consensus). A central part of this for the Liberal Party is the People's 'Convention' (only reference to convention).
- Sixth, dissatisfaction with the conduct of the debate: The prime minister's opinion is seen by the Liberal Party as compromising public opinion. The Liberal Party argues that Mr Keating is pushing the Australian people to accept the constitution 'he' 'wants,' not the one that they want (only reference to he, one of two references to wants).
- Seventh, strong language. The platform objects to pushing onto the Australian people the republic that the Prime Minister wants rather than the constitution Australians want.
- Eight, minimising weaknesses. Australia is no less independent under current arrangements.

Discursive Devices - Liberal Party - Leader's Address

The leader's address of the Liberal Party employs 244 discursive terms which are organised into nine discursive themes below:

- First, that the context is formal and they perceive that their audience expects them to formally introduce themselves and their principle 'idea' (four references to idea, p.6). Mr Howard, as a 'political leader,' seeks to 'say/put forward/remind' the audience of the view of 'the Coalition' and the 'issue' at hand (only reference to political leader, p. 1, the nine references to put forward/say/remind, p4, the 14 references to issue/question/matter, pp. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, the six references to Coalition, pp. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7).

- Second, that the author believes the audience wants them to 'acknowledge' the other 'side' of the 'argument' and that the audience makes the decision from the 'options' (the four references to acknowledges/recognises, pp.1, 2, 3, the three references to argument, pp. 1, 2, 6, the 15 references to side, pp. 1, 2, 6, the five references to options, pp. 1, 4, 6, 7). In a 'partisan' 'debate', Mr Howard commences a criticism of the ALP's position with the phrase, 'it is "strange" that the prime minister...' through which he tells the audience that he considers them intelligent enough to see where the problem lies (six references to partisan, p.3, only reference to strange, p.5, the 15 references to debate, pp. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7). Mr Howard acknowledges the views of the ALP and the views of many or some 'Australians' in 'support' of a republic (the 26 references to Australians/people/group, pp.2, 4, 5, 6, although he points out that the people will 'decide' according to what they 'want' (only reference to decide, p.7, one of three references to want, p.7). The Australian people are 'asked' or 'invited' to 'adjudicate' the 'relevance' of all arguments, 'alternative(s),' and each 'opinion,' how they are 'regarded,' and offer 'support' or 'approval' if they 'accept' a particular position (the two references to alternative(s), p.6, only reference to accept, p.6, only reference to asked, p.7, the two references to invited, pp.1, 3, only reference to adjudicate, p.7, the two references to relevance, pp.3, 4, the two references to regarded, pp.3, 4, the two references to opinion, p.6, two references to support, p.5, Only reference to approval, p.6). By acknowledging that there is no 'dispute' with the Prime Minister about the success of the present system of government, Mr Howard establishes an environment in which dispute is, otherwise, the normal state of affairs (only reference to dispute, p.2).
- Third, that the audience wants the author to express their view and seek to persuade the audience of the virtue of their position. The Leader of the Liberal Party presents his views to the parliament as 'proposals,' or a 'model' or what the party has 'adopted' or 'suggested' (only reference to model, p. 1, the 24 references to proposals/adopted/suggested, pp. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7). The party strongly and explicitly dissuades the audience from accepting the opposing view. Mr Howard argues that the 'interests' of '18 million' Australians are more important than the 'identity' of 'one,' suggesting that the Prime Minister Keating is putting his own 'wants' and needs before those of the Australian people (one of three references to wants, p.7, only reference to interests, only reference to 18 million, only reference to identity, only reference to one, p.1). Some arguments, in the opinion of Mr Howard, cast 'doubt' on the 'efficacy' of the prime minister's proposals (only reference to doubt, p.4, only reference to efficacy, p.3). Mr Howard perceives that the audience fears 'change' (the 19 references to change/d/altere, pp.1, 2, 5, 6) Mr Howard presents the changes proposed by the ALP as being significant, and prefer to 'retain' our current system (only reference to retain). Mr Howard states that 'the change proposed by the Prime Minister is a very significant one. It goes beyond being a purely symbolic change' (p.2).
- Fourth, that the author believes the audience expects them to be objective and deliberative. Mr Howard has 'examined' the issues, and seeks to give a 'reason' for his views, to seek to persuade his audience by citing an outside 'observer,' and by deferring to the credibility of a 'professor,' who is a 'leading republican' (the three references to reason, pp.3, 6, only reference to observer, p.6, only reference to professor, p.3, only reference to leading republican, p.3, the 10 references to examined, pp.5, 6). A degree of deliberative doubt is also expressed in rejoining an opinion with the phrase 'I think' (the three references to I think, p.3).

- Fifth, identifies with audience. Mr Howard argues that the prime minister wants to give the Australian people the republic 'he' 'want' not the republic they want (only reference to he, one of three references to want, p.7).
 - Sixth that the author perceives that the audience expects consultation and 'discussion' (only reference to discussion, p.4). Mr Howard suggests that politicians must test the 'mood,' 'attitudes' and 'feelings' of the Australian people (the three references to mood, pp.2, 6, the two references to attitudes, pp. 1, 2, 3, only reference to feelings, p.6). It must appear that the Australian people are 'involved' and 'consulted' (the nine references to involved, pp.5 6, 7, the three references to consulted, p.6). The 'views' and 'recommendations' of the 'Republican Advisory Committee,' and the 'People's Convention,' would be taken into account by Mr Howard, with a view to achieving 'consensus' (the two references to consensus, p.6, the 10 references to People's Convention, pp.5, 6, 7, the four references to views, p.6, only reference to recommendations, two references to Republican Advisory Committee, p.3).
- Seventh, the text seeks the credibility of others. Mr Howard refers to the many republicans who disagree on the best model of an Australian republic.
- Eighth, disapproval over the debate itself. Mr Howard argues that the outcome of the debate will have little impact on the 'daily lives' of most Australians, nor on their 'standard of living,' on Australia's 'economic capacity,' on the amount of 'coal,' p.7, and 'wheat,' p.7, that Australia sells, nor on the quality of 'services,' delivered, on levels of 'unemployment,' 'social deprivation,' 'social privilege,' nor the level of 'foreign debt' (the two references to daily lives, pp. 1, 6, the two references to standard of living, pp. 1, 6, only reference to economic capacity, p. 1, only reference to coal, p.7, only reference to wheat, p.7, only reference to services, p.7, only reference to unemployment, p.6, only reference to social deprivation, p.6, only reference to social privilege, p.6, only reference to foreign debt, p.4). Ground rules for the debate are set up. Mr Howard asks for 'tolerance' and 'understanding' among the 'generations,' and seeks that the debate 'unifies' the Australian people, not divides them as he believes is currently happening (the five references to unifies, pp.2, 6, 7, only reference to tolerance, only reference to understanding, only reference to generations, p.2).
 - Ninth, the author seeks to avoid politics. Mr Howard seeks to debate the issue in the most 'non-political' fashion possible (only reference to non-political, p. 1).

Discursive Devices - National Party - Party Platform

The 38 discursive themes adopted by the National Party are organised into 10 themes:

- First, the formal setting was established by formally introducing the National Party, in presenting the 'reason' a view is held, to state what they 'believe' and to 'advocate' for a position (only reference to reason, only reference to believe, only reference to advocate).
- Second, both sides of the debate were acknowledged in the following statement: the National Party believes that 'to argue the case for a republic means arguing a case that it is a better alternative' (the three references to argue, only reference to case, only reference to alternative).
- Third, the National Party sought to persuade their audience to accept their position in the debate. The National Party states that they 'are in no way convinced' of the

arguments put forward in favour of an Australian republic (only reference to the term convinced).

- Fourth, the need to appear to be objective, using formal language: we have 'examined' the options and find no 'evidence,' (only reference to examined, only reference to evidence).
- Fifth, the author seeks to identify with their audience, making frequent use of the term 'we'.
- Sixth, consultation is seen to be important, in consulting with rather than pushing views onto the Australian 'people'.
- Seventh, dissatisfaction is expressed over the 'conduct' of the debate itself. The National party argues that 'myths' are replacing 'real issues' and causing 'divisiveness' and 'racial tensions' within the 'community' (only reference to conduct, only reference to debate, only reference to myths, only reference to real issues, only reference to divisiveness, only reference to racial tensions, only reference to community).
- Eighth, use of strong/emotional language: 'vocal elements' within the ALP have 'forced' republicanism onto the national agenda with the intention that Australia should 'abandon' the constitutional monarchy (only reference to vocal elements, only reference to forced, only reference to abandon).
- Ninth, weaknesses are minimalised in reassuring their audience that the National Party position is not a 'Royalist' position (only reference to Royalist).
- Tenth, the text avoids politics by arguing that a republic will create more 'politicians'.

Discursive Devices - Democrats - Party Platform

The 13 discursive devices appear in six themes:

- First, in introducing themselves formally, the 'Democrats' establish the formal setting of the debate (the two references to Democrats).
- Second, the text seeks to persuade their audience with a strong view that Australia 'should' become a republic.
- Third, the platform expressed the need to be appear be objective (appealing or cautious), such as the phrase, 'we believe' and the term 'view' (the three references to believe, only reference to view).
- Fourth, the desire to identify with the audience is evident in the use of the term 'we'.
- Fifth, consultation is seen to be important, as evident in advocating the 'constitutional centenary foundation,' and pointing out what 'the majority' of Australians 'want' and that they need to have a 'say' (only reference to majority, only reference to say, only reference to constitutional centenary foundation).
- Sixth, the text relies of the credibility of other, as in the case of expressing what the 'majority' of Australians 'want' (only reference to majority, only reference to want).

Discursive Devices - Democrats - Leader's Address

The 16 discursive devices employed by the Australian Greens are presented in six themes:

- First, it is formal in setting: name of 'Democrats' (the four references to Democrats).

- Second, the text seeks to persuade the audience in arguing that Australia 'should' become a republic.
- Third, is the need to appear to be objective (appealing or cautious), such as the phrase, to 'consider' (only reference to consider).
- Fourth, the text seeks to identify with the audience, using the term 'we'.
- Fifth, consultation is seen to be important, as evident in the commitment to comprehensive community 'consultation,' 'education' and 'debate.'
- Sixth, the text draws on others for credibility, in citing Anne Summers, and her book, *Damned Whores and God's Police* (only reference to Ann Summers, only reference to *Damned Whores and God's Police*).

Discursive Devices - Greens - Party Platform

The 14 discursive devices employed by the Australian Greens are presented in six themes:

- First, in introducing their title and position in the debate, the Greens establish the formal setting of the debate (the three references to Australian Greens).
- Second, the text seeks to persuade the audience by arguing strongly for 'change' in Australia's political system (the two references to change).
- Third, the text shows a need to appear to be objective (appealing or cautious), such as the phrase, to 'consider' (only reference to consider).
- Fourth, the desire to be seen to identify with the audience is evident in use of the term 'we'.
- Fifth, consultation is seen to be important, as evident in the commitment to comprehensive community 'consultation,' 'education' and 'debate,' and to holding a 'constitutional convention' (only reference to consultation, only reference to education, only reference to debate, only reference to constitutional convention).
- Sixth, relies for support on the credibility of others, as in the case of many 'people' (only reference to people).

APPENDIX H: CONCEPTUAL THEMES OF ORGANISED MOVEMENTS

Republic – ARM

The 18 references to republic embody nine themes:

- ‘Republic’ would confirm ‘sovereignty’ of the people as ‘citizens’ not subjects (one of 13 references to republic, the three references to sovereignty, pp.1, 2, p.1, only reference to citizens, p.1).
- ‘Republic’ is a political central issue (one of 13 references to republic, p.1).
- ‘Republic’ has bi-partisan support (two of 13 references to republic, p.1).
- Discussion points about the republic are on the ARM’s website (one of 13 references to republic, p.1).
- Commonwealth of nations has other ‘republics’ (one of 13 references to republic, p.2).
- The debate has moved from whether we should become a ‘republic’ to what sort of ‘republic’ we should become. (two of 13 references to republic, p.3).
- ‘Republic’ is about the reality of a unique Australia today (four references of 13 to republic, p.3).
- Federation a separate issue from the republic (one reference of 13 to republic, p.4).
- A republic of Australia would retain the current separation of ‘roles’ between the Head of Government and Head of State – (only reference to roles, p.4).

Republic – ACM

The 15 references to republic embody 11 themes:

- In some ‘republican’ countries, presidents abuse their powers (one of 15 references to republican, p.4).
- ‘Republic’ irrelevant to business issues (one of 15 references to republic, p.4).
- Asian neighbours are bewildered by demands for a ‘republic’ (one of 15 references, p.4).
- A ‘republic’ means more power to politicians (one of 15 references to republic, p.4).
- ‘Republicans’ disagree about the model (one of 15 references to republic, p.4).
- It would be undesirable if some states were a ‘republic’ and others weren’t (one of 15 references to republic, p.4).
- ‘Republicans’ cannot divorce the issue of the flag from the debate (one of 15 references to republicans, p.5).
- The charter is to oppose and defeat ‘republicanism’/ ‘republican’ proposals (four of 15 references to republican/ism, pp.1, 3, 4).
- The ‘republicans’ push is divisive and distracting from real challenges (one of 15 references to republicans’, p.2).
- The independence and egalitarianism ‘republics’ comment on is already in the constitutional monarchy (one of 15 references to republics, p.2).
- Some believe Australia is already a “crowned ‘republic’” (two of 15 references to republic, p.3).

Republic – Monarchist League

The four references to republic embody three themes:

- Opposes a presidential ‘republican’ system of government (two of four references to republican).
- A ‘republic’ would introduce a political figure (one of four references to republic).
- ‘Republican’ constitution cannot guarantee Australians’ freedoms (one of four references to republican).

Head of State – ARM

The 16 references to head of state appear in seven themes:

- The ARM seeks an Australian citizen for Australia’s ‘head of state’ (six of nine references to head of state, pp.1, 2, 3).
- The ‘head of state’ will be a ‘President’, who will be chosen by Australians and removable by parliament (one of nine references to head of state, one of four references to President, p.2).
- The ‘head of state’ should be chosen by merit rather than by birthright (one of nine references to head of state, p.4).
- The ARM supports parliamentary appointment of the ‘head of state’ as an expression of democracy (one of nine references to head of state, p.4).
- The role of the ‘President’ is expected to be the same as for the ‘Governor-General’, acting on the advice of the elected government (one of four references to president, the three references to governor-general, p.2).
- The functions of the ‘President’ will be spelled out in the Constitution (one of four references to President, p.2).
- The ‘President’ will not be required to act on the advice of the government if it has lost its majority or is breaking the ‘law’ (one of four references to President, p.2).

Head of State – ACM

The 6 references to head of state are represented in three themes:

- People have escaped republican governments where ‘presidents’ routinely abuse their powers (one reference to presidents, p.4).
- The Governor-general represents the Queen and is impartial (the two references to governor-general, p.4).
- Even republicans disagree over the method of appointing or electing the ‘president’ (3 references to president).

Head of State – Monarchist League

The single reference to head of state are represented in one theme:

- A republican ‘President’ would threaten Australian democracy (only reference to President).

Government – ARM

The 22 references to government appear in eight themes:

- Wishes to retain ‘parliamentary’ democracy form a republic without changing our system of ‘government,’ which will continue to be based on election (the six references to Houses/parliament/ary, four of 10 references to government, pp.1, 2).
- The Constitution is central to our system of ‘government’ and our ‘laws’ (one of 10 references to government, only reference to laws, p.4).
- Former Prime Minister, Paul Keating, wanted to legislate for a referendum (the two references to Prime Minister, only reference to Paul Keating, p.1).
- Many parties have ‘policies’ aimed at forming a republic (only reference to policies).
- The president will act on the advice of the ‘government’ (three of 10 references to government, pp.2, 4).
- The ARM seeks an informed debate about the most appropriate form of government for Australia (one of 10 references to government, p.3).
- Merit, rather than birthright, is central to our system of ‘government’ (one of 10 references to government, p.4).
- The ‘States’ would probably also adopt a republican constitution (only reference to States).

Government – ACM

The 26 references to government appear in five themes:

- The ACM seeks to defend Australia’s system of Executive constitutional ‘government’ and repel republican ‘government’ (nine references to government, pp.2, 3).
- Our unique democratic ‘Commonwealth’ has an enviable record of ‘Parliamentary’ democratic ‘government,’ which has provided Australia with ‘unity’ and ‘stability’ since ‘Federation’ and has protected Australia from ‘instability’ and ‘insecurity,’ in which the head of state is beyond ‘political’ interference, and ‘power’ is with the people (only reference to power, one of two references to political, only reference to unity, only reference to stability, only reference to Federation, only reference to instability, only reference to insecurity, p.4, the two references to Commonwealth, three of references to government, pp.2, 3, 4, the two references to parliamentary, p.3).
- The branches of Australian ‘government’, represented as the Constitutional Monarchy, are symbolised by the Crown (one of 14 references to government, p.2).
- Australia has all the desirable features of republican ‘government’ (one of 14 references to government, p.3).
- The majority is represented by ‘politicians’ (one of two references to politicians, p.3).

Government – Monarchist League

The four references to government appear in a single theme:

- The Monarchist League opposes attempts to implement a republican system of ‘government’ (four references to government).

Democracy - ARM

The 15 references to democracy appear in three themes:

- The Australian head of state should be an Australian, ‘chosen’ by Australians (through their parliamentary representatives) (two references to chosen, pp.1, 2).
- The ARM wants to retain Australia’s parliamentary ‘democracy,’ and ‘egalitarian’ tradition, in which governments continue to be ‘elected’ (the six references to democracy, pp.1, 3, 4, the three references to elected, pp.1, 2, only reference to egalitarian, p.4).
- Parliamentary majority ‘vote,’ or show of no ‘confidence’ ought to be able to remove the head of state (two references to vote, pp.1, 2, only reference to confidence, p.2).

Democracy – ACM

The 13 references to democracy appear in two themes:

- Australia has an enviable record of ‘free’, ‘democratic/ally’ ‘elected’ government, based on ‘egalitarianism,’ and supporting the wishes of a ‘majority’ and the ‘interests’ of ‘everyone’ (only reference to free, p.4, one of two references to majority, p.3, the six references to democracy, pp.2, 3, the only reference to elected, the only reference to egalitarianism, p.2, the only reference to interests, only reference to everyone, p.5).
- Election by parliamentary ‘majority’ is one suggestion for the appointment of the head of state (one of two references to majority, p.4).

Democracy – Monarchist League

The three references to democracy appear in two themes:

- The Monarchist League supports the Constitution which was ‘voted’ on by Australians (only reference to voted).
- A republican President would threaten Australian ‘democratic’ government and not guarantee our ‘freedoms’ in the same way as the present system (only reference to democratic; only reference to freedoms).

Constitution – ARM

The five references to constitution appear in four themes:

- Australia’s ‘Constitution’ is inappropriate for an independent nation (two of five references to Constitution, p.1).

- The 'Constitution' sets out the power of the British monarchy as being central to our government and our laws (one of five references to Constitution, p.4).
- The 'Constitution' can be changed while maintaining Australia's current form of government (one of references to constitution, p.1).
- The debate has become a broader consideration of the 'constitution' (one of references to constitution, p. 1).

Constitution - ACM

The 16 references to constitution feature in six themes:

- The ACM seeks to defend Australia's 'constitution' and 'constitutional' system of government, the 'constitutional' monarchy (nine of 16 references to constitutional, pp.2, 3, 4).
- The Crown belongs in the 'constitution', having served Australia well (one of 16 references to constitution, p.2).
- Defenders of the role of the Queen in the 'constitution' are not unpatriotic (two of 16 references to constitution, p.2).
- 'Constitutional' lawyers suggest that it would be expensive and complicated to rewrite the 'constitution' (two of 16 references to constitution, p.4).
- Australia has seven 'constitutional' monarchies (one of 16 references to constitutional).
- The most free and stable countries in the world tend to be 'constitutional' monarchies (one of 16 references to constitutional).

Constitution – Monarchist League

The five references to constitution are represented in six themes:

- The Monarchist League seeks to have an important role in the forthcoming 'Constitutional' Convention (one of 11 references to Constitutional).
- The League proudly upholds and defends Australia's 'Constitution' (five of 11 references to Constitution).
- A republican 'Constitution' cannot guarantee our freedoms as the current 'Constitution' can (two of 11 references to Constitution).
- The 'Constitution' was formulated by and voted on by Australians (one of 11 references to Constitution).
- Any symbols of the 'Constitutional' monarchy should only be changed by referendum (one of 11 references to Constitutional).
- An understanding of the 'Constitution' is vital before any discussion can take place (one of 11 references to Constitution).

Monarchy – ARM

The 10 references to monarchy are represented in four themes:

- Under the Constitution, Australia is established under the British 'Crown' (only reference to Crown, p.1).

- It is inappropriate for Australia to be symbolically governed under the 'monarch' of another country and from the 'past' (one of three references to three monarch, p.1, only reference to past, p.4).
- It is inappropriate for citizens of a democratic country to be 'subjects' of an hereditary, sectarian 'monarch' whose legitimacy derives from 'birthright' and discriminates on the basis of 'gender' and 'religion' (two of three references to monarch, p.1, only reference to birthright, only reference to gender, only reference to religion, p.4, only reference to subjects, p.1).
- The British 'Queen' does not represent Australians (only reference to Queen, p.3).

Monarchy – ACM

The 20 references to monarchy are represented in six themes:

- The 'Crown' and the constitutional 'monarchy' has served Australia well (two of five references to Crown, p.2, three of references to monarchy, p.3).
- Some argue that Australia is already a 'crowned' republic (two of five references to crowned, p.3).
- Supporters of the role of the 'Queen' of Australia in Australia's Constitution are not unpatriotic, and the 'Queen' is, in any case, represented by an Australian (two of five references to Queen, pp.2, 4).
- The 'Crown' symbolises 'duty' and 'service,' and Australia's system of government combines the advantages of constitutional 'monarchy' with independence, through change in 'Queen's' title, and egalitarianism (one of five references to Crown, only reference to duty, the two references to service, pp.2, 3, two of references to monarchy, pp.2, 3, two of five of references to 'Queen's', p.2).
- While politicians represent the interests of the majority, the 'Monarch' protects the interests of all Australians (one of six references to Monarch, p.3).
- Some simply admire 'Her Majesty,' the 'Queen' (only reference to Her Majesty, one of five references to Queen, p.3).

Monarchy – Monarchist League

The five references to monarchy are represented in three themes:

- The 'Crown' plays an integral part in the Constitution (one of references to Crown).
- The League opposes changes from a Constitutional 'Monarchy' or denigrate, vilify or subjugate the role of the Crown (three references to Monarchy, only reference to Crown).
- The League believes that 'oaths of allegiance' and other symbols should be retained unless the people choose to change them (only reference to oaths of allegiance).

Australia – ARM

The 47 references to Australia are represented in five themes:

- Australia's Head of State should be an 'Australian' citizen voted by 'Australians,' because the Queen does not 'represent' the Australian 'people,' as opposed to a representative who is 'internationally' 'recognised' (the two references to represent,

- only reference to people, one of two references to internationally, only reference to recognised, seven of 10 references to Australians, pp.1, 2, 3).
- Currently, the Commonwealth of 'Australia' is constituted under the Crown of the 'United Kingdom' of 'Great Britain' and 'Ireland,' which comprises another 15 'countries', which is inappropriate for an 'independent' 'nation' (the two references to countries, one of 10 references to Australia, only reference to Ireland, the two references to Great Britain, pp.1, 4, the two references to independent, p.2, one of three references to nation, the only reference to United Kingdom, p.2).
 - Australia is currently a member of the 'Commonwealth of Nations' and would continue to be involved in other 'international' and 'regional' associations, such as the 'United Nations' (only reference to Commonwealth of Nations, one of two references to international, only reference to regional, only reference to United Nations, p.2).
 - A republic says that this is 'Australia,' a 'nation' not defined by 'race,' 'religion,' or 'cultural background,' but by a commitment to this 'land,' and to Australia's own 'unique' institutions (one of 10 references to Australia, two of three references to nation, only reference to race, only reference to religion, two of references to cultural background, only reference to land, only reference to unique, p.3).
 - 'Australia' 'today' has a 'population' from all over the 'world,' with a 'diversity' of 'tradition,' 'united' by 'geography,' 'identity,' our 'future' and that of our 'children' (one of 10 references to Australia, only reference to population, only reference to world, only reference to diversity, only reference to tradition, one of two references to unity/ed, only reference to geography, only reference to identity, one of two references to unity/ed, only reference to future, only reference to children, p.3, only reference to today, p.4).

Australia – ACM

The 24 references to Australia are represented in 12 themes:

- We are 'Australians' united to defend the 'Australian' Constitution, voted for by 'Australians,' our constitutional system of government, and our democratic 'Commonwealth' (four of 16 references to Australians, pp.2, 3, 4, the two references to Commonwealth, p.3).
- The Queen is the Queen of 'Australia' by an Act of the 'Australian' Parliament (five of 16 references to Australia, pp.2, 3).
- Defenders of the Constitution and the role of the Queen of Australia in it are not less 'Australian' or less 'patriotic' than advocates of change (one of 16 references to Australian, only reference to patriotic).
- Australia still has its 'independence' (the two references to independence, p.2).
- We should not disrupt our 'nation' with a divisive debate, based on ignorance of history, outdated and discredited national fervour or drawing on imported prejudices (only reference to nation, p.3).
- The Queen has served the people of 'Australia' well (one of 16 references to Australia).
- While politicians represent the majority, the Monarch represents ALL 'AUSTRALIANS' (emphasis in original)(two of 16 references to Australians, pp.3, 4).

- Thousands of people have migrated to 'Australia' to escape from republics (one 16 of references to Australia, p.4).
- The Queen is, for all practical purposes, represented by an 'Australian' (one of 16 references to Australian, p.4).
- If only some States become a republic we would have a divided 'Australia' (one of 16 references to Australia, p.4).
- The most free and stable 'countries' in the world tend to be constitutional monarchies (only reference to countries, p.2).
- Symbols, such as the Australian 'flag' should not be divorced from the debate (only reference to flag, p.5).

Australia – Monarchist League

The five references to Australia appear in two themes:

- The Constitution was formulated by and for 'Australians' (two references to Australians).
- The Australian 'flag' and other symbols of 'national identity' should be retained unless the people of 'Australia' choose to change them (only reference to flag, only reference to national identity, one of three references to Australia).

APPENDIX I: DISCURSIVE DEVICES OF ORGANISED MOVEMENTS

Discursive Devices - Australian Republican Movement

The 75 discursive devices are represented in seven themes:

- Formal setting is established. The 'Australian Republican Movement' is mentioned as a formal introduction to the document, as is the republican 'movement' generally, and attention is drawn to the 'WWW site' which the ARM hopes the reader will find 'interesting' and 'informative' (only reference to movement, p.3, only reference to WWW site, only reference to interesting, only reference to informative, the four references to ARM, pp.1, 2, 3). The ARM issues its 'declaration' in the introduction to the document, and reference made to its 'central aim' and 'objectives,' and the 'platform' which is comprised of four 'elements,' The 'issue' is introduced, and the variety of 'options' and 'policies' including what some participants 'believe' 'should' happen and what they are 'supporting', (the two references to declaration, p.3, only reference to platform, p.2, only reference to elements, p.2, the three references to central aim, pp.1, 2, three references to issue, pp.1, 2, 3, only reference to options, p.1, only reference to supporting, p.1, only reference to policies, only reference to objectives, p.3, the three references to should, pp.1, 2, 4).
- The objective is to persuade the audience to accept their side of the argument and not the alternative. The arguments are couched in persuasive terms, such as the 'inappropriate' nature of the British head of state, and to 'ensure' that Australia has a uniquely Australian head of state which will 'confirm' Australia's identity, while retaining our 'successful' system of government (only reference to inappropriate, only reference to confirm, only reference to successful, p.1, only reference to ensure, p.2). The ARM argues that the question is not 'whether' Australia should become a republic but 'what' sort of republic we should become (only reference to whether, only reference to what).
- The ARM wants to be seen as rigorous and objective in its approach, applying a detailed 'examination' of the issues (only reference to examination, p.3).
- The ARM sought to identity with its audience, using the term 'our' and 'we' (the 14 references to our, pp.1, 3, 4, the five references to we, pp.1, 3, 4).
- Consultation with the Australian people is seen to be important, involving 'discussion' with Australians, to 'encourage' people to participate through 'grass-roots involvement', and to 'promote' 'understanding' of the issues (only reference to discussion, p.1, only reference to encourage, only reference to understanding, only reference to grass-roots involvement, only reference to promote, p.3).
- Credibility from other people – The 'former Prime Minister, Paul Keating' was mentioned, as was the 'Republic Advisory Committee,' and the fact that this was relatively bipartisan with support from the 'Australian Labor Party', 'Australian Democrats' and 'Australian Greens', 'Independents' and, most importantly, many prominent 'Liberal MPs' (only reference to former Prime Minister Paul Keating, only reference to Republican Advisory Committee, only reference to Australian Labor Party, only reference to Australian Democrats, only reference to Australian Greens, only reference to Independents, only reference to Liberal MPs).
- The author minimises perceived weaknesses. The ARM stresses that the changes it wants to make are 'minimum' constitutional 'changes', and emphasises what the

ARM would be 'retaining,' that is, will 'remain' 'unchanged' and 'still' 'continue' or stay the 'same' (only reference to minimum, p.1, the five references to change, only reference to retaining, p.1, only reference to remain, only reference to unchanged, only reference to still, only reference to continue, only reference to same, p.2).

Discursive Devices - Australians for Constitutional Monarchy

The 147 discursive devices are represented in seven themes:

- Formal setting is established. As an 'organisation,' the 'Australians for Constitutional Monarchy (ACM)' is a non-profit 'company' whose objectives are in 'accordance' with its charter which is 'annexed' to its 'Memorandum of Articles of Association,' and defines the 'issues' for consideration (only reference to organisation, p.4, the two references to ACM, pp.1, 3, only reference to issues, p.3, only reference to company, only reference to accordance, only reference to annexed, only reference to Memorandum of Articles of Association, p.1). The ACM outlines its 'charter,' 'mandate' and 'policy,' that is, what 'should' happen, and the 'views' or 'notion' that they 'hold,' 'suggest' or 'maintain' or are 'advocating'.
- The objective is to persuade the audience to accept their side of the argument and not the alternative. The members of the ACM 'support' and 'defend,' and are 'committed' to defending, the role of the Crown in the Constitution and 'believe' and 'assert' that it has served Australia well, and that they 'oppose,' 'resist,' and 'reject' a republic (only reference to suggest, p.4, only reference to notion, p.2, only reference to advocating, only reference to maintain, only reference to mandate, p.4, only reference to should, p.3, only reference to support, the two reference to views, pp.2, 3, only reference to hold, the two references to resist, pp.2, 3, only two references to charter, p.1, only reference to policy, p.1, the six references to believe, pp.2, 3, three references to defend, pp.2, 3, only reference to assert, only reference to committed, the two references to oppose, only reference to reject, p.2). The ACM states that it is willing to 'contemplate' the possibility of a different form of government at a future time (only reference to contemplate, p.3).The ACM makes explicit reference to 'republicans', a 'minority group' or select 'few,' who are 'trying' to 'divorce' important issues from the debate, and that they 'argue' among themselves, and that 'they' are like 'used car salesmen' who want you to 'buy' their 'car' without telling you about its 'make,' 'model,' or 'safety devices' (only reference to few, p.3, only reference to minority group, p.2, only reference to republicans, p.5, only reference to argue, only reference to they, only reference to used car salesmen, only reference to buy, only reference to car, only reference to make, only reference to model, only reference to safety devices, p.4). The ACM points out that it would be 'expensive' and 'complicated' to change the Constitution (only reference to expensive, only reference to complicated, p.4).
- The ACM wishes to appear objective, having considered the 'evidence' (only reference to evidence, p.4).
- The ACM sought to identity with its audience, using the term 'our' and 'we' (the 10 references to our, pp.1, 2, 3, 5, one of the six references to us, p.4, four of the 20 references to we, pp.1, 2, 3). In most instances the use of 'we' and 'us' is intended to reflected the diversity of backgrounds of members of the ACM (five of the six references to us, 16 of the 20 references to we, pp.1, 2, 3). The ACM states that it has representatives from different 'ethnic' groups, 'generations,' and people with

different 'experiences' in life' (only reference to ethnic, only reference to generations, only reference to experiences, p.2).

- The ACM seeks to derive legitimacy by referring to credible sources, such as a survey conducted by 'Dun and Bradstreet', in the 'Business Review Weekly' (only reference to Dun and Bradstreet, only reference to Business Review Weekly, p.4). The ACM also consulted Australia's most eminent 'constitutional lawyers,' 'judges' and 'ex-high Court judges' (only reference to constitutional lawyers, only reference to judges, only reference to ex-High Court judges, p.4). The ACM states that it has '14 000' 'supporters' (only reference to 14 000, only reference to supporters, p.4).
- The text expresses disapproval of the nature of the 'debate' for the ACM is 'divisive,' 'unnecessary,' 'irrelevant' and 'distracting' from the 'real' 'challenges,' and that the debate is an experiment in 'theory' to satisfy the 'envy' or 'ambition' of a select 'few' (only reference to unnecessary, only reference to irrelevant, p.3, the three references to divisive, pp.2, 3, the two references to distracting, pp.2, 3, only reference to real, only reference to challenges, p.2, only reference to theory, only reference to envy, only reference to ambition, only reference to few, p. 3). The ACM argues that the 'debate' is founded on 'ignorance' of 'history,' and 'national fervour' or drawing on 'prejudices' (one of five references to debate, pp.1, 2, 3, 4, only reference to ignorance, only reference to history, only reference to national fervour, only references to prejudices, p.3). The ACM argues that the 'costs' would be better 'spent' on issues of greater 'urgency,' including reducing Australia's 'unemployment' among 'youth,' the 'future' of Australia, 'reconciliation' with Aboriginal Australians, improved relations with our 'Asian neighbours,' restructuring the 'economy,' 'public health,' and 'education,' and with little benefit to 'business' (only reference to business, only reference to costs, only reference to spent, p.4, the two references to unemployment, pp.3, 4, only reference to urgency, only reference to youth, only reference to future, only reference to reconciliation, only reference to Asian nations, only reference to economy, only reference to public health, only reference to education, p.3).
- The ACM employs strong or emotional language to attempt to persuade its audience. The 'agitation' or 'demands' for a republic is described as a 'push' which should not be 'forced' onto Australians when there are other important issues, such as Australia's 'shockingly' high unemployment level (only reference to shockingly, p.4, only reference to demands, p.4, only reference to agitation, p.3, only reference to forced, the two references to push, 2). The ACM states that Australia's system of government should not be 'tinkered with' (implying unskilled experimentation). The ACM contends that the republicans draw on 'outdated' and 'discredited' national fervour, and draws on 'imported' prejudices (which is strong in the light of Australia's immigrant history)(only reference to outdated, only reference to discredited, only reference to imported, p.3). Some members of the ACM are 'hurt' and 'angry' at the 'attacks' on the queen (only reference to hurt, only reference to angry, only reference to attacks, p.3). The statement that the republicans resemble a 'bunch' of used car salesmen who 'demand' that you buy their car without knowing about it (only reference to bunch, only reference to demand, p.4).

Discursive Devices – Monarchist League

The 46 discursive devices are represented in six themes:

- The formal setting is established with introductory reference to the ‘Monarchist League itself (the two references to Monarchist League). The League has a ‘simple,’ ‘clear’ and ‘unwavering’ ‘platform’ or ‘stand’ (only reference to stand, only reference to platform, only reference to simple, only reference to clear, only reference to unwavering).
- The Monarchist League seeks to persuade its audience to accept its view. The League has always ‘maintained,’ and it ‘upholds’ and the Constitution and ‘endorses’ the role of the Crown in it, and, in ‘defence’ of the Constitutional Monarchy, ‘opposes’ changes to a republic, and argues that it is ‘wrong’ for the symbols of Australia’s Constitutional Monarchy to be ‘removed’ or ‘amended’, reflecting what its members ‘believe’ (the two references to opposes, only reference to defence, only reference to endorses, only reference to upholds, only reference to maintained, only reference to removed, only reference to amended, the five references to believe, only reference to wrong).
- The Monarchist League seeks to identify with its audience. The Monarchist League expresses what ‘we’ have and ‘our’ system of government (the seven references to we, the six references to ‘our’).
- Consultation with the people is presented as important for the Monarchist League, arguing that it is wrong for processes of change and debate to commence until the people have an ‘awareness’ and ‘knowledge’ of our Constitution and system of government (only reference to awareness, only reference to knowledge).
- The text expresses disapproval of the nature of the debate by the Monarchist League, who contend that the ‘debate’ is not of the people but of a vociferous ‘minority’ supported by a ‘biased’ ‘media’ (the two references to debate, the only reference to minority, the only reference to biased, the only reference to media).
- The Monarchist League uses emotional or strong language in expressing its view. The Monarchist League ‘vigorously’ opposes any attempt to ‘denigrate,’ ‘vilify’, or ‘subjugate’ the role of the Crown under the Constitution, and ‘impose’ a republic (only reference to impose, only reference to vigorously, only reference to denigrate, only reference to vilify, only reference to subjugate).