2010 Election Profile and some relevant documents

Prepared by



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Methodology

We use SPSS Statistical analysis to compare the 622 economic and demographic variables in our Elaborate 7D database, with political variables, in this case, ALP 2PP 2010 vote, ALP 2007-2010 2PP swing, Green 2010 primary House of Representatives vote and 2007-2010 Green primary swing.

These correlations provide the descriptive basis of the profile charts which show how demographic groups vary across seats in proportion to variations in the political variables. For example, as we found more rich persons in a seat, we found more Green voters. Where we found more activist Christians, we found more voters swinging against Labor.

Relevant correlations are then processed in an SPSS package in a Step-Wise Multiple Linear Regression, to generate regression equations to predict what level of vote and swing there should be in each Federal seat, given what we now know about the demographic background of voters.

The regression analysis weeds out the purely descriptive variables and uses only those variables which contribute real explaining power to the model. For example in the current election, the ALP copped an absolute caning in the regression analysis from activist Christian demographics in terms of both the vote and the swing. So the presence of an activist Christian vote in any electorate both described and explained behaviour.

The difference between the predicted and observed 2PP votes, the residual, is then calculated. Because the regression equation is so powerful in this case, a positive residual for a Labor candidate usually means that candidate used local factors external to the model to perform better than he or she 'should have' performed.

Because we are dealing here with a closed 2PP vote, the positive residual for the Labor candidate equals the negative residual for the LNP candidate. One wins the party votes from the other.

Summary

<u>The ALP voter profile</u> in 2010 was led by those voting Labor out of habit: Labor's 2007's voters. But, instead of the traditional skilled blue collar tradesmen and academics from the 70s, we see those on transfer payments: CentreLink mums, students, the unemployed, or those living in welfare housing. Those who were working tend to be in defence subsidised and stimulus protected manufacturing jobs.

The 2007 Labor voters were joined by the focus group driven and politically volatile middle white collar workers and stimulus funded young home buyers. Every mortgage group, up to the bottom of the third quartile swung to Labor in a climate of historically low interest rates.

The big group of atheists and agnostics – one in three voters - swung heavily to Labor across Australia. The boomers – Australian-born and European migrants – also swung to Labor. These big groups voted Green 1, Labor 2, explaining the swings to Labor in outer urban Adelaide and Melbourne, but none of the other pro-Labor swing groups voted Green 1 Labor two, to a statistically significant degree.

The anti Labor swing included the Christian evangelical faiths previously won by Kevin Rudd in 2007. While they were only one in ten voters on the faith spectrum, they live in the marginal Queensland and NSW seats. Also dumping Labor in 2010 were all of the more recent non European migrant groups, including those from the Asia/Pacific, and the big rental home group which went to the Greens from Labor and didn't come back in preferences.

The <u>Coalition stereotype</u> for 2010 was still dominated by farmers or small business types, earning an income through an unincorporated entity. They are older, often have some sort of preferential tenancy arrangement, and tend to be Australian born, speak English and be of the Anglican, Presbyterian or Uniting faiths.

All but one of these pro LNP groups tended to vote anti-Green in 2007 and swung further against the Greens in 2010. The exception is the very well paid self employed, who swung to the Greens in 2010.

While the LNP demographic may be anti-Green, many of those swinging to the LNP were also swinging to the Greens in 2010, putting the two parties in direct competition for the votes of richer Australians.

<u>The Green Primary Vote stereotype</u> included young agnostics and gays, university students or graduates, frequently working and studying in academia, with arts, drama or architecture degrees. They are joined by US or Canadian refugees from capitalism, in well paid professional consulting or media jobs.

The Greens tend not to have kids. If they do, it's only one and this child will be sent to the most expensive inner city private schools, because Greens are rich.

Every Green voting group also swung to the Greens in 2010, so its base got bigger in proportion to its previous size. Apart from some graduates and agnostics, none of the

Green demographic stereotype swung to the ALP after preferences to a statistically significant degree.

The polarisation of the Green demographic shrunk the Green vote in those seats where the Independents have been growing their new power base.

When we rank all 150 seats by their lack of 2010 Green voters we see the three independent MPs in the bottom five Green seats. If this lower income demographic does vote Green, they can cast up to 45 percent of their second preferences to the LNP.

This anti-Green, pro Independent group are older and live in more rural or outer urban blue collar suburbs where families have children and frequently attend Church. In these parts of Australia men have certificate qualifications and drive a truck to work and women stay home to mind the kids. There's no spare money for the internet or Pay TV.

These older families tend to own their own home, having paid off a mortgage, or, if stuck in an unskilled job with one income, they are still living in lower rent accommodation.

Our regression analysis of the ALP 2PP results explained 92 percent of the variance in votes across all 150 seats, with about seven in ten seats within 3.3 percent of the predicted figures. As such, it was a stronger predictor of the result than the 2007 pendulum.

The 2PP swing model explained 80 percent of the variance in swings, meaning the role of individual candidates in influencing the outcome was limited.

The best LNP performance was in Cowper, at ten percent higher than modelling predicted, followed by Hasluck at six percent, then Higgins, Solomon, Dunkley, Aston and Bennelong, all around five percent above predicted levels.

The best Labor performances are a much shorter list: Robertson, on eight percent above predicted, followed by Longman. In Longman, the 20 something LNP candidate was worth minus six percent to the LNP's campaign or Labor's candidate was worth plus six percent to Labor, depending on your point of view.

Seats notionally won in the count by strong LNP candidate performances include Brisbane, Hasluck, Dunkley, Forde, Aston, Solomon, Bennelong and Cowper. Seats notionally won by strong ALP candidate performances include Eden Monaro, Reid, Robertson and Greenway.

When we averaged the modelled votes for each seat by state, we found the NSW seats performed to predicted levels, as did SA. Victoria and Queensland were a little lower for Labor than predicted, while WA was almost half a percent lower for Labor than predicted.

Factors exogenous to our model in WA, presumably the mining tax issue, held back Labor's WA vote by almost half of one percent.

In terms of the state wide influence of either Kevin Rudd on Queensland, or Julia Gillard on SA and Victoria, there was virtually none. Australia behaves politically as one country and the states simply gather up adjoining seats with similar demographics.

At the national level however, the regression modelling and simple seat swings show that the loss of Kevin Rudd's pro-Christian, pro-family profile cost the ALP votes from Christians in marginal seats across the country.

The top four Pentecostal seats in Australia included three in Queensland and one in NSW. The average anti Labor 2PP swing in these seats was 7.2 percent, compared to the national swing of 2.1 percent, a difference of 5.1 percent.

Julia Gillard's lack of religious beliefs – or the absence of Kevin Rudd's Christian image - may have led to an increase in the swings to Labor candidates from Agnostics and Atheists.

The top four Atheist seats in Australia included two each in Victoria and South Australia. The average swing in these seats was 3.3 percent towards Labor, compared to the national swing of 2.1 percent against Labor, a difference of 5.4 percent.

The biggest swing to Labor in the country of nearly ten percent was in Kingston, which was also the seat with the most atheists. La Trobe and McEwen, both Victorian seats won by Labor, rank three and six respectively for atheist males.

The difficulty for the Labor Party now is that it's volatile voter and marginal seat strategy has weakened its traditional blue collar and intellectual bases of support, leaching Howard Battlers to the Liberals and academics to the Greens.

The difficulty for the Liberals is that its focus on Howard Battlers has cost it small L liberal support from traditional Liberal professional and well paid urban voters.

The difficulty for the National Party is that it can't win back the seats lost to Independents and instead has to survive by campaigning against its own Coalition partners.

Results – The Greens grow up

Up to August 25, Coalition candidates were polling 44 percent, up 1.9 percent, Labor candidates 38 percent, down 5.4 percent, Greens 11.5 percent, up 3.7 percent and Others 6.5 percent, down 0.2 percent.

The range of 2PP swings to Labor was 24.3 percent (minus 14.3 percent to plus 10 percent), for the Greens it was 16.4 percent (minus 3.1 percent to plus 13.3 percent. These are very tight ranges for the Greens, as we see from the Standard Deviation above, but very loose indeed for the ALP, where 2PP Labor swings sprayed everywhere, with a range 13 times the average, instead of the usual five or so.

This extraordinary range of swings to and from Labor confirms the trend we saw when we profiled the Greens' primary vote in 2007 and benchmarked this profile against the ALP 2PP vote and 2PP swing. This research showed the impact of the Greens cannot be measured simply by examining net national or even seat based swings to the Greens from major parties and Green preference drifts returned to the major parties.

While it is simple enough to say Labor lost 3.7 percent of its primary vote to the Greens and got back, on average (say) 80 percent of this in preferences and also lost a separate 1.7 percent directly to the Coalition, this hides the much larger gross movements from the major parties to and from each other across all seats, and also gross swings against the Greens and back to the major parties (and independents) and a widely fluctuating drift in Green preferences across electorates, from about 54 percent to 92 percent to Labor.

These gross movements hold the key to a better understanding of the impact the Greens had in 2010 for both Labor and for the Coalition and likely future problems posed by the Greens for both major parties.

Variable	Green Prim 2010	ALP 2PP 2010	ALP 2PP Swing	Green Prim Swing
Mean	11.5	50.5	-1.8	3.8
Stand Deviation	4.8	11.4	6.2	2.6
Green Prim 2010	1.0	0.3	0.1	0.6
ALP 2PP 2010	0.3	1.0	0.3	0.2
ALP 2PP Swing	0.1	0.3	1.0	0.2
Green Prim Swing	0.6	0.2	0.2	1.0

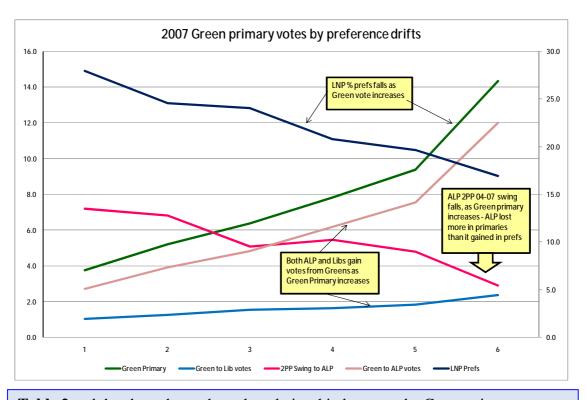
Table 1. Shows basic stats and cross correlations for Green Primary, ALP 2PP, ALP 2PP swing and Green Prim Swing.

The pro Green swing was double the swing against Labor and more tightly focussed on Green strongholds.

The pro ALP swing was not significantly correlated with the Green 2010 Primary vote but was (just) with the Green swing.

Seat sextiles				2PP		Green to
ranked by Green	Green	LNP	Green to	Swing to	ALP	ALP
2007 vote	Primary	Prefs	Lib votes	ALP	Prefs	votes
1	3.7	27.9	1.0	7.2	72.1	2.7
2	5.2	24.5	1.3	6.8	75.5	3.9
3	6.4	24.0	1.5	5.1	76.0	4.8
4	7.8	20.8	1.6	5.5	79.2	6.2
5	9.4	19.7	1.8	4.8	80.3	7.5
6	14.3	16.9	2.4	2.9	83.1	12.0
Mean	7.8	22.3	1.6	5.4	77.7	6.2

Table 2. Shows the 2007 results ranked by range of Green primary vote. As the Green primary vote increased, preference drifts to ALP tightened, bringing up to 12 percent gains to ALP in votes won back from Greens. But the 2PP swing to Labor candidates was actually falling, as the Green vote increased for all but the fourth sextile, where there was a small net benefit to the ALP from the Greens. In five out of six sextiles the ALP 2PP swing improved as the Green primary vote fell.



<u>Table 2</u> and the chart above show the relationship between the Green primary votes in 2007, the preference drifts to Labor and to the LNP, the impact of these drifts on 2PP votes, and the broader picture for total 2PP vote swings.

In 2007 the ALP gained in net terms from Green candidates in only the fourth sextile of Green seats, as preference drifts from the Greens in that sextile outweighed votes lost by the ALP in primaries directly to the Coalition. In the other five sextiles, the ALP lost more votes in primaries to the Coalition than it gained from Green preferences.

What we are looking for in the charts and tables below are the demographic underpinnings of these political trends. Hopefully it will help us better understand the Green voter and their elected representatives who are in a powerful position in the new Parliament.

Stereotypes

Stereotype tables below show selected top positive and negative correlations between database variables and the political variables in the analysis, with the corresponding means for each variable in Australia.

Each table is a brief snapshot of the party's typical voter. The Australian means enable the reader to gauge the significance of each variable in the stereotype. What we are looking for here is strong correlations with bigger groups.

Correlations are a descriptive tool only, and not necessarily analytical. But they tell you a lot about your target voters in your key seats and if you attract the votes of enough of them, you win the big spatial correlation ... a majority of seats in the House of Representatives.

A member of the Greek Orthodox Church for example, is positively correlated with the Labor vote and if you want to find Labor voters, look inside a Greek Orthodox Church any Sunday. But it's a **descriptive** variable only. When you factor in jobs and income, the religious factor here doesn't **explain** why they vote Labor. The cultural factor becomes submerged by the economic factors and you need to look at other factors that go to make up that cultural group.

However, with those voters attending school to Year 11, their explaining power stuck right through the regression analysis. So it was a descriptive **and** an analytical variable. As we saw in 2007, some of the more activist religions also swung against Labor after the demise of Kevin Rudd and this also stayed in the regression analysis to the end, costing Labor dearly in seats across the country, but especially in Queensland where the urban overspill of greater Brisbane means that these are marginal seats, rather than safe seats for the Coalition.

We are looking here for big correlations with big community groups and patterns across demographic tables. For example, in Table 3, 2007 Labor voters overwhelmingly voted Labor in 2010. This is a big group and a strong correlation and explains a lot of what actually happened on election night.

In Table 5, the pro ALP swing stereotype, we see all the mortgage ranges from zero up to the start of the third quartile ... so we are talking here about 60 percent of one in three voters buying a home ... or one in five voters. Clearly, low interest rates were a key motivating factor in these households swinging to the Government, as their mortgage commitment would be their major financial outlay as a family.

We are also looking to see what would be the net impact of the Green primary vote and pro Labor preference drift and the direct exchange of votes between the parties, on the total 2PP swings across demographic groups. For example, in Table 4, the pro LNP voting stereotype, we see that persons with a high per capita income from unincorporated sources (typically a business name) were strongly pro LNP and also pro Green in terms of their vote. Further, they swung to the Greens and against Labor to a significant degree. This makes a nonsense of the view that Labor loses groups to the Greens, but wins them back. The real world is a lot more complicated.

	Green			Green	Aust
	Prim	ALP 2PP	ALP 2PP	Prim	Means
Code	2010	2010	Swing	Swing	(RHS)
ALP 2PP 2007 Vote Pred	0.25	0.86	0.02	0.16	51.84
Single Parent kids over 15	0.23	0.58	0.01	0.14	7.03
Rent \$180-224	-0.06	0.53	0.34	0.09	17.85
Youth Allowance FT Student	0.15	0.52	0.11	0.10	1.45
Unemployed	-0.14	0.50	0.10	-0.21	3.43
Clerical & administrative	0.42	0.47	-0.04	0.32	5.92
Mort \$1400-1599	0.05	0.46	0.08	0.20	
East Orthodox	0.13	0.46	-0.02	0.05	2.44
fEast Orthodox	0.14	0.46	-0.03	0.06	
fUnemployed	-0.25	0.45	0.02	-0.15	2.82
fPolish	0.19	0.44	0.13	0.21	0.27
fosfEngineering	-0.03	0.44	0.00	0.05	2.19
fNo school	0.00	0.43	-0.20	0.02	0.91
fGreece	0.25	0.43	0.05	0.11	0.54
fCroatia	0.03	0.43	-0.02	0.07	0.23
fCroatian	0.02	0.43	-0.01	0.07	0.28
Polish	0.17	0.43	0.14	0.21	0.22
f30-34 one kid	0.23	0.43	-0.04	0.29	1.66
Croatian	0.00	0.42	-0.02	0.06	0.28
Manufacturing	-0.30	0.42	0.28	0.02	13.73
Greece	0.23	0.42	0.06	0.10	0.53
Transport	-0.33	0.41	-0.09	-0.06	6.49
fltalian	0.20	0.41	0.08	0.11	1.52
fSE Europe	0.00	0.41	-0.04	0.08	
Rented State	0.12	0.41	-0.12	0.07	3.97

<u>Table 3</u>. ALP 2PP voter stereotype. The ALP voter in 2010 was dominated by those voting Labor in 2007 – which explains why the pendulum tends to work so well.

Instead of the skilled blue collar tradesmen from the 70s, we see the ALP profile for the new millennium – those on welfare of one form or another, whether in form of transfer payments to CentreLink mums, students, the unemployed, or those living in welfare housing or working in subsidised and stimulus protected manufacturing jobs, which is presumably why we saw support for Labor from Melbourne and Adelaide.

They are joined by the classic swinging voter groups: middle white collar workers, young families with third quartile rents in 2006 who look like they may have moved across into third quartile mortgages in 2010.

The remaining groups here with ethnic or religious links tend to be correlated with the other variables in the table: Eastern Orthodox tend to be here because they're Greek and the Greeks tend to be here because they work in manufacturing. These factors typically disappear in more rigorous regression analysis.

Looking across the columns, we see swings to Labor only from Manufacturing and those on third quartile rents in 2006. There were big primary swings to the Greens from the young swinging voter mothers – but this did not swing to Labor after preferences.

	Green			Green	Aust
	Prim	ALP 2PP	ALP 2PP	Prim	Means
Code	2010	2010	Swing	Swing	(RHS)
Managers	-0.17	-0.66	-0.03	-0.24	17.45
Worked at home	-0.31	-0.62	-0.03	-0.29	
fosfEducation	-0.22	-0.58	0.03	-0.17	11.81
fManagers	-0.13	-0.56	-0.08	-0.22	11.13
Mort Not Stated	-0.37	-0.50	-0.06	-0.30	9.42
Unincorp Income Per Cap 06_07	0.41	-0.49	-0.20	0.15	\$4,686
55-59	-0.34	-0.48	0.14	-0.35	6.52
fosAgriculture & Environment	-0.38	-0.48	0.01	-0.32	4.09
Other Tenure	-0.31	-0.47	0.03	-0.27	0.90
60-64	-0.37	-0.47	0.09	-0.37	5.19
p55-64 Married	-0.50	-0.47	0.13	-0.35	9.86
fosfHealth	-0.18	-0.45	0.22	-0.18	14.26
f55-59	-0.31	-0.45	0.18	-0.27	6.40
Agriculture\ forestry & fishing	-0.41	-0.45	0.02	-0.32	6.77
fAgriculture\ forestry & fishing	-0.42	-0.44	0.01	-0.31	4.06
f55-59 three kids	-0.54	-0.44	0.14	-0.34	1.91
f60-64 three kids	-0.48	-0.43	0.16	-0.38	1.55
Presbyterian	-0.45	-0.43	-0.05	-0.38	3.00
English	-0.18	-0.42	0.23	-0.13	79.62
FamInc_Part_Inc	-0.12	-0.42	-0.08	-0.18	10.36
Anglican	-0.28	-0.42	-0.03	-0.35	18.10
fAnglican	-0.27	-0.42	-0.01	-0.35	19.51
fEnglish	-0.17	-0.42	0.23	-0.12	79.89
f60-64	-0.32	-0.42	0.17	-0.34	4.98

<u>Table 4.</u> LNP voter stereotype. We've been looking at the Coalition stereotype for elections going back to 1966 and it's not changed much.

Managers working at home are farmers or small business types, earning an income through an unincorporated entity. They are older, often have some sort of preferential tenancy arrangement and tend to be Australian born, speak English and be of the Anglican or Presbyterian or Uniting faiths.

The family income group part included is the big ten percent of total families where the female is working for a wage and the male is working for themselves and they can never figure out what their real income is, after deductable expenses, until their accountant has told them.

We also see here the big group of women who have studied either health or education (e.g. fosfEducation), which is interesting. We'd expect these to be teachers or doctors or health paraprofessionals, but they don't have to be in the workforce.

Looking across the columns, we see all but one of these groups tend to vote anti-Green in 2007 and swing further against the Greens in 2010. The exception is the self employed, who voted Green in 2007 and swung further to the Greens in 2010. This spells big trouble for the Coalition in future elections.



	Green			Green	Aust
	Prim	ALP 2PP	ALP 2PP	Prim	Means
Code	2010	2010	Swing	Swing	(RHS)
fYear 11	-0.12	-0.01	0.48	0.08	9.95
Year 11	-0.10	0.07	0.48	0.11	10.18
Mort \$750-949	-0.32	0.07	0.42	-0.16	9.83
Mort \$950-1199	-0.26	0.21	0.41	-0.06	12.44
Mort \$550-749	-0.29	-0.01	0.40	-0.19	
Rent \$140-179	-0.19	0.23	0.39	-0.14	13.98
No Religion	0.50	-0.02	0.39	0.36	20.17
fNo Religion	0.54	0.03	0.39	0.38	17.29
Did not commute	0.13	-0.01	0.36	-0.03	10.84
fNetherlands	-0.01	-0.13	0.34	0.04	0.40
Mort \$400-549	-0.29	-0.09	0.34	-0.22	6.11
Rent \$180-224	-0.06	0.53	0.34	0.09	17.85
Mort \$1-249	-0.12	-0.05	0.33	-0.10	2.75
Car as driver	-0.36	0.12	0.32	-0.09	57.13
Netherlands	-0.02	-0.17	0.31	0.01	0.42
Mort \$250-399	-0.21	-0.12	0.28	-0.17	3.09
Manufacturing	-0.30	0.42	0.28	0.02	13.73
fEmployed part time	-0.02	-0.41	0.28	0.03	22.62
f50-54 two kids	-0.33	-0.23	0.27	-0.19	2.92
fHealth & social assist	-0.06	0.05	0.26	-0.10	17.89
fDutch	0.11	-0.20	0.26	0.12	0.20
fosEducation	0.01	-0.14	0.26	-0.18	3.57
Mort \$1200-1399	-0.10	0.36	0.25	0.11	9.58
Rel Other	0.73	0.23	0.25	0.41	0.91

<u>Table 5.</u> Pro ALP 2PP swing stereotype. Every single mortgage group across the first and second quartiles, up to the bottom of the third quartile is in this table. This is 60 percent of all home buyers, which are one in three voters. So it's one in five.

This table also features the one in ten adults who left high school without matriculating and went into blue collar manufacturing jobs or white collar clerical or sales jobs. And we see the one in ten 'did not commute' group – mainly part time working women employed in health or education.

The above groups go a long way to making up the car as driver mega group of nearly six in ten workers which is also on the list. This urban middle class re-election strategy would have been sunk if the RBA had raised interest rates during the election campaign.

Here we see the impact of the ALP running a leader with no religious faith – the huge group of Atheists (and Agnostics) swung heavily to Labor across Australia, and they tend to live in urban seats in SA and Victoria, where ALP candidates performed well.

Looking across the columns, we see this big group voted Green 1, Labor 2, <u>but none of the</u> other pro-Labor swinger groups did so to a statistically significant degree.

	Green			Green	Aust
	Prim	ALP 2PP	ALP 2PP	Prim	Means
Code	2010	2010	Swing	Swing	(RHS)
Mort \$2000-2999	0.29	0.02	-0.37	0.11	13.19
fFiji	-0.14	0.20	-0.35	0.05	0.22
Fiji	-0.16	0.20	-0.35	0.04	0.18
Med mortgage	0.32	-0.07	-0.33	0.12	\$1,300
Rent \$275-349	0.36	-0.05	-0.33	0.31	10.65
Rent \$350-449	0.35	-0.18	-0.32	0.17	5.67
Rented Total	0.35	0.13	-0.31	0.21	28.55
New Zealand	0.15	-0.20	-0.31	0.38	1.95
fosfManagement & Commerce	-0.11	0.02	-0.31	-0.07	19.66
Mort \$3000+	0.36	-0.20	-0.31	0.10	7.23
fNew Zealand	0.14	-0.20	-0.30	0.38	1.92
fosMixed Field Programs	0.00	0.31	-0.28	0.08	0.12
Hindi	-0.09	0.24	-0.27	0.06	0.27
Fam \$Nil	0.06	-0.10	-0.27	0.01	0.99
Mortgage stress	0.06	0.17	-0.27	-0.17	30.28
Korean	0.05	-0.02	-0.27	0.01	0.22
fKorean	0.09	-0.02	-0.27	0.03	0.25
fSpanish	0.03	0.35	-0.26	0.04	0.44
fKorea Sth	0.14	-0.03	-0.26	0.07	0.26
p20-24 Married	-0.23	0.22	-0.26	0.04	0.54
Rented Agent	0.45	0.18	-0.26	0.26	13.47
Korea Sth	0.09	-0.02	-0.26	0.03	0.21
fCantonese	0.11	0.11	-0.26	0.04	1.10
fNS	-0.18	0.08	-0.26	-0.03	2.43
Real Estate	0.35	-0.22	-0.26	0.26	1.50

<u>Table 6.</u> Pro LNP 2PP swing stereotype. What we are looking at here are top quartile renters and top quartile home buyers, especially those who have borrowed by more expensive homes than they can afford, and who find themselves in mortgage stress. With the first round of interest rate increases, this latter group is still only affecting those in the top mortgage bracket.

We see renters generally, which overlaps partly with migrants from Asia, Europe and the Pacific, including Kiwis.

We have females who have studied management and commerce, especially those working in Real Estate, and finally, the young married couples, presumably renting, and saving for a home deposit.

When we look across the columns, we see that the demographic groups swinging to the LNP also tended to vote Green and swing to the Greens. This includes big groups, like the inner city renters and those paying top quartile mortgages.

So, while the LNP demographic may be anti-Green, apart from the self employed, many of those swinging to the LNP were also swinging to the Greens in 2010.

	Green			Green	Aust
	Prim	ALP 2PP	ALP 2PP	Prim	Means
Code	2010	2010	Swing	Swing	(RHS)
fosCreative Arts	0.78	0.27	0.00	0.40	2.18
fosfCreative Arts	0.75	0.13	-0.08	0.33	3.52
Rel Other	0.73	0.23	0.25	0.41	0.91
fosfSociety & Culture	0.72	0.28	0.22	0.48	11.82
fosfArchitecture & Building	0.70	0.04	-0.08	0.43	0.68
f40-44 no kids	0.68	0.26	-0.07	0.36	
f35-39 no kids	0.68	0.27	-0.07	0.39	
fosSociety & Culture	0.67	0.09	-0.07	0.34	5.56
f30-34 no kids	0.66	0.23	-0.10	0.38	
University	0.65	0.21	-0.06	0.40	
Professionals	0.65	0.02	-0.08	0.31	16.41
f45-49 no kids	0.65	0.25	-0.03	0.23	
Graduate Diploma	0.64	0.14	0.18	0.35	
fRel Other	0.64	0.22	0.22	0.34	0.49
USA	0.63	-0.18	-0.11	0.32	0.32
fProfessionals	0.63	0.00	-0.06	0.24	21.70
Professional consulting	0.63	-0.01	-0.09	0.34	6.26
f25-29 no kids	0.63	0.28	-0.08	0.40	
fPostgraduate	0.63	0.10	-0.13	0.31	3.77
Arts & recreaction	0.63	0.18	0.11	0.27	1.37
f50-54 no kids	0.62	0.14	0.00	0.21	1.05
fUSA	0.60	-0.18	-0.09	0.28	
fArts & recreaction	0.60	0.22	0.14	0.35	1.43
Bachelor Degree	0.60	0.05	-0.09	0.32	16.94
fCanada	0.59	-0.21	-0.09	0.32	0.17
fYear 12	0.59	0.02	-0.13	0.40	42.08
Other	0.58	0.38	0.03	0.37	0.64
fMedia	0.58	0.18		0.25	1.65
fProfessional consulting	0.58	0.01	-0.14	0.31	6.06

<u>Table 7.</u> Pro Green Primary Vote stereotype. This is the Don's Party group that used to be in the ALP in the sixties and seventies: young University students or graduates, frequently working and still studying in academia, no kids, often gay, arts and drama type degrees or architecture where they specialise in designing environmentally friendly suburbs, agnostic or atheist, often US or Canadian refugees from capitalism, but well paid in professional consulting or media jobs.

Of course, in the seventies, the ALP stood for 18 year old voting and drinking, free universities, no conscription, ending the Vietnam War and a republic. There's not much of this left in the new ALP.

The momentum for the Greens in 2010 can be seen in the fact that every Green voting group also swung to the Greens in 2010, so its base got bigger in proportion to its previous size. Apart from some graduates and agnostics, <u>none of the Green demographics swung to the ALP after preferences to a statistically significant degree.</u>

	Green Prim	ALP 2PP	ALP 2PP	Green Prim	Aust Means
Code	2010	2010	Swing	Swing	(RHS)
f30-34 three kids	-0.64	-0.09	-0.04	-0.28	0.92
f5-9	-0.63	-0.18	-0.08	-0.25	
Certificate total	-0.62	-0.10	0.15	-0.34	
f10-14	-0.62	-0.22	0.01	-0.27	
Total Govt	-0.61	-0.16	0.07	-0.32	
Truck	-0.61	-0.21	-0.12	-0.38	
Secondary Govt	-0.60	-0.08	0.11	-0.40	
f35-39 three kids	-0.60	-0.26	0.04	-0.27	1.59
fosEngineering	-0.59	0.02	0.13	-0.26	
fCertificate total	-0.59	-0.07	0.11	-0.30	
10-14	-0.58	-0.19	0.02	-0.25	
f45-49 three kids	-0.58	-0.38	0.06	-0.33	
5-9	-0.58	-0.13	-0.06	-0.22	
f40-44 three kids	-0.57	-0.33	0.05	-0.28	
f25-29 two kids	-0.56	0.06	-0.08	-0.18	
f30-34 two kids	-0.55	0.05	0.00	-0.15	
Primary Govt	-0.55	-0.22	0.04	-0.23	
Year 9	-0.54	-0.05	0.23	-0.48	
f55-59 three kids	-0.54	-0.44	0.14	-0.34	
Year 10	-0.54	-0.23	-0.06	-0.42	
f50-54 three kids	-0.54	-0.34	0.14	-0.35	
Machinery operators & drivers	-0.53	0.29	0.04	-0.21	11.08
f25-29 three kids	-0.53	0.01	-0.04	-0.24	
fYear 9	-0.53	0.03	0.18	-0.50	6.93
Family Tax Benefit A	-0.52	0.15	0.02	-0.15	
p45-54 Married	-0.52	-0.37	0.07	-0.28	11.69

<u>Table 8.</u> Anti Green Primary vote Stereotype. This is very close to the stereotype of the demographics swinging to Kevin Rudd in 2007 but there's no sign of that here, when we look at the ALP swing column.

There are however a lot of kids and young working class families. So we're looking at lower incomes, in receipt of Family Tax A. We see parents of kids at Govt schools, because they can't afford Catholic or Independent schools.

We are looking at blue collar workers, who left school early and took an apprenticeship and a certificate for a trade, often in engineering and who drive a truck to work or operate machinery in a factory. The certificate group is a massive blue collar group which dominated the Howard battlers, was won over by Rudd in 2007.

The Greens get none of these groups and those they lost even more of them in 2010, as their vote polarised around the inner city rich, the code word for which is apparently, 'progressive'.

	Green			Green	Aust
	Prim	ALP 2PP	ALP 2PP	Prim	Means
Code	2010	2010	Swing	Swing	(RHS)
fosfSociety & Culture	0.72	0.28	0.22	0.48	11.82
f20-24 no kids	0.54	0.33	-0.08	0.45	6.21
f20-24	0.53	0.33	-0.11	0.44	6.58
20-24	0.51	0.35	-0.08	0.43	6.80
fosfArchitecture & Building	0.70	0.04	-0.08	0.43	0.68
f35-39 one kid	0.51	0.34	-0.04	0.41	1.36
Rel Other	0.73	0.23	0.25	0.41	0.91
fosCreative Arts	0.78	0.27	0.00	0.40	2.18
fYear 12	0.59	0.02	-0.13	0.40	42.08
f25-29 no kids	0.63	0.28	-0.08	0.40	4.59
35-39	0.52	0.35	-0.06	0.40	
University	0.65	0.21	-0.06	0.40	
25-29	0.54	0.34	-0.14	0.39	6.46
F\$800-999	0.51	0.05	-0.06	0.39	6.22
f35-39 no kids	0.68	0.27	-0.07	0.39	1.87
Year 12	0.56	0.06	-0.15	0.38	
f30-34 no kids	0.66	0.23	-0.10	0.38	
New Zealand	0.15	-0.20	-0.31	0.38	
fNew Zealand	0.14	-0.20	-0.30	0.38	1.92
fNo Religion	0.54	0.03	0.39	0.38	17.29
F\$600-799	0.15	0.02	0.02	0.38	9.42
Other	0.58	0.38	0.03	0.37	0.64
fAdmin consulting	0.33	0.37	0.00	0.37	3.50
f25-29	0.53	0.34	-0.14	0.37	6.40
p25-34 De Facto	0.53	0.09	0.01	0.37	3.21
f35-39	0.40	0.26	-0.10	0.37	7.39
Moved past year	0.36	-0.13	-0.19	0.36	
f40-44 no kids	0.68	0.26	-0.07	0.36	
No Religion	0.50	-0.02	0.39	0.36	20.17

<u>Table 9.</u> Pro Green Primary Swing Stereotype. The demographic groups which had supported the Greens in 2007, swung even more heavily towards the Greens in 2010. This increased the Greens' political leverage by concentrating their votes in fewer inner city seats and increased their chances of taking what once were safe Labor electorates.

They were led by arts, media or architectural graduates, twenty somethings, atheists and agnostics, Kiwis, the highly mobile university student groups, gays and the Green family group, which is a professional or admin consulting couple with one child attending expensive private schools.

Looking across the columns, we see every group swinging to the Greens voted for the Greens to a statistically significant degree and many of them also supported Labor, with Kiwis the notable exception. But when we look at the swing towards Labor, we see that only the Agnostics and Atheists changed their vote in 2010 to Labor, by voting Green 1, Labor 2.



	Green			Green	Aust
	Prim	ALP 2PP	ALP 2PP	Prim	Means
Code	2010	2010	Swing	Swing	(RHS)
fYear 9	-0.53	0.03	0.18	-0.50	
Year 9	-0.54	-0.05	0.23	-0.48	
fQuals Inad Desc	-0.51	-0.32	-0.04	-0.47	
Year 10	-0.54	-0.23	-0.06	-0.42	
Fully Owned	-0.33	-0.29	0.17	-0.41	
Secondary Govt	-0.60	-0.08	0.11	-0.40	
65-69	-0.33	-0.36	0.09	-0.39	
fYear 10	-0.50	-0.26	-0.12	-0.39	
Presbyterian	-0.45	-0.43	-0.05	-0.38	
f60-64 three kids	-0.48	-0.43	0.16	-0.38	
Truck	-0.61	-0.21	-0.12	-0.38	
60-64	-0.37	-0.47	0.09	-0.37	
fPresbyterian	-0.42	-0.40	-0.03	-0.37	
50-54	-0.34	-0.37	0.18	-0.37	
p65-74 Married	-0.36	-0.27	0.13	-0.36	
No_Internet	-0.41	0.16	0.15	-0.36	
Fam \$350-499	-0.38	0.14	0.11	-0.36	
p55-64 Married	-0.50	-0.47	0.13	-0.35	
Anglican	-0.28	-0.42	-0.03	-0.35	
55-59	-0.34	-0.48	0.14	-0.35	
f50-54 three kids	-0.54	-0.34	0.14	-0.35	
fAnglican	-0.27	-0.42	-0.01	-0.35	19.51
fNot in labour force	-0.41	0.18	0.12	-0.35	
Rent \$100-139	-0.34	-0.11	0.24	-0.34	
\$250-399	-0.32	-0.04	0.17	-0.34	
f65-69	-0.26	-0.22	0.15	-0.34	3.99
f60-64	-0.32	-0.42	0.17	-0.34	4.98
Certificate total	-0.62	-0.10	0.15	-0.34	42.92

<u>Table 10.</u> Anti Green Primary Swing Stereotype. We see here some extraordinary polarisation of the Green demographic, which served to focus the existing Green votes onto key inner urban seats, and away from older, more rural or outer urban blue collar suburbs where families have children and attend Church occasionally.

In this part of Australia men have certificate qualifications and drive a truck to work and women stay home to mind the kids. There's no internet at night to distract the kids from their homework or the adults from the free to air television.

These older families tend to own their own home, having paid off a mortgage, or, if stuck in an unskilled job with one income, are still living in lower rent accommodation.

This demographic is now the sort of voter supporting the three independent MPs and MPs for Cowper, Riverina and Gippsland (National), Wannon, Paterson, Canning and Hughes (Lib) and Page, Bass, Fowler, Blaxland, Denison, Charlton and Cunningham (Labor).

If the Independents begin to swap preferences with the Greens the major parties are under serious threat.



Profile Charts

The correlation charts below show the strength of the relationship between votes and the Elaborate Database, for most of the 600 variables, presented in various categories, starting with Education.

The charts are in standard excel format, with correlations for the ALP 2PP shown in red bars or lines, with the 2PP ALP Swing shown in pink and the Green Reps primary vote shown in dark green, with the Green primary swing shown in light green. The Australian means for each corresponding variable are shown below in gold, with the relevant figure on the right axis.

Correlation charts should be read the same way as the worm debating chart – the zero line is neutral and the score heightens as the correlation increases its distance above or below the zero line. Correlations above the line indicate a positive relationship and correlations below the line show a negative relationship. The significance levels vary according to the number of pairs and we would advise the reader not to get too excited about any correlations below plus or minus .15.

Similarly, the reader should be cautious about high correlations from variables with a very low mean, from the more esoteric religions, or unusual countries of birth or languages spoken at home. This is an arbitrary call, but, if it's less than about half of one percent of the population, it's usually pretty meaningless. In summary, we are looking in the charts for longer vertical bars or trend lines, above or below 0.20, consistent patterns across each chart and big population numbers.

The descriptive information for each chart will tend to be found in the explanatory boxes within the charts themselves.

If the stereotype tables are snapshots, the following charts can be seen as small pictures, which can then be combined to make up a fine-grained demographic portrait of each political variable under scrutiny. We emphasize that we're looking here at what happened to the actual votes, in terms of who lived in what area, we're not looking at survey results from an opinion poll. So causality has to be inferred. But at least we know we're dealing with the total population rather than a sample, and we are able to break it up into credible and reasonably objective units for preliminary analysis and subsequent attitudinal research.

If we study each chart carefully we can see what sort of interaction we are getting between the Green primary vote and swing, and the ALP 2PP vote and swing, bearing in mind that the LNP 2PP votes and swing are the simple reflection of the ALP figures.

Take the first chart, for Current education. We see, at the left, that the Greens and the ALP both failed to win votes from parents of pre-schoolers, a key swinging voter group. If we reflect the ALP vote and bars in the X axis we see that these votes and swings were won by the LNP candidates and lost by both Labor and the Greens.

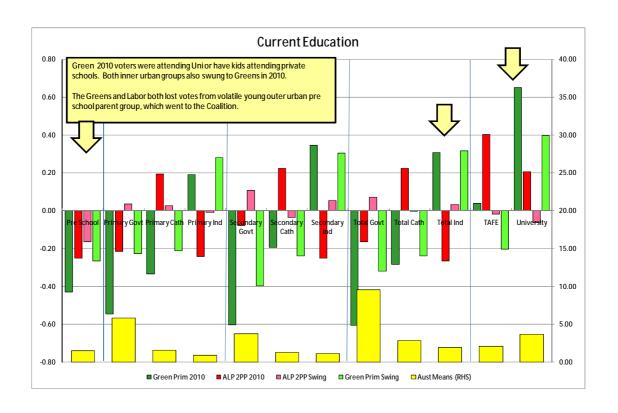
Then we move to the right of the chart and see TAFE and university students. The TAFE students are clearly a strong pro ALP group and they swung against the Greens in 2010, but not against Labor.

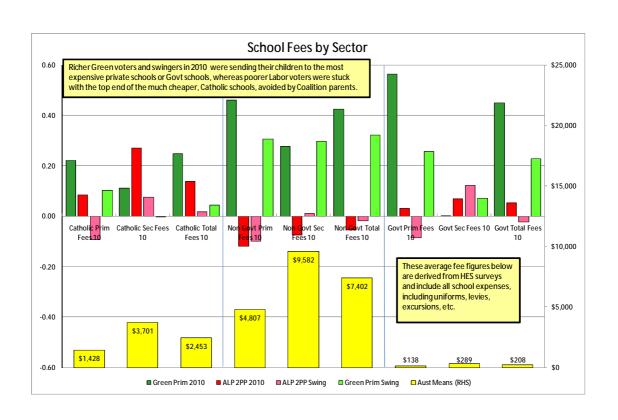
For the university students, they are clearly a much stronger group for the Greens than they are for Labor, with a longer green bar for the Greens, than the red bar for Labor. There is also a strong light green bar as well, meaning that this group swung in primary vote terms to the Greens. But there's no corresponding pink bar indicating the movement of 2PP swings for or against Labor. This means there was no 2PP swing to Labor from university students, despite there being a big swing to the Greens. So the direct exchange of votes between the Coalition and Labor candidates neutralised any preference drift from the Greens back to Labor.

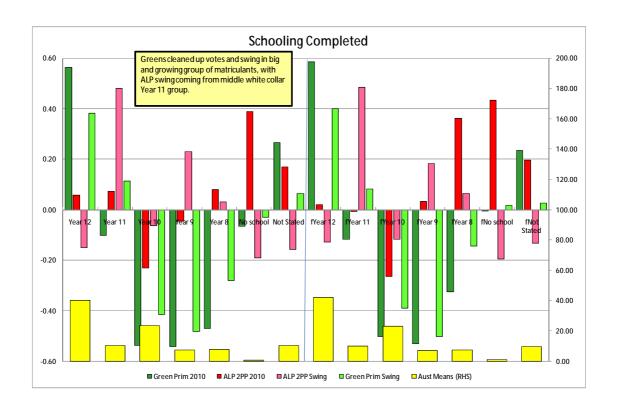
When we look through the charts, we see the idea of any demographic moving directly from Labor to the Greens and back through preferences is a rarity. We do tend to see it in the fourth sextiles of most of the income, mortgage and rent charts where middle class voters are clearly swinging to the Greens in primary terms, and then back to Labor in preferences.

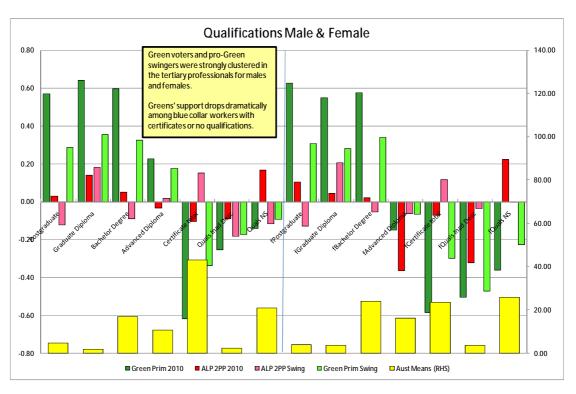
But the other five sextiles show no sign of this trend, with Labor picking up directly from the Greens at the lower income end and the Liberals gaining from Labor and the Greens at the top end.

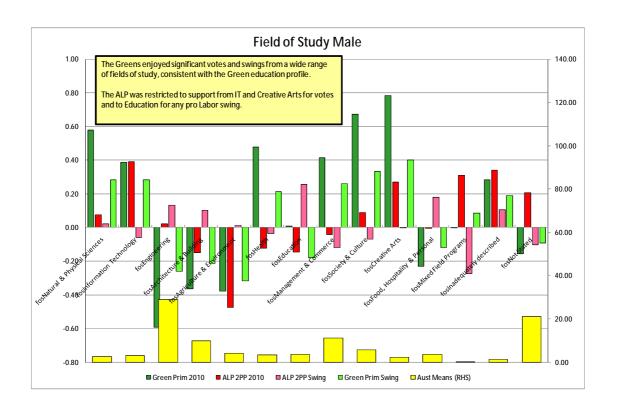
This of course, presumes Green preferences continue to be distributed at the top end for inner city seats and this is by no means assured, with Green swings now moving down into the crucial third quartile income ranges, meaning the Greens will start displacing both Labor and the Liberals from rich inner city seats, whether 'safe' Labor or Liberal, before moving on mid urban swinging voter seats. This is the reverse of the One Nation trend, which started at the other end of the income spectrum.

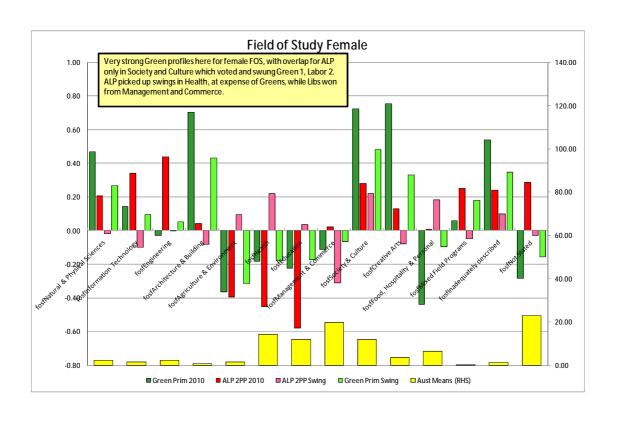


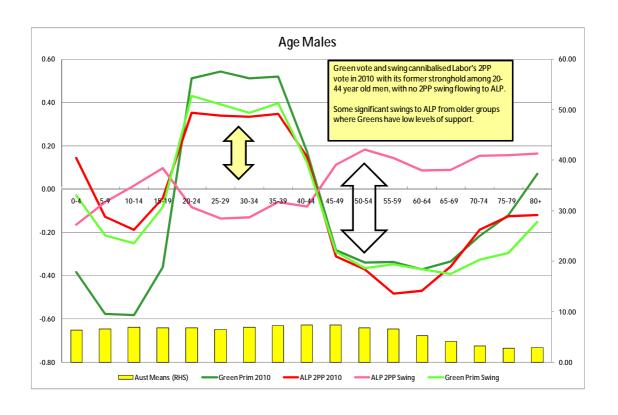


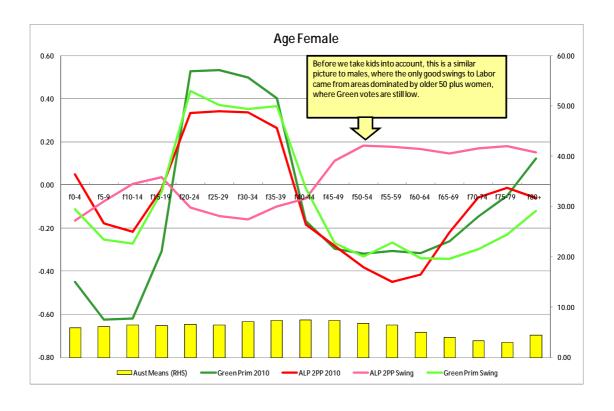


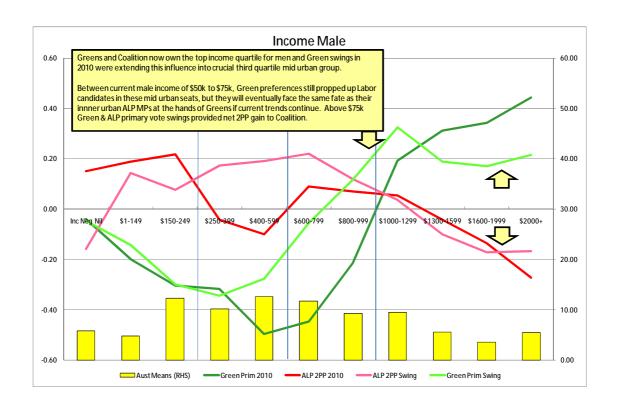


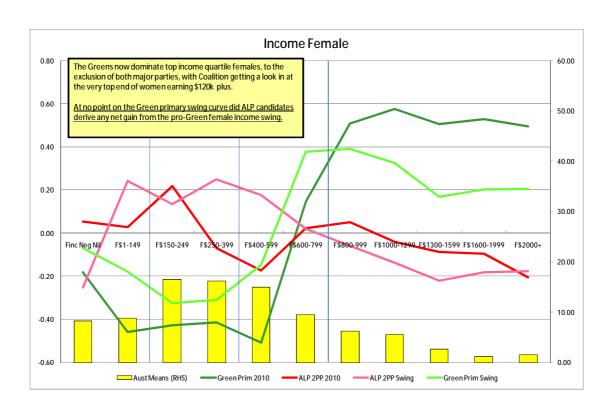


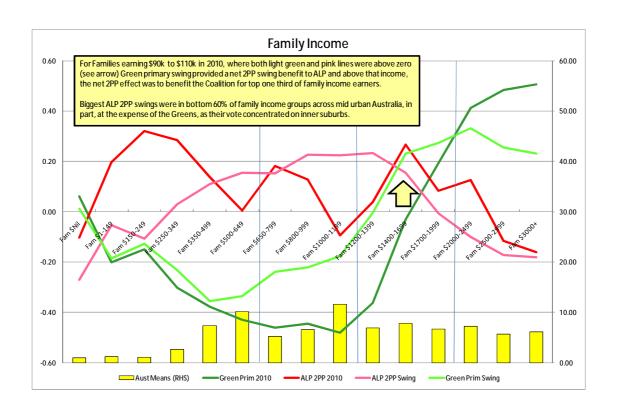


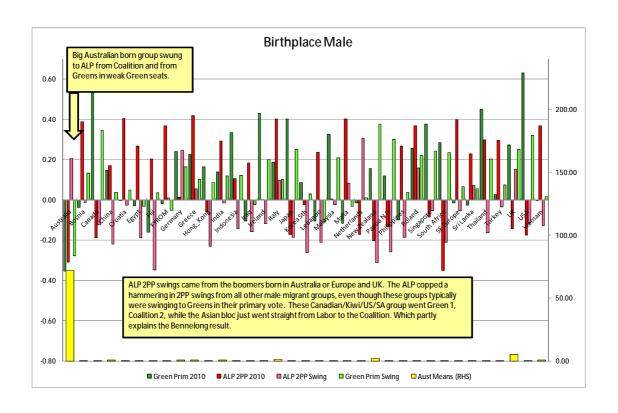


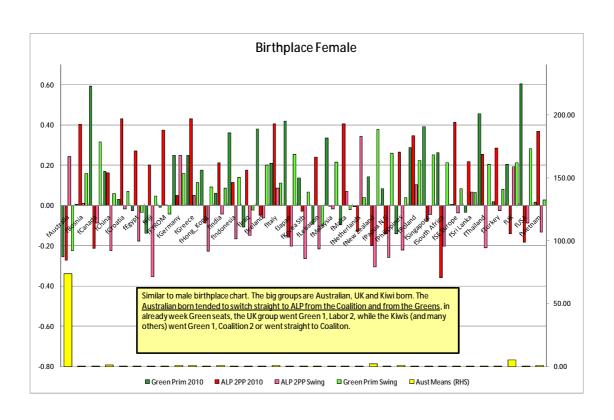


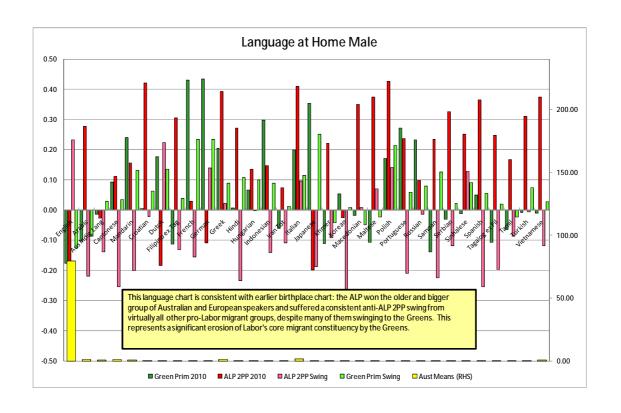


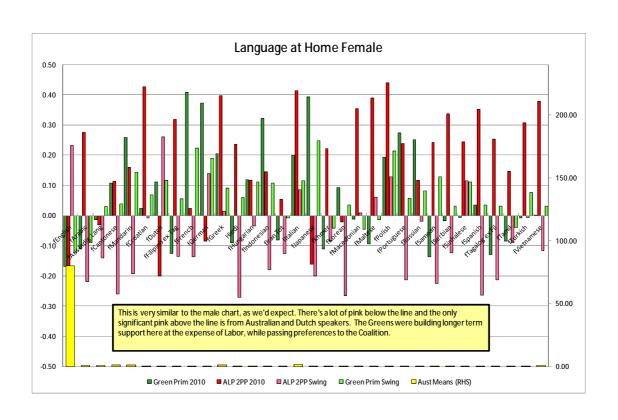


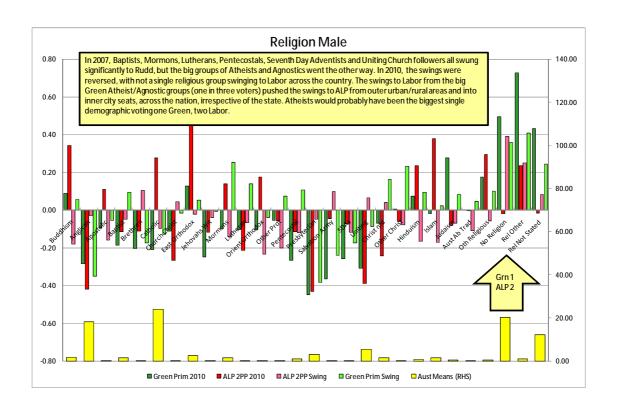


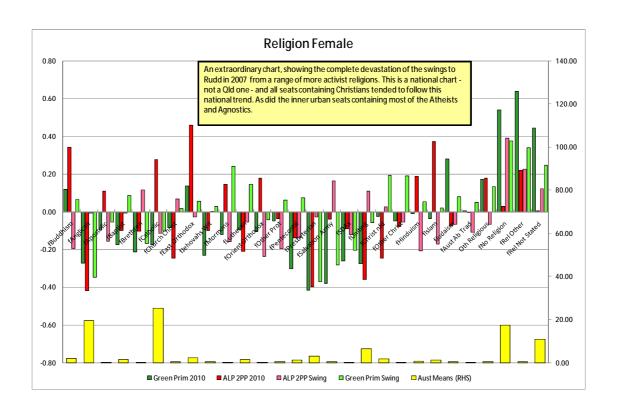


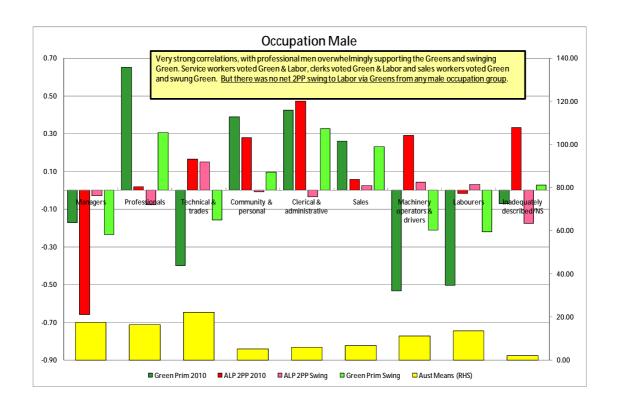


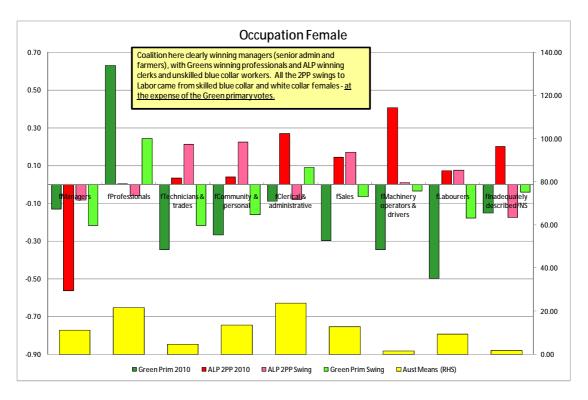


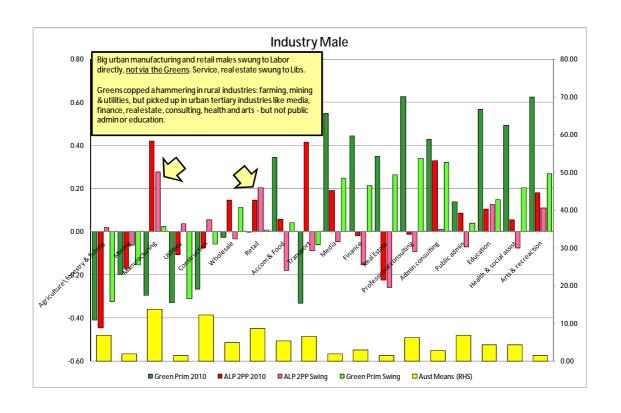


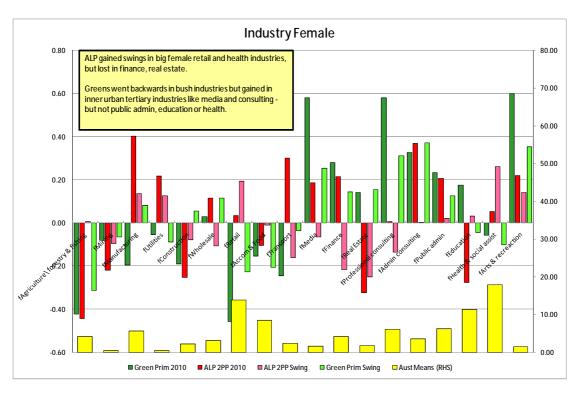


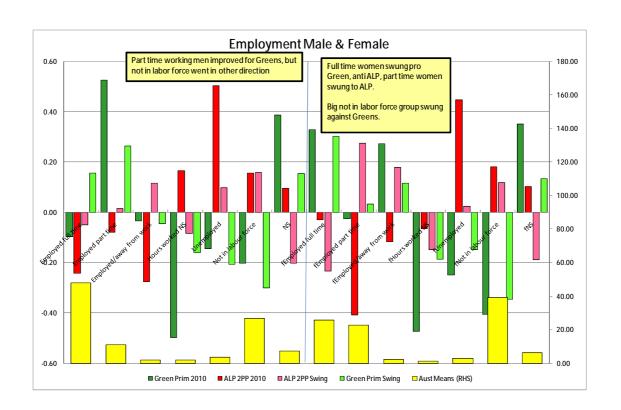




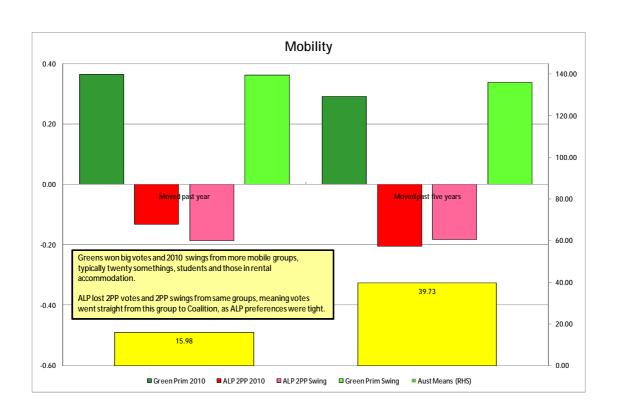


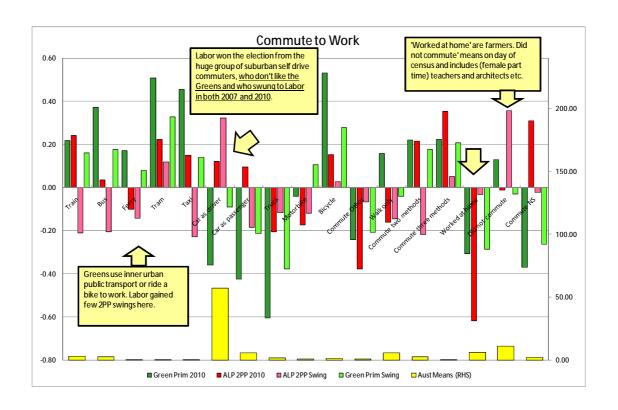


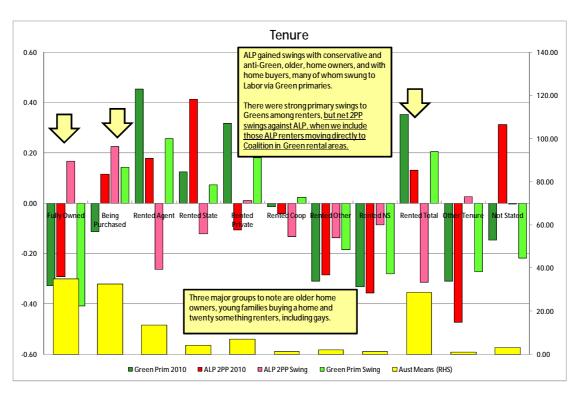


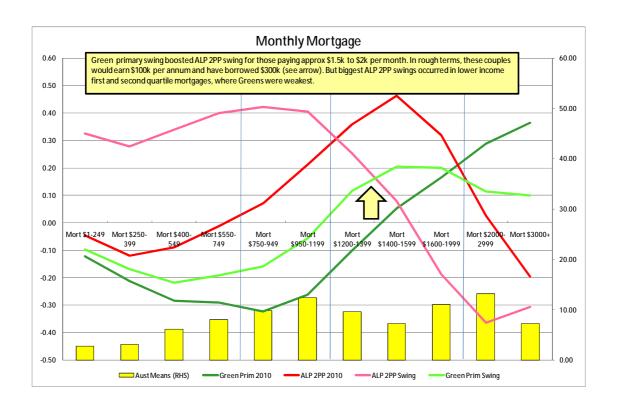


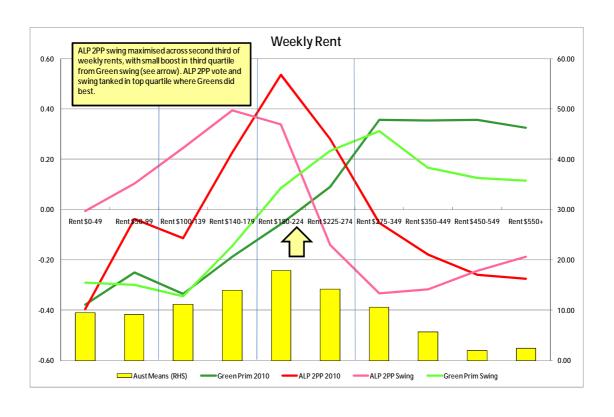


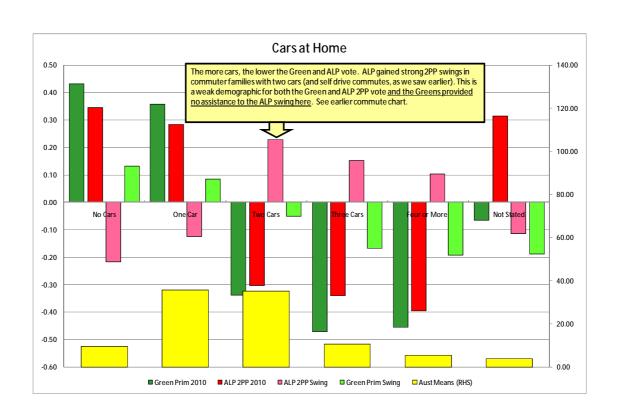


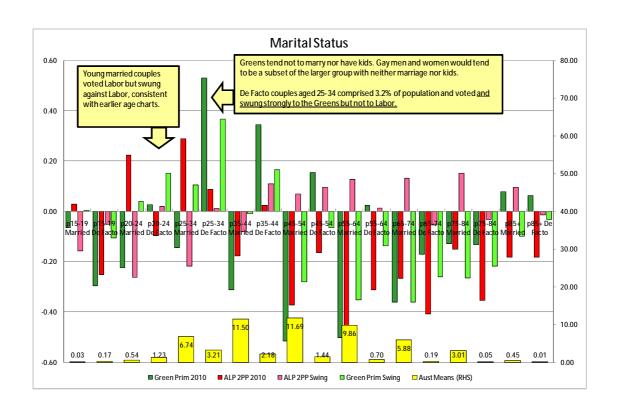


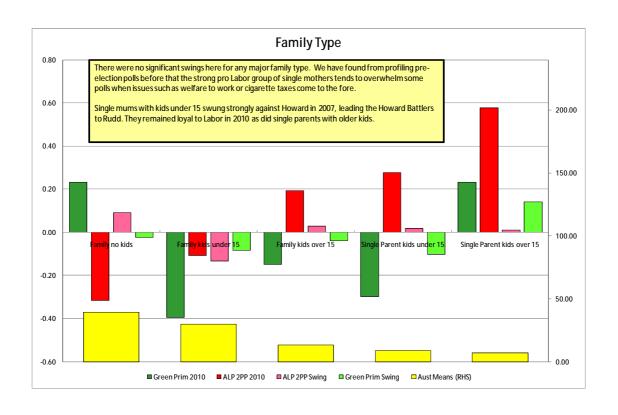


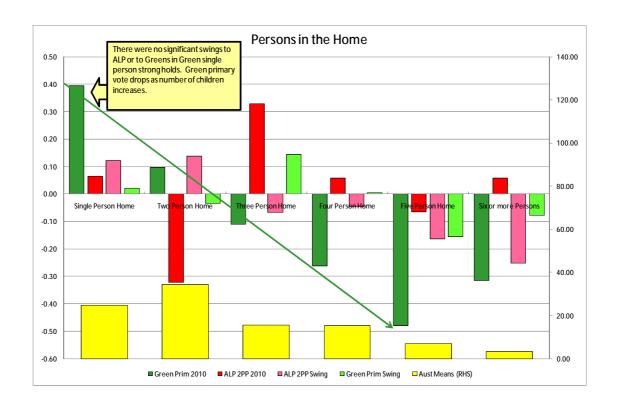


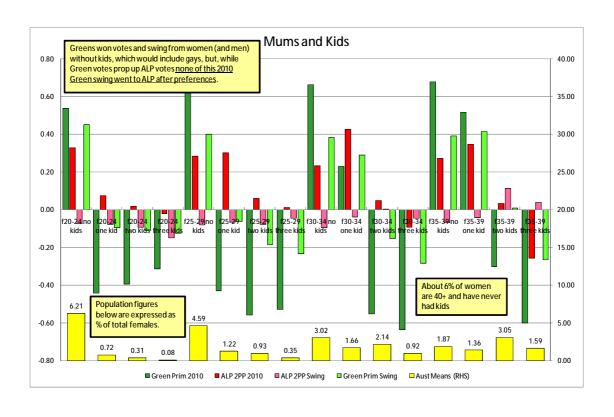


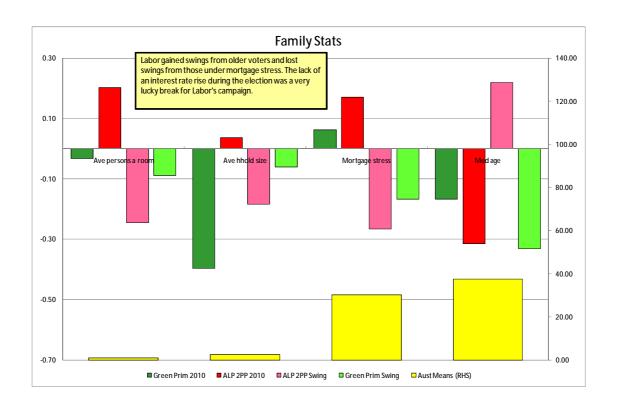


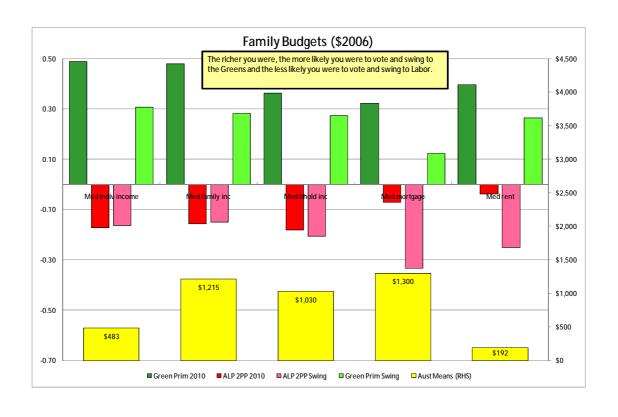


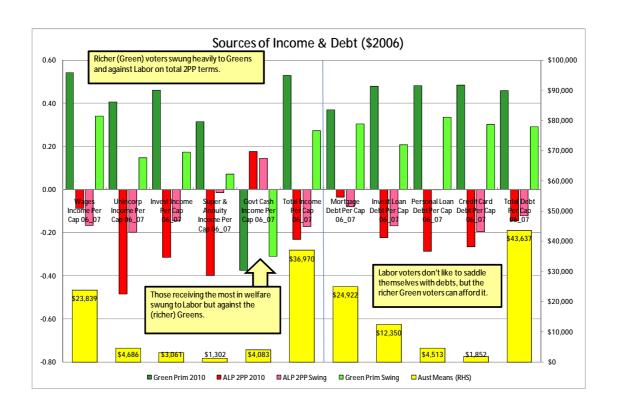


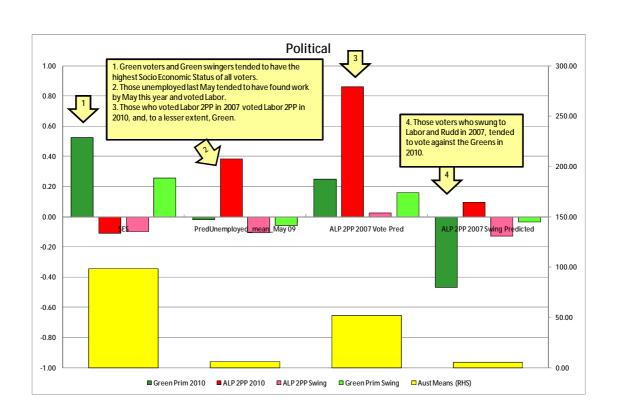












Regression Analysis

We used a Step Wise Multiple Linear Regression Model to model the ALP 2PP votes, and the ALP 2PP swings. The model incorporated our Elaborate 7 demographic and economic database and the election results as at Monday August 23 and explained some 92 percent of the adjusted variance in the Labor 2PP vote and 79 percent of the variance in the ALP 2PP swing.

The standard error of estimate for the 2PP vote was 3.3 percent, meaning some 68 percent of seats were within plus or minus 3.3 percent of the predicted figure, with 95 percent within plus or minus 6.6 percent of the predicted figure. The standard error of estimate for the swing was 2.1 percent.

When we ranked the seats according to ALP votes won and cross checked the ALP votes predicted, we found that the ALP 'could have' have won Brisbane, Hasluck, Dunkley, Forde, Aston, Solomon, Bennelong and Cowper. All of these were close calls, except for Cowper.

Similarly the LNP could have won Eden Monaro, Reid, Robertson and Greenway, given the demographic alignments in place across the nation.

Best performances for the LNP occurred in Cowper (plus 10.5 for the LNP candidate), Hasluck, Higgins, Solomon, Dunkley, Murray and North Sydney, with all of these more than five percent above predicted votes.

Best performances for the ALP were Robertson (plus 8.4 percent), Eden Monaro, Corangamite and Reid.

The observed, predicted and residual 2PP votes were then averaged by State to produce the state residual table below.

		PREDICTE	RESIDUA
	ALP 2PP	D ALP	L ALP 2PP
State	2010	2PP 2010	2010
NSW	49.54	49.53	0.01
Vic	55.27	55.38	-0.10
Qld	45.60	45.69	-0.09
WA	43.70	44.19	-0.49
SA	53.47	53.48	-0.01
Tas	60.88	60.70	0.18
ACT	61.70	58.76	2.93
NT	50.93	52.86	-1.93

The table shows NSW seats performed to predicted levels, as did SA. Vic and Qld were a little lower than predicted, while WA was almost half a percent lower than predicted, perhaps the mining tax campaign.

In terms of the state wide influence of either Kevin Rudd on Queensland, or Julia Gillard on SA and Victoria, there was virtually none in 2010. Australia behaves overwhelmingly as one country and the states simply gather up adjoining seats with similar demographics.

At the local and regional level however, there is plenty of evidence from the regression modelling and simple seat swings (see tables at end of report) that the loss of Kevin Rudd's pro-Christian, pro-family profile cost the ALP loss of support from Christians in marginal seats across the country.

The outer urban activist Pentecostals swung towards Rudd in 2007 and against Gillard in 2007. The top four Pentecostal seats in Australia included three in Queensland and one in NSW. The average anti Labor 2PP swing in these seats was 7.2 percent, compared to the national 2.1 percent, a difference of 5.1 percent.

On the flip side, Julia Gillard's lack of religious beliefs – or the absence of Kevin Rudd's Christian image - may have led to an increase in the swings to Labor candidates from Agnostics and Atheists in Victoria, SA and WA.

The top four Atheist seats in Australia included two each in Victoria and South Australia. The average swing in these seats was 3.3 percent towards Labor, compared to the national swing of 2.1 percent against Labor, a difference of 5.4 percent. La Trobe and McEwen, both Victorian seats won by Labor, rank three and six respectively for Atheist males.

The biggest swing to Labor in the country of nearly ten percent was in Kingston, which was also the seat with the most Atheists.

Asian born (Buddhists) swung very heavily against Labor. The Australian seat with the most Buddhists – Fowler in NSW- had the biggest swing against Labor of 13.2 percent and this group probably cost Labor Bennelong and almost cost Labor the seats of Reid and Banks in NSW and Moreton in Qld.

The conservative and more rural based Lutheran group swung mildly towards Rudd in 2007 and strongly against Gillard in 2010 and this relatively small group is clustered in some outer urban and semi rural Queensland and SA seats. Of the top five seats on the list for Lutheran males, three were in SA (Barker, Grey and Mayo) and the swing against Labor in these SA seats average 3.2 percent.

To compare the impact of the two trends: towards Labor from the big atheist group and against Labor from the Lutherans, where Lutherans appeared in the same seats as the atheists, the strong anti Labor trend from the Lutherans outweighed the pro Labor trend from atheists. For example, Mayo, in SA, was number two on the list for atheists, swinging to Labor, but fifth on the list for Lutherans swinging against Labor and the swing was a small negative against Labor.

In summary, there was no measurable home state advantage won or lost for either Rudd or Gillard – it was all about faith, or lack of it.

CED	State	ALP 2PP 2010	PREDICTED ALP 2PP 2010	RESIDUAL ALP 2PP 2010
Adelaide	SA	58.0	57.4	0.5
Aston	Vic	48.2	53.0	-4.8
Ballarat	Vic	61.9		6.1
Banks	NSW	51.5	55.9	-4.4
Barker	SA	37.5		-4.4 -2.7
	NSW	57.5 57.0		
Barton Bass	Tas	57.0	59.2	2.8 -2.0
	Vic	75.2	75.2	-2.0 -0.1
Batman	Vic	59.6		
Bendigo	NSW	46.5	51.0	-1.1
Bennelong	NSW	33.4		-4.4
Berowra			34.8	-1.4
Blair	Qld	54.1	53.9	0.2
Blaxland	NSW	62.7	61.9	0.9
Bonner	Qld	47.7	46.1	1.6
Boothby	SA	49.1	48.8	0.3
Bowman	Qld	39.5	43.7	-4.3
Braddon	Tas	57.7	58.3	-0.6
Bradfield	NSW	31.8	25.9	5.9
Brand	WA	53.7	55.1	-1.4
Brisbane	Qld	49.7	50.4	-0.7
Bruce	Vic	58.3	58.8	-0.4
Calare	NSW	39.2	41.6	-2.4
Calwell	Vic	69.8		
Canberra	ACT	59.5	58.2	1.3
Canning	WA	48.3	47.6	0.7
Capricornia	Qld	54.6	55.0	-0.4
Casey	Vic	46.3	45.4	0.9
Charlton	NSW	63.2	60.4	2.8
Chifley	NSW	62.4	62.4	0.0
Chisholm	Vic	56.5		
Cook	NSW	36.7	37.9	-1.2
Corangamite	Vic	50.3	45.7	4.6
Corio	Vic	64.8	62.6	2.2
Cowan	WA	43.3	45.5	-2.2
Cowper	NSW	41.0	51.5	-10.5
Cunningham	NSW	63.3	63.1	0.1
Curtin	WA	33.7	34.1	-0.3
Dawson	Qld	47.8	46.0	1.8
Deakin	Vic	53.0	53.9	-0.9
Denison	Tas	66.4	64.3	2.0
Dickson	Qld	45.1	49.8	-4.7
Dobell	NSW	55.2	53.1	2.2
Dunkley	Vic	49.0	54.3	-5.3
Durack	WA	36.1	36.4	-0.3
Eden-Monaro	NSW	54.3	49.4	4.9

Final Table shows Observed, Predicted and Residual votes for 2PP ALP vote.

The Standard error of estimate is 3.3%, so 68 percent of results would normally be within plus or minus six percent of the observed value and 95 percent of seats with plus or minus 6.6%.

Independent seats are highlighted in yellow and the ALP 2PP vote for these has been forced where necessary by using 2007 preference distributions of known 2010 primary votes.

This has turned out to be pretty close to predicted levels and show that Labor is close to winning Kennedy, when Bob Katter retires.

Fadden	Qld	35.7	37.5	-1.8
Fairfax	Qld	43.3	41.0	2.3
Farrer	NSW	35.9	36.7	-0.8
Fisher	Qld	46.5	41.0	5.5
Flinders	Vic	41.3	40.5	0.8
Flynn	Qld	48.3	43.5	4.8
Forde	Qld	48.5	51.2	-2.8
Forrest	WA	41.4	41.0	0.4
Fowler	NSW	59.4	62.6	-3.2
Franklin	Tas	60.7	61.4	-0.7
Fraser	ACT	63.9	59.4	4.6
Fremantle	WA	56.0	60.2	-4.2
Gellibrand	Vic	74.5	72.2	2.3
Gilmore	NSW	45.1	46.4	-1.4
Gippsland	Vic	38.2	42.4	-4.2
Goldstein	Vic	43.5	42.6	1.0
Gorton	Vic	72.0	69.2	2.8
Grayndler	NSW	71.1	70.5	0.6
Greenway	NSW	50.8	49.4	1.4
Grey	SA	39.5	36.9	2.6
Griffith	Qld	58.3	55.3	3.0
Groom	Qld	32.1	34.1	-2.0
Hasluck	WA	49.5	55.6	-6.1
Herbert	Qld	48.0	46.7	1.3
Higgins	Vic	43.2	48.5	-5.3
Hindmarsh	SA	55.9	58.5	-2.6
Hinkler	Qld	39.7	37.3	2.4
Holt	Vic	63.9	63.8	0.1
Hotham	Vic	64.3	63.1	1.2
Hughes	NSW	44.8	47.1	-2.3
Hume	NSW	41.1	42.2	-1.1
Hunter	NSW	62.8	65.0	-2.2
Indi	Vic	40.3	44.6	-4.2
Isaacs	Vic	61.2	56.5	4.7
Jagajaga	Vic	61.8	64.6	-2.8
Kennedy	Qld	48.5	49.4	-0.9
Kingsford Smith	NSW	55.1	55.1	0.0
Kingston	SA	64.3	62.3	1.9
Kooyong	Vic	41.5	42.6	-1.1
La Trobe	Vic	50.9	53.1	-2.2
Lalor	Vic	72.3	70.0	2.3
Leichhardt	Qld	45.9	47.4	-1.5
Lilley	Qld	53.2	54.6	-1.4
Lindsay	NSW	50.8	52.4	-1.5
Lingiari	NT	54.4	53.0	1.4

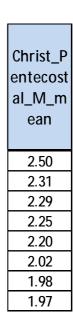
Longman	Qld	47.8	41.6	6.2
Lyne	NSW	40.3	42.6	-2.2
Lyons	Tas	62.4	60.2	2.2
Macarthur	NSW	46.9	48.8	-1.9
Mackellar	NSW	34.5	32.8	1.6
Macquarie	NSW	48.8	48.6	0.2
Makin	SA	62.1	58.0	4.1
Mallee	Vic	25.6	22.2	3.4
Maranoa	Qld	28.1	27.5	0.6
Maribyrnong	Vic	67.2	69.9	-2.7
Mayo	SA	42.4	42.7	-0.2
McEwen	Vic	55.4	55.3	0.1
McMahon	NSW	58.0	59.1	-1.1
McMillan	Vic	45.5	45.1	0.4
McPherson	Qld	40.0	43.9	-3.9
Melbourne	Vic	70.6	69.9	0.7
Melbourne Ports	Vic	58.6	56.2	2.5
Menzies	Vic	41.6	44.2	-2.6
Mitchell	NSW	32.4	30.9	1.6
Moncrieff	Qld	32.5	33.9	-1.4
Moore	WA	39.1	38.1	1.0
Moreton	Qld	51.1	50.3	0.8
Murray	Vic	29.7	34.9	-5.3
New England	NSW	42.4	40.0	2.4
Newcastle	NSW	63.0	65.6	-2.6
North Sydney	NSW	35.9	41.0	-5.1
O'Connor	WA	27.5	26.7	0.8
Oxley	Qld	56.3	55.6	0.7
Page	NSW	54.6	53.4	1.2
Parkes	NSW	31.9	34.2	-2.3
Parramatta	NSW	54.3	55.7	-1.4
Paterson	NSW	45.2	43.7	1.5
Pearce	WA	40.7	40.9	-0.2
Perth	WA	56.5	57.8	-1.3
Petrie	Qld	52.5	51.6	0.9
Port Adelaide	SA	70.6	68.4	2.2
Rankin	Qld	55.9	53.1	2.8
Reid	NSW	52.7	49.8	2.9
Richmond	NSW	56.9	55.0	1.8
Riverina	NSW	31.9	33.7	-1.9
Robertson	NSW	51.7	43.3	8.4
Ryan	Qld	43.1	45.6	-2.5
Scullin	Vic	72.9	69.2	3.8
Shortland	NSW	63.1	57.6	5.5
Solomon	NT	47.4	52.7	-5.3
Stirling	WA	44.7	44.9	-0.3
Sturt	SA	46.5	49.4	-2.9
Swan	WA	47.6	46.7	0.9
Sydney	NSW	68.4	64.0	4.4

Tangney	WA	37.4	32.4	5.0
Throsby	NSW	62.0	59.3	2.7
Wakefield	SA	62.3	65.6	-3.3
Wannon	Vic	43.2	38.1	5.1
Warringah	NSW	36.6	37.2	-0.6
Watson	NSW	59.5	58.7	0.8
Wentworth	NSW	34.6	37.7	-3.1
Werriwa	NSW	57.1	54.4	2.7
Wide Bay	Qld	34.2	38.8	-4.6
Wills	Vic	72.8	74.2	-1.4
Wright	Qld	40.2	44.9	-4.7

Seat	State	ALP 2PP	LNP 2PP	ALP 2PP
Kingston	SA	64.29	35.71	9.87
Mayo	SA	42.42	57.58	-0.52
La Trobe	VIC	50.9	49.1	1.41
Casey	VIC	46.26	53.74	2.19
Wakefield	SA	62.27	37.73	5.68
McEwen	VIC	55.44	44.56	5.46

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Seat	State	ALP 2PP	LNP 2PP	ALP 2PP
Rankin	OLD	55.91	44.09	-5.76
Mitchell	NSW	32.45	67.55	-7.9
Leichhardt	QLD	45.86	54.14	-8.2
Bonner	OLD	47.67	52.33	-6.86
Forde	QLD	48.45	51.55	-4.91
Groom	QLD	32.05	67.95	-9.73
Greenway	NSW	50.84	49.16	-4.83
Holt	VIC	63.89	36.11	2.26





Seat	State	ALP 2PP	LNP 2PP	ALP 2PP swing	Buddhis m_M_m ean
Fowler	NSW	59.4	40.6	-13.17	24.17
Blaxland	NSW	62.74	37.26	-3.91	9.57
Gorton	VIC	72.02	27.98	0.8	7.71
McMahon	NSW	57.95	42.05	-5.82	7.07
Hotham	VIC	64.34	35.66	1.34	7.02
Bruce	VIC	58.33	41.67	0.01	6.55
Gellibrand	VIC	74.48	25.52	3.02	5.94
Maribyrnong	VIC	67.2	32.8	1.88	5.89
Watson	NSW	59.54	40.46	-8.66	5.87

				ALP 2PP
Seat	State	ALP 2PP	LNP 2PP	swing
Barker	SA	37.5	62.5	-3.05
Lingiari	NT	54.42	45.58	-6.74
Grey	SA	39.53	60.47	-6.04
Groom	QLD	32.05	67.95	-9.73
Mayo	SA	42.42	57.58	-0.52
Mallee	VIC	25.64	74.36	-3.09
Wakefield	SA	62.27	37.73	5.68
Wright	QLD	40.17	59.83	-6.04

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