2011 New South Wales Election Profile

Prepared by Australian Development Strategies Pty Ltd

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Summary and Comment

We normally look at a chart showing swings to and from political parties by a specific demographic group and it means those above the line swung to Labor and those below the line swung to the Liberals.

But for New South Wales last Saturday we frequently found ourselves looking at charts where everybody swung against Labor, irrespective of how far above the line the pro Labor profile rose.

For example, if you saw a group of Labor voters queuing up outside the booths at Bathurst or Ryde or Riverstone or Menai, statistically you knew every second one of them was going to swing against Labor, compared to their 2007 vote.

The swing against Labor was a function of how many Labor voters were in the seat in 2007. Specifically, there was a correlation of minus 0.57 between Labor's 2007 vote and the swing to Labor in 2011. This correlation was bigger than any we found across the 700 demographic and economic variables in our database.

Clearly Labor voters felt betrayed by recent Labor Governments and took out their revenge. Statistically, revenge was the biggest driver.

Labor did win some unlikely swings however. For example the Greens gave up a significant number of their traditional voters to Labor, reflecting changes we saw in the polls after Federal Labor reintroduced its ETS legislation. These changes came from the very rich, who would normally vote Green one, Liberal two. This time, they voted Green one, Labor two.

These voters had very levels of total assets, including lots of money in the bank, or invested in non-residential property. To get these assets they have heavy per capita income streams from investments, a family business or superannuation. They were often boomer migrants to Australia: especially US born. Unfortunately for Labor's US born Kristina Keneally, the US born were only 0.3 percent of the NSW population.

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And there's another surprising group which swung to Labor. The point to remember is that a correlation for the pro Labor swing of ***minus*** .57 with the 2007 Labor two party preferred vote is also a correlation of ***plus*** 0.57 with the 2007 Liberal and National Party two party preferred vote. The preferred votes are a closed system.

Which means that apart from the rich urban group, the other group Labor won was farmers: typically managers in agricultural industry, working from home, which they own outright, aged in their late fifties or early sixties, kids off their hands, Australian born, English speaking, attending Presbyterian local Churches – your quintessential middle class Australian farmers.

But we're talking small beer in terms of the total swings and in no seat where we calculated the preferences did we find a net swing to Labor … so in average terms across the state, these small gross swings of about three to five percent were overwhelmed by the former Labor voters heading in the reverse direction.

The swings to the Liberals and their National Party colleagues were dominated by the third quartile family income group, with third quartile mortgages. These are the classic swinging voter group, aged 25-34, married with one child, the female in a clerical private sector job, living in mid to outer urban marginal seats. Losing this group alone was enough to cost Labor Government.

The second group was more blue collar, with engineering backgrounds and jobs in manufacturing or transport, on award wages with Family Tax A and B. They tend to be Catholic, for historical reasons and send their kids to Catholic systemic schools. We find these groups everywhere there's light or heavy industry, or freight to be moved to market. They're in blue collar suburbs in the cities and in country towns. Their Gen Y sons and daughters aged 20-24, many attending TAFE courses, also swung to the Liberals. The loss of this second group completed the destruction of Labor's base vote in its heartland seats. Again, on its own, it would have been enough to see Labor off.

In terms of the State based campaign tactics from the major parties, we can conclude that the very rich older Boomers in safe Liberal seats seem to have responded to Labor's campaign pitch not to give Barry O'Farrell a blank cheque, whereas (as others have noted) the Labor voters wanted to give him their PIN numbers.

The Liberal campaign on the other hand was perfectly targeted to inflict the maximum damage to Labor in both marginal seats and safe Labor seats.

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As far as the Federal issues go, we looked but found no evidence that the negative campaign on carbon taxes and petrol prices had any impact. There was no movement greater than the state swing against Labor from car commuters or multiple car owners. We did see however, wealthy and philanthropic Green Liberals deserting the Liberal party in inner city Liberal and Labor seats.

To give the reader some idea of the impact of the New South Wales results on the national political stage, we applied the regression analysis from the NSW Two Party Preferred vote to all Australian postcodes and you can log onto the Australian Financial Review website to do a search for your postcode and see how it would have voted, if it were located in the Premier State. Liberal blue is a popular colour we noted.

And, in a spirit of fun, we also applied the NSW result to our 2010 Federal Seats.

This was an interesting result. Labor did reasonably well in NSW as observed above, with the very rich and some rural groups, but was clobbered in blue collar and swinging voter areas. This means Labor would actually pick up some marginal Federal seats which are heavy on the rich and rural demographics and light on manufacturing and swinging voters. Think WA and Queensland - states where Labor polled poorly at the last Federal poll.

The projection shows Labor federally would hold 29 seats, probably picking up Melbourne from the Greens (with Liberal preferences), Hasluck, Longman, Forde and Canning. The bad news for Labor is that it would lose 29 seats, or 24 in net terms.

Just like in NSW, Labor would be destroyed in outer urban swinging voter and blue collar seats. The biggest anti Labor swing in fact would be 25.1 percent to the Liberals in Lalor, currently represented by the PM Julia Gillard, followed by a number of other nominally safe ALP seats in Sydney and Melbourne.

Apart from the PM's seat, other high profile losses would include Bill Shorten in Maribyrnong, Greg Combet in Charlton, Wayne Swan in Lilley and Peter Garrett in Kingsford Smith.

This gives the readers from outside NSW some idea of the impact that the loss in NSW now means for NSW Labor. A similar swing against Labor in Queensland in 1974, took Labor some five elections over 15 years to overcome. On this basis, the next ALP Premier of NSW is not yet in Parliament.

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Introduction and Methodology

Following procedures developed to profile and model Australian and State elections since 1966, we used SPSS Statistical analysis to compare, by New South Wales state seats, the 700 economic and demographic variables in our Elaborate10 database with political variables, in this case, the ALP 2PP 2007 vote, ALP 2PP 2011 vote, ALP 2PP 2007-2011 swing, 2007 Green Primary Vote, 2011 Green Primary vote and Green Primary 2007-11 swing.

The 2007 ALP 2PP vote was based on distributed preference throws from available data. The 2011 ALP 2PP vote was based on traditional preference drifts since 1966 and may vary from the final figures, particularly where there was a large vote for independents.

Due to the very low average result for Labor candidates, there were a larger than usual number of seats where ALP candidates were eliminated early in the count and so the count in these cases was forced, or notional, to leave the ALP candidate in the count, running against either a Liberal or National Party candidate.

This means that the Liberal or National Party preferred vote, notional in some cases, is simply 100 percent minus the ALP preferred vote in this analysis. Therefore any positive profile for Labor is also a negative profile for the Coalition candidates of exactly the same absolute value. Where one party does extremely well in the demographic profiles of vote or swing, the other does extremely badly.

The count used is the final for election night on the New South Wales Electoral Commission website, updated on Monday afternoon using ABC counts, and will vary from the final count in individual seats when the remaining non-booth votes are counted. So close seats may be won or lost compared to our tally, but the state-wide patterns of swing and the modelling will be comparatively unaffected.

Correlations between these 2PP results and our database provided the descriptive basis of the stereotype tables and profile charts, which show how demographic groups vary across seats in proportion to variations in the political variables.

It is important to note here for the correlations between the database and the swing to the ALP that the swing against the ALP was huge – about 15 percent. A small positive correlation between any demographic variable and the ALP swing may means that the swing against the ALP was smaller in seats, as this variable rose. Larger and more statistically significant correlations however could mean that members of this demographic group bucked the trend and voted for Labor. Even landslide swings are always accompanied by voters moving in the other direction. We are looking here for patterns which provide clues to voter behaviour and motivations.

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The regression analysis tends to weed out the purely descriptive variables and uses only those variables which contribute real explaining power to the model. It also provides some strong evidence as to the proportion of the swing which was mood-based or uniform across the state and what proportion of the swing was due to the movement of specific groups within each seat.

The difference in the regression analysis between the predicted and observed votes and swing, the residual, was then calculated. A positive residual for a Labor candidate with their vote or swing usually means that candidate used local factors external to the model to perform better than he or she 'should have' performed. The reverse applies for the Liberal or National Party candidates.

Because we are dealing here with a closed 2PP vote, not only are the demographic profiles the mirror image of each other for the major parties, but a positive residual for the Labor candidate for a seat equals the negative residual for the Liberal candidate in the same seat. To get a personal vote, one candidate wins the party votes from the other candidate, as the residuals sum to zero.

The statistical elegance of this closed system for correlations and regression is the only reason why we have persevered with a notional preferred vote in this case. If there's no recovery in sight at future elections for NSW Labor, we will consider profiling the primary votes of the major parties instead as we have done in Queensland on occasions, such as when Queensland State Labor was reduced to a Cricket team of 11 MPs in 1974, or during the rise of One Nation in the nineties.

We should point out that a Labor candidate in a safe Labor seat (there is indeed one left) or a Liberal Party candidate in a safe Liberal seat (a much longer list), can still perform much better or worse than predicted in the modelling. They often do, in fact and the best performers for each party are typically found in the marginal seats, where voters are pursued with much greater vigour and resources, if not desperation.

Safer seats in the country, whichever party holds them, tend to have larger personal votes for sitting members, as the personal vote is mainly a function of lower population turnover. A voter met at a country town at one election, will tend to be still there are the next election, in the same town, with the same job (unless they're employed in hospitality). But in the suburbs, there can be a huge gross turnover of the rolls between elections with every second voter new to the seat and their personal votes have to be won afresh each time.

As a final step, the data was processed, to generate regression equations to predict what level of vote and swing there should be across each postcode in Australia and in each Federal seat, given what we now know about the demographic background of voters and their 2011 votes in NSW. **The implications for Federal Labor are obtained not simply by applying the average swing in NSW, but by applying the demographic drivers of the swings in individual NSW seats to the same sorts of voters across the country.**

The Elaborate database comprises original Australian Bureau of Statistics Census results and a range of modelled variables such as school fees and types of income, debt and assets (original data from MDS Market Data Systems), and published data on monthly unemployment surveys

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(ABS), home loan arrears (Fitch Ratings) previous State and Federal votes (Electoral Commissions) modelled house and land values (published in the Australian Financial Review) and welfare payments (CentreLink).

We are indebted to these organisations for publishing information in the public interest and any analysis and comment in this report has nothing to do with them. And, as stated in the disclaimer, we seek to avoid mistakes where we can, but they do happen. This report has been prepared to inform public debate and is not meant as any sort of marketing tool.

Coalition candidates are described in the report as Liberals, unless we are dealing specifically with Nationals or Independents.

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Results – Cross Correlations

VARIABLE	ALP 2PP 2007	ALP 2PP 2011	ALP 2PP swing 07-11	Green Primary 2007	Green Primary 2011	Green Primary Swing 07-11
Mean	52.01	37.38	-14.62	8.97	10.22	1.25
Standard Deviation	16.91	14.08	7.34	5.39	5.83	2.64
ALP 2PP 2007	1.00	0.90	-0.57	0.05	0.00	-0.12
ALP 2PP 2011	0.90	1.00	-0.16	0.19	0.09	-0.19
ALP 2PP swing 07-11	-0.57	-0.16	1.00	0.23	0.18	-0.08
Green Primary 2007	0.05	0.19	0.23	1.00	0.89	-0.07
Green Primary 2011	0.00	0.09	0.18	0.89	1.00	0.39
Green Primary Swing 07-11	-0.12	-0.19	-0.08	-0.07	0.39	1.00

Table 1 above shows the Mean, Standard Deviation and cross correlations for the ALP 2007 2PP vote, the ALP 2011 2PP vote, the ALP 2PP swing from 2007 to 2011, the Green Primary vote in 2007 and 2011 and the Green Primary swing from 2007 to 2011.

There was a weak correlation between the pro ALP swing in 2011 and the Green Primary vote in 2007 (plus 0.23) indicating the ALP picked up some 2007 Green votes.

The key statistic for us is the minus 0.57 correlation between the ALP vote in 2007 and the swing to the ALP in 2011. This means that Labor lost its own heartland voters in 2011, despite picking up some voters from the Greens, and from the Liberals.

Simply stated, a big Labor vote in 2007 meant a big swing against Labor in 2011. For those seats where the Labor 2PP vote was small in 2007 the swing was much smaller against Labor. Because the 2PP vote is a closed system, where we have a small ALP 2PP vote in 2007, we also had strong Liberal and National Party seats.

So Labor won the small swings it did obtain, from Green voters and voters in safe Coalition seats. These small swings were buried in the NSW anti Labor landslide but will show up in our stereotype tables and profile charts.

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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 New South Wales.

Each table is a brief snapshot of the party's typical voter. The New South Wales 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. The bigger the better.

Correlations are a descriptive tool only, and not necessarily analytical. Membership of the Greek Orthodox Church for example, is positively correlated with the Labor vote and if you want to find Labor voters, you can 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.

But it's a good place to start. We're looking here for some insights into the big groups in safe Labor seats who swung against the ALP and also the source of the much smaller swings to the ALP candidates from some Green votes and some voters in safe Liberal and National Party seats. The identity of all groups gives us some insight into motivations and relevant policy.

Correlations of .20 and above are significant to .05 - in other words there's a 95 percent probability the relationship is not due to chance. Correlations of .25 and above are significant to .01- with a 99 percent probability the relationship is not due to chance.

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Code	ALP 2PP 2007	ALP 2PP 2011	ALP 2PP swing 07-11	NSW Means (RHS)
ALP2007VotePREDICTED_mean	0.87	0.87	-0.34	53.4
ALP2010Votes_mean	0.88	0.87	-0.36	49.4
Single Parent kids over 15	0.68	0.65	-0.32	7.56
Rented State	0.64	0.62	-0.29	4.47
Internet Not Stated	0.56	0.59	-0.16	3.47
Mort $1600-1999	0.67	0.57	-0.44	12.44
fEast Orthodox	0.56	0.57	-0.19	2.95
Mortgage stress	0.55	0.57	-0.17	35.44
East Orthodox	0.56	0.57	-0.19	3.02
Not Stated	0.51	0.57	-0.07	3.93
Rent $225-274	0.63	0.54	-0.41	15.83
No Cars	0.49	0.54	-0.09	11.02
Ave persons a room	0.53	0.54	-0.18	1.10
Inadequately described/NS	0.55	0.53	-0.25	2.11
Mort $1400-1599	0.63	0.53	-0.42	7.12
fNo school	0.57	0.53	-0.29	1.13
fMachinery operators & drivers	0.58	0.52	-0.34	1.52
fosfNot Stated	0.50	0.52	-0.15	22.47
NS	0.51	0.52	-0.17	3.00
YouthAllowanceFullTimeStudentPC	0.52	0.52	-0.20	1.5
p20-24 Married	0.58	0.52	-0.33	0.56
TAFE	0.58	0.52	-0.33	2.43
Elsewhere	0.54	0.52	-0.26	3.97
fGreece	0.48	0.50	-0.14	0.53
Transport	0.59	0.50	-0.39	7.50

Table 2. Positive stereotype of the ALP 2PP 2011 vote. Correlations of .20 are significant to .05 and .25 are significant to .01.

The relevant variable is in the first column and the correlations under examination are in column three and highlighted in gold. The NSW means are in column five and highlighted in light blue.

First point to note is that every single correlation for the ALP 2PP swing from 2007 to 2011 in column four is negative, usually to a significant degree.

So all the big ALP groups in 2011 (and 2007) swung against the ALP in 2011.

In the table we see Federal or State Labor or voters who are voting Labor from loyalty or habit - single parents, public housing renters, home buyers under mortgage stress, the Orthodox religious group.

There are also semi-skilled blue collar workers, women who have never been to school, students on youth allowance, particularly TAFE students, the Greek born and workers in the Transport industry.

It is basically the group of what's left for the ALP after it's lost its traditional base of support in skilled blue collar workers.

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Code	ALP 2PP 2007	ALP 2PP 2011	ALP 2PP swing 07-11	NSW Means (RHS)
PerCapitaAssetsNRProp	-0.83	-0.77	0.43	$10,959
Managers	-0.76	-0.70	0.41	16.95
PerCapitaAssetsTotal	-0.74	-0.67	0.42	$119,901
Worked at home	-0.70	-0.62	0.44	5.49
PerCapitaLifeInsspend	-0.64	-0.61	0.30	$113
fosfEducation	-0.56	-0.61	0.12	11.08
fEmployed part time	-0.57	-0.59	0.17	21.20
Two Cars	-0.49	-0.57	0.04	33.64
English	-0.59	-0.55	0.30	75.63
fPresbyterian	-0.57	-0.55	0.27	3.48
fEnglish	-0.58	-0.54	0.30	75.62
Presbyterian	-0.58	-0.54	0.28	3.34
fManagers	-0.64	-0.54	0.43	10.57
Anglican	-0.59	-0.54	0.32	21.39
p55-64 Married	-0.55	-0.54	0.23	9.86
PerCapitaAssetsBanks	-0.61	-0.53	0.38	$22,589
fAnglican	-0.58	-0.53	0.31	22.70
Super & Annuity Income Per Cap 06_07	-0.58	-0.53	0.34	$1,339
fosfHealth	-0.58	-0.52	0.34	13.32
f55-59	-0.55	-0.51	0.28	6.22
Fully Owned	-0.54	-0.51	0.29	35.93
55-59	-0.56	-0.50	0.33	6.39
f55-59 two kids	-0.49	-0.50	0.16	2.74
f60-64 three kids	-0.53	-0.50	0.26	1.51

Table 3. Positive Stereotype of the Liberal 2PP 2011 vote.

The relevant column here is column three. As we are looking at the negative correlation with the ALP 2PP vote, we are also looking at the positive correlation with the Liberal 2PP vote.

As for Table 2 above, we note here from column four that all of the top Liberal and National Party base voters in 2007 swung to the Labor Party. The huge average swing to the Liberals hid this trend.

This stereotype is a classic composite of the urban rich and the rural farm owners.

The former group are those with assets in Non-Residential (NR) property, total assets, and assets in banks. We cannot see any income here other than high per capita income from superannuation or annuities. When combined with a high spend on Life Insurance and the 55 to 64 age groups, we can see we are looking at older persons, with a lot of assets, either in retirement or working towards retirement.

There are mainstream religions such as Anglicans. And females working part time to supplement family income for another home, which is usually rented.

Then we see the farmers – managers, working at home, Presbyterian and owning their own home. And they all went against the trend of a massive swing against Labor.

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Code	ALP 2PP 2007	ALP 2PP 2011	ALP 2PP swing 07-11	NSW Means (RHS)
Worked at home	-0.70	-0.62	0.44	5.49
PerCapitaAssetsNRProp	-0.83	-0.77	0.43	$10,959
fManagers	-0.64	-0.54	0.43	10.57
PerCapitaAssetsTotal	-0.74	-0.67	0.42	$119,901
FamInc_Part_Inc	-0.59	-0.49	0.41	10.25
Managers	-0.76	-0.70	0.41	16.95
Two Person Home	-0.46	-0.35	0.39	33.01
Motorbike	-0.41	-0.29	0.38	0.57
Rented Private	-0.25	-0.10	0.38	5.65
Family no kids	-0.42	-0.31	0.38	37.22
PerCapitaAssetsBanks	-0.61	-0.53	0.38	$22,589
Other Tenure	-0.56	-0.48	0.37	0.82
60-64	-0.53	-0.45	0.36	5.14
f85+ three kids	-0.44	-0.35	0.35	0.44
Mort Not Stated	-0.49	-0.41	0.35	9.10
Med age	-0.50	-0.42	0.34	37.86
Med age	-0.50	-0.42	0.34	37.86
Unincorp Income Per Cap 06_07	-0.52	-0.45	0.34	$4,893
fosfHealth	-0.58	-0.52	0.34	13.32
Super & Annuity Income Per Cap 0	-0.58	-0.53	0.34	$1,339
USA	-0.36	-0.26	0.33	0.33
55-59	-0.56	-0.50	0.33	6.39
p45-54 De Facto	-0.29	-0.18	0.33	1.31
p55-64 De Facto	-0.44	-0.36	0.33	0.66
fUSA	-0.36	-0.26	0.33	0.34

Table 4. Positive Stereotype of the 2007 to 2011pro ALP 2PP swing.

The first thing to note here is that most of the variables showing a positive link with the ALP swing in column four were themselves negative for the Labor vote – in other words Labor picked up support from its weakest demographics and electorates.

Typical of this is the rural middle class group of farmers – managers (employers) who worked at home or rode a motorbike and enjoyed private tenure arrangement.

The core National Party profile is under longer term demographic pressure from Labor, despite piggy backing on the Liberal state wide campaign. Swings against Labor in National Party seats were in fact five percent lower than the swings against Labor in Liberal contested seats.

We also saw swings to Labor after preferences, from pro Green groups who would normally vote Green one Liberal two. These include the US born and older, urban based empty nesters, with a very high per capita bankroll of assets in banks and property.

In 2007these asset rich groups voted Green one, Liberal two, but in 2011, they tended to vote Green one and Labor two.

This is the group identified in Table 1.

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Code	ALP 2PP 2007	ALP 2PP 2011	ALP 2PP swing 07-11	NSW Means (RHS)
Fam $1400-1699	0.38	0.22	-0.45	7.51
Mort $1600-1999	0.67	0.57	-0.44	12.44
p25-34 Married	0.48	0.35	-0.43	7.08
Mort $1400-1599	0.63	0.53	-0.42	7.12
fClerical & administrative	0.39	0.25	-0.42	24.71
f25-29 one kid	0.56	0.46	-0.41	1.22
Rent $225-274	0.63	0.54	-0.41	15.83
fManufacturing	0.52	0.42	-0.40	5.62
$800-999	0.27	0.12	-0.40	8.94
Three Person Home	0.44	0.32	-0.40	16.03
Transport	0.59	0.50	-0.39	7.50
fCatholic	0.25	0.10	-0.38	28.13
Manufacturing	0.53	0.44	-0.37	12.79
fosfEngineering	0.58	0.50	-0.37	2.32
Catholic	0.23	0.09	-0.37	26.91
fOrient Orthodox	0.28	0.15	-0.36	0.28
ALP2010Votes_mean	0.88	0.87	-0.36	49.4
Orient Orthodox	0.29	0.17	-0.36	0.30
20-24	0.55	0.47	-0.35	6.59
Clerical & administrative	0.52	0.44	-0.35	6.28
f20-24 no kids	0.48	0.40	-0.34	5.95
Fam $1700-1999	0.18	0.03	-0.34	6.62
fMachinery operators & drivers	0.58	0.52	-0.34	1.52
ALP2007VotePREDICTED_mean	0.87	0.87	-0.34	53.4

Table 5. Positive Stereotype of the 2007 to 2011 pro Liberal 2PP swing.

The groups which dominated those seats swinging to the Liberals are in column four.

It is now easy to see why the swing against Labor was so large. These are strong negative correlations from big groups (see the NSW means in column five) and they are found in Labor seats and marginal seats where their swings to the Liberals would be guaranteed to cause the maximum damage to Labor, in terms of seats.

We have two distinct groups in this table. The first are Labor's rusted on supporters from past state and federal elections; these are workers in manufacturing or transport, on award wages. They are Catholic and their field of study is in engineering. They tend to be older and have twenty something children and they live in safe Labor urban seats and more marginal provincial city based seats across the regions.

The second group are the classic swinging voters, 25-34, married with one child, in a clerical or administrative white collar job, with third quartile pay checks and third quartile mortgage they probably can't quite afford. This group lives in mid to outer urban marginal seats in cities across Australia.

If repeated across Australia this sort of pro Liberal swing profile would decimate federal Labor.

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Code	ALP 2PP 2007	ALP 2PP 2011	ALP 2PP swing 07-11	NSW Means (RHS)	Green Primary 2007	Green Primary 2011	Green Primary Swing 07-11
Worked at home	-0.70	-0.62	0.44	5.49	-0.09	-0.08	0.01
PerCapitaAssetsNRProp	-0.83	-0.77	0.43	$10,959	0.13	0.17	0.10
fManagers	-0.64	-0.54	0.43	10.57	0.10	0.09	-0.02
PerCapitaAssetsTotal	-0.74	-0.67	0.42	$119,901	0.31	0.33	0.09
FamInc_Part_Inc	-0.59	-0.49	0.41	10.25	0.05	0.01	-0.08
Managers	-0.76	-0.70	0.41	16.95	0.02	0.02	0.00
Two Person Home	-0.46	-0.35	0.39	33.01	0.27	0.31	0.14
Motorbike	-0.41	-0.29	0.38	0.57	0.22	0.17	-0.07
Rented Private	-0.25	-0.10	0.38	5.65	0.36	0.36	0.06
Family no kids	-0.42	-0.31	0.38	37.22	0.35	0.36	0.09
PerCapitaAssetsBanks	-0.61	-0.53	0.38	$22,589	0.44	0.50	0.20
Other Tenure	-0.56	-0.48	0.37	0.82	-0.16	-0.10	0.09
60-64	-0.53	-0.45	0.36	5.14	-0.15	-0.09	0.10
f85+ three kids	-0.44	-0.35	0.35	0.44	-0.02	0.11	0.30
Mort Not Stated	-0.49	-0.41	0.35	9.10	-0.21	-0.20	-0.02
Med age	-0.50	-0.42	0.34	37.86	0.02	0.12	0.23
Med age	-0.50	-0.42	0.34	37.86	0.02	0.12	0.23
Unincorp Income Per Cap 06_07	-0.52	-0.45	0.34	$4,893	0.55	0.56	0.11
fosfHealth	-0.58	-0.52	0.34	13.32	-0.14	-0.09	0.07
Super & Annuity Income Per Cap 0	-0.58	-0.53	0.34	$1,339	0.34	0.41	0.21
USA	-0.36	-0.26	0.33	0.33	0.65	0.68	0.18

Table 6. This shows Table 4, with the Green profiles alongside.

The variables highlighted in yellow in column 6 were those Green 2007 voters we saw in Table 1 who were correlated with the swing to Labor in 2011.

Some of them, like two person homes and the rich, are sizeable groups in NSW. The two person homes could be older empty nesters or gay couples.

It is reasonable to question why these groups would have swung to Labor or swung against Labor to a lesser degree, in the context of the March 26 rout.

Labor's introduction of an ETS federally is a reasonable explanation.

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Profile Charts

The correlation charts below show the strength of the relationship between votes and the Elaborate Database, for most of the 700 variables, presented in various categories, starting with Education. Most of our clients are in the education sector.

The charts are in standard excel format, with correlations for the ALP 2PP votes in 2007 and 2011 shown in blue bars or lines, with the shade selected to facilitate legibility and the 2PP ALP swing from 2007 to 2011 always shown in a brighter blue. The New South Wales 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 (about 38 percent 2PP for Labor in 2011and minus 15 percent for Labor for the swing) 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 .20.

In practical terms, given the huge swing against Labor, if the correlation for swing is below the line, then that group swung more than 15 percent against Labor. But a smaller, significant correlation above the line simply means that group tended to swing against Labor by less than 15 percent. It has to be a very large correlation above the line – say 0.3 plus - for us to suggest any net movement to Labor from any group.

Similarly, the reader should be cautious about high correlations from variables with a very low mean, from the more esoteric religions, or from 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.

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The first chart on Current Education tells us TAFE students, who tend to come from working class families, vote Labor (or live in strong Labor seats), but were swinging to the Liberals in 2011. A pro Labor group, like TAFE students, can swing against Labor, but still return a strong Labor profile. The swing just means a smaller majority are still voting Labor. It also means that we tend to see these anti Labor swings in safer Labor seats, as we did. University Students, who tend to come from middle class families, also vote Labor, but less strongly and didn't swing to either party.

For the rest of the chart we're looking at the parents rather than the students, and we can see that parents of Government and Catholic school children are typically neutral in terms of their vote: they split it 50/50 between Labor and Liberal in 2007 and 40/60 in 2011. However, we also see (working class) parents of children in Catholic schools swinging to Liberal candidates and (upper middle class) parents of Independent school students, who would normally vote Liberal, swinging to the Labor Party (or less against the Labor party than the state average swing of 15 percent)

All of the following charts tell their own little piece of the bigger story and we assume nothing is known about the results other than that which has been presented before, in Tables 1 to 5 and the earlier charts. So reading the charts builds up a progressive picture of the sorts of groups supporting the major parties and how their alignments changed on March 26.

The final charts get to the nitty gritty of the hip pocket nerve, in that they identify the winners and losers from interaction with Government and its regulation of the economy.

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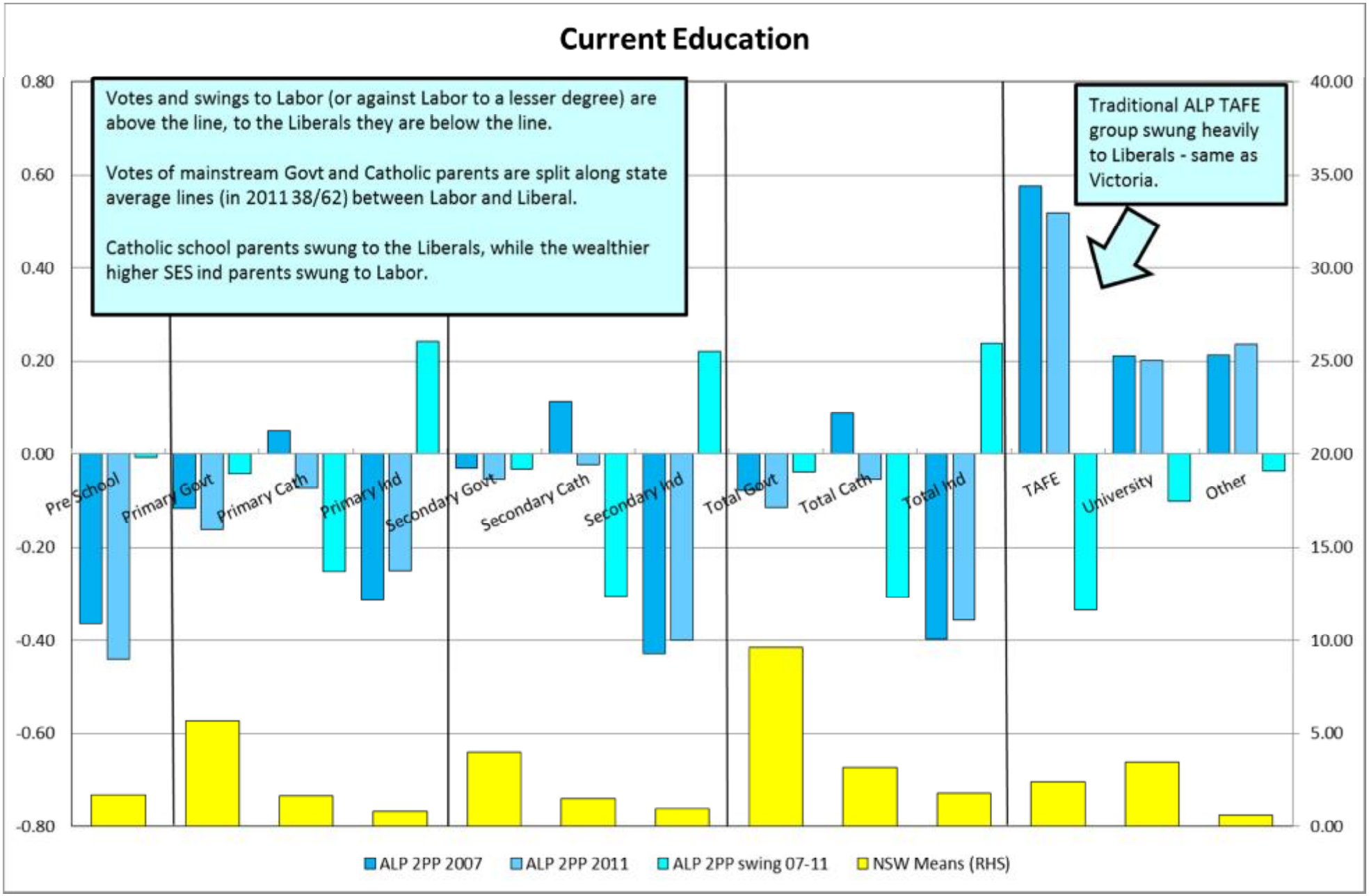

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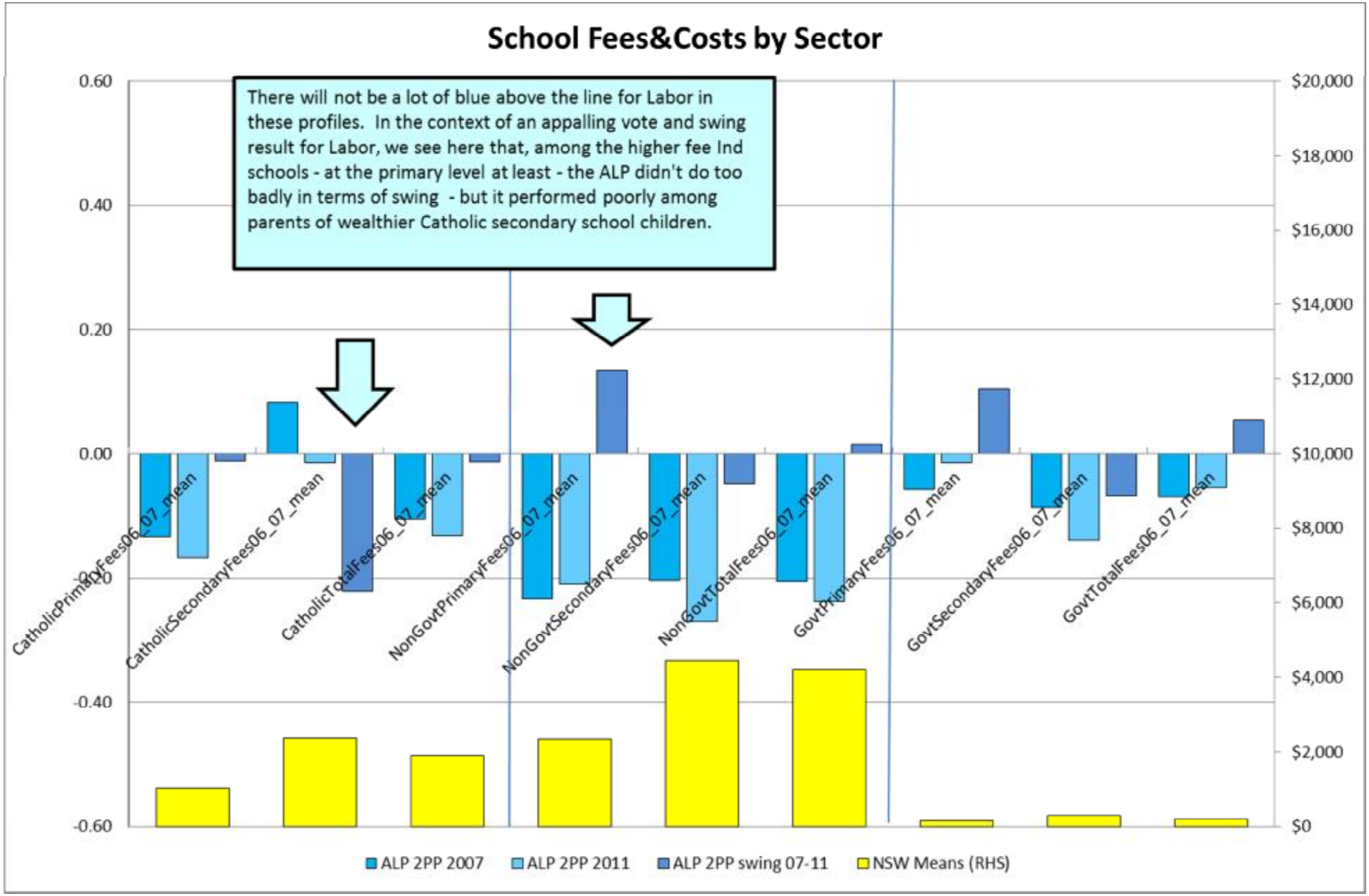

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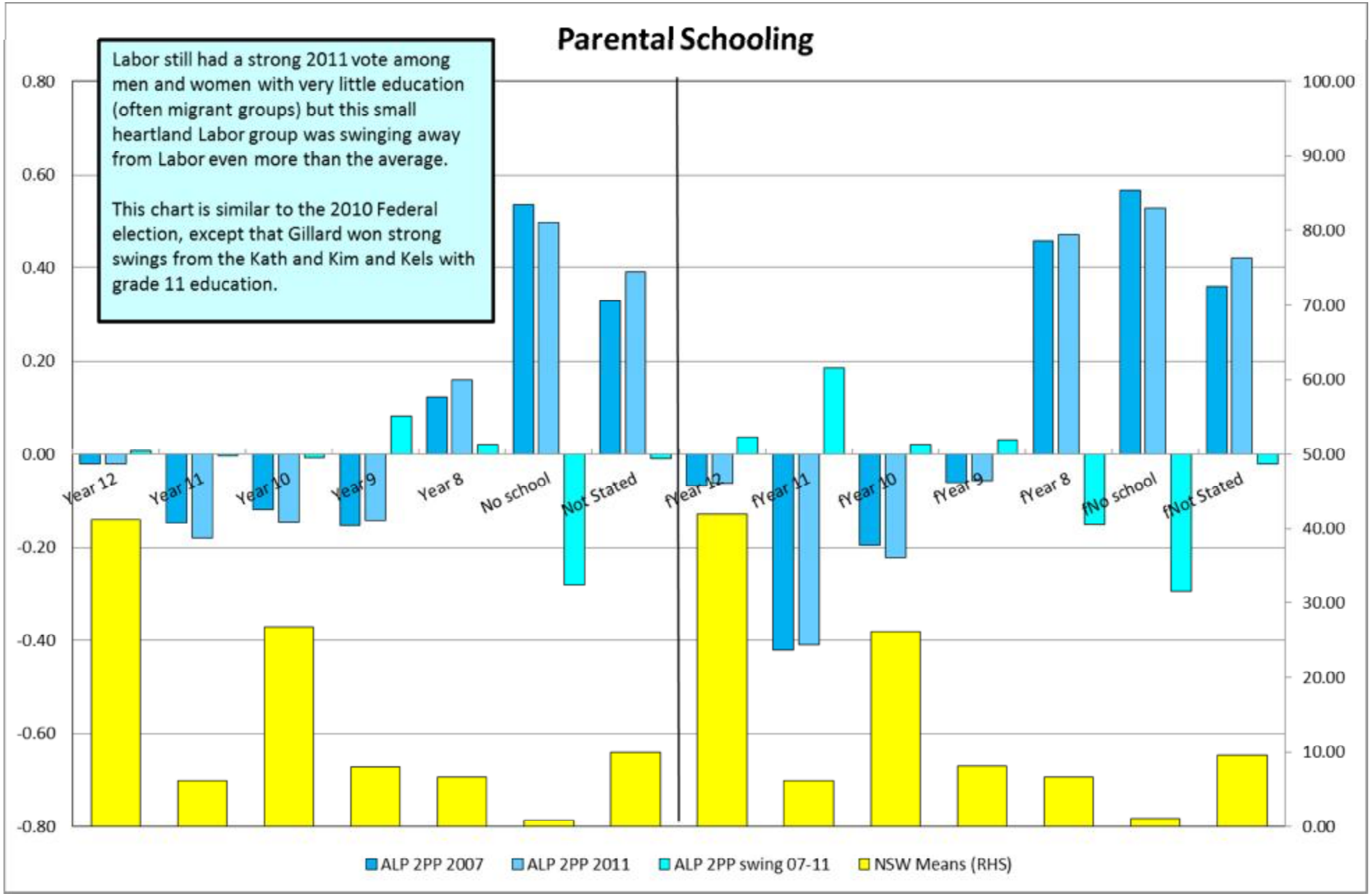

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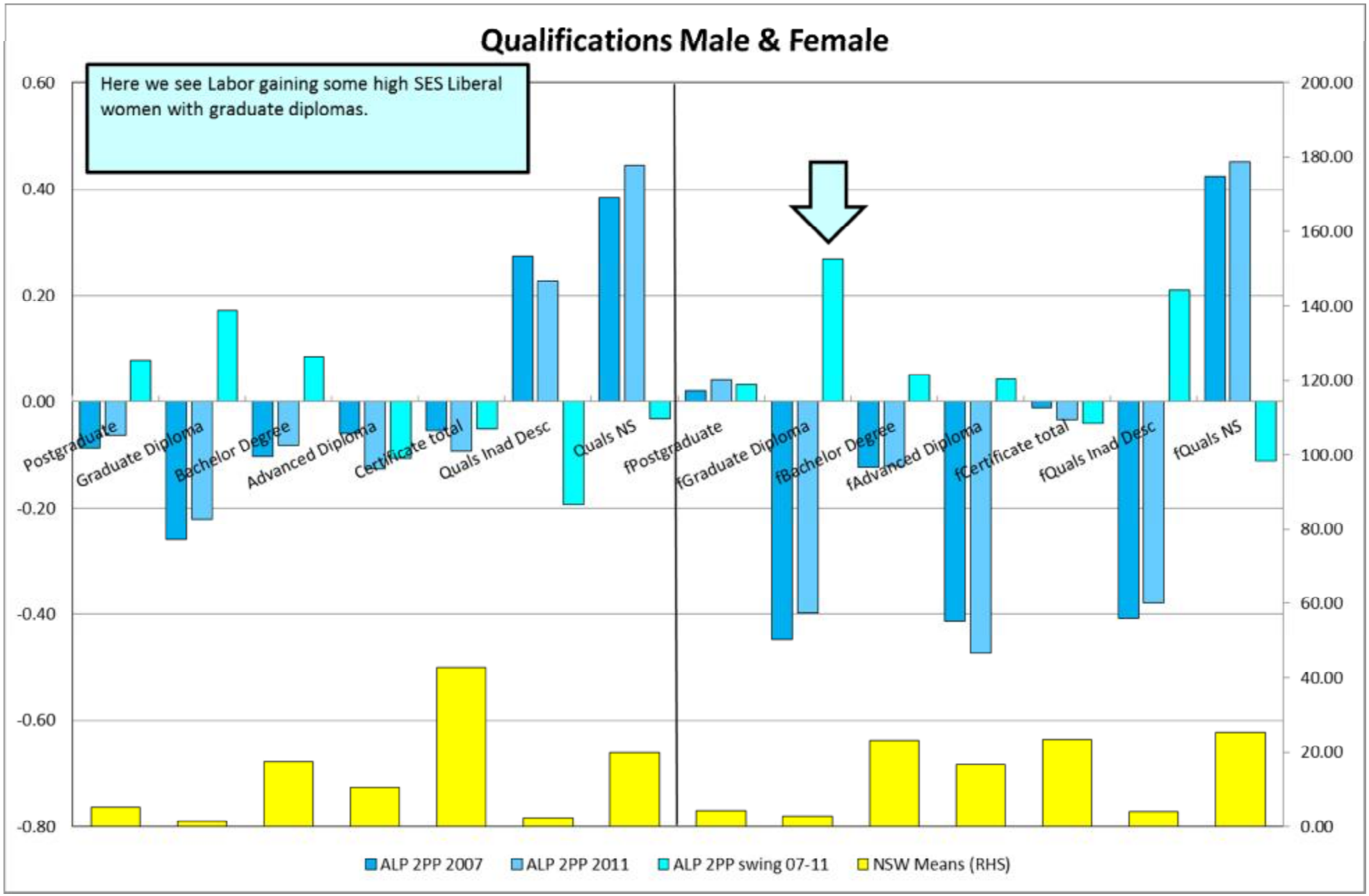

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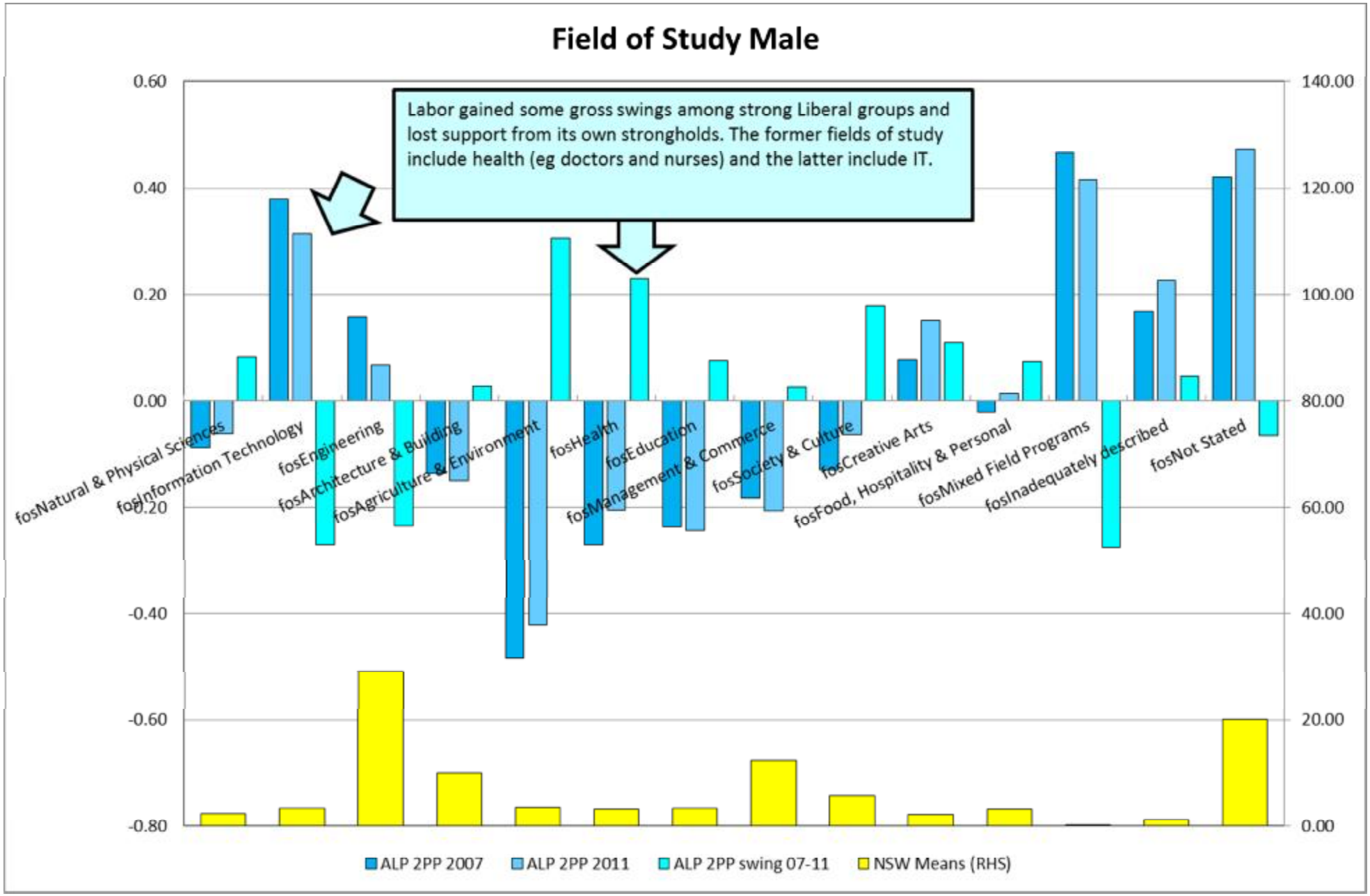

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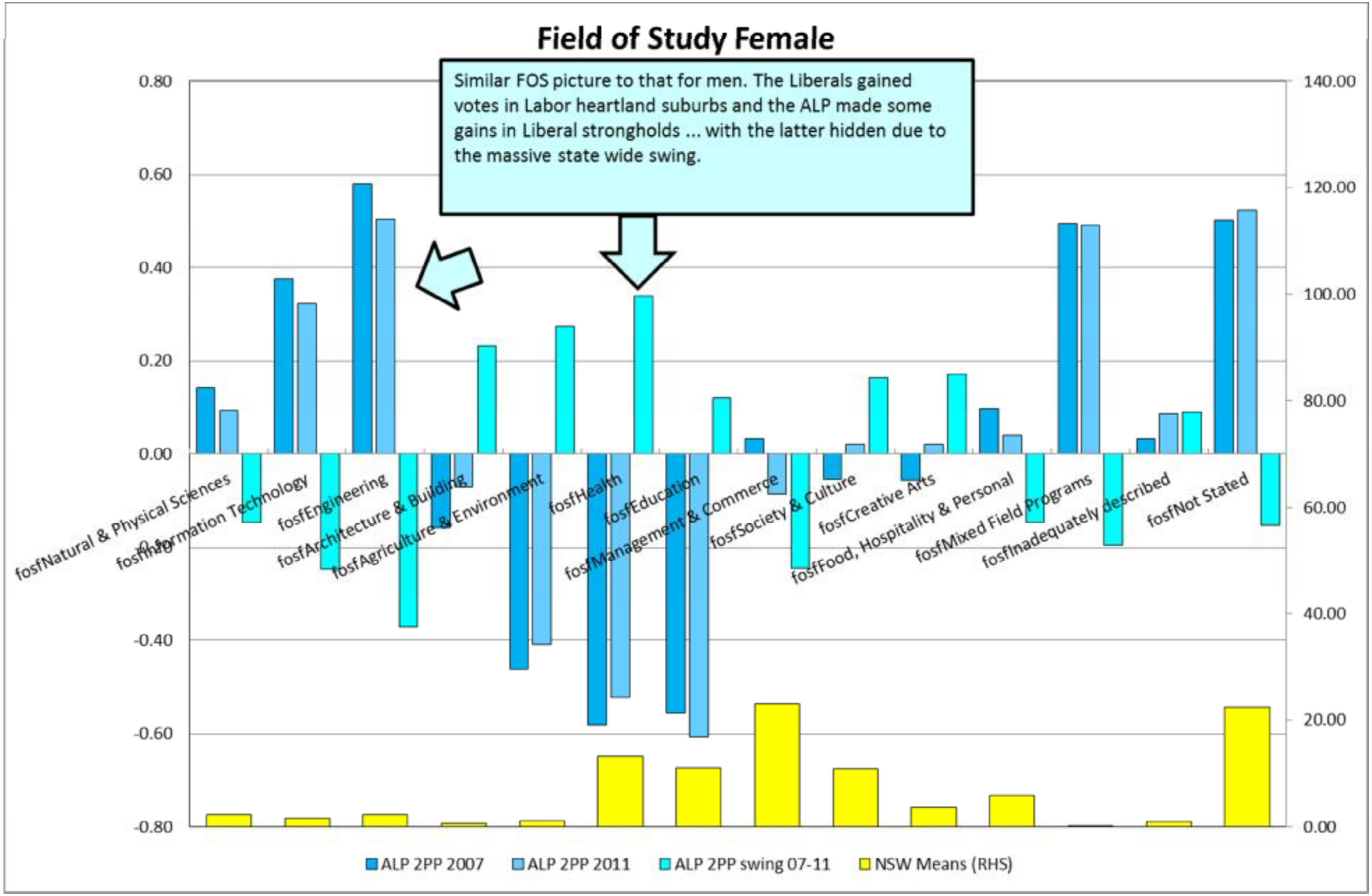

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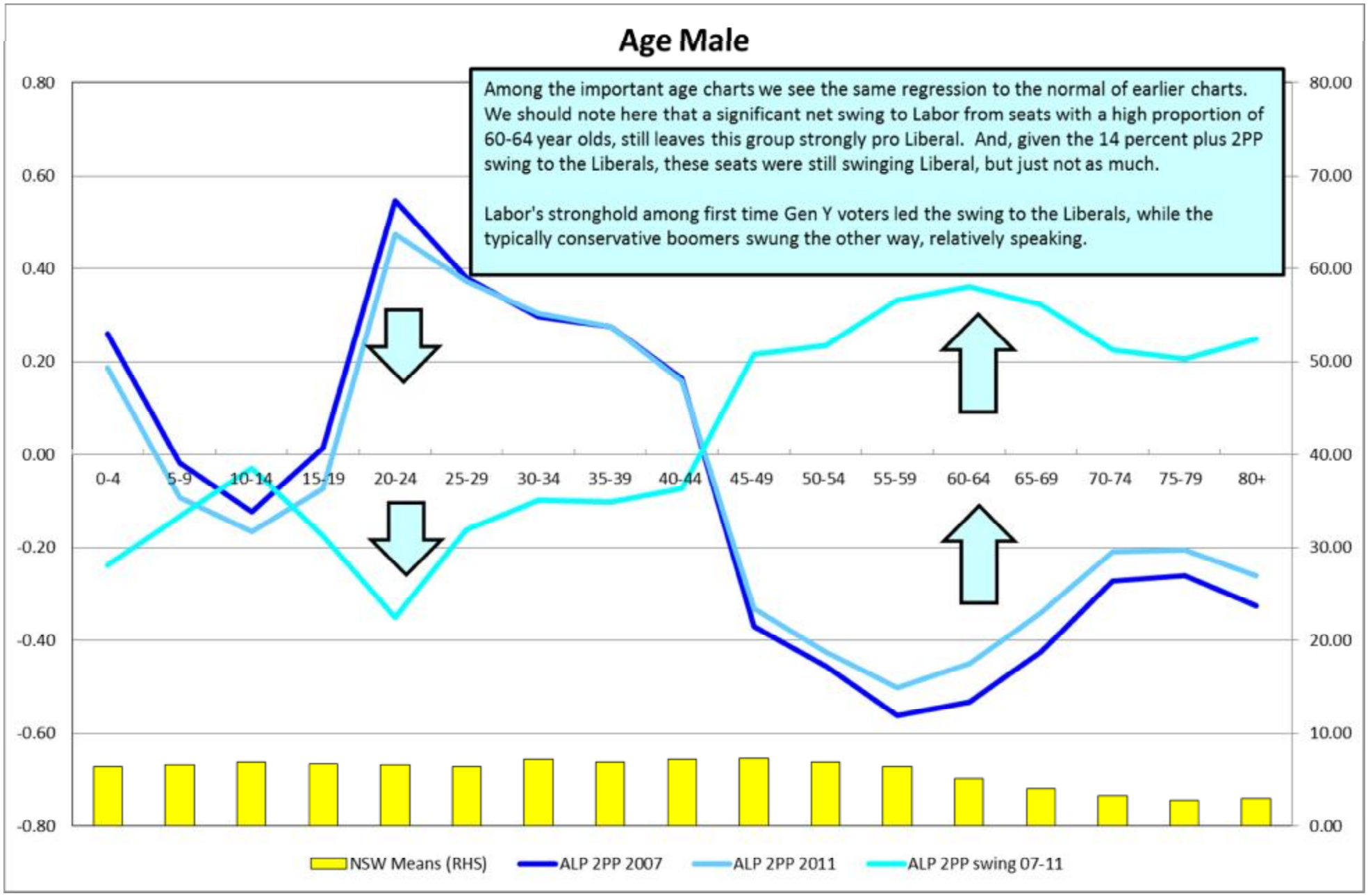
Age Male



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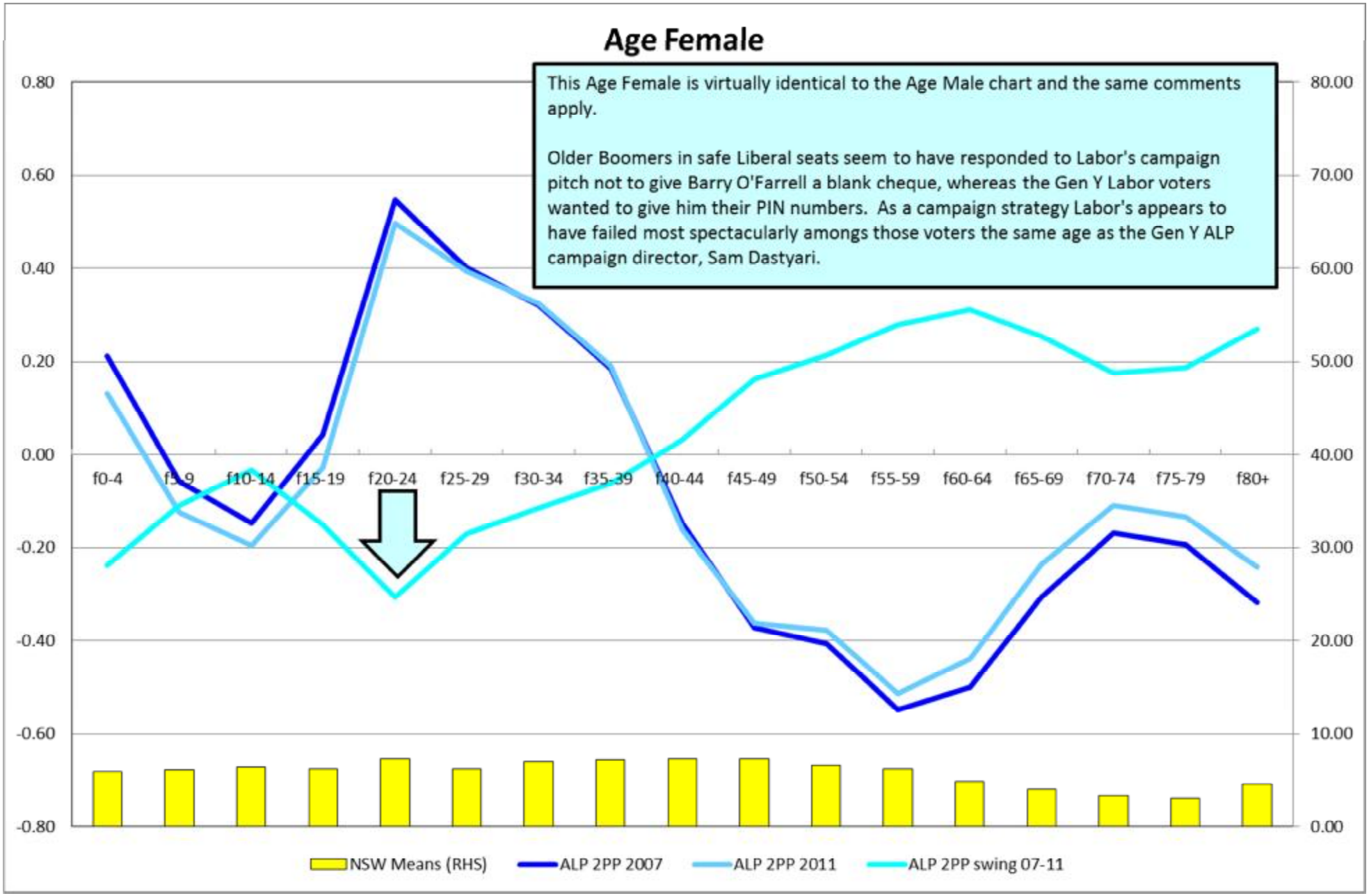
Age Female



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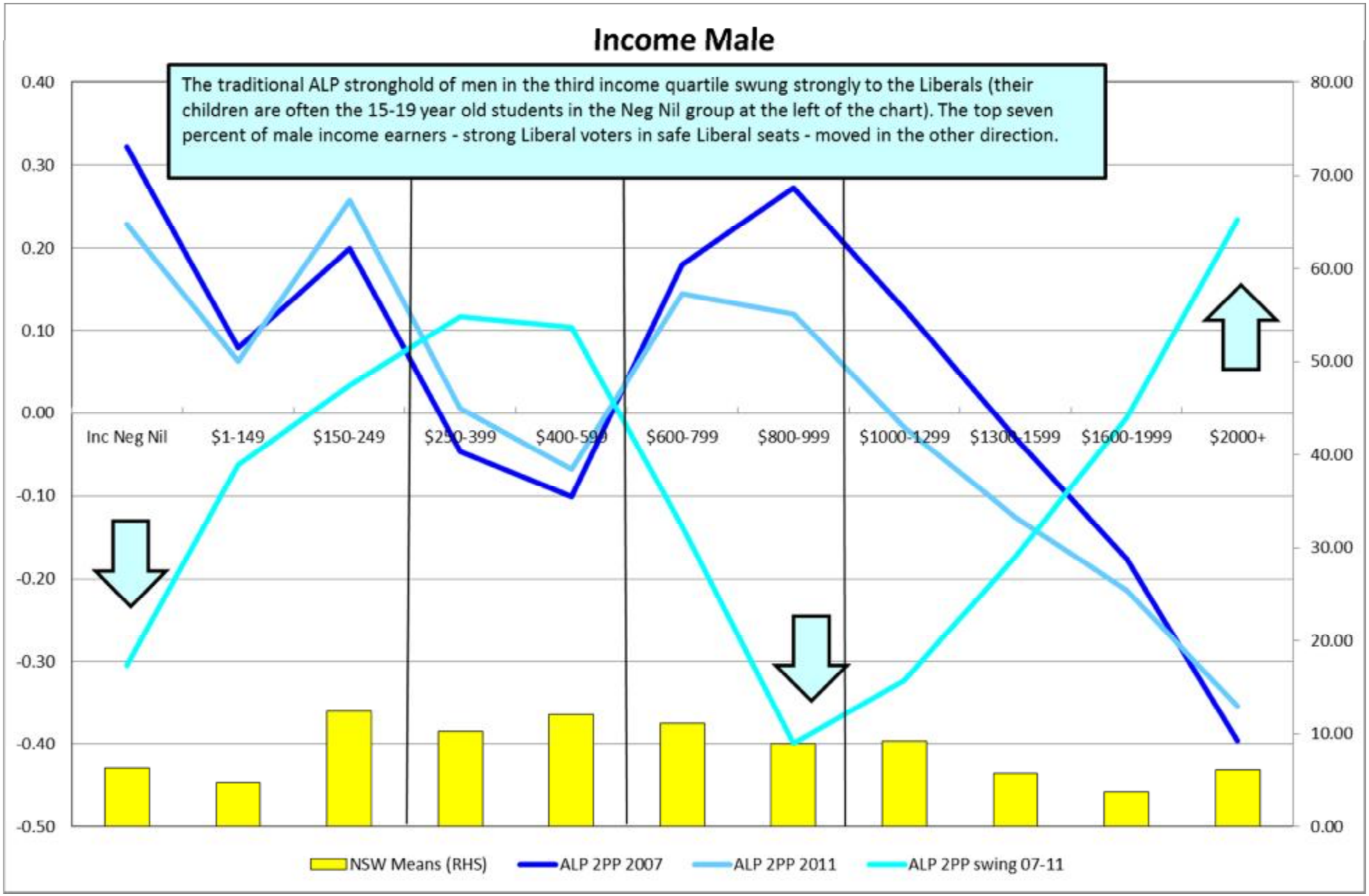

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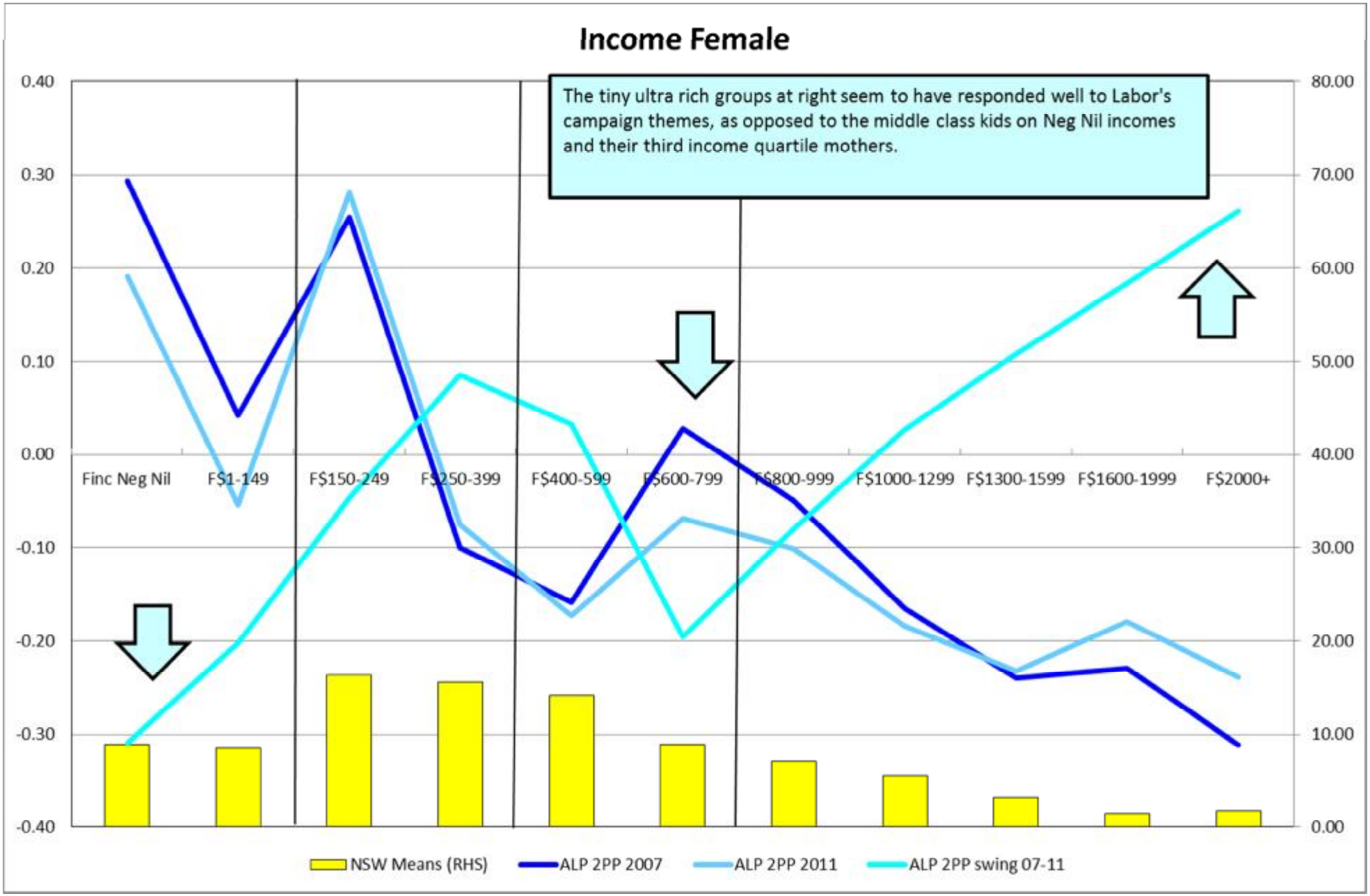

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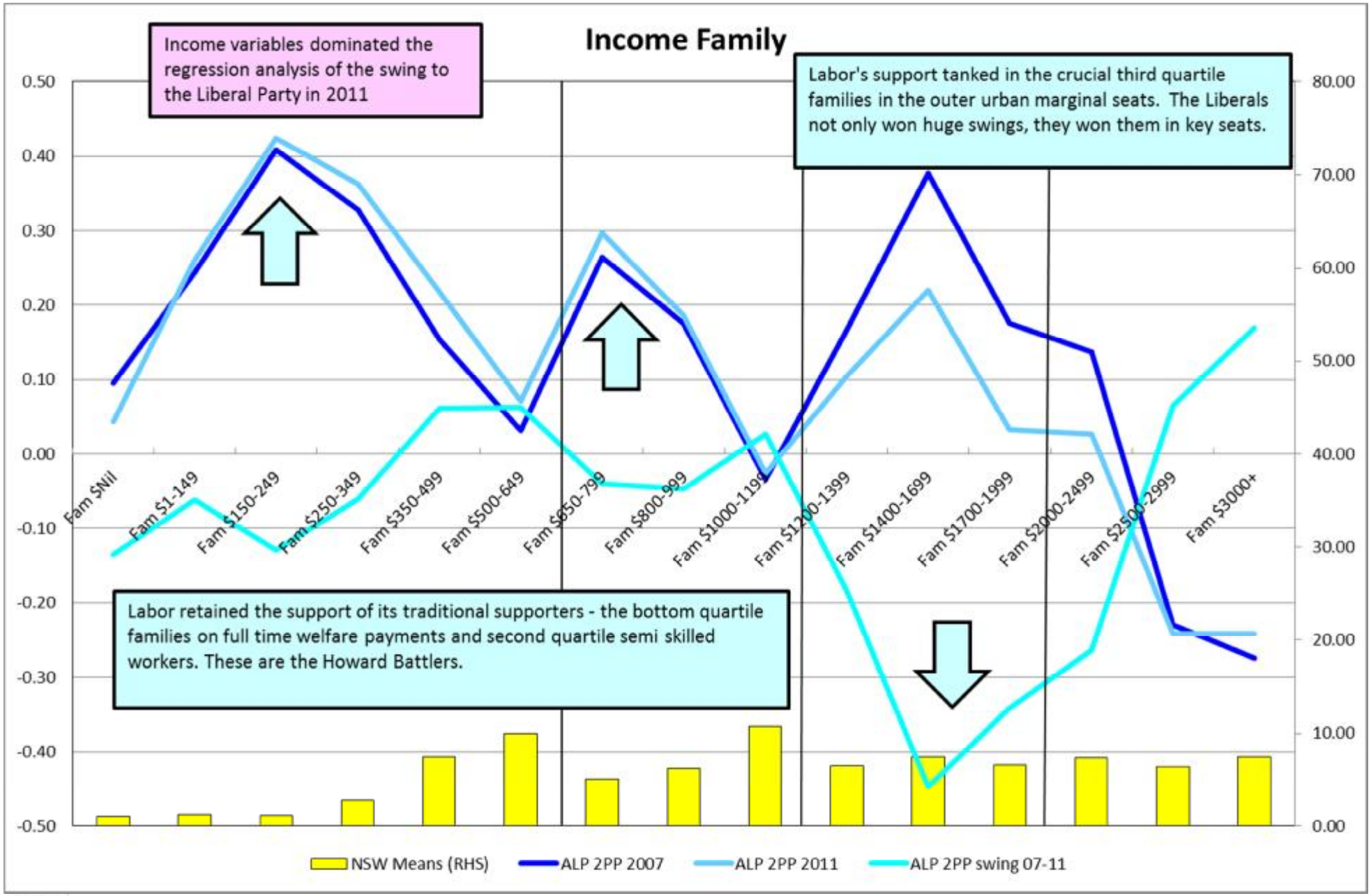

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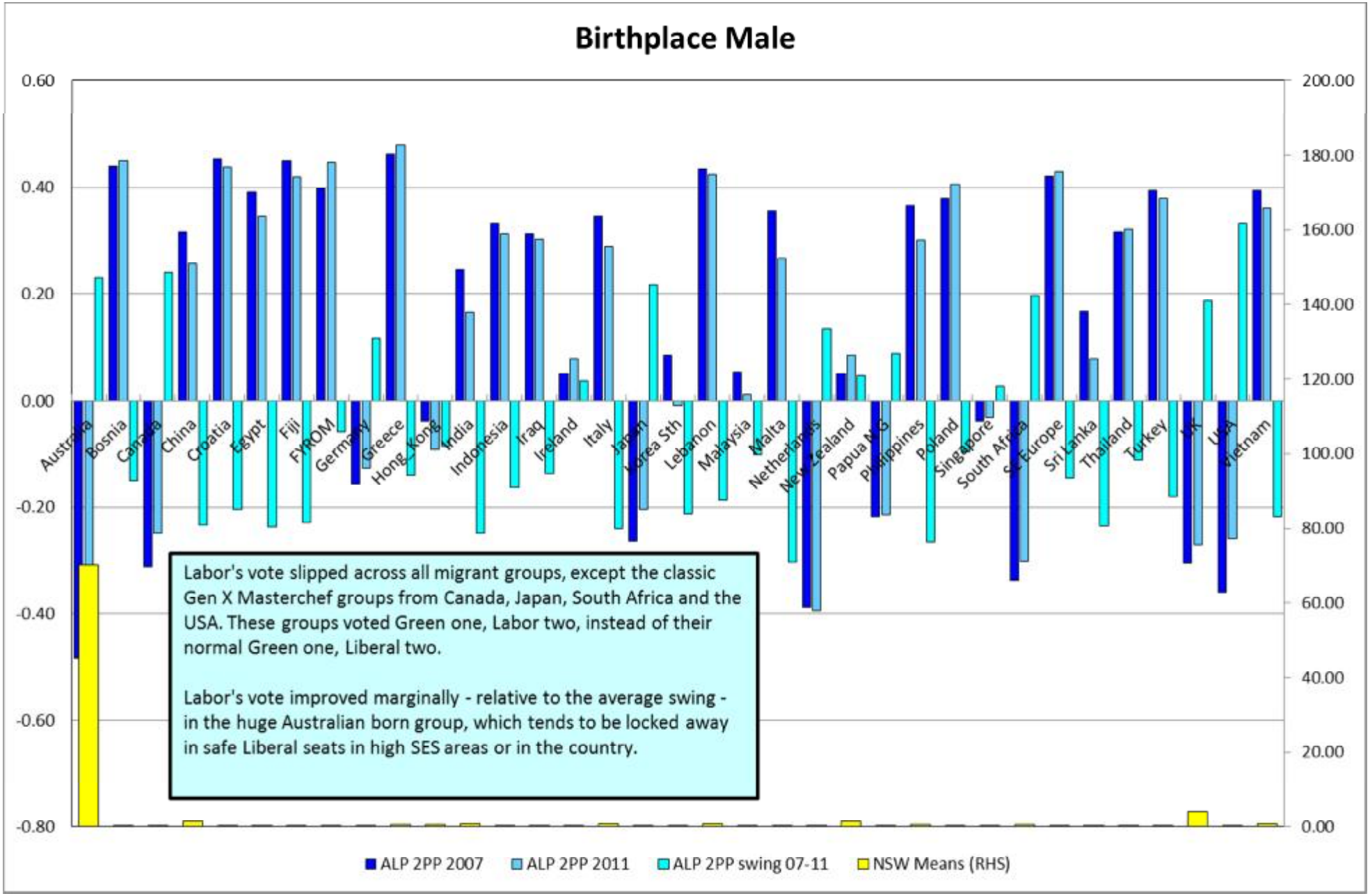

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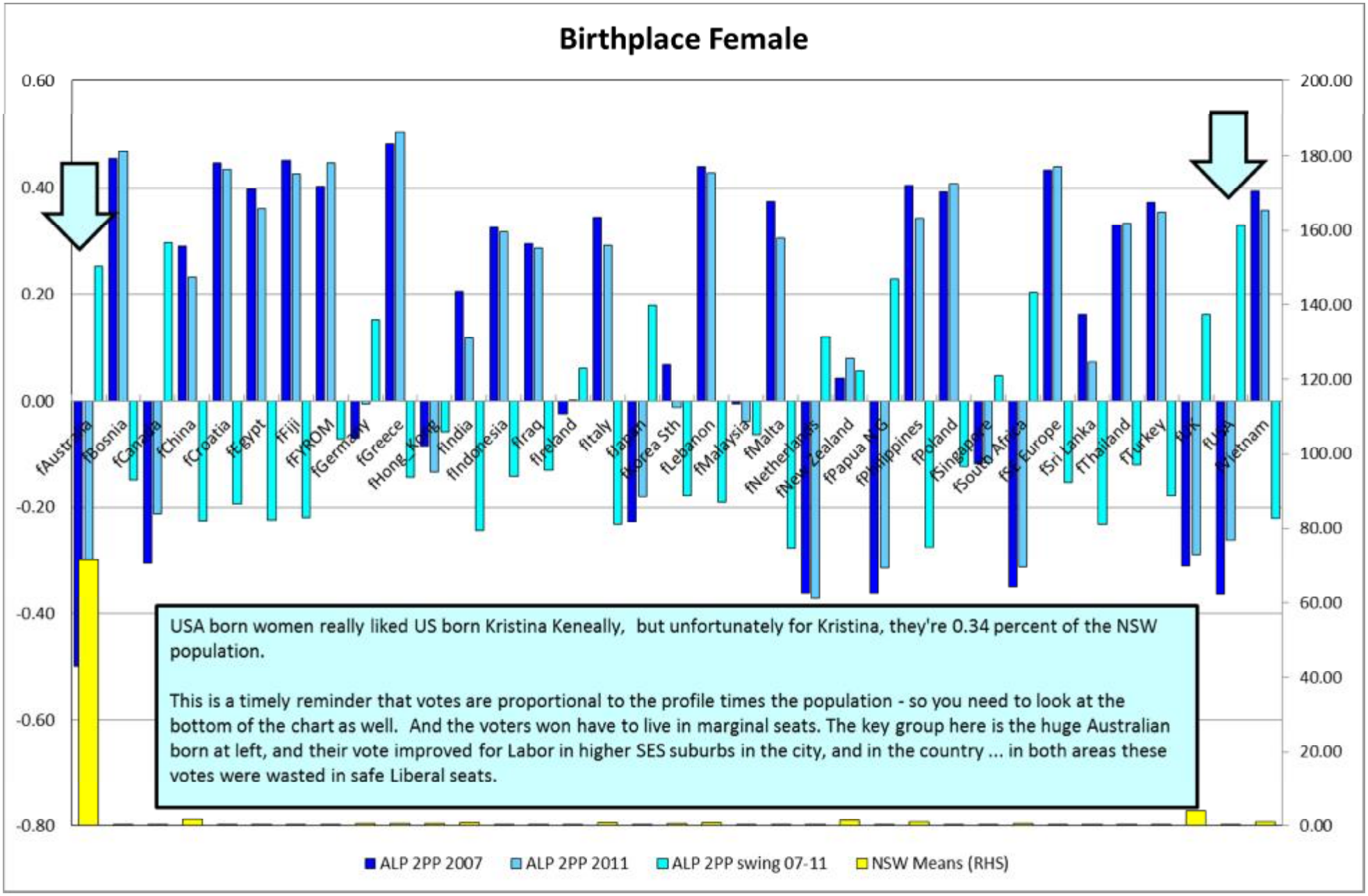

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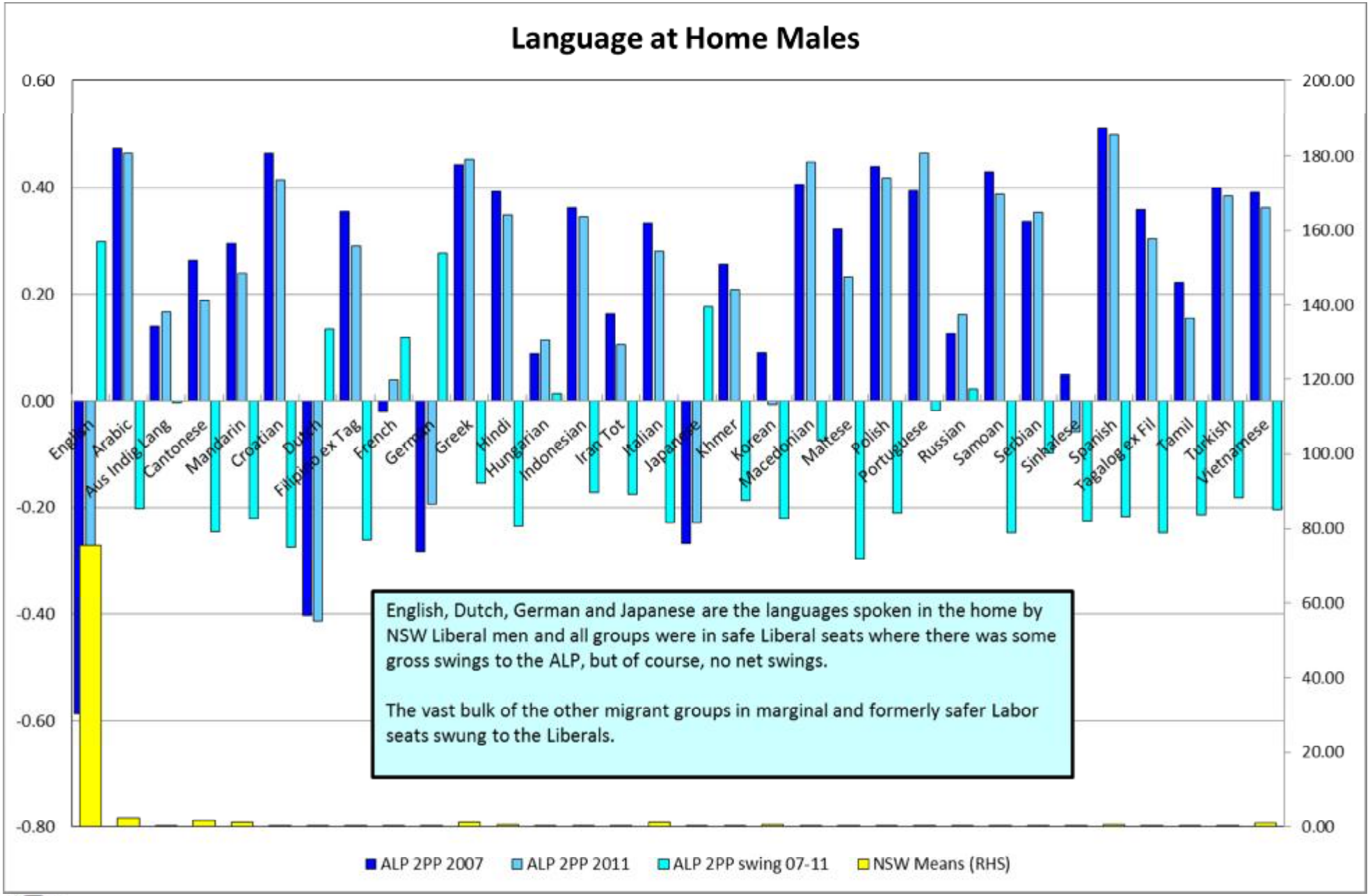

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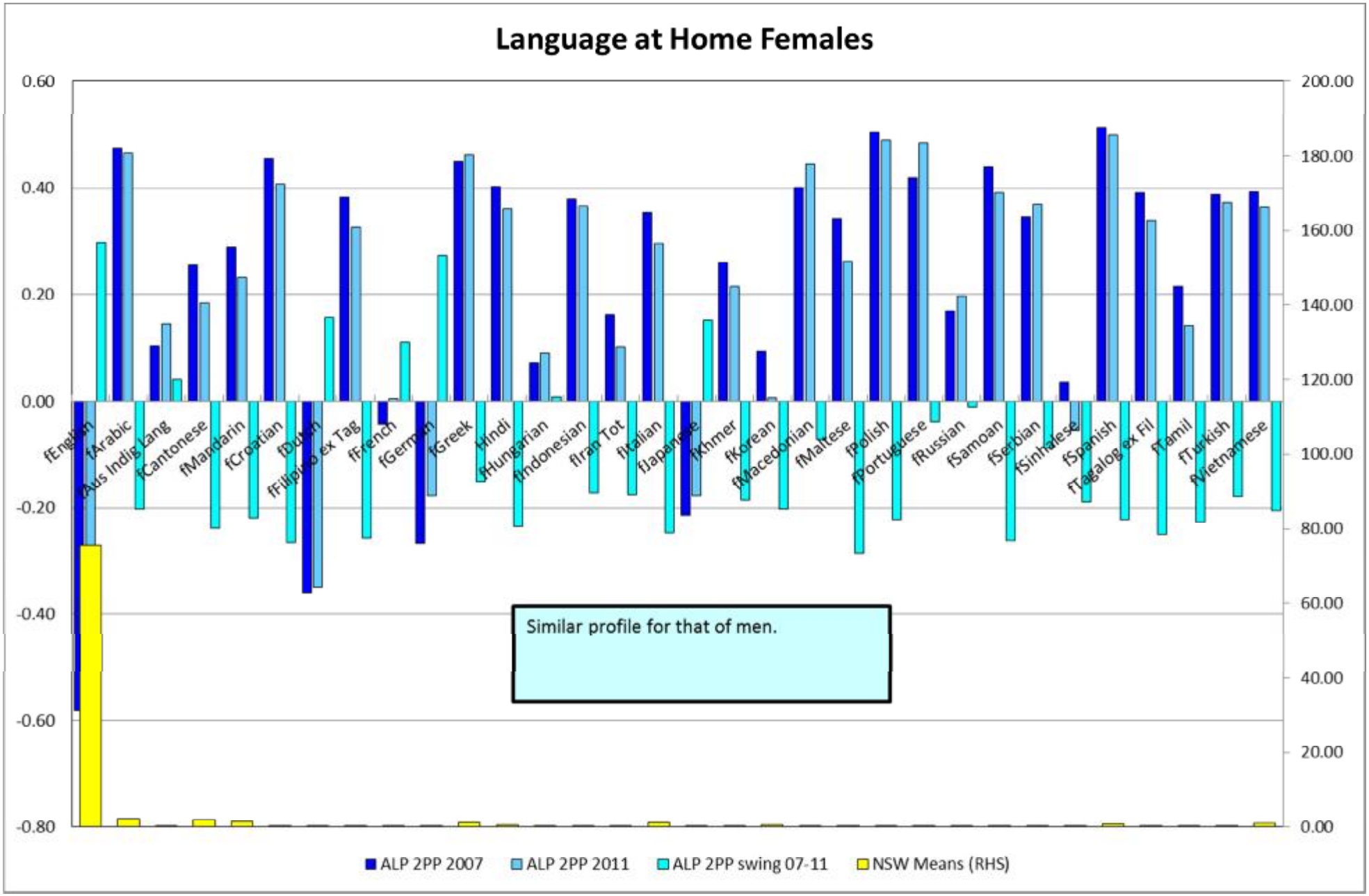

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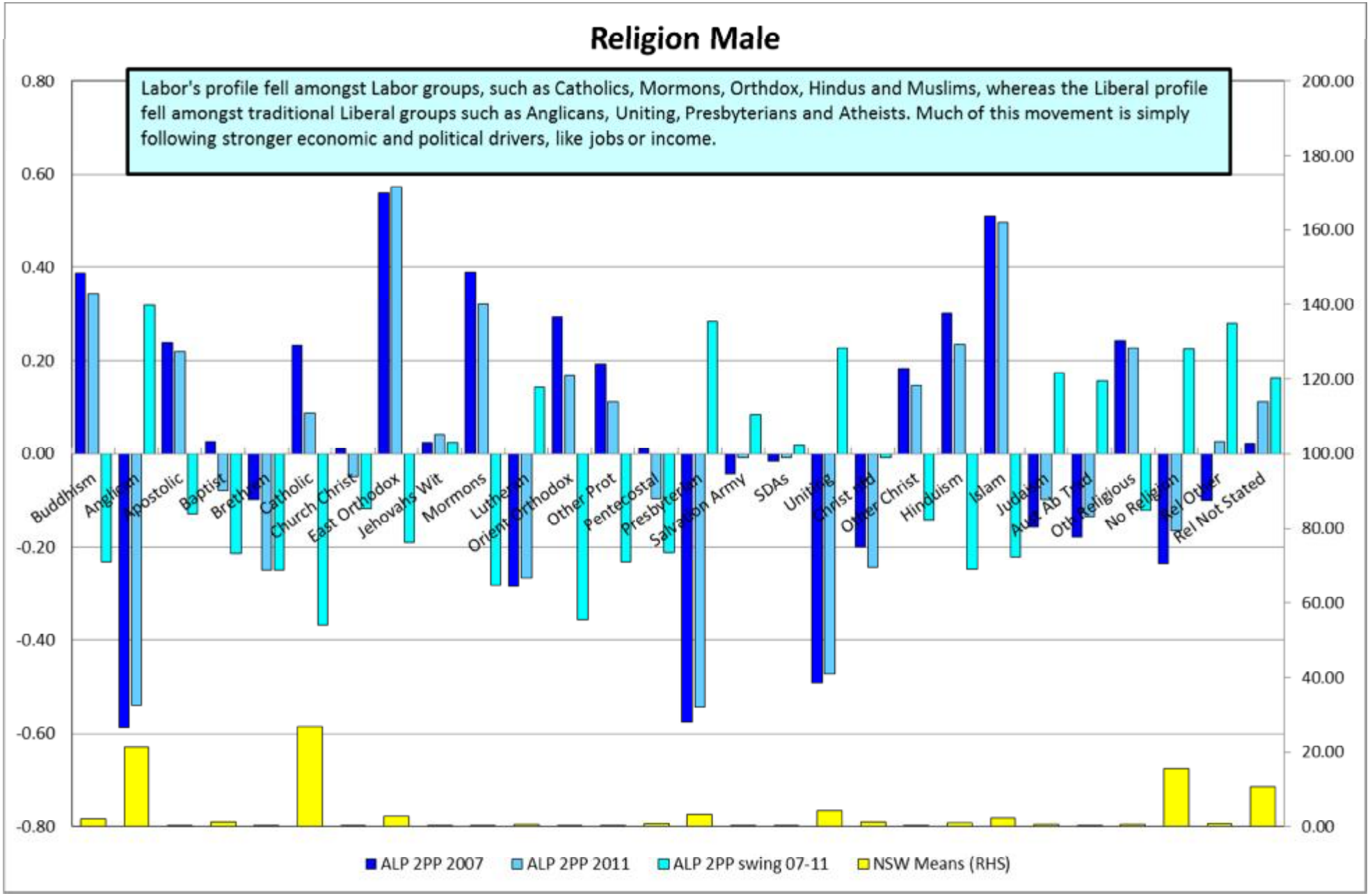
Religion Male



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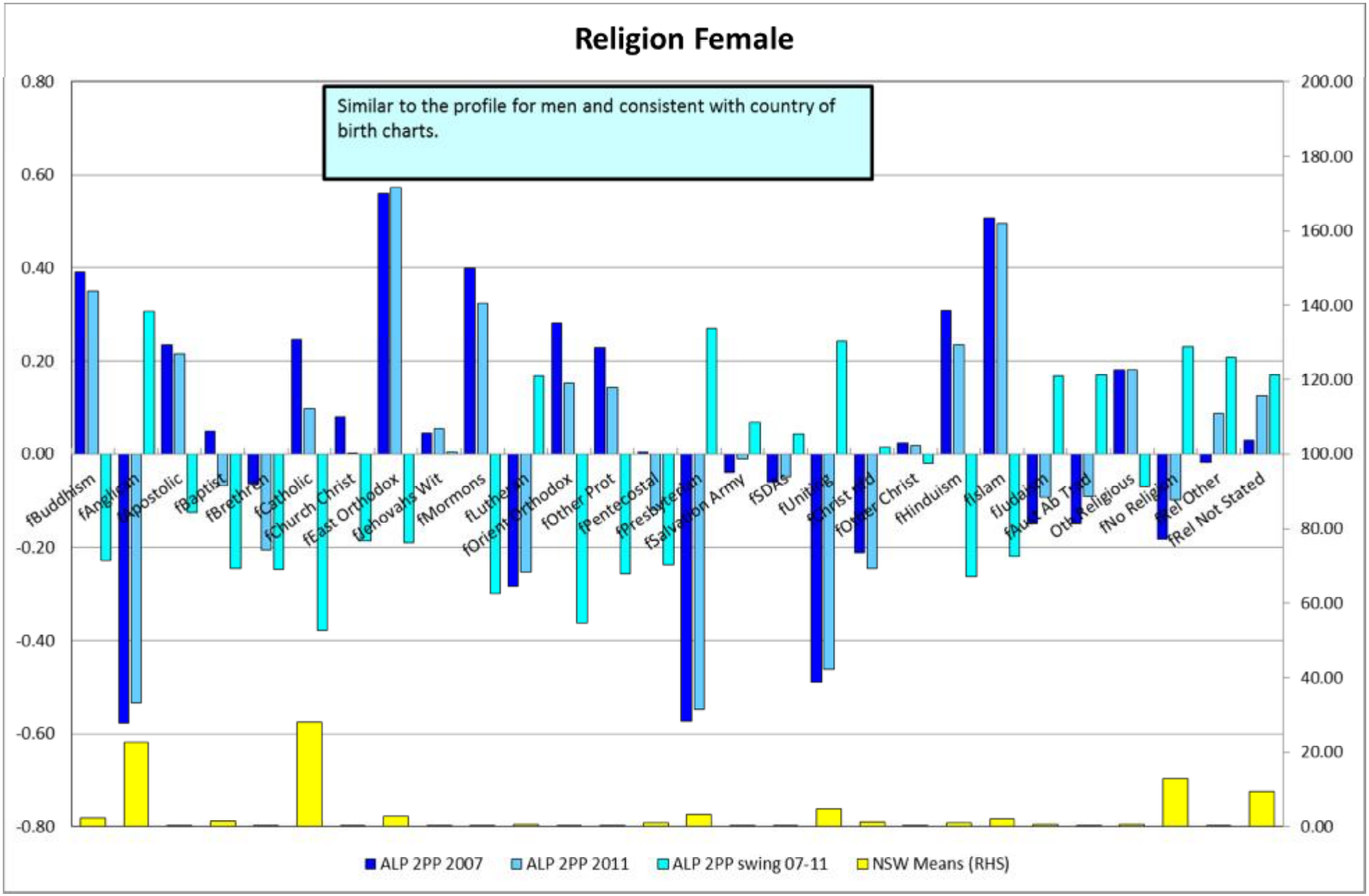

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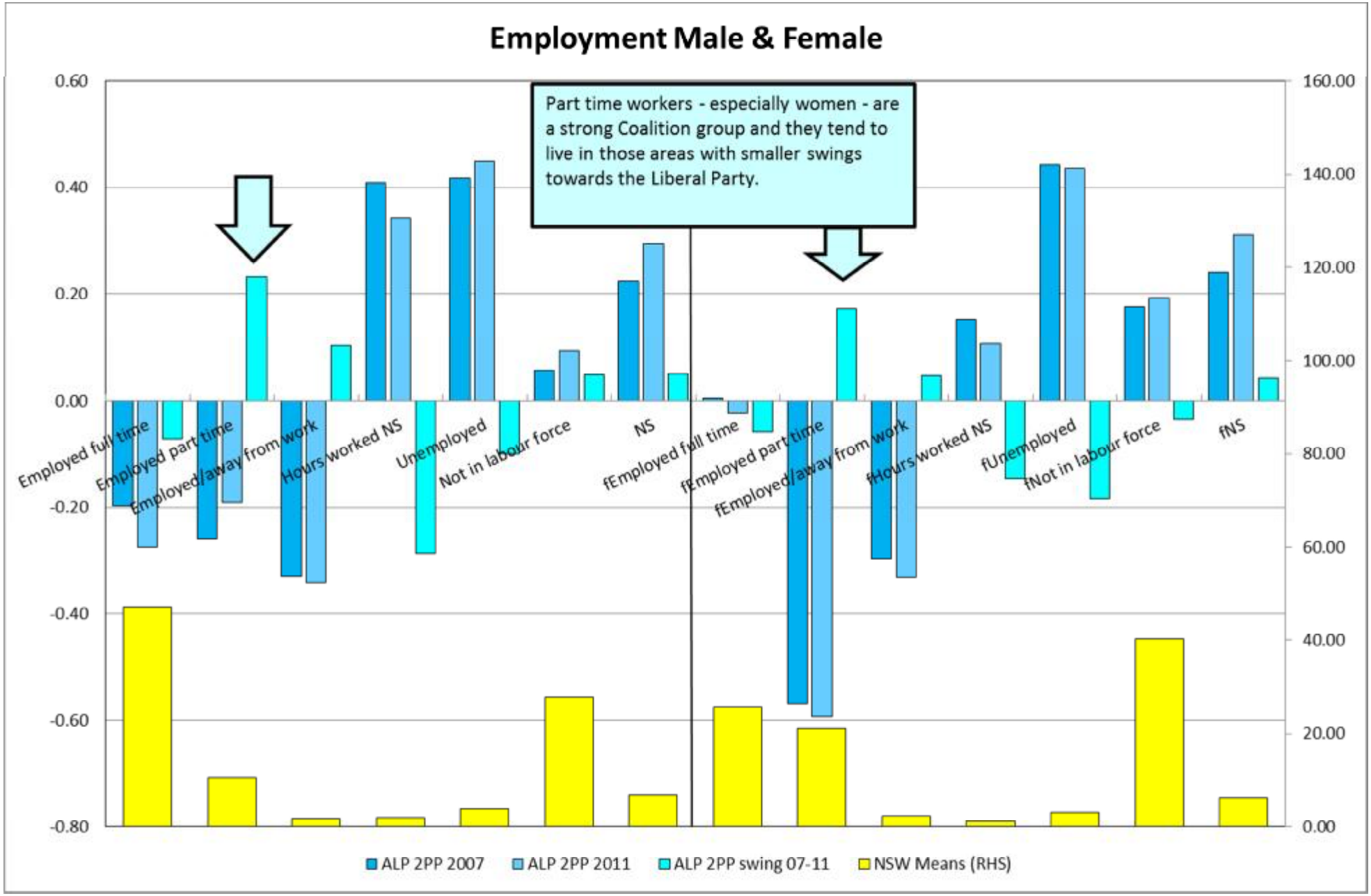

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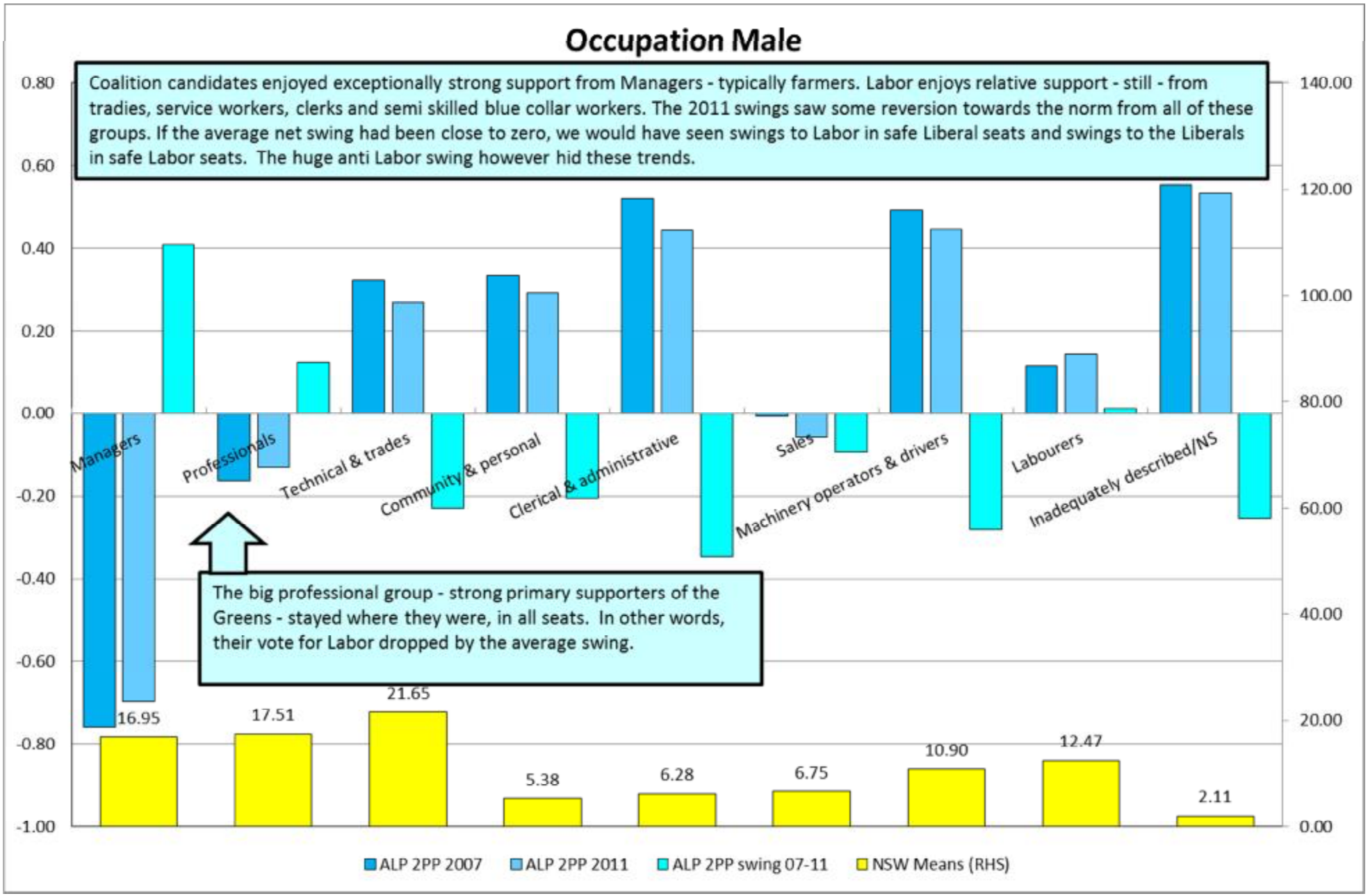

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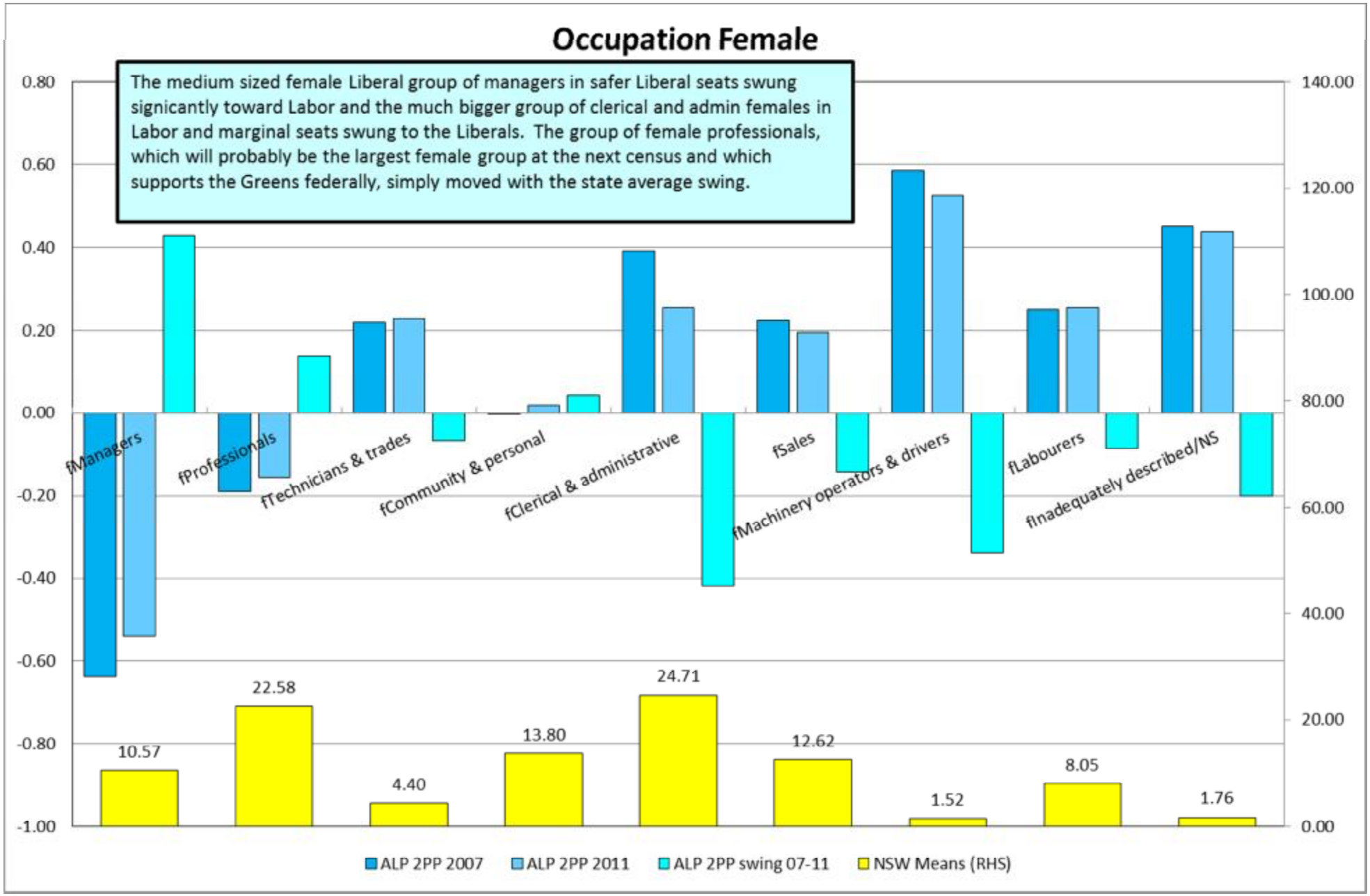

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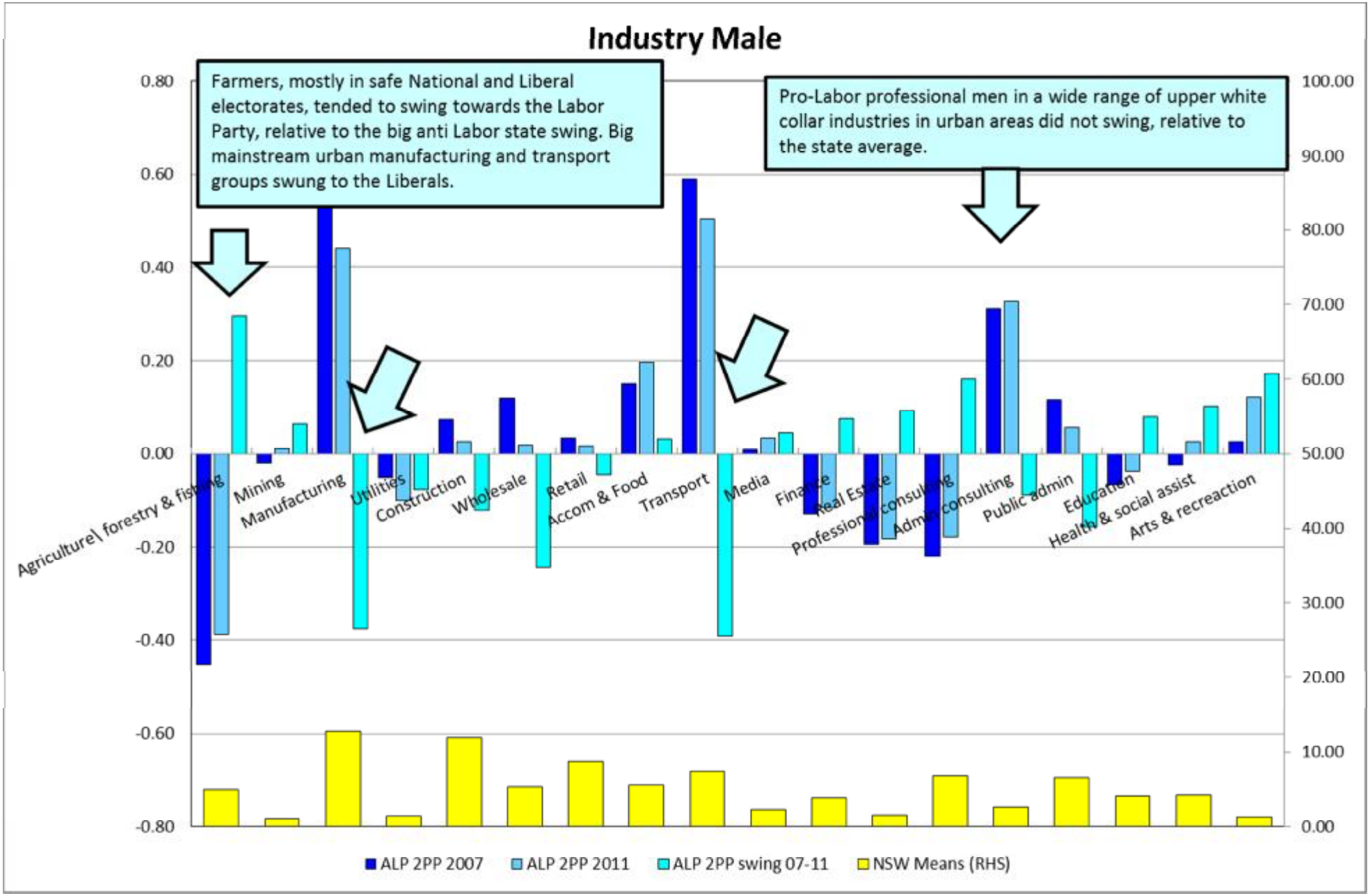

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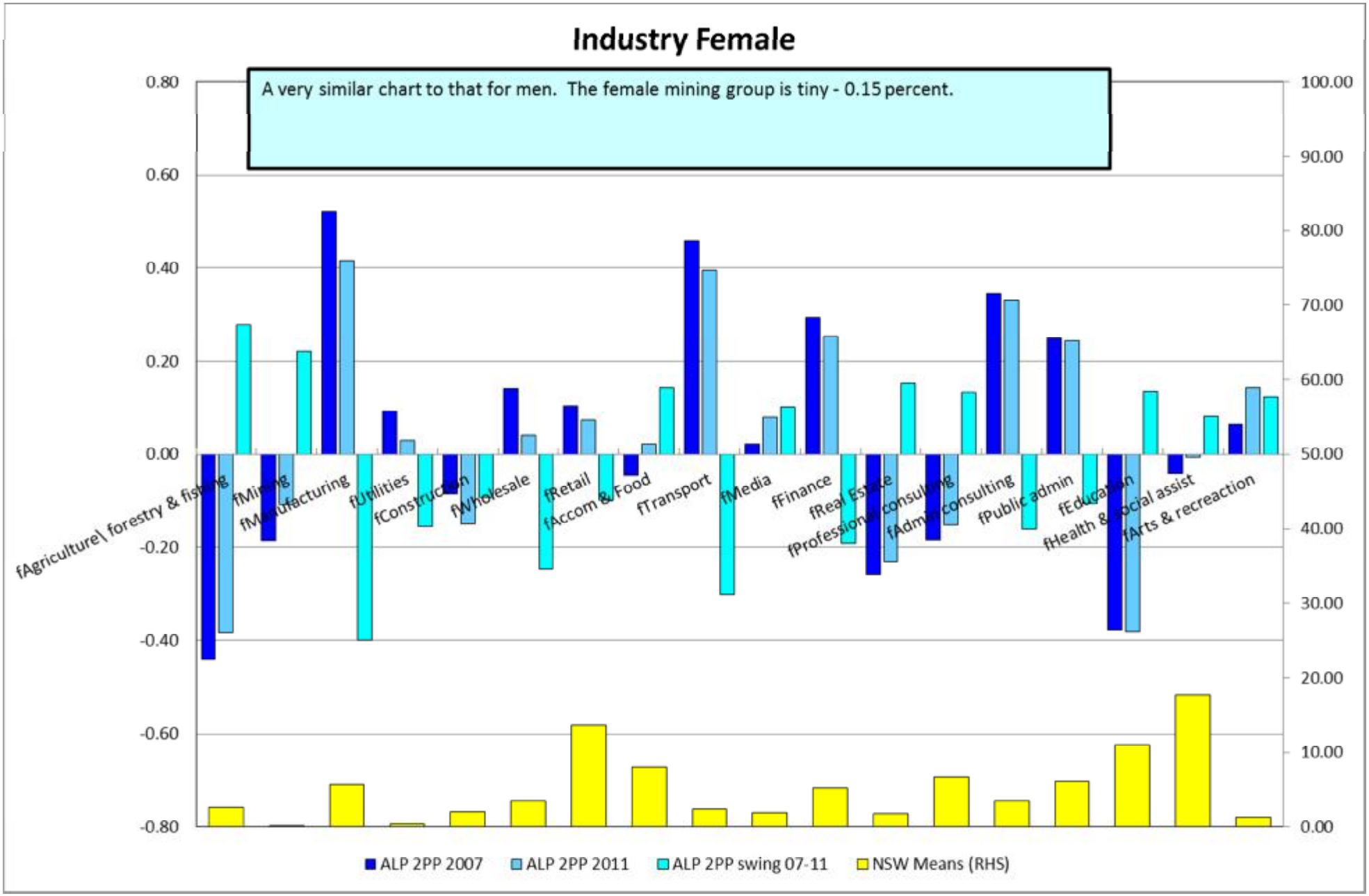

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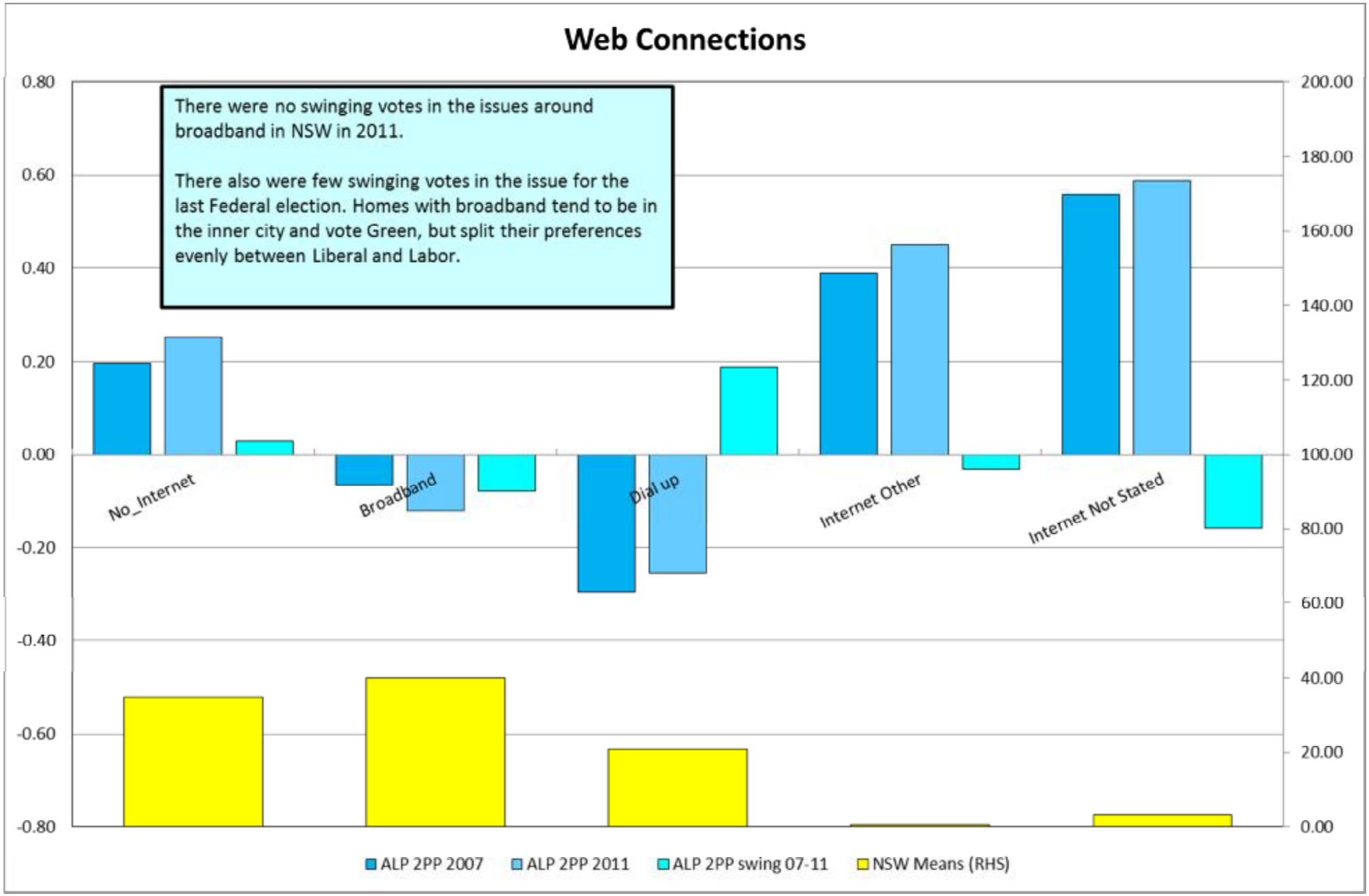

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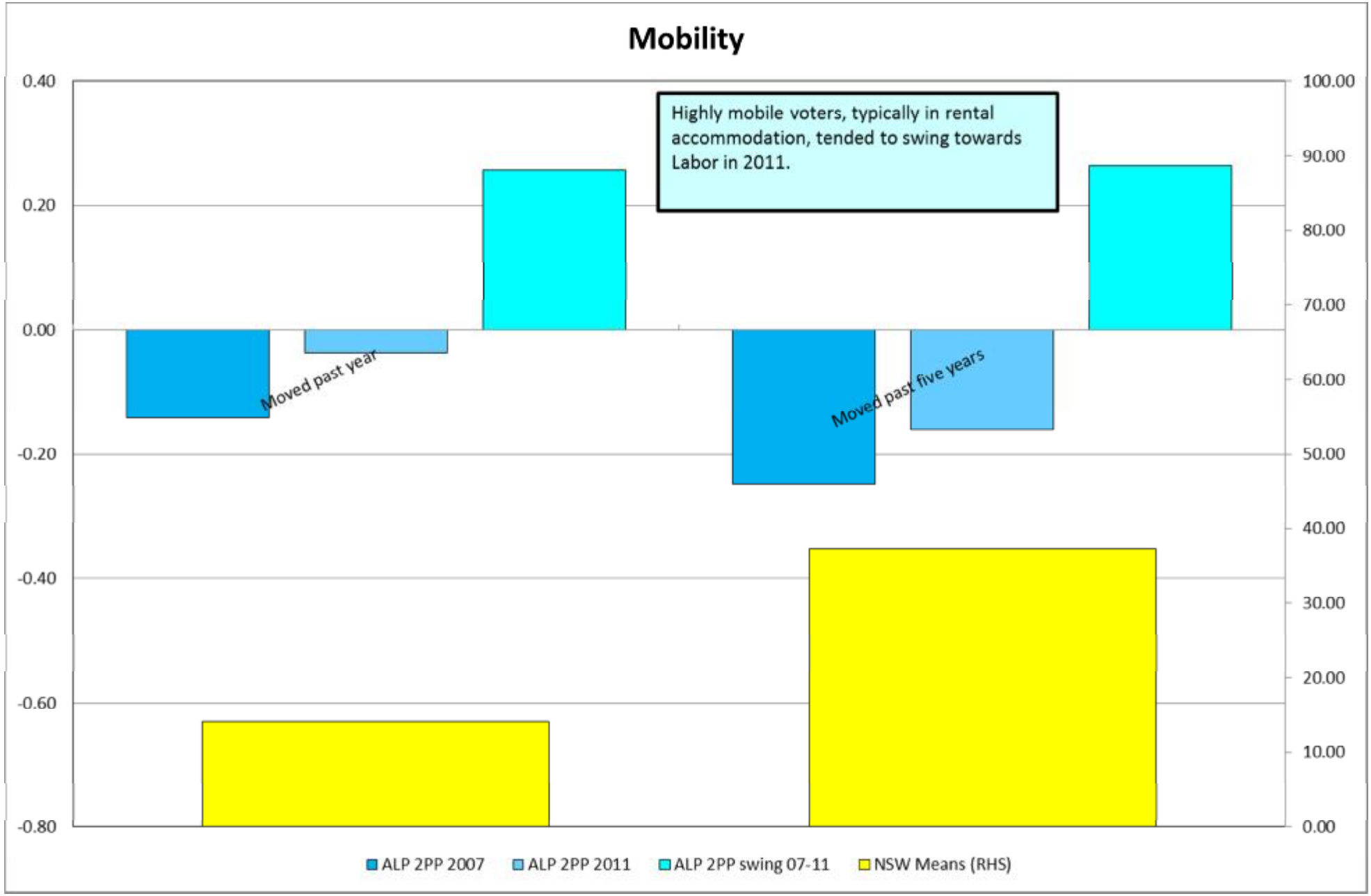

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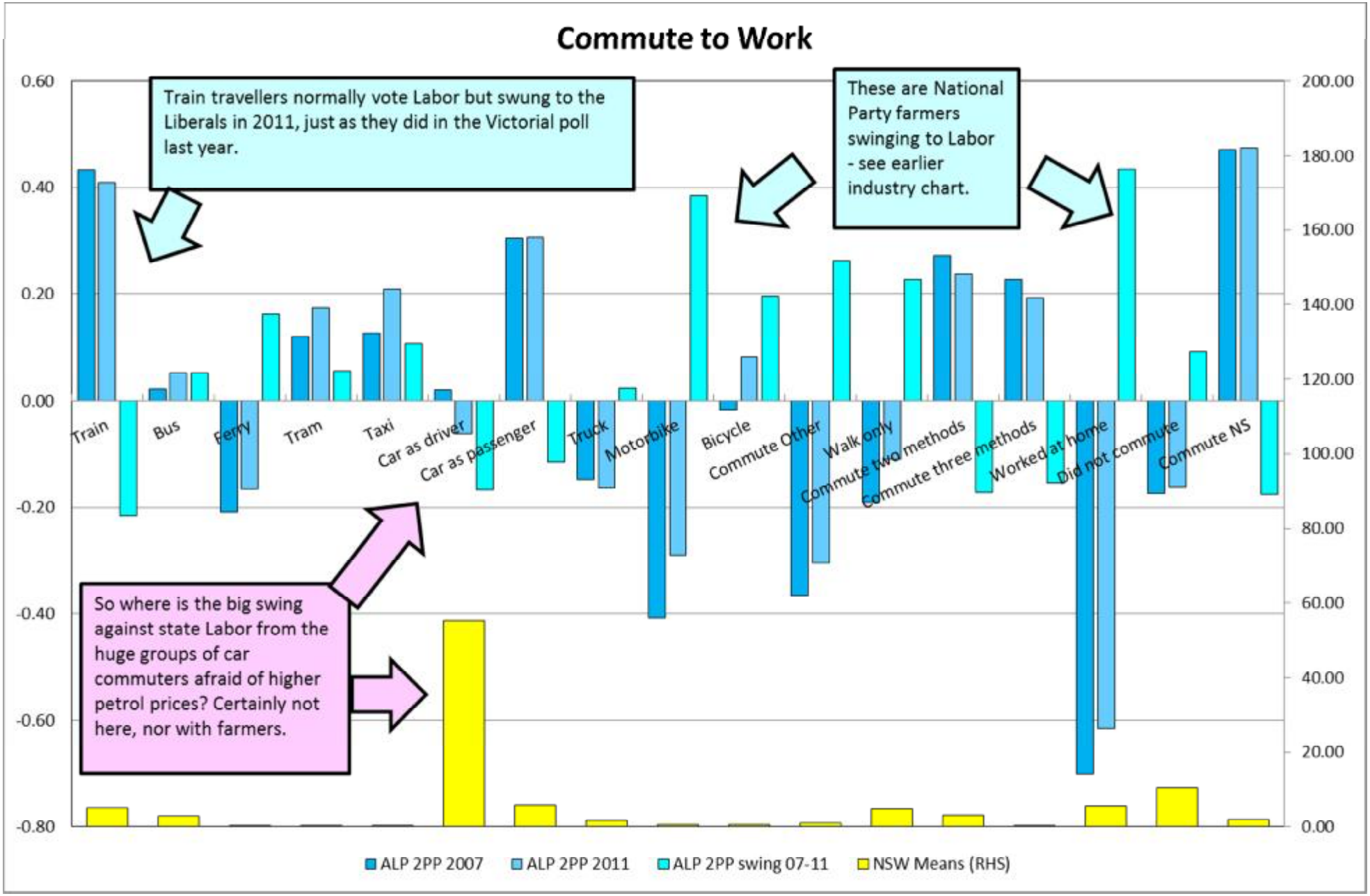

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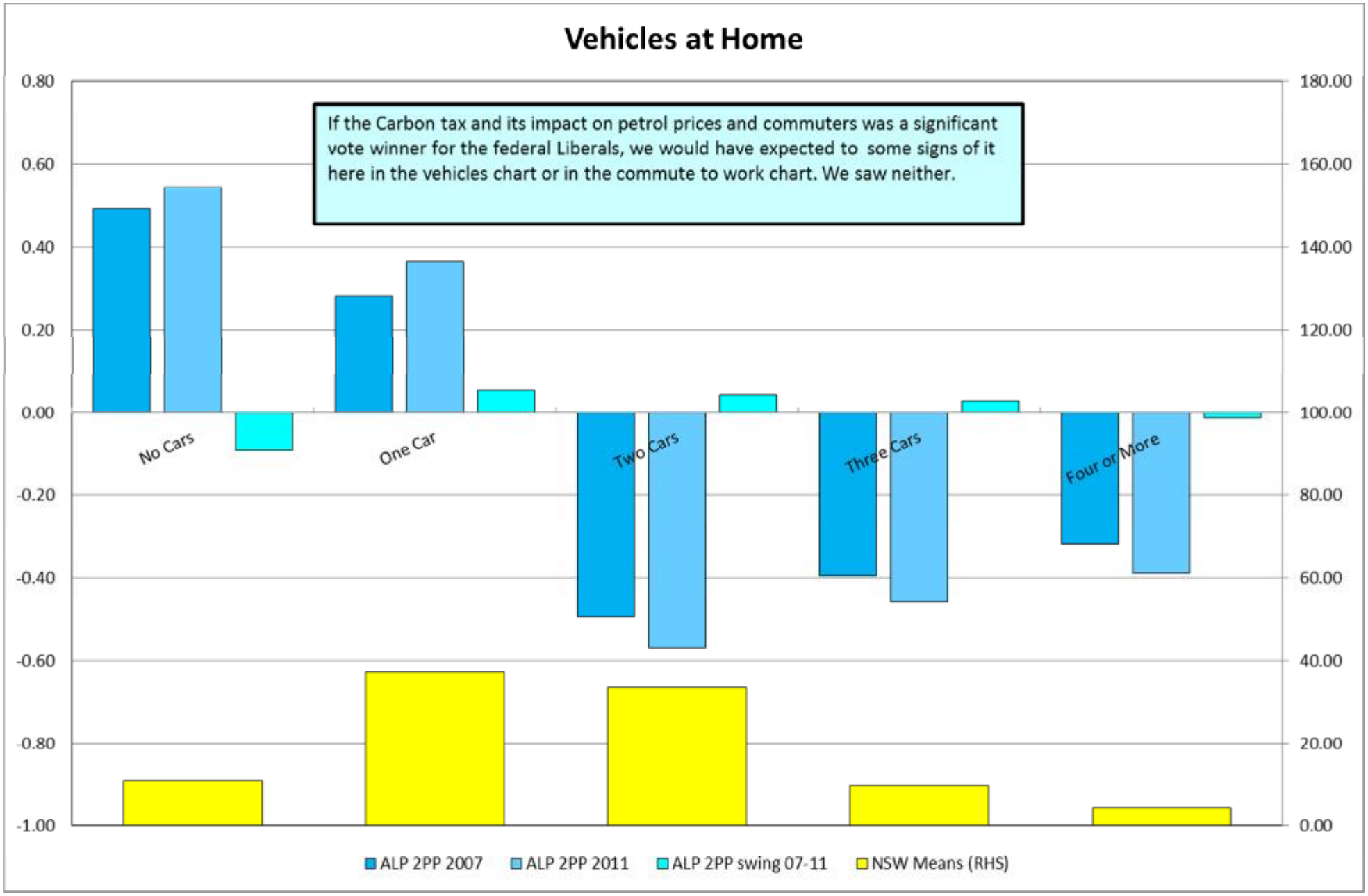

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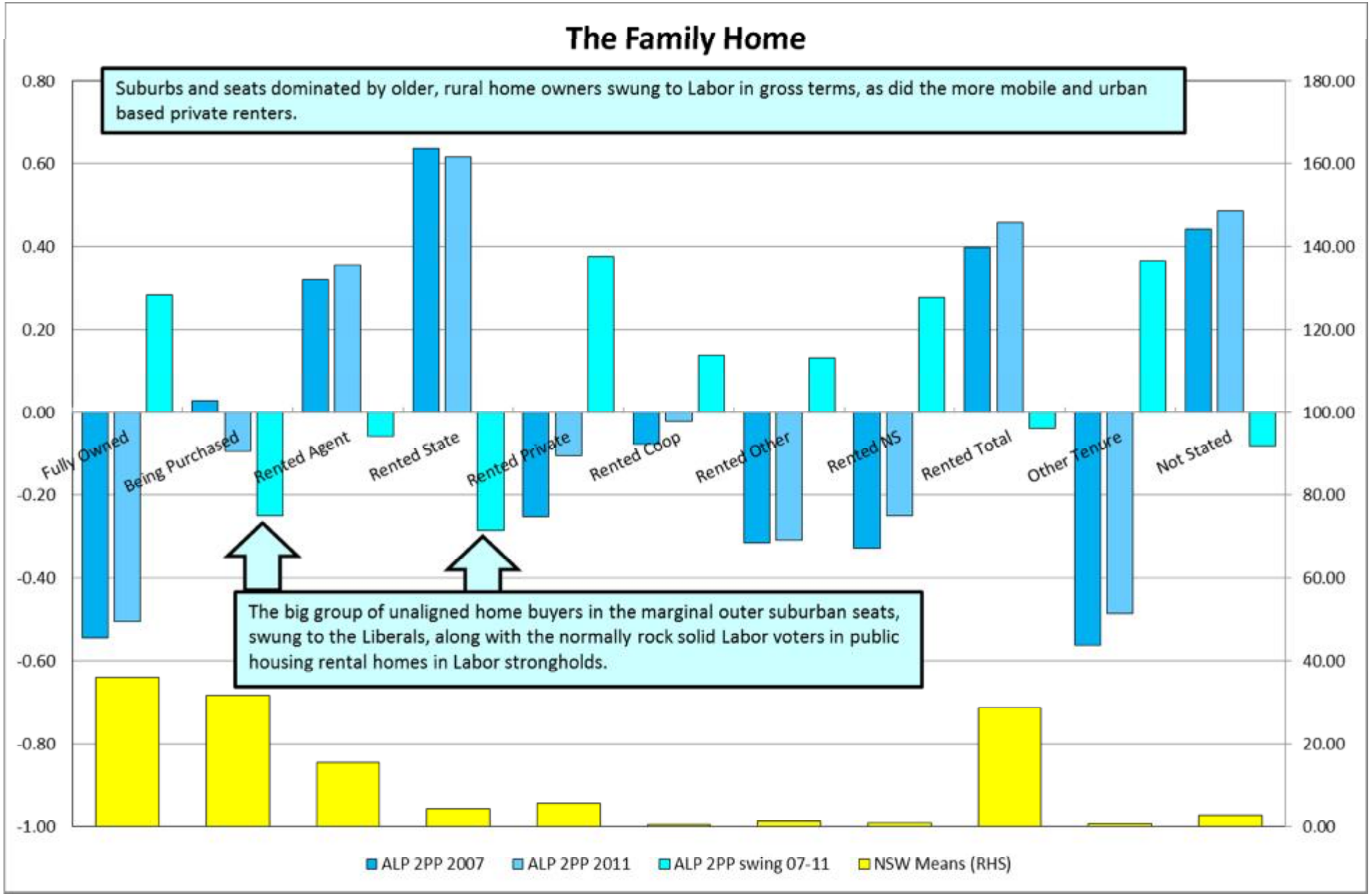

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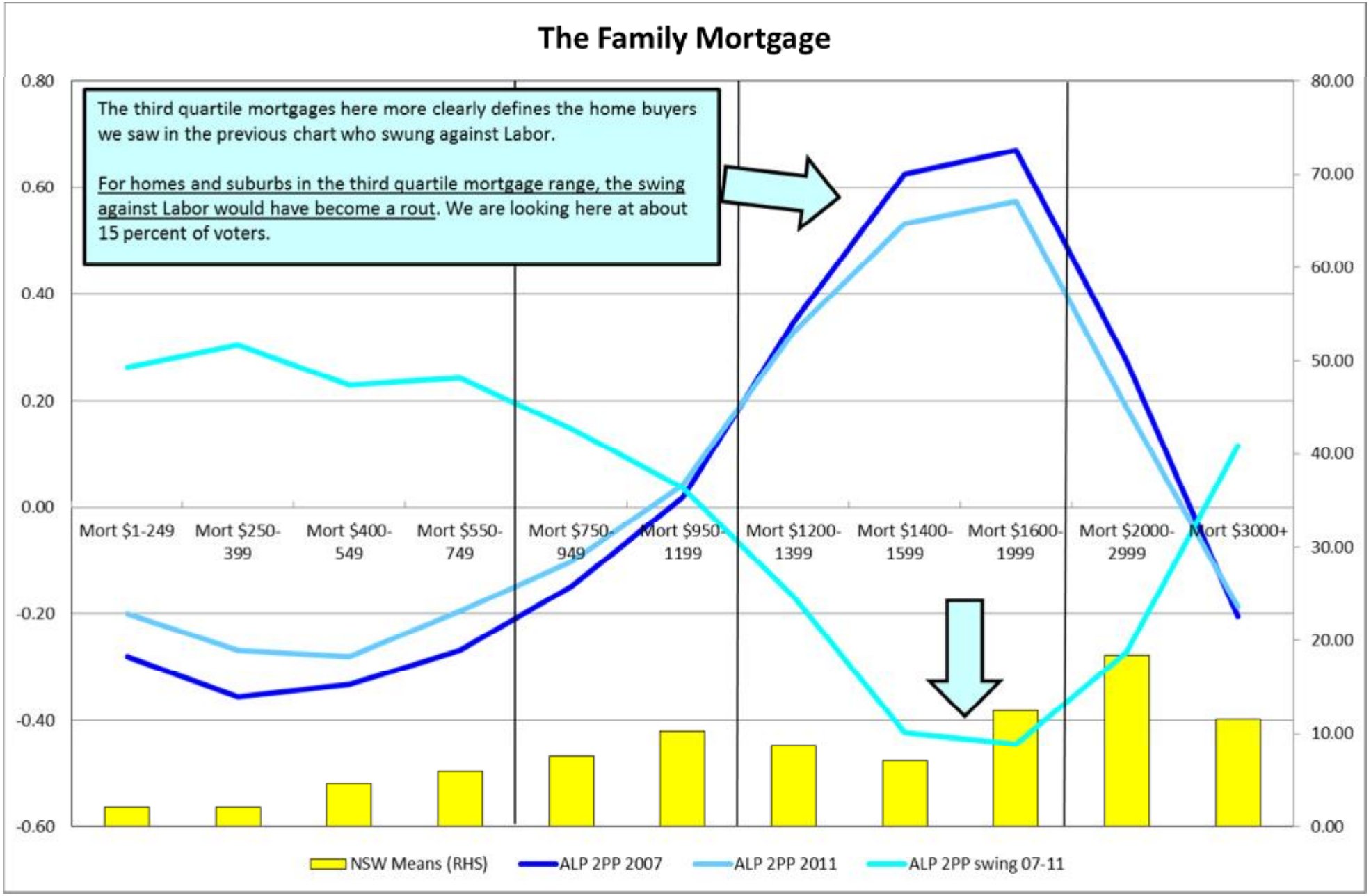

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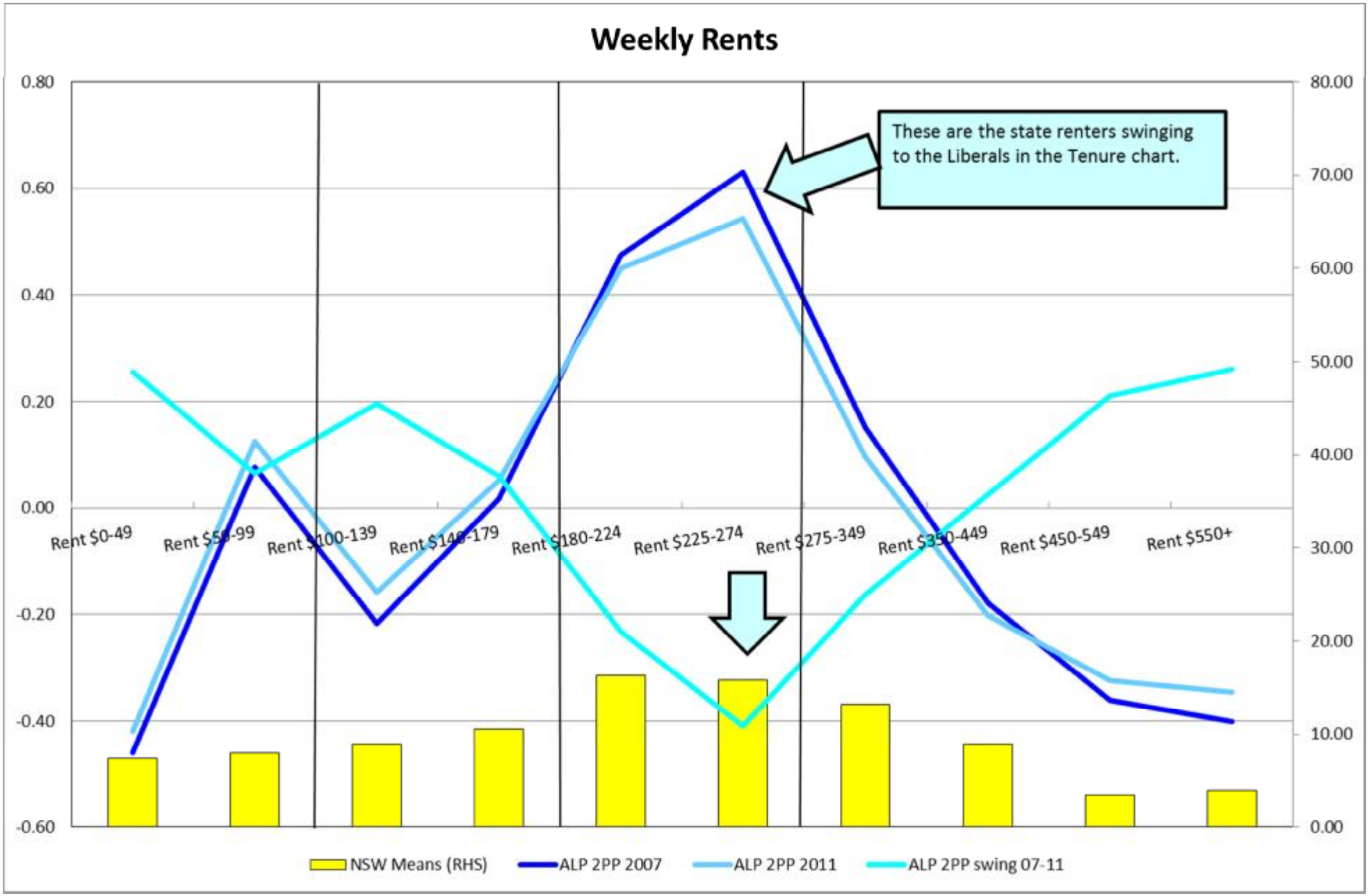

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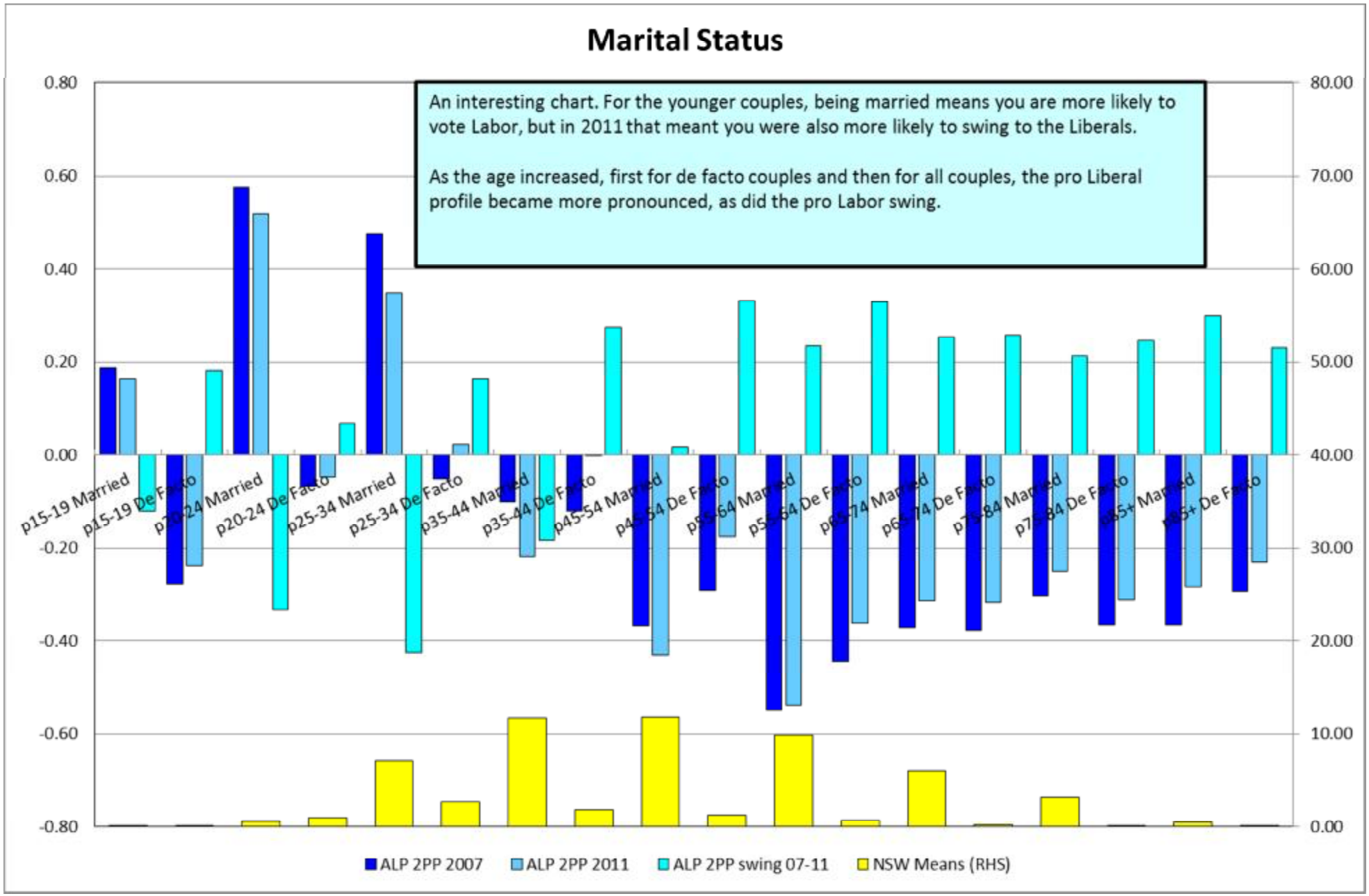
Marital Status



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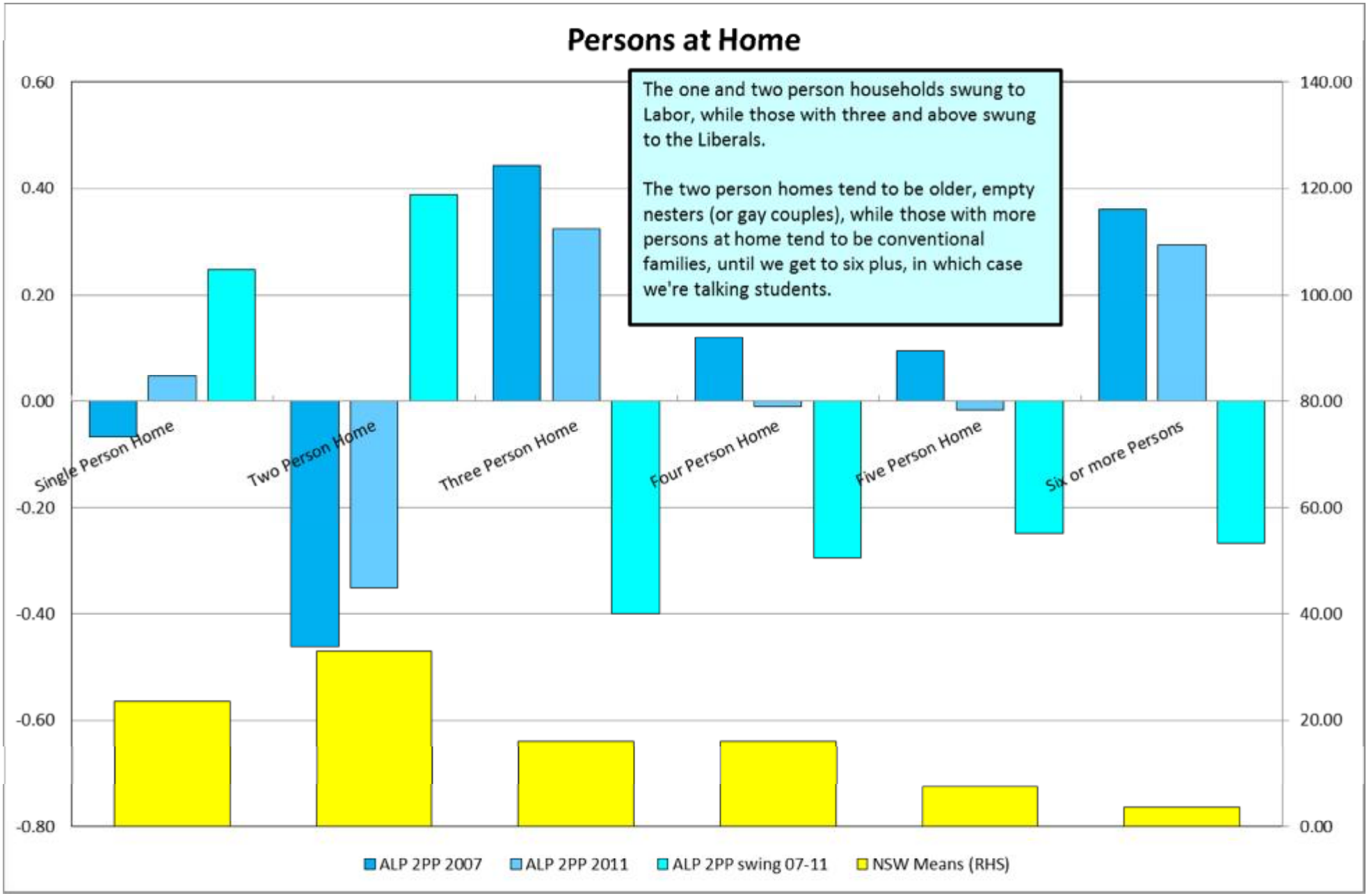

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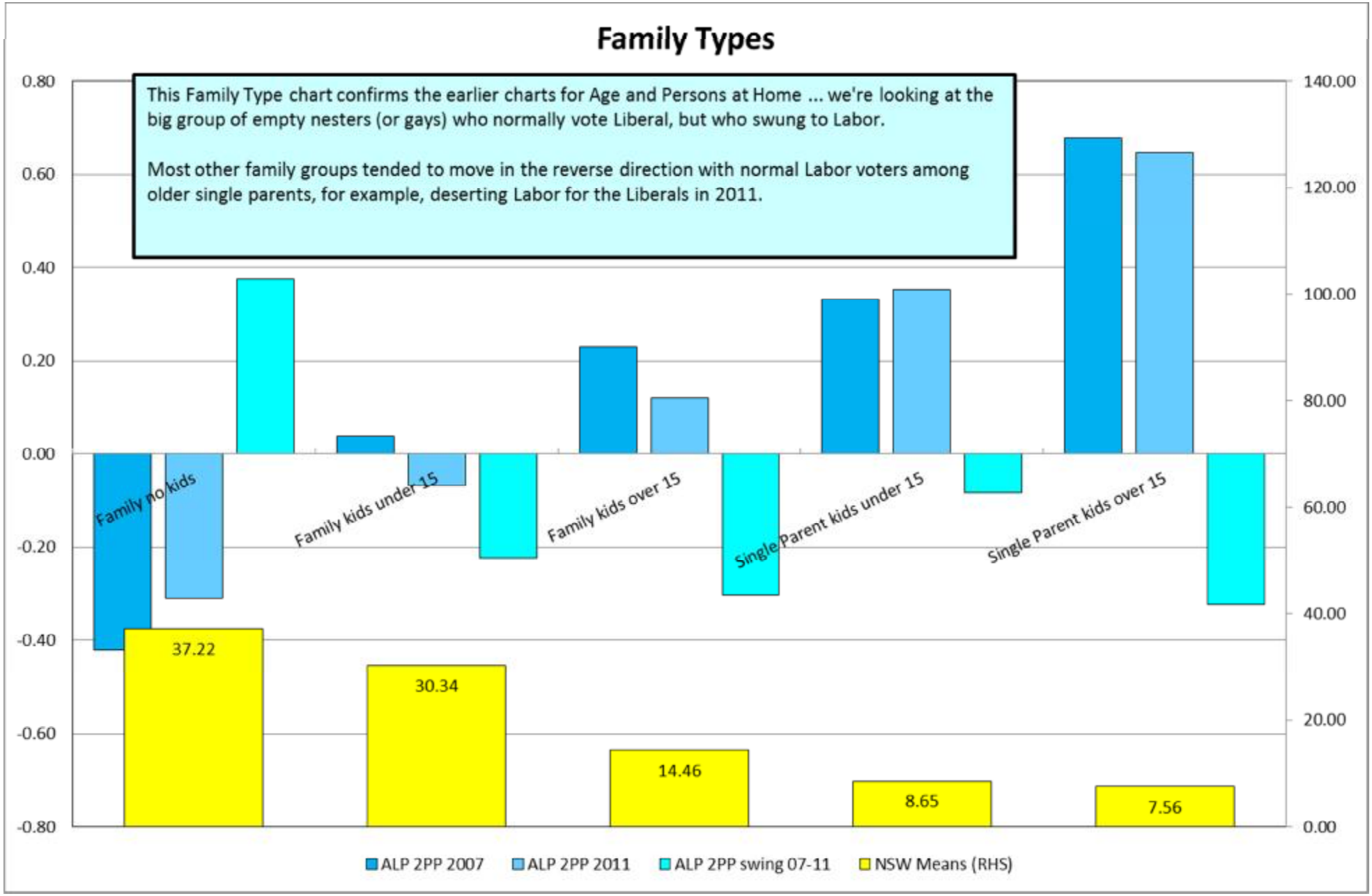

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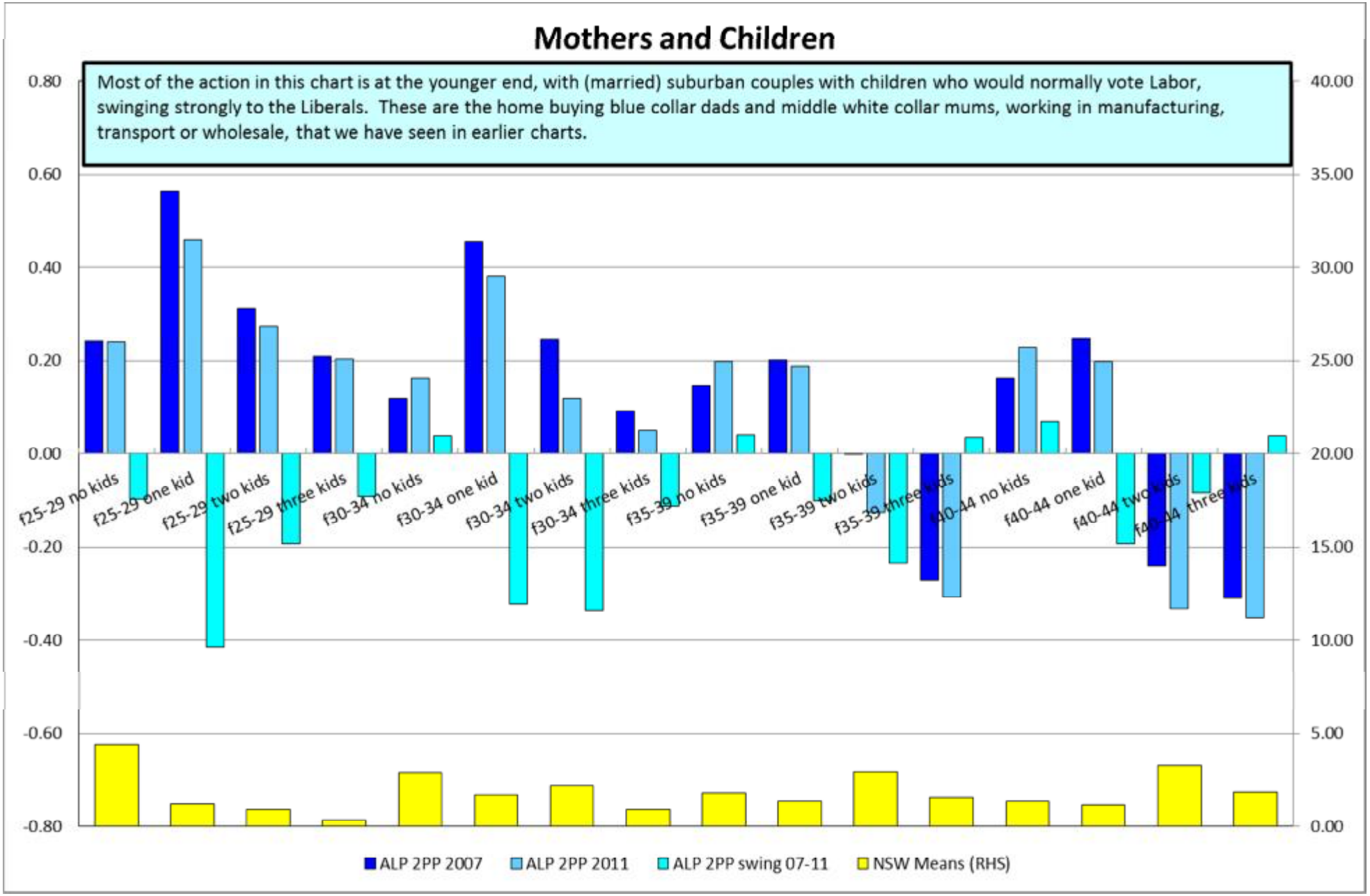
Mothers and Children



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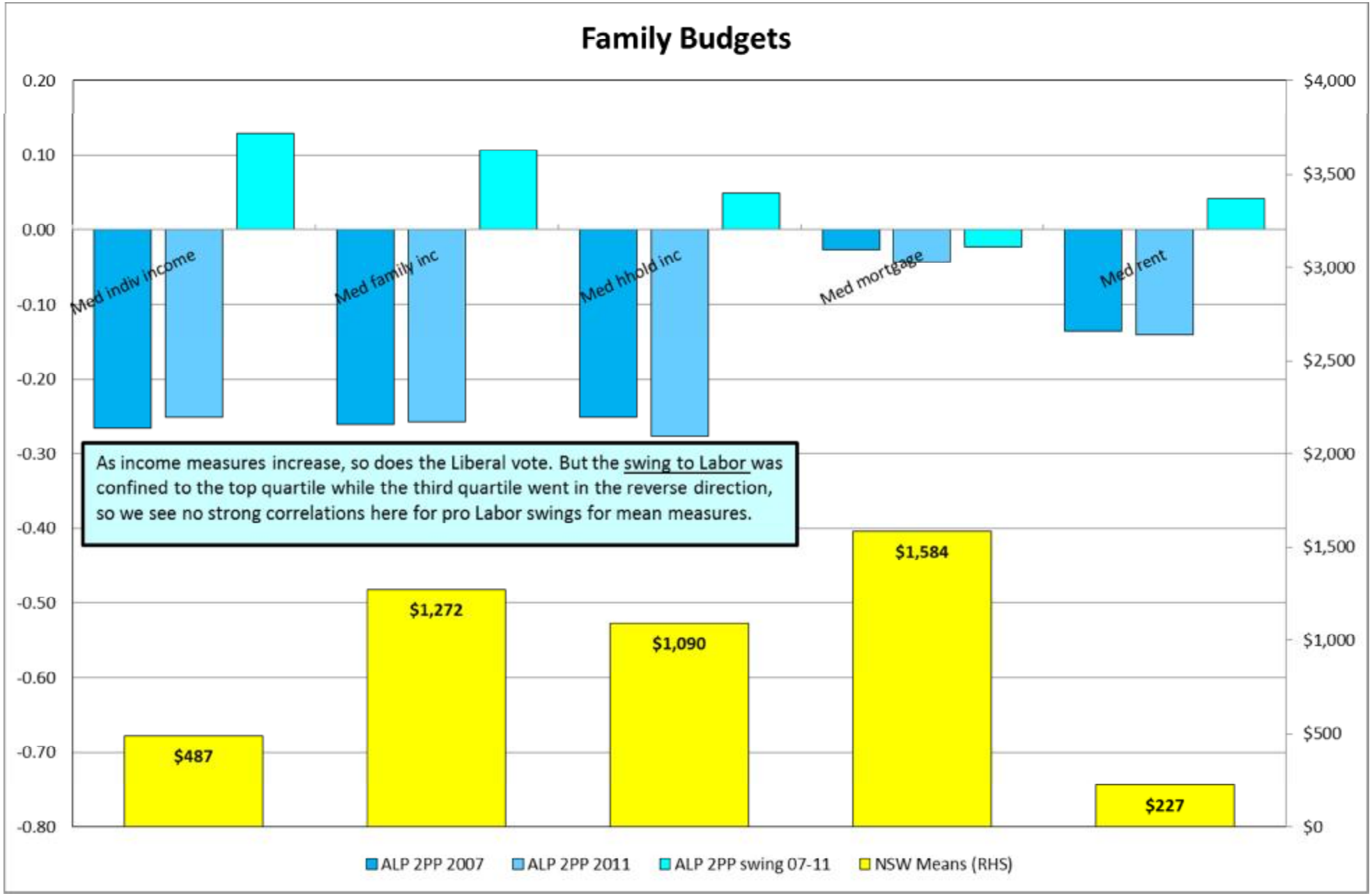

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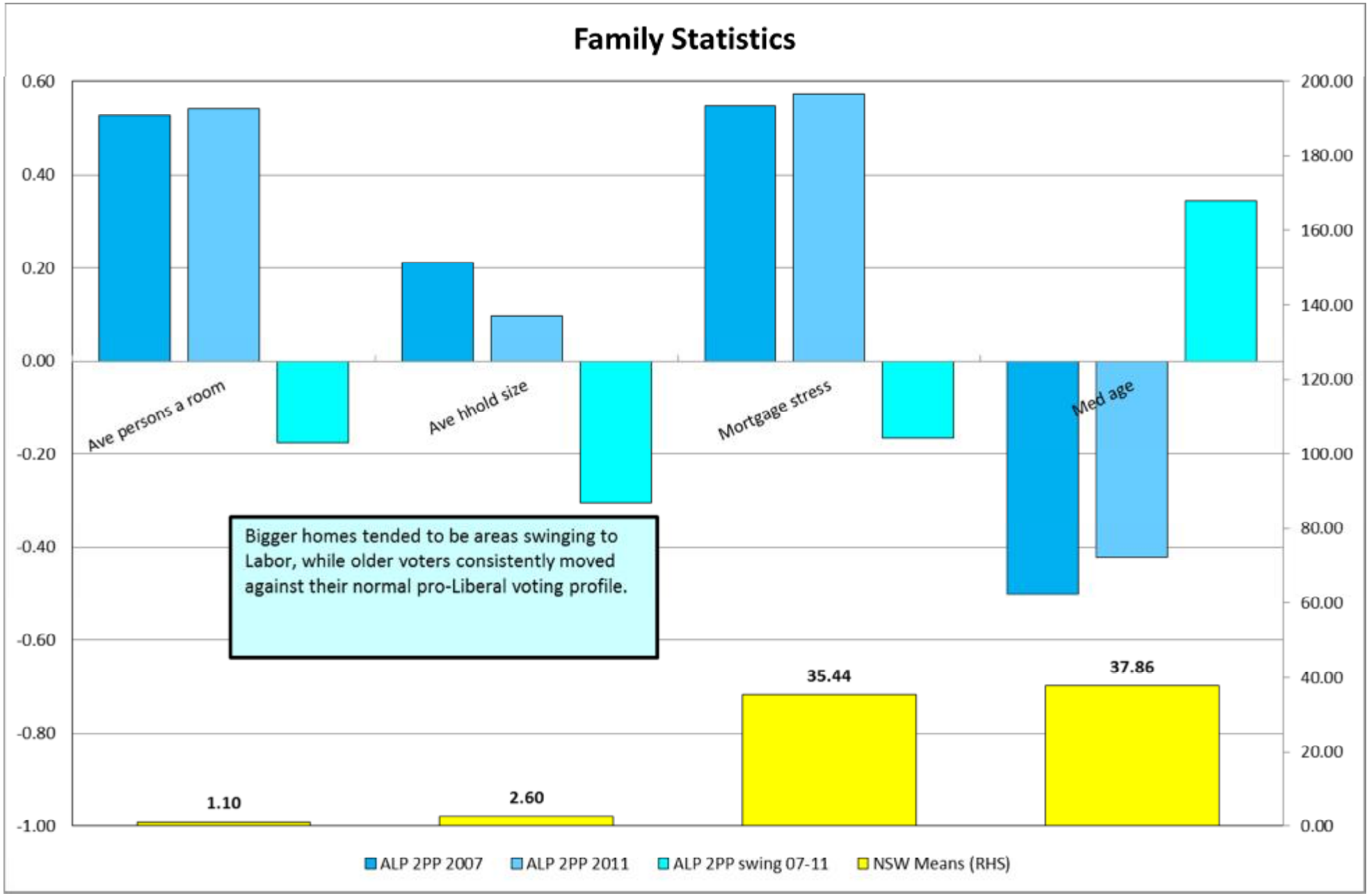

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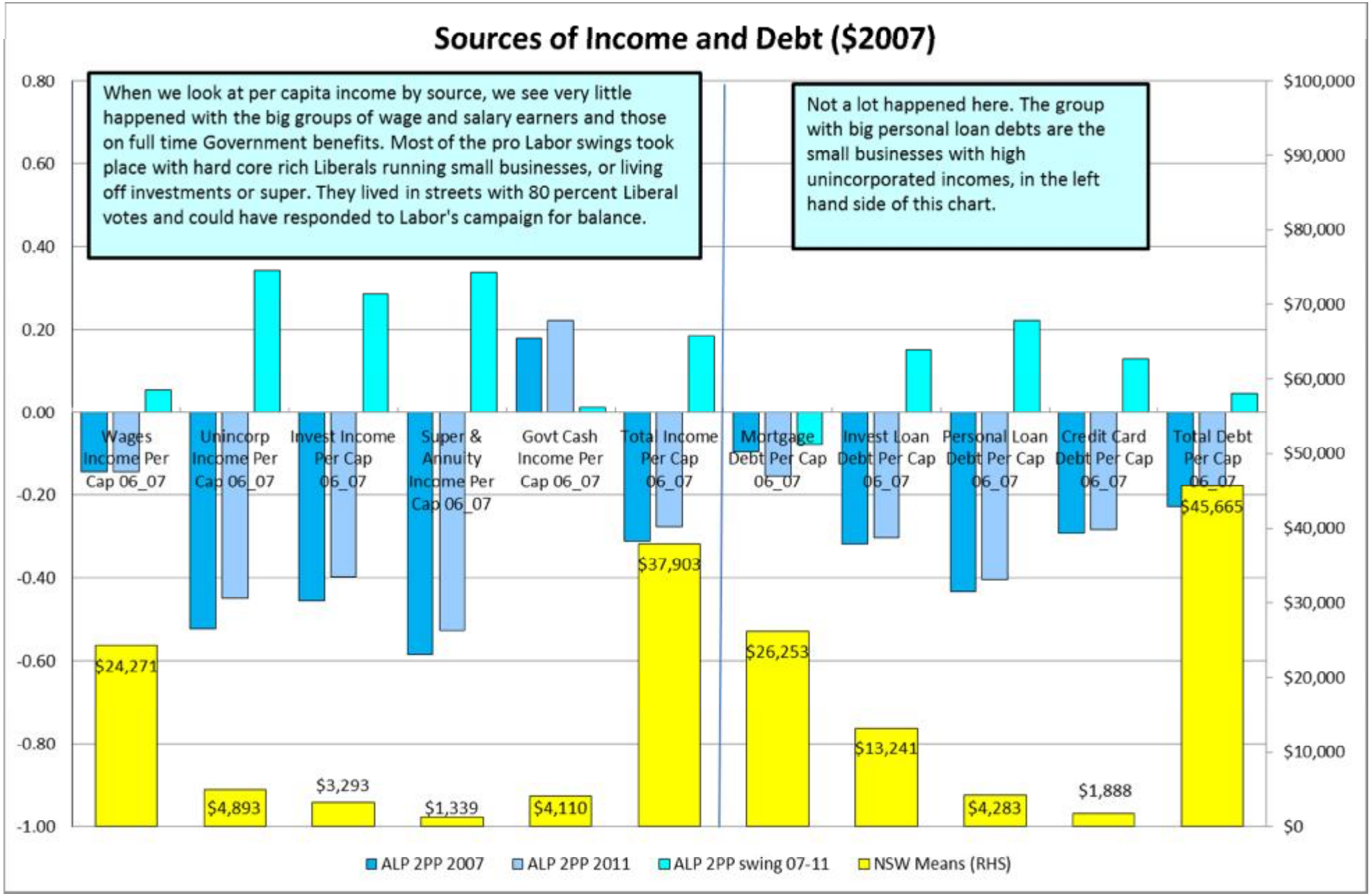

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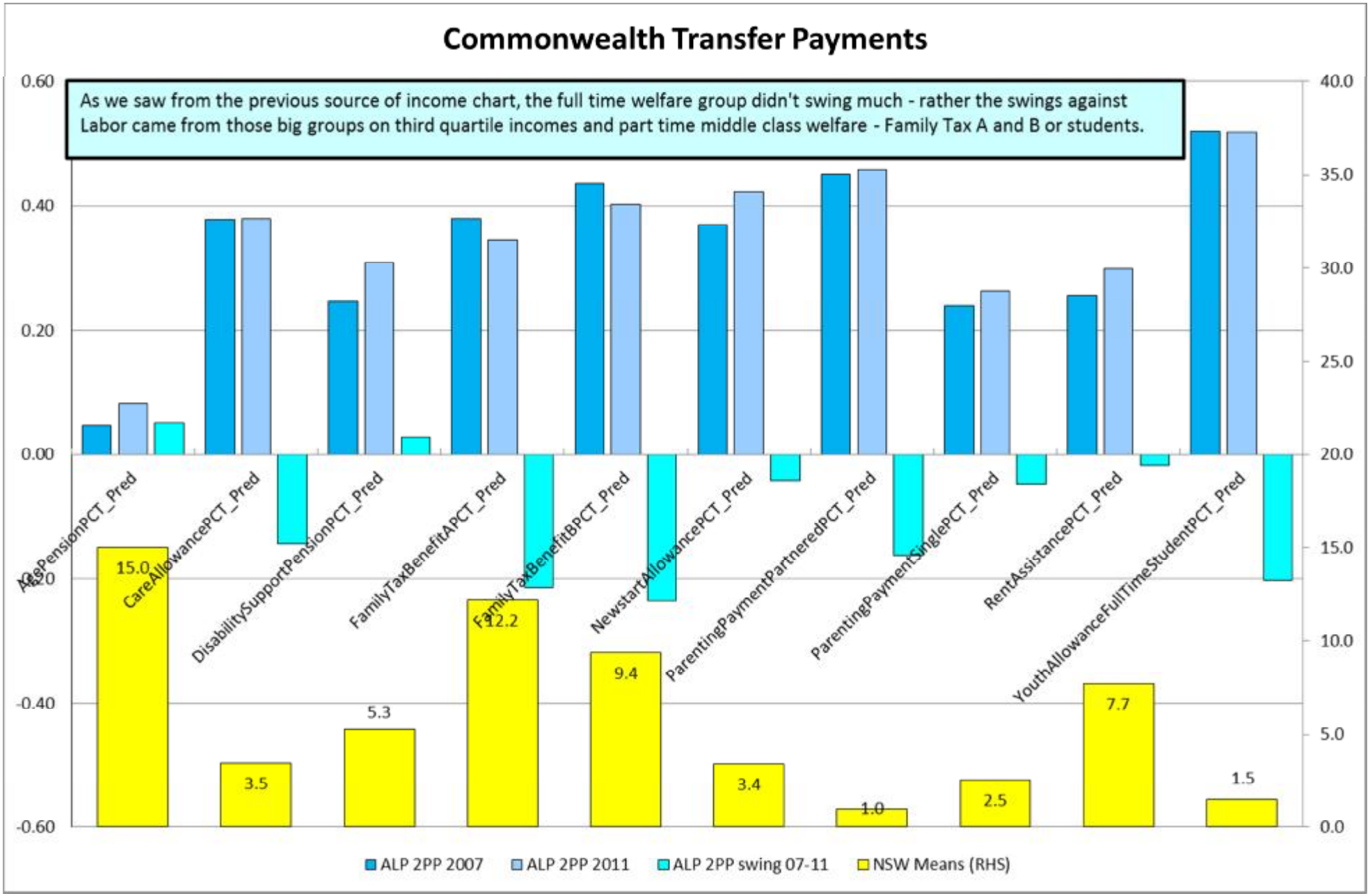
Commonwealth Transfer Payments



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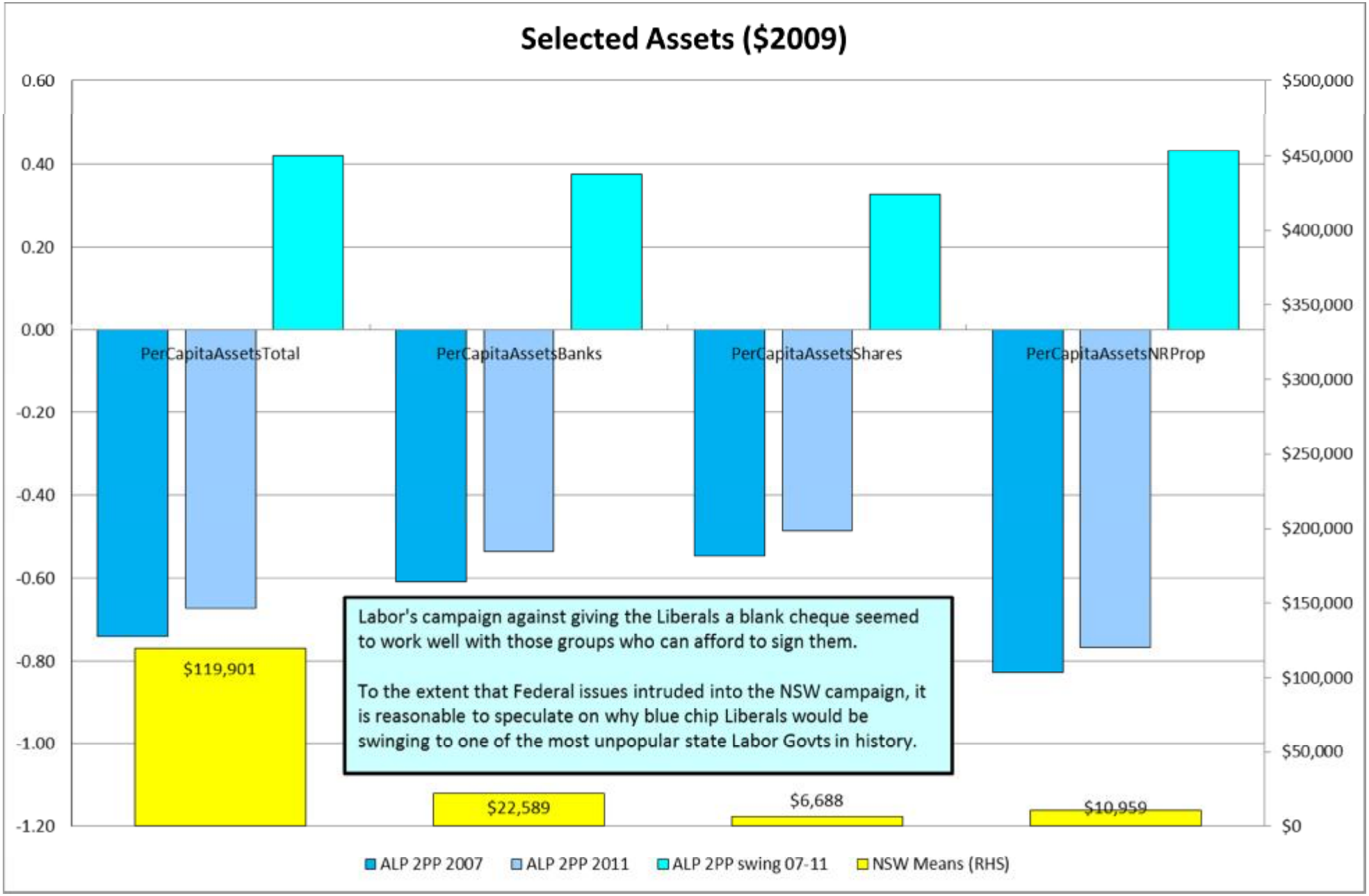

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Regression Analysis

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 2011 demographic and economic database and the election results and explained some 83 percent of the adjusted variance in the Labor 2011 2PP vote and 58 percent of the variance in the ALP 2PP swing.

The vote was overwhelmingly explained in each seat by factors internal to our model. For the swing, 58 percent explained by the model means that 42 per cent of the variation in the swing was due to external factors, either local, or due to the state wide swing against Labor from former Labor voters intent on revenge.

The standard error of estimate for the 2PP vote was 5.8 percent, meaning some 68 percent of seats were within plus or minus 5.8 percent of the predicted figure, with 95 percent within plus or minus 11.6 percent of the predicted figure. The standard error of estimate for the swing was 4.8 percent, meaning 68 percent of the swings were within plus or minus 4.8 percent of the predicted figure and 95 percent within 9.6 percent.

A strong **personal vote** result for a Labor sitting member can be seen in a residual of more than plus 5.8 percent. The best result for Labor was in Monaro, with a positive residual of some 15.1 percent for the local Labor MP Steve Whan. Unfortunately for him, it wasn't quite enough.

The same compliment can be made to the new Liberal MP for Ryde Victor Dominello, who polled some 14.3 percent above predicted levels for the Liberals in that seat. His vote residual and personal vote score is shown in the maps as a minus 14.3 percent for his opposing Labor candidate. As we've said repeatedly, one candidate's gain is the other's loss, in a closed 2PP system.

A strong result for a **local campaign** over and above that predicted by the model can usually be seen in the residual swing. Actually there's a bit more to it, but it is a good place to start and it is totally objective.

The best result here for Labor was in Macquarie Fields, where the swing against Labor was predicted to be nearly 20 percent, based on its demographics, but it was actually "only" about nine percent. The difference kept the seat in Labor's hands, more specifically in the hands of paediatrician Dr Andrew McDonald who still works one day per week pro bono.

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The best local swing for the Liberals was in Vaucluse where the swing was 14 percent better for the Liberal candidate than the model predicted. Liberal Gabrielle Upton was a bit of a star candidate really. The former University of NSW Pro Chancellor as also attracted an 8.8 percent personal vote as a first time candidate.

The individual seat results, the predicted results and the residuals can be seen in the AFR browser qikmap for the NSW election results.

Our reasonably robust regression equation for the ALP 2PP 2011 vote was also applied to the demographics of each CCD across Australia. When topped and tailed for some outliers, this predicted vote was averaged for every postcode across Australia and these results can also be found via the browser, for the reader's postcode using the search engine provided.

Finally, the CCD results for the predicted NSW ALP 2PP vote were averaged for Australia's federal seats. This is a pretty good theoretical approximation of the projection of the NSW result onto every federal seat and it takes into account all the demographics in each small neighbourhood of some 200 households.

This was an interesting result. Labor did reasonably well in NSW as observed above, with the very rich and some rural groups, so Labor would actually pick up some marginal Federal seats in WA and Queensland - states where Labor polled poorly at the last Federal poll.

It shows Labor federally would hold 29 seats, probably picking up Melbourne from the Greens (with Liberal preferences), Hasluck, Longman, Forde and Canning.

Labor would however lose 49 seats, or 44 in net terms. Just like in NSW Labor would be destroyed in outer urban blue collar seats. The biggest anti Labor swing would be 25.1 percent to the Liberals in Lalor, currently represented by the PM Julia Gillard, followed by a number of other nominally safe ALP seats in Sydney and Melbourne. The safer the seat, the bigger the swing. High profile losses would include Bill Shorten in Maribyrnong, Greg Combet in Charlton, Wayne Swan in Lilley and Peter Garrett in Kingsford smith.

This gives the readers from outside NSW some idea of the impact that the loss in NSW now means for NSW Labor.

A similar swing against Labor in Queensland in 1974, took Labor some five elections over 15 years to overcome. On this basis, the next ALP Premier of NSW is not yet in Parliament.

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State	CED_NAME	Pred_ALP 2PPNSW 11_Adj	Actual ALP 2PP 2010	Swing est 2010 to 2011
VIC	Batman	64.20	75.15	-10.95
VIC	Wills	61.49	72.82	-11.33
NSW	Grayndler	59.44	71.13	-11.69
QLD	Blair	58.73	54.14	4.59
VIC	Melbourne	58.44	0	0.00
WA	Hasluck	56.43	49.53	6.90
SA	Wakefield	56.12	62.27	-6.15
NSW	Blaxland	56.06	62.74	-6.68
SA	Port Adelaide	55.20	70.57	-15.37
QLD	Longman	54.92	47.8	7.12
NSW	Fowler	54.77	59.4	-4.63
NSW	Watson	54.31	59.54	-5.23
QLD	Forde	53.62	48.45	5.17
VIC	Scullin	53.58	72.94	-19.36
QLD	Rankin	52.23	55.91	-3.68
VIC	Calwell	51.94	69.76	-17.82
WA	Fremantle	51.77	56.02	-4.25
SA	Makin	51.64	62.11	-10.47
NSW	Throsby	51.49	61.99	-10.50
ACT	Fraser	51.16	63.93	-12.77
WA	Canning	51.13	48.32	2.81
VIC	Gellibrand	51.09	74.48	-23.39
NSW	Chifley	50.90	62.41	-11.51
WA	Brand	50.83	53.68	-2.85
VIC	Gorton	50.58	72.02	-21.44
VIC	Holt	50.44	63.89	-13.45
TAS	Lyons	50.34	62.44	-12.10
SA	Kingston	50.22	64.29	-14.07
QLD	Oxley	50.19	56.3	-6.11
QLD	Petrie	49.90	52.5	-2.60
NSW	Werriwa	49.17	57.07	-7.90
NSW	Cunningham	48.98	63.26	-14.28
VIC	Bruce	48.93	58.33	-9.40
WA	Perth	48.82	56.51	-7.69
NSW	Charlton	48.82	63.2	-14.38
NSW	Barton	48.72	57.01	-8.29
QLD	Wright	48.63	40.17	8.46
NSW	Newcastle	48.46	63.02	-14.56
NSW	Sydney	48.39	68.38	-19.99
NSW	Banks	47.96	51.45	-3.49
NSW	Kingsford Smith	47.61	55.1	-7.49
QLD	Moreton	47.48	51.09	-3.61
NSW	McMahon	47.40	57.95	-10.55
SA	Adelaide	47.39	57.97	-10.58
VIC	Casey	47.21	46.26	0.95
VIC	Lalor	47.19	72.3	-25.11
WA	Swan	47.14	47.56	-0.42
TAS	Denison	46.54	66.36	-19.82
VIC	McMillan	46.22	45.51	0.71
WA	Pearce	45.41	40.72	4.69
VIC	Maribyrnong	45.25	67.2	-21.95
VIC	Isaacs	44.96	61.22	-16.26
QLD	Bowman	44.82	39.48	5.34
VIC	La Trobe	44.78	50.9	-6.12
QLD	Dickson	44.72	45.12	-0.40
TAS	Braddon	44.69	57.68	-12.99
WA	Cowan	44.63	43.3	1.33
VIC	McEwen	44.52	55.44	-10.92
VIC	Flinders	44.42	41.33	3.09
NSW	Greenway	44.23	50.84	-6.61
VIC	Deakin	44.21	52.96	-8.75
SA	Boothby	44.21	49.14	-4.93
VIC	Hotham	44.15	64.34	-20.19
QLD	Herbert	43.97	47.98	-4.01
VIC	Corio	43.91	64.79	-20.88
SA	Hindmarsh	43.83	55.92	-12.09
NSW	Lindsay	43.64	50.83	-7.19
VIC	Jagajaga	43.57	61.84	-18.27
NSW	Shortland	43.56	63.1	-19.54
NT	Lingiari	43.38	54.42	-11.04
VIC	Indi	43.28	40.34	2.94
NSW	Parramatta	43.15	54.3	-11.15
QLD	Wide Bay	42.99	34.19	8.80
VIC	Chisholm	42.97	56.53	-13.56
VIC	Dunkley	42.92	49.03	-6.11
VIC	Corangamite	42.91	50.34	-7.43
WA	Stirling	42.86	44.65	-1.79
VIC	Melbourne Ports	42.68	58.83	-16.15
SA	Mayo	42.54	42.42	0.12
VIC	Ballarat	42.30	61.92	-19.62
QLD	Flynn	42.28	48.27	-5.99
NSW	Macarthur	42.19	46.88	-4.69
NSW	Hunter	41.98	62.82	-20.84
NT	Solomon	41.96	47.44	-5.48
TAS	Bass	41.89	57.18	-15.29
WA	Forrest	41.86	41.37	0.49
QLD	Fadden	41.65	35.74	5.91
NSW	Macquarie	41.42	48.83	-7.41
QLD	Capricornia	41.39	54.62	-13.23
QLD	Fisher	41.35	46.45	-5.10
QLD	Bonner	41.30	47.67	-6.37
QLD	Griffith	41.11	58.25	-17.14
NSW	Paterson	40.86	45.15	-4.29
SA	Barker	40.82	37.5	3.32
QLD	Kennedy	40.73	0	0.00
ACT	Canberra	40.63	59.46	-18.83
QLD	Fairfax	40.57	43.3	-2.73
QLD	Dawson	40.36	47.84	-7.48
QLD	Hinkler	40.20	39.67	0.53
QLD	Lilley	40.14	53.17	-13.03
NSW	Reid	40.03	52.67	-12.64
QLD	McPherson	40.01	39.98	0.03
WA	O'Connor	39.67	0	0.00
NSW	Bennelong	39.39	46.52	-7.13
NSW	Gilmore	39.36	45.05	-5.69
VIC	Bendigo	39.22	59.6	-20.38
NSW	Richmond	39.00	56.85	-17.85
QLD	Leichhardt	38.94	45.86	-6.92
TAS	Franklin	38.84	60.73	-21.89
NSW	Eden-Monaro	38.83	54.32	-15.49
QLD	Groom	38.72	32.05	6.67
SA	Sturt	38.69	46.5	-7.81
WA	Curtin	38.35	33.73	4.62
QLD	Ryan	38.34	43.09	-4.75
NSW	Hughes	38.15	44.8	-6.65
NSW	Wentworth	38.09	34.62	3.47
NSW	Farrer	37.33	35.93	1.40
QLD	Maranoa	37.21	28.08	9.13
VIC	Aston	37.17	48.18	-11.01
VIC	Gippsland	37.06	38.17	-1.11
SA	Grey	36.97	39.53	-2.56
NSW	Dobell	36.59	55.24	-18.65
QLD	Brisbane	36.52	49.71	-13.19
NSW	Calare	36.50	39.21	-2.71
QLD	Moncrieff	36.16	32.29	3.87
VIC	Murray	36.15	29.64	6.51
NSW	Hume	36.07	41.13	-5.06
NSW	Robertson	35.66	51.68	-16.02
WA	Moore	34.62	38.99	-4.37
NSW	Cowper	34.58	41.02	-6.44
WA	Tangney	34.30	37.4	-3.10
WA	Durack	33.96	36.08	-2.12
NSW	Cook	33.66	36.68	-3.02
VIC	Wannon	33.05	43.17	-10.12
NSW	New England	32.98	0	0.00
VIC	Mallee	32.95	25.64	7.31
NSW	Page	32.11	54.55	-22.44
VIC	Kooyong	31.98	41.5	-9.52
NSW	Riverina	31.68	31.87	-0.19
NSW	Parkes	31.63	31.9	-0.27
VIC	Menzies	30.76	41.63	-10.87
VIC	Higgins	30.66	43.22	-12.56
NSW	North Sydney	29.64	35.92	-6.28
NSW	Lyne	29.26	0	0.00
VIC	Goldstein	28.90	43.53	-14.63
NSW	Bradfield	27.19	31.75	-4.56
NSW	Warringah	27.14	36.62	-9.48
NSW	Berowra	27.03	33.37	-6.34
NSW	Mackellar	25.83	34.46	-8.63
NSW	Mitchell	22.34	32.45	-10.11

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