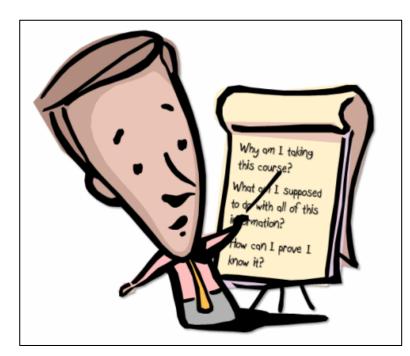


NSW State Election March 28, 2015

Prepared by Australian Development Strategies Pty Ltd

This report has been prepared as an ADS educational and public relations exercise. It has not been designed as an advisory tool for business or politicians and we take no responsibility for those who use it for these purposes. It is one of a series of election profiles for Federal and State elections, going back to 1966, some of which are available on the ADS website at http://www.elaborate.net.au. We thank the late John Lockwood for his original work on Federal profiles, and also Dr Quentin Black for his work on state profiles, the Australian Bureau of Statistics as the source of original database material, Dr Otto Hellwig of MDS for the HES microsimulation modelling and Phil Henry of Business Geographics for research and mapping. The 2015 state election data was based on preliminary results available from public sources on March 31, 2015.



Summary

The current study takes a close look at the demographic characteristics of New South Wales voters who supported Labor or the Coalition in 2015, and who swung to Labor or to the Coalition between 2011 and 2015. We also take our first look at the Greens since 2010.

In this report we examine the demographic impact of similar state campaigns by the major parties in Queensland and NSW within the same short time frame and we make estimates of the difference a popular, as opposed to an unpopular leader can make to the results and to the demographics of the seats affected.

Invariably there will be mistakes made here and all we can do try to minimise them as best we can and confess our limitations. But it is worth trying, as this sort of inferential work breaks some new ground and doesn't place the reader in a position where they are captive to the subjective assessments of vote counters or political players with a vested interest.

In 2015 a Queensland style negative campaign from NSW Labor about privatisation gained Labor votes and seats in the sorts of welfare dependent suburbs which swung to Labor federally in 2010. In 2015, this campaign won back traditional safe ALP seats dominated by these suburbs, but the lack of any credible plans for economic growth held NSW Labor candidates back in middle class seats won from Labor in 2011, some of which swung even further to the Coalition in 2015.

The Queensland campaign held two months earlier was a lot more successful for Labor in professional areas, but these contained the sorts of voters who may have been more motivated by dissatisfaction with the Queensland Premier Campbell Newman and satisfaction with NSW Premier Mike Baird.

However, negative campaigns in both Queensland and NSW in 2015 worked well in recessed Labour Force regions and the Federal Coalition would be foolish to risk an early election with an unpopular leader in 2015 if the national labour market has taken a turn for the worse in the meantime. Employment is a key driver of election outcomes in the current economy.

Introduction and Methodology

The following procedures use SPSS Statistical analysis to compare, by New South Wales state seats, the economic and demographic variables in our Elaborate15 database with the estimated NSW ALP 2PP 2011 vote, the estimated NSW ALP 2PP 2015 vote, the estimated NSW ALP 2PP 2011-2015 swing, the 2015 Green Primary Vote and the 2015 ALP Primary vote.

The count used for seats is generally as published on the New South Wales Electoral Commission website on the morning of March 31, but may be as published on the ABC website at the same time. This count 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.

Preference counts have sometimes been forced to show estimated 2PP contests between Labor and Coalition candidates. The forced preference count here is an estimate based on the best information to hand and in a few outliers may vary considerably from the final result.

Correlations between these results and our database provide the descriptive basis of the stereotype tables and profile charts, which show how demographic groups vary across seats, compared to variations in the political variables. As with all inferential analysis, this report depends not just on total State wide votes, but on votes in individual seats and in this respect the profile results are more useful than state wide summaries as Governments get elected according to their capacity to win a majority of the votes in a majority of seats. Winning Government in a single member system is essentially, an exercise in spatial demographics.

Where we are dealing with a closed 2PP vote, the demographic profiles for the major parties are the mirror image of each other. So a positive correlation for any variable with the ALP 2PP vote equals a negative correlation of the same empirical value for the LNP 2PP vote.

Care should be taken with smaller correlations as there is higher probability that they are due to chance. Correlations larger than plus or minus 0.26 are significant to 99 percent confidence levels and those larger than plus or minus 0.33 are significant to 99.9 percent confidence levels. In some stereotype tables smaller demographics comprising less than one percent of the population have been deleted.



Stereotypes

Stereotype tables below show selected top positive and negative correlations between database variables and political variables in the analysis, with the means for each variable for 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 the parties' target voters in key seats and if they attract the votes of enough of them in key seats, they usually win the election.

Correlations larger than plus or minus 0.26 are significant to 99 percent confidence levels and those larger than plus or minus 0.33 are significant to 99.9 percent confidence levels.

We are dealing here with 2PP votes and swings, so a negative correlation with the ALP 2PP vote or swing is equal to a positive correlation with the LNP 2PP vote or swing, and vice versa.

Where possible below we show the seats and their relevant vote on the left, the demographic and economic variables located disproportionately in these seats in the centre and some explanatory text on the right.



	ALP 2015
Electorates 2015	2PP
Lakemba	72.9
Cessnock	72.6
Wallsend	71.2
Liverpool	71.1
Mount Druitt	68.1
Keira	68
Shellharbour	67.9
Fairfield	67.7
Newtown	67.6
Summer Hill	66.8
Canterbury	66.4
Cabramatta	66
Heffron	65.7
Maitland	65.3
Wollongong	65.2
Bankstown	63.6
Blacktown	63
Charlestown	63
Balmain	62.4
Swansea	61.7
Maroubra	61.2
Wyong	59.2
Blue Mountains	58.1
Londonderry	58.1
Macquarie Fields	58.1
Campbelltown	57.7
Newcastle	57.4
Kogarah	56.8
Port Stephens	56.2

	Aust	NSW ALP
Variables	Means	2015 2PP
ALP 2010 2PP	50.1	0.88
ALP 2013 2PP	46.5	0.88
ALP 2007 2PP	52.7	0.87
Single Parent kids over 15	7.5	0.69
Youth Allowance	1.7	0.65
Renter via State	4.1	0.64
Rent \$275-349	19.4	0.62
Pred Unem Feb14	6.3	0.60
Mort \$1800-2399	20.2	0.60
Pred Unem May12	5.4	0.60
Pred Unem May13	5.7	0.58
Fem Unemployed	3.2	0.56
NewStart	4.6	0.56
Pred Unem Nov13	5.6	0.56
Unemployed	3.8	0.56
Pred Unem Feb13	5.7	0.54
Pred Une Aug 11	5.0	0.54
Pred Unem Feb12	5.7	0.53
Fam \$200-299	0.8	0.53
Pred Unem Nov14	6.0	0.52
Carer Allowance	3.8	0.52
Seniors Health Card	10.1	0.52
Pred Unem Nov11	5.1	0.52
Fem Year 8 Graduates	6.1	0.51
persons 35-44 Not Married	4.7	0.50
Semi Detached Bedrooms NS	2.4	0.50
Transport	6.9	0.50
Pred Unem Aug14	5.9	0.50
Pred Unem Aug12	5.2	0.50

<u>Table 1</u>. Where the ALP won the most votes.

Here we see the safest ALP urban and provincial city seats in 2015 at far left.

In the centre we see the demographic groups which dominated these 2015 seats. The demographic profile of the ALP vote in 2015 was close to the Federal Labor votes in 2013, 2010 and 2007.

Overlapping these core Federal Labor voters, the biggest groups driving the NSW ALP vote in 2015 were those receiving a wide range of transfer payments and living in public rental housing.

Those 35-44 years olds living as unmarried couples and buying a home were paying NSW mortgages and rents which correspond to the third national quartile.

Education standards were often at Year 8 levels and our quarterly unemployment profiles over recent years figure prominently in this table. Those with a job were often found in the Transport industry.

So Labor won back its core national demographics and this is dominated by those groups living longer term on transfer benefits, outside the mainstream economy.



	ALP 2015
Electorates 2015	2PP
Castle Hill	20.4
Davidson	20.9
Northern Tablelands	22.9
Manly	24.5
Pittwater	24.6
Wakehurst	25
Willoughby	25.3
Vaucluse	26.6
Ku-ring-gai	26.7
Murray	26.9
Baulkham Hills	28.1
Orange	28.1
Cronulla	28.5
Cootamundra	29.4
North Shore	29.7
Hornsby	30.3
Drummoyne	30.6
Port Macquarie	31.1
Camden	31.3
Hawkesbury	31.4
Tamworth	31.4
Dubbo	31.5
Lane Cove	31.9
Epping	32.8
Wollondilly	33.5
Bathurst	34.9
Barwon	35
Parramatta	36
Coffs Harbour	36.2

	Aust	NSW ALP
Variables	Means	2015 2PP
Managers & Farmers	15.6	-0.80
Worked at home	4.4	-0.65
Fem Managers & Farmers	9.7	-0.61
Per Cap Other Loan Debts	\$3,858	-0.59
Separate House Bedrooms 5	4.3	-0.55
Per Cap Bank Income	\$362	-0.55
Total Dwellings Bedrooms 5	4.4	-0.54
School Fees Govt P-12	\$527	-0.53
FamInc_Part_Inc	9.7	-0.53
Per Cap Unincorp Income	\$1,501	-0.53
Per Cap Share Assets	\$6,318	-0.53
Fem fos Education	11.5	-0.52
Per Cap Unincorp Assets	\$10,402	-0.52
Per Cap Bank Assets	\$12,008	-0.51
Separate House Bedrooms 6+	0.9	-0.50
Per Capita Share Income	\$594	-0.50
Fem Employed part time	23.5	-0.49
Total Dwellings Bedrooms 6+	0.9	-0.48
Per Cap Total Household spend	\$19,839	-0.48
Per Cap Total Assets	\$95,297	-0.48
Two Cars at home	36.1	-0.46
Per Cap Mortgage Invest Property	\$10,818	-0.45
Secondary Ind Students	1.2	-0.45
Dutch speakers	0.2	-0.44
Fem Graduate Diploma	4.0	-0.44
Education Spend Ind	\$93,684	-0.44
Per Cap Credit Card Debts	\$965	-0.44
persons 45-54 Married	11.1	-0.44
Rent \$650 plus	3.7	-0.43

<u>Table 2.</u> Where the Liberals and Nationals won the most votes.

At far left are the safest LNP seats in 2015, dominated by the bush and the beach and wealthier suburbs.

In the centre we see the groups living in these seats – farmers, the wealthy and the aspirational urban middle class.

In this last group, we see married and middle aged couples, with the mother educated to graduate diploma level and now holding down a part time job. There are two cars in the family garage and their (older) kids are in a secondary Independent school.

These would tend to be the families with high household spend and carrying loan and credit card debts.

Collectively these voters often have one family member earning a high non-wage income from a family company or business name (which is why only Part of their family income is provided to the census).

The older groups would also have a lot of money invested in the bank, shares and in investment properties.



	2011 to
	2015 ALP
Electorates 2015	Swing
Ballina	23.6
Clarence	22.4
Charlestown	22.2
Newtown	21.4
Lismore	21.3
Myall Lakes	21
Port Stephens	20.9
Goulburn	20.2
Maitland	20.2
Upper Hunter	20.1
Tweed	20
Cessnock	18.7
Oxley	18.1
Lake Macquarie	17.9
Terrigal	15.7
Albury	15.7
Lakemba	15.6
Fairfield	15.5
Keira	15.1
Wagga Wagga	15.1
Wallsend	14.9
Campbelltown	14.5
Cabramatta	14.1
Wyong	13.8
Ryde	13.8
Ku-ring-gai	13.6
Coffs Harbour	13.5
Blue Mountains	13.5
Londonderry	13.4
Dubbo	12.8

		NSW ALP
		Swing
	Aust	2011 to
Variables	Means	2015
Per Capita Welfare Income	\$5,729	0.54
Rent \$225-274	11.7	0.52
Fem Accom & Food	7.8	0.51
Fem Community & Personal	14.3	0.50
Disability Support	5.6	0.48
Rent \$200-224	6.1	0.46
Fem Inc \$300-399	12.1	0.46
Fem Year 9 Graduates	5.6	0.46
persons 55-64 Not Married	4.0	0.45
Inc \$300-399	7.5	0.45
Did not commute	10.2	0.45
Year 9 Graduates	5.8	0.45
Fem Inc \$400-599	13.9	0.45
persons 65-74 Not Married	2.9	0.44
Pred Unem Nov14	6.0	0.44
Pred Unem Aug12	5.2	0.43
Fem 65-69 three kids	1.4	0.43
Fem fos Health	14.5	0.42
Fam \$400-599	8.6	0.42
Fam \$600- 7 99	8.1	0.42
Mort \$1000-1399	14.1	0.42
persons 45-54 De Facto	1.5	0.42
Not in labour force	27.1	0.42
Aged 65-69	4.3	0.42
Jehovahs Wit	0.4	0.42
Fem Salespersons	12.4	0.42
Fem Retail	13.0	0.41
Single Parent kids under 15	8.3	0.41
Fem Uniting	5.4	0.41

<u>Table 3.</u> Where Labor won the biggest swings from the LNP.

At far left there the top 30 seats swinging to Labor candidates (after a forced 2PP count in some cases). The light maroon shading shows those seats in the four Labour market regions which had experienced the most per capita job losses in Australia during the year to February 2015.

The three seats of Ballina, Lismore and Tweed in particular are in the worst performing Labour region in the country - Richmond Tweed - which has lost one in five jobs in the past year.

Who lives in these 30 seats? Families on welfare, comprising older, unmarried couples who had left high school in Year 9 or younger single mothers, chasing lower housing costs.

Most of the these families had no breadwinner, but those who did often had one breadwinner unemployed and chasing work, a female working in low wage service jobs in the hospitality industry or as salespersons in the retail industry – jobs hit by lower interest rates in these regions.

These groups swung to state Labor but – given their Federal ALP vote – it is reasonable to speculate that many were protesting against the Federal Coalition and its management of the national economy.

	2011 to
	2015 ALP
Electorates 2015	Swing
Oatley	-3.2
Drummoyne	-2.3
Parramatta	-1.5
Auburn	-1.4
East Hills	-0.4
Seven Hills	-0.1
Monaro	0.1
Kiama	0.5
Northern Tablelands	0.5
Mulgoa	1.2
Kogarah	1.4
Balmain	1.8
Holsworthy	2.5
Bankstown	3
Cronulla	3.3
Prospect	4
Summer Hill	4.1
Camden	4.1
Castle Hill	5.1
Wollondilly	5.1
Orange	5.2
Wakehurst	5.5
Willoughby	5.7
Wollongong	5.9
Coogee	6.2
Baulkham Hills	6.4
Hornsby	6.8
Manly	6.9
Riverstone	6.9

		NSW ALP	
		Swing	
	Aust 2011 to		
Variables	Means	2015	
persons 35-44 Married	11.2	-0.50	
Pred Part Rate May14	64.9	-0.50	
Fem fos Management/Commerce	22.3	-0.49	
Fem 30-34 one kid	1.8	-0.48	
Clerical & Admin	6.5	-0.48	
Fem Wholesale	3.0	-0.47	
Fem Finance	4.3	-0.46	
Family kids under 15	30.7	-0.45	
Rent \$450-549	7.2	-0.45	
fos Inform Technology	4.1	-0.45	
persons 25-34 Married	6.9	-0.45	
Mort \$3000-3999	9.6	-0.44	
Fem fos Natural/Physical Science	2.8	-0.43	
Fem fos Inform Technology	1.5	-0.43	
Advanced Diploma	11.8	-0.43	
Fem Employed full time	25.9	-0.43	
Fem Croatian speakers	0.3	-0.43	
Fem Clerical & Admin	24.2	-0.42	
Italy	0.9	-0.42	
Italian speakers	1.4	-0.42	
Fem Italian speakers	1.4	-0.42	
Commute two methods	3.1	-0.41	
Pred Part Rate May13	65.1	-0.41	
Mort \$2400-2999	11.2	-0.41	
Pred Part Rate Aug14	64.7	-0.41	
Pred Part Rate Aug13	64.6	-0.40	
Fem Inc \$1000-1249	6.6	-0.40	
fos Management/Commerce	13.9	-0.40	
Fem Italy	0.8	-0.40	

<u>Table 4</u>. Where the LNP won the biggest swings from Labor

The state seats at far left swung either to the LNP or far less strongly to the ALP. The state average 2PP swing to the ALP was about ten percent and these seats swung an average of just under three percent to the ALP.

Given a range of swings up 27 percent across all seats, we can assume the seats at left had fewer demographic groups from Table 3 swinging to Labor and more of the demographic groups in the middle of this table, swinging to the LNP.

The stereotype here looks reasonably homogenous and comprises well educated young and middle aged married couples with young kids, who earn about \$200,000 per annum because the family has two full time breadwinners. The dad has an advanced diploma in IT or management and works in a white collar admin job and the mum has a science, management or IT educational background and holding down a well-paid full time job in wholesale or finance.

There is also a glimpse here of the swings to the LNP from amongst large groups of European migrants – traditionally strong ALP supporters.



	Green
	2015
Electorates 2015	Primary
Newtown	46
Balmain	37.3
Summer Hill	27.8
Lismore	26.9
Ballina	26.4
Heffron	20.7
Vaucluse	18.4
Coogee	18
Newcastle	17.9
Manly	16.7
Pittwater	16.4
Blue Mountains	15.9
Ku-ring-gai	15.7
Oxley	15.7
Willoughby	15.4
Lane Cove	14.3
North Shore	14.3
Epping	13.9
Keira	13.8
Hornsby	13.7
Coffs Harbour	13.2
Davidson	13.1
Tweed	13
South Coast	12.8
Wakehurst	11.5
Ryde	11.3
Terrigal	11.3
Charlestown	11.2
Drummoyne	10.6

	A 4	NSW Green
Variables	Aust Means	2015 Primary
fos Creative Arts	2.6	0.84
Fem No Religion	20.6	0.83
Fem fos Creative Arts	4.1	0.83
Bicycle to work	1.0	0.82
Rel Other	1.0	0.82
No Religion	24.0	0.80
Fem fos Society/Culture	14.4	0.74
Canada	0.2	0.74
Fem Rel Other	0.6	0.73
Fem Arts & recreaction	1.5	0.71
Semi Detached Bedrooms 2	3.7	0.70
Fem 50-54 no kids	1.2	0.68
Fem 45-49 no kids	1.4	0.67
Fem Canada	0.2	0.67
fos Society/Culture	6.5	0.67
Arts & recreaction	1.5	0.67
Fem Media	1.6	0.66
Fem 40-44 no kids	1.5	0.65
Education	4.5	
	0.9	0.65
Fem fos Architect/Building Fem Professionals		0.64 0.64
	24.6	
German speakers	0.3 1.9	0.62
Fem 35-39 no kids		0.62
persons 35-44 De Facto	2.2	0.62
Motorbike to work	0.6	0.61
Fem Graduate Diploma	4.0	0.61
Fem 55-59 no kids	1.0	0.61
Graduate Diploma	2.2	0.61
Professionals	18.4	0.61

<u>Table 5</u>. Where the Greens won most of their primary votes.

The state seats at far left cast the strongest votes for their Green candidates. Here we see the usual Green tinged seats inside or close to the Goat Cheese Circle, with the Green vote overtaken by Labor or Liberal votes as we move further from the CBD. In the CBD seat itself, the Greens were overshadowed by Independent Alex Greenwich.

Less typically, we also see here a number of provincial seats in depressed Labour market regions where the high Green vote may have been a combination of protest votes about a depressed local Labour market or against the coal seam gas industry; or a growth over the past decade in the numbers of professionals.

The profile for Greens here does not seem to have changed much from our last profile for the Federal election in 2010.

Green families are characterized by their lack of kids, their high levels of education in non-commercial and creative fields of study, their lack of religious beliefs and their professional jobs. Not quite making this table of very strong profiles are high family incomes drawn from two, very well-paying jobs.

	Green
	2015
Electorates 2015	Primary
Tamworth	2
Murray	2.2
Cootamundra	3.3
Macquarie Fields	3.5
Mulgoa	3.9
Dubbo	4.2
Holsworthy	4.2
Liverpool	4.2
Bankstown	4.3
Lake Macquarie	4.6
Londonderry	4.6
Granville	5
Mount Druitt	5 5
Upper Hunter	5
Camden	5.2
Penrith	5.2
Wagga Wagga	5.2
Campbelltown	5.3
Cabramatta	5.4
Swansea	5.4
Fairfield	5.5
Riverstone	5.5
Albury	5.7
Auburn	5.8
Maitland	6
Barwon	6.2
Port Stephens	6.3
East Hills	6.4
Blacktown	6.5

	Aust	NSW Green
Variables	Means	2015 Primary
Fem 35-39 three kids	1.5	-0.63
Fem 25-29 two kids	1.0	-0.60
Hours worked NS	1.5	-0.57
persons 15-19 Not Married	8.0	-0.57
Fem 30-34 three kids	0.8	-0.57
Fem Aged 15-19	6.3	-0.57
Machine operators & drivers	11.1	-0.56
Fem Aged 10-14	6.1	-0.56
Fem 30-34 two kids	2.1	-0.56
Aged 15-19	6.8	-0.56
fos Engineering	28.0	-0.56
Self Drive Car Commuters	60.2	-0.55
Aged 10-14	6.6	-0.55
Fem 15-19 no kids	7.3	-0.55
Fem 45-49 three kids	1.9	-0.54
Fem 40-44 three kids	1.8	-0.54
Secondary Govt Students	3.6	-0.54
Family Tax A	10.8	-0.53
Fem 25-29 one kid	1.4	-0.53
Three Cars at home	11.1	-0.53
Manufacturing	12.4	-0.52
Total Govt Students	9.1	-0.52
Industry Other	3.9	-0.52
Car passenger Commute	5.3	-0.52
Fem Aged 5-9	6.0	-0.52
Fem Certificate 1&2	3.0	-0.52
Transport	6.9	-0.51
Aged 5-9	6.5	-0.51
Fem fos Food, Hospit/Personal	6.5	-0.51

<u>Table 6</u>. Where the Greens failed to win many primary votes.

The state seats at far left show seats where the Greens failed to win many votes and about half of them were won by the ALP in 2015 with the rest a mix of Liberal, National and Independent.

The contrast here with Table 5 is stark. Whereas the Table 5 groups show a strong tendency to Gay markers, including a lack of kids, this table is dominated by mainstream Australian suburban families with children, who drive themselves to work daily or ride as a car passenger.

The parents tend to have certificate Qualifications in engineering for dad and hospitality for mum, with dad employed as a machine operator in manufacturing or a transport driver, and mum finding it very difficult to get a hospitality job which pays enough to earn any realistic income and has flexible hours for her to look after three kids in the local Government school system.

As a result mum is often chasing work and the family tends to rely heavily on Family Tax A and B (which just missed the cut here) to make ends meet. This is the traditional ALP heartland demographic.



	OL-LA AL DODD
El	Qld ALP2PP
Electorate New	2015 minus
2015	NSW est 2PP
Parramatta	33.4
Cabramatta	26.7
Riverstone	26.2
Holsworthy	24.0
Vaucluse	23.8
Auburn	23.7
Camden	23.4
Mulgoa	23.1
Manly	22.7
Willoughby	21.6
Granville	21.0
Hornsby	20.1
Fairfield	19.9
Ryde	19.7
Hawkesbury	19.7
Wakehurst	19.4
Seven Hills	19.1
Drummoyne	17.8
Penrith	15.3
North Shore	15.3
Prospect	14.8
Miranda	14.5
Castle Hill	14.4
Campbelltown	12.7
Davidson	12.7
Coffs Harbour	12.4
Coogee	12.3
Cronulla	12.2
Baulkham Hills	12.1

		Qld ALP 2PP
		2015 minus
	Aust	NSW ALP 2PP
Variables	Means	2015
Fem Inc \$1000-1249	6.6	0.57
Fem Employed/away from worl	2.6	0.54
Wholesale	4.9	0.54
Fem Inc \$800-999	7.4	0.52
Median personal inc	\$577	0.52
Pred Part Rate Nov13	64.3	0.52
School Fees Catholic P-12	\$3,048	0.52
Other Prot	0.3	0.50
Employed full time	47.9	0.50
Median hhold inc	\$1,234	0.50
School Fees Govt P-12	\$527	0.49
Pre Schoolers	1.5	0.48
Pred Part Rate Nov14	64.5	0.48
Median family inc	\$1,481	0.47
Fem Inc \$1250-1499	4.3	0.47
Pred Part Rate May13	65.1	0.46
Pred Part Rate May14	64.9	0.45
Pred Part Rate Aug14	64.7	0.45
Education Spend Catholic	\$39,544	0.44
Fem Employed full time	25.9	0.44
Fam \$2500-2999	8.2	0.43
persons 20-24 De Facto	1.2	0.43
Fem Wholesale	3.0	0.43
Pred Part Rate Aug13	64.6	0.43
Motorbike to work	0.6	0.43
Fam \$3500-3999	2.6	0.41
Inc \$1250-1499	6.8	0.40
Fem Graduate Diploma	4.0	0.40

<u>Table 7</u>. Where Mike Baird and the LNP in NSW outperformed Campbell Newman and the Qld LNP.

Given all the statistical constraints and political limitations we applied the Queensland demographic profile of the 2PP ALP 2015 vote to the same demographic and economic variables across NSW seats.

We then subtracted the estimated NSW 2015 2PP vote in the same seats from the Qld 2015 prediction and this margin is ranked by seat at the far left.

Of the 29 seats at far left about half were held by Labor in 2007 and all but three were won by LNP candidates in 2011. In 2015 the ALP looks like winning back only three more of these seats, leaving Labor nine seats down on the 2007 election results.

In these seats we find parents holding down two well-paid and full time jobs – sometimes away from home - which push their incomes up to \$200,000 per annum.

The children of these two income families attend high SES Catholic and Government schools.

So the positive satisfaction ratings for Mike Baird produced the strongest results in seats taken from Labor by the Liberals in 2007.

	Qld ALP2PP
	2015 minus
Electorates 2015	NSW est 2PP
Charlestown	-20.8
Wallsend	-19.3
Cessnock	-19.2
Swansea	-17.3
Keira	-16.4
Maitland	-15.2
Ballina	-14.6
Blue Mountains	-9.8
Port Stephens	-9.0
Shellharbour	-8.5
Maroubra	-7.7
Bega	-7.5
Tweed	-7.0
Upper Hunter	-5.6
Barwon	-5.3
Wollongong	-4.5
Lismore	-4.2
Goulburn	-3.7
Wyong	-2.7
Newcastle	-2.2
Myall Lakes	-2.2
South Coast	-2.1
Newtown	-2.0
Balmain	-1.9
Heffron	-1.0
Albury	-0.8
Terrigal	-0.4
Kiama	-0.4
The Entrance	0.2

		Qld ALP 2PP
		2015 minus
	Aust	NSW ALP 2PP
Variables	Means	2015
Mortgage stress	33.7	-0.65
Fem Inc \$200-299	11.6	-0.58
Inc \$200-299	9.0	-0.55
Pred Une Aug11	5.0	-0.54
Fem 80-84 one kid	0.2	-0.53
Fam \$1-199	1.3	-0.53
Semi Detached Bedrooms 5	0.1	-0.52
Pred Unem Nov14	6.0	-0.51
Pred Unem Nov11	5.1	-0.51
Pred Unem Feb13	5.7	-0.50
Pred Unem Nov12	5.3	-0.50
Fem Accom & Food	7.8	-0.50
Semi Detached Bedrooms 4	0.7	-0.50
Pred Unem May13	5.7	-0.49
Fem Technical & Trades	4.5	-0.49
Accom & Food	5.3	-0.48
Fam \$800-999	7.8	-0.48
Fam \$400-599	8.6	-0.47
fos Food, Hospit/Personal	3.6	-0.47
Aged Pension	15.4	-0.47
persons 75-84 De Facto	0.1	-0.46
Inc \$300-399	7.5	-0.46
Fem Salespersons	12.4	-0.46
Fam \$600-799	8.1	-0.46
Not in labour force	27.1	-0.45
Fem Not in labour force	38.7	-0.45
Semi Detached total	9.9	-0.45
Inc \$400-599	9.2	-0.44
Fem Year 8 Graduates	6.1	-0.44

<u>Table 8</u>. Where the NSW ALP campaign outperformed the Qld ALP campaign.

The state seats at far left are the ones where we used the same process in Table 8 to see where the LNP in NSW outperformed the LNP in Qld in elections fought a few months apart on similar issues with similar ALP campaigns and a consistently unpopular PM.

The difference was primarily the large negative satisfaction scores for the Qld Premier Campbell Newman compared to the large positive scores for Mike Baird. In NSW the PM also kept a lower profile, despite NSW being his home state.

But the seats where NSW Labor performed well were also the ones in regional recessions and these are highlighted in maroon.

The central columns show the demographics who responded more strongly to the ALP campaign in NSW and the table is dominated by the unemployed, low income earners, aged pensioners, the poorly educated, those not in the workforce or working in hospitality or retail. If they were buying a house, they were under serious mortgage stress, due to the net adverse effect of low interest rates on these regional economies.

	Green 2015			NSW ALP 2015 2PP minus ALP
Electorates 2015	•	Primary	2PP	2015 Prim
Newtown	46	30.6	67.6	37.0
Balmain	37.3	32.2	62.4	30.2
Sydney	9	14.2	40.5	26.3
Tamworth	2	5.6	31.4	25.8
Ballina	26.4	24.9	49.0	24.1
Wollongong	9.4	41.3	65.2	23.9
Summer Hill	27.8	43.2	66.8	23.6
Maitland	6	42.8	65.3	22.5
Lismore	26.9	25.8	47	21.2
Heffron	20.7	45.4	65.7	20.3
Newcastle	17.9	40.5	57.4	16.9
Blue Mountains	15.9	41.5	58.1	16.6
Swansea	5.4	45.3	61.7	16.4
North Shore	14.3	13.6	29.7	16.1
Canterbury	9.4	50.9	66.4	15.5
Lakemba	7.1	57.7	72.9	15.2
Coogee	18	32.9	47.9	15.0
Shellharbour	9.1	53	67.9	14.9
Charlestown	11.2	48.1	63	14.9
Upper Hunter	5	32.8	47.1	14.3
Keira	13.8	53.8	68	14.2
Myall Lakes	7.1	28.2	42.4	14.2
Vaucluse	18.4	13.2	26.6	13.4
Epping	13.9	19.4	32.8	13.4

		NSW			NSW ALP
		Green	NSW ALP		2015 2PP
	Aust	2015	2015	NSW ALP	minus ALP
Variables	Means	Primary	Primary	2015 2PP	2015 Prim
Bicycle to work	1.0	0.82	-0.18	0.11	0.29
Fem No Religion	20.6	0.83	-0.37	-0.10	0.27
Total Dwellings Bedrooms 1	4.7	0.58	-0.22	0.05	0.27
fos Creative Arts	2.6	0.84	-0.21	0.05	0.27
No Religion	24.0	0.80	-0.38	-0.12	0.26
Moved past year	15.1	0.58	-0.34	-0.08	0.26
Fem fos Creative Arts	4.1	0.82	-0.31	-0.06	0.25
persons 35-44 De Facto	2.2	0.62	-0.23	0.02	0.25
Unit or Apartment Bedrooms 1	2.8	0.51	-0.21	0.03	0.24
persons 25-34 De Facto	3.3	0.52	-0.22	0.02	0.24
Semi Detached Bedrooms 2	3.7	0.68	0.14	0.38	0.24
Fem 40-44 no kids	1.5	0.65	-0.15	0.09	0.23
Moved past five years	39.2	0.59	-0.34	-0.11	0.23
No Cars at home	8.6	0.42	0.13	0.36	0.23
Single Person Home	24.3	0.39	-0.21	0.02	0.23
Fem fos Society/Culture	14.4	0.74	-0.22	0.01	0.23
Fem 45-49 no kids	1.4	0.67	-0.19	0.04	0.23
Walk to work	3.7	0.34	-0.32	-0.10	0.23
Fem 35-39 no kids	1.9	0.62	-0.16	0.06	0.22
Fem 50-54 no kids	1.2	0.68	-0.12	0.10	0.22
persons 35-44 Not Married	4.7	0.40	0.28	0.50	0.22
Fem Arts & recreaction	1.5	0.70	-0.15	0.07	0.22
Fem Rel Not Stated	7.9	0.41	-0.14	0.07	0.22
Renter Private	6.7	0.44	-0.21	0.01	0.22

<u>Table 9</u>. Where the NSW ALP candidates benefitted the most from preferences. With Greens and Others both winning about ten percent of the vote and Green preferences favouring Labor by accident or by design, and Others not favouring major parties strongly, the ALP candidates tended to benefit wherever the Green vote was high and we see above right that this is case these tended to be agnostics, unmarried, highly mobile and living alone, close their place of work and with a degree in Creative Arts. From our other modelling we know this group overlaps the Gay stereotype. This is the group voting one Green and two Labor for marriage equality.

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Flootovetos 2015	Green 2015	ALP 2015	ALP 2015 2PP	NSW ALP 2015 2PP minus ALP 2015 Prim
Electorates 2015	Primary	Primary		
Cootamundra	3.3	26.1	29.4	3.3
Mulgoa	3.9		38.8	4.1
Camden	5.2	27	31.3	4.3
Castle Hill	6.8		20.4	4.7
Orange	6.7	23.3	28.1	4.8
Holsworthy	4.2	36.4	41.8	5.4
Riverstone	5.5	30.9	36.8	5.9
Baulkham Hills	7.6	22	28.1	6.1
Cronulla	8.8	21.8	28.5	6.7
Oatley	7.1	36.3	43	6.7
Bankstown	4.3	56.7	63.6	6.9
Macquarie Fields	3.5	51.2	58.1	6.9
Albury	5.7	31.7	38.6	6.9
Port Macquarie	8.5	24.2	31.1	6.9
Campbelltown	5.3	50.7	57.7	7.0
Drummoyne	10.6	23.6	30.6	7.0
Bathurst	9.5	27.8	34.9	7.1
Monaro	7.5	40.9	48.1	7.2
East Hills	6.4	42	49.4	7.4
Northern Tablelands	6.9	15.4	22.9	7.5
Londonderry	4.6	50.5	58.1	7.6
Parramatta	8.1	28.4	36	7.6
Cabramatta	5.4	58.2	66	7.8
Dubbo	4.2	23.5	31.5	8.0

		NSW Green 2015	NSW ALP 2015	NSW ALP	NSW ALP 2015 2PP minus ALP
Variables	Aust Means	Primary	Primary	2015 2PP	2015 Prim
persons 15-19 Not Married	8.0	-0.57	0.26	0.03	-0.24
Five Person Home	6.8	-0.48	0.20	-0.04	-0.24
Aged 15-19	6.8	-0.56	0.25	0.03	-0.23
Aged 10-14	6.6	-0.55	0.10	-0.13	-0.23
Aged 5-9	6.5	-0.51	0.11	-0.12	-0.23
Fem Aged 5-9	6.0	-0.52	0.10	-0.13	-0.23
Fem Aged 10-14	6.1	-0.56	0.09	-0.13	-0.22
Three Cars at home	11.1	-0.53	-0.09	-0.31	-0.22
Fem Quals Inad Desc	3.1	-0.47	0.07	-0.15	-0.22
Fem 15-19 no kids	7.3	-0.55	0.17	-0.04	-0.22
Fem Clerical & Admin	24.2	-0.44	0.26	0.05	-0.21
Ave hhold size	2.6	-0.43	0.28	0.07	-0.21
persons 45-54 Married	11.1	-0.38	-0.23	-0.44	-0.21
Fem Aged 15-19	6.3	-0.57	0.21	0.00	-0.20
Fem 30-34 two kids	2.1	-0.56	0.40	0.20	-0.20
Two Cars at home	36.1	-0.36	-0.26	-0.46	-0.20
Fem 40-44 three kids	1.8	-0.54	0.02	-0.18	-0.20
Self Drive Car Commuters	60.2	-0.55	0.21	0.01	-0.20
Fem 35-39 three kids	1.5	-0.63	0.18	-0.01	-0.20
Four or More cars at home	5.4	-0.51	-0.08	-0.28	-0.19
Total Govt Students	9.1	-0.52	0.20	0.01	-0.19
Separate Houses total	75.6	-0.51	0.02	-0.17	-0.19
Separate House Bedrooms 4	24.1	-0.41	-0.20	-0.39	-0.19
Family kids over 15	13.9	-0.34	0.21	0.02	-0.19

<u>Table 9.</u> Where the NSW LNP candidates benefitted the most from preferences. Whereas the Green vote averaged 15.8 percent in the seats in Table 9, in Table 10, it averaged 6.2 percent. So we are looking above right at groups which tended not to vote Green and this means families with three kids at local Government schools, two cars in the garage, driving themselves to work at a clerical job or riding as a passenger. When you have kids at home you tend to think more about your job and feeding the kids, rather than saving the planet. When the kids leave home and you have enough money, the Fraser Effect takes over again and the planet gets more priority.



Correlation charts

The correlation charts below show the strength of the relationship between votes and the Elaborate Database, for most of the 650 variables, presented in various categories, starting with Current Education.

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.

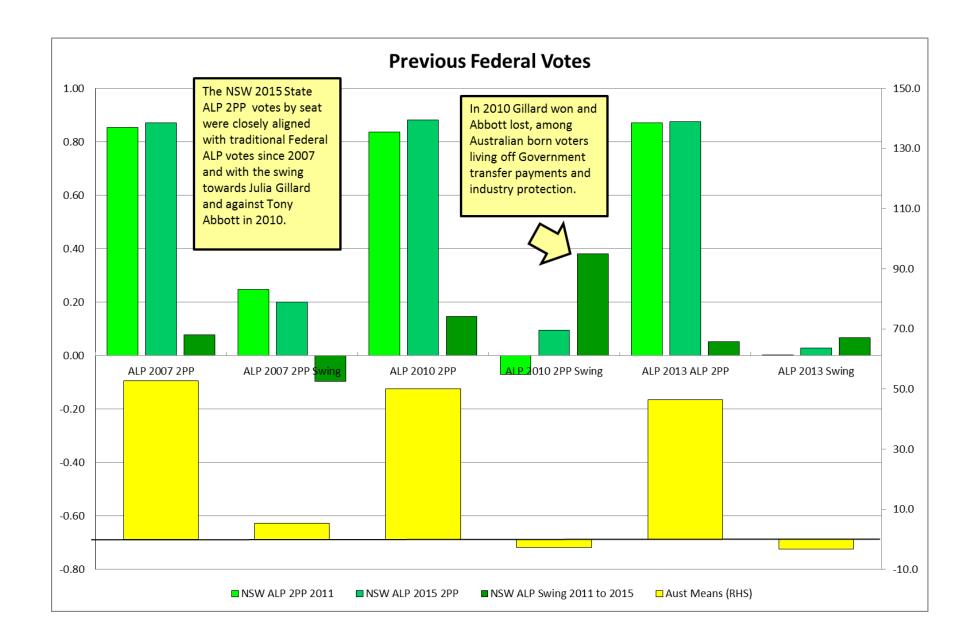
Care should be taken with smaller correlations as there is higher probability that they are due to chance. Correlations larger than plus or minus 0.26 are significant to 99 percent confidence levels and those larger than plus or minus 0.33 are significant to 99.9 percent confidence levels.

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 0.26, 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.

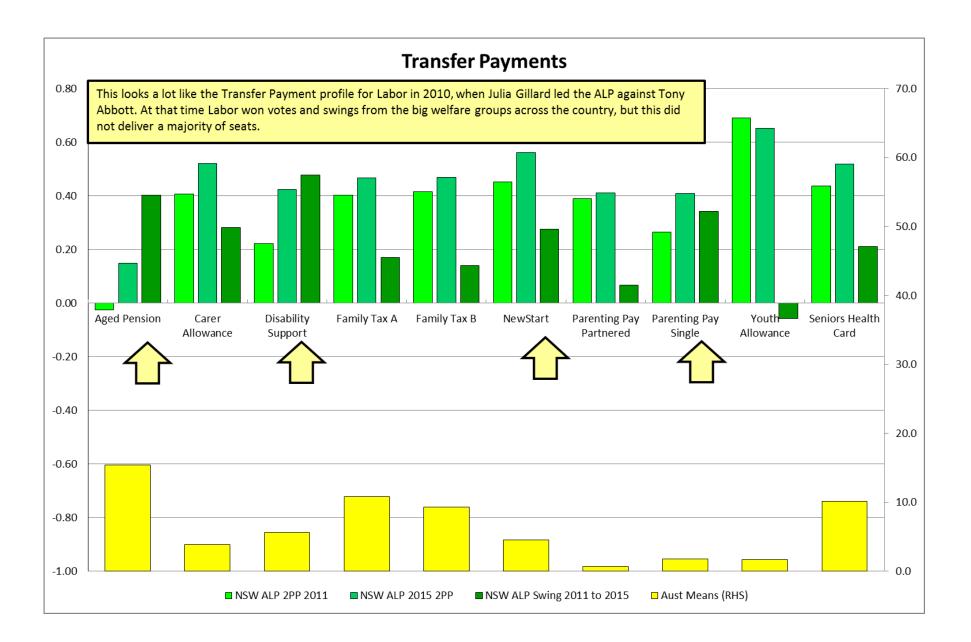
If the stereotype tables are snapshots, the following charts can be seen as small pictures, which can then be combined to make up a fine-grained demographic portrait of each political variable under scrutiny. We emphasize that we're looking here at what happened to the actual votes, in terms of who lived in what area, we're not looking survey results from an opinion poll. So causality has to be inferred or measured in other ways.

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.

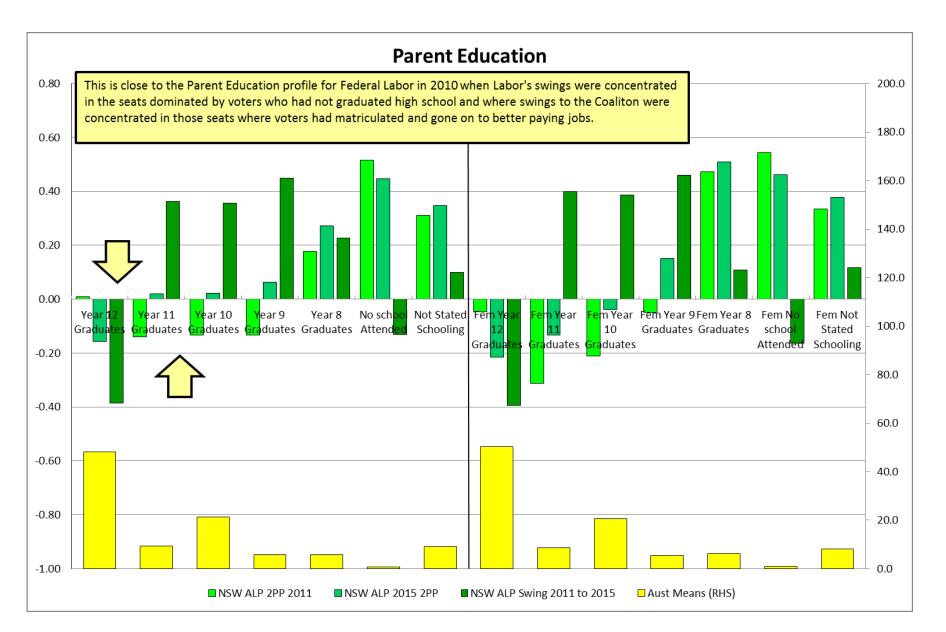




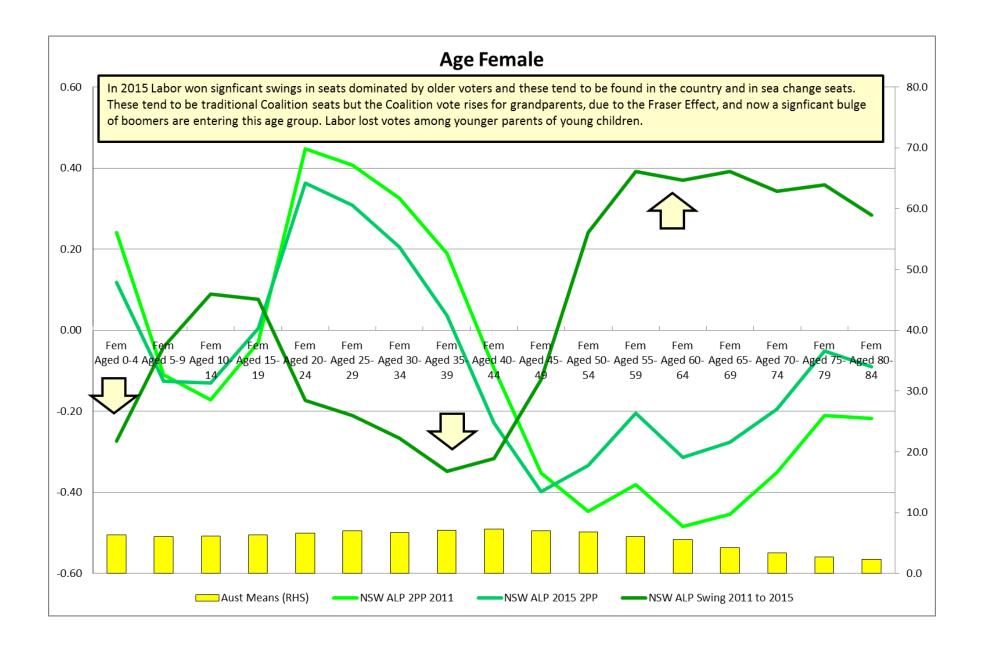
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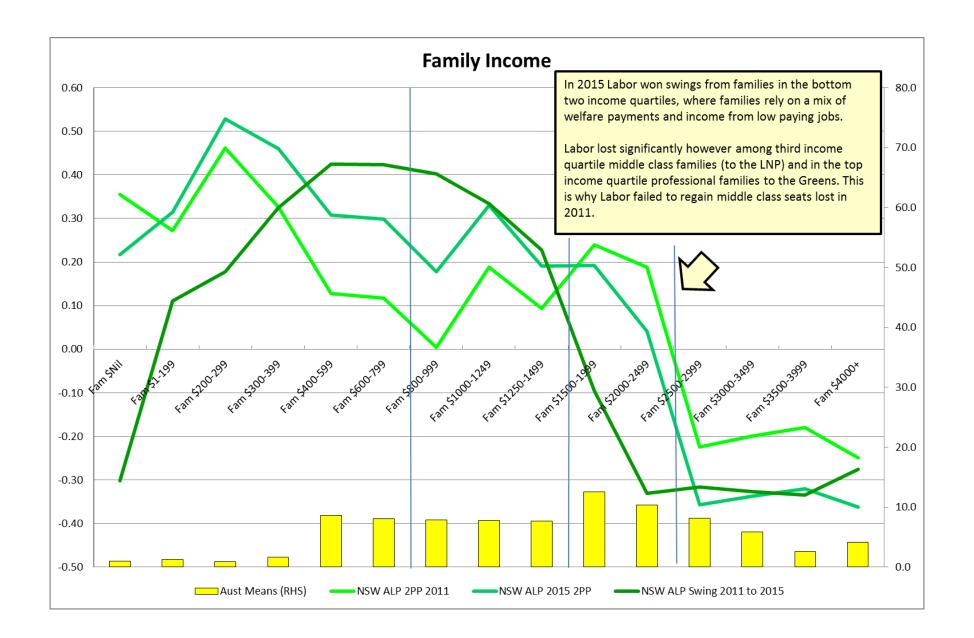




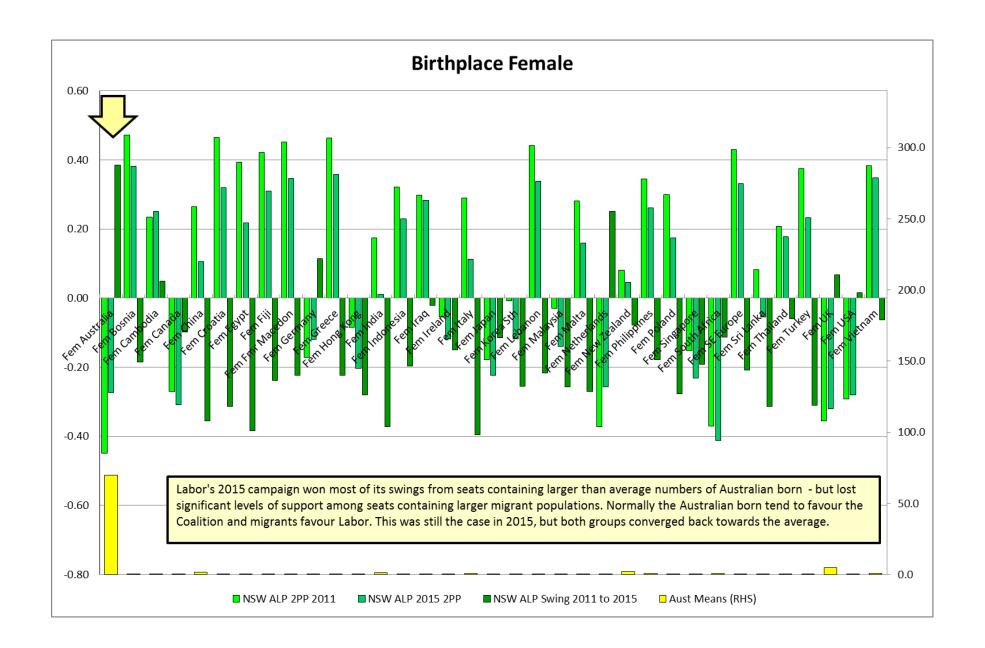




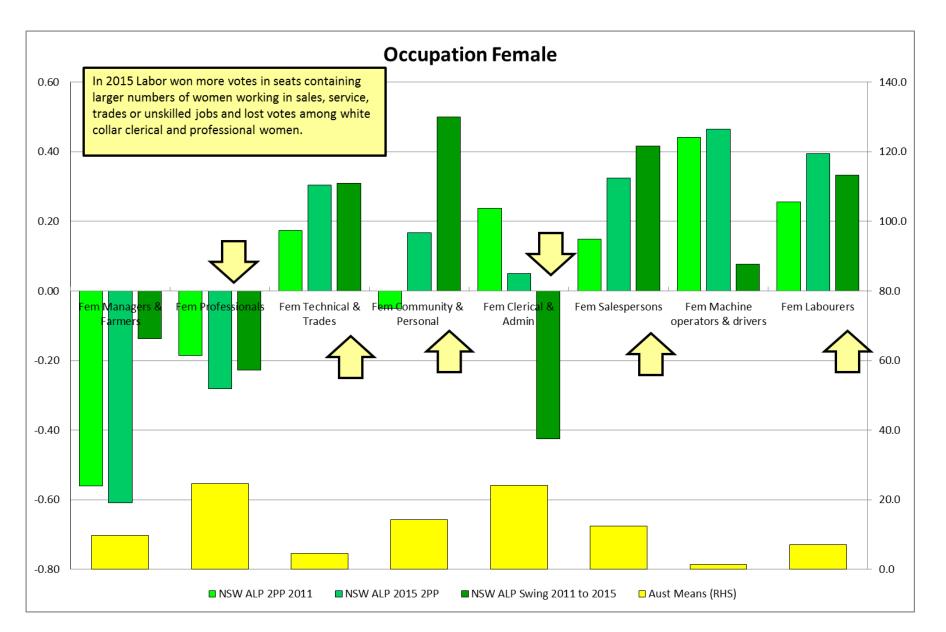














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