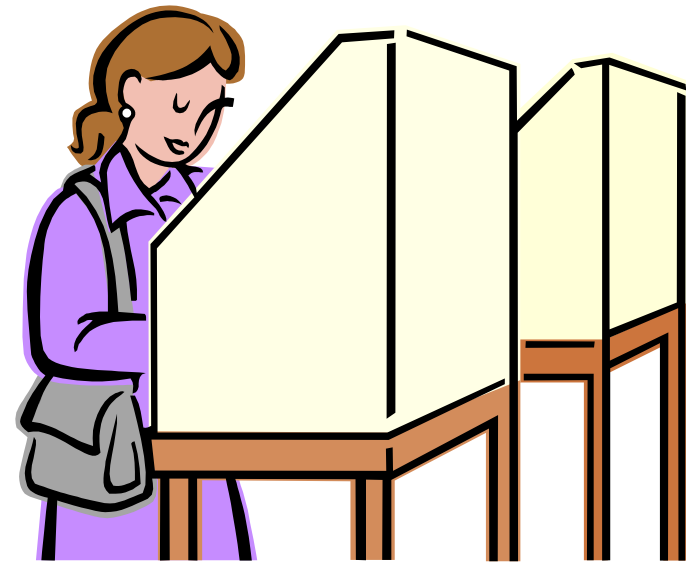


Australian Election Report – Sept, 2013



**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/Archives/>. 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 2013 election data was based on preliminary results available from the Australian Electoral Commission on September 8, 2013.

Background

The report begins with the primary and two party preferred votes as recorded on the morning after the September 7 election. These descriptive statistics are examined for internal trends and then profiled against the Elaborate database.

A snapshot of major components of the votes is produced below in the stereotype tables. These show the demographic groups clustered in safe Labor seats and safe Coalition seats and groups which swung for and against the major parties.

We also include stereotype tables of a number of new groups to make sure we have covered the new factors which emerged in this election. These include the 20.9 percent of voters supporting independent candidates and their preference drifts to the Labor Party and to the Coalition.

Then follows a more detailed profile of the ALP 2PP 2013 vote and the 2PP swing to the ALP, in terms of clusters of variables dealing with Education, Age and Income, Culture, Occupation and Industry, Home and Work, Families and Family Budgets.

A separate Excel File shows the results of more detailed modelling in terms of the predicted votes for each federal seat and these predicted figures are compared with the observed figures to give an approximate measure of local electorate level performance.

This seat modelling enables us to make some tentative conclusions about the impact of the national campaign at the local level and evaluate local seat performance.

We also modelled the Swing to Labor in 2013 and as we are dealing with Two Party Preferred Swings and Votes, the 2PP swing to Labor is the negative of the 2PP swing to the Coalition, so the one figure covers both major party groups.

This swing model has been projected onto all Australian postcodes using the Elaborate database and these figures are available online via an interactive map which can be manipulated to locate an individual postcode and then enlarged or reduced and moved, to show patterns of swing in any postcode across the country.

The results of the profile and the modelling show that Labor lost support from its own traditional voters, especially those who had swung to the ALP in 2010. The ALP gained some swings from mobile migrants groups, such as Kiwis and South East Asians, as well as from some traditional richer Coalition voters in established Liberal urban and country seats.

ALP candidates gained no perceived benefit from Labor's big spending programs in Health, Education, Welfare or the NBN. Coalition candidates gained no perceived benefit from the Liberal Leader's Paid Parental Leave Scheme.

Tony Abbott is now in a similar position to John Howard after the 2004 election where he could lose the next election if Labor is able to elect a strong leadership team appealing to traditional blue collar Labor men and to the fast growing demographic of professional women.

Methodology



The analysis takes as its starting point the Elaborate database assembled by the principals of ADS over 39 years of demographic profiling of economic, social and political behaviour. Elaborate uses Census and modelled data, from a range of sources, including the Australian Bureau of Statistics, Labor Force Statistics, Household Expenditure Surveys, the Australian Taxation Office and Centrelink.

The Database contains some 650 variables and includes a core of basic variables including Age, Income, Occupation, Industry, Home Ownership, Household Type, Mortgage and Rent, Travel to Work, Vehicles, Employment Status, Religion, Internet Use, Current Education, Education Level Attained, Field of Study, Qualifications, School fees, Language Spoken at Home, Family Type, Per Capita Income, Debt and Assets, and also House and Land values.

The primary units in the Database are SA1s, comprising about 220 household neighbourhoods, which are small enough to provide a fine grained demographic picture of Australia.

Other units include polling booth catchments, postcodes, and state and federal electoral boundaries. We always try to use the smallest units we can find, but in federal and state elections, this creates problems with the allocation of non-booth votes to spatial boundaries.

We use SPSS Statistical analysis to compare this Elaborate database, with appropriate dependent variables, in this case, ALP 2013 Two Party Preferred vote and the 2010 to 2013 2PP swing.

Relevant correlations are then processed in an SPSS package in a Step-Wise Multiple Linear Regression, to generate regression equations which use the demographic picture of vote and swing, to predict what level of vote and swing there should be in each seat and also across postcodes.

The difference between the predicted and observed votes, the residual, is then calculated to derive a measure of the effectiveness of local campaigns and the personal vote of each candidate.

Voting data

Variable	Others			ALP 2PP		
	ALP 2013 Prim	LNP 2013 Prim	2013 Prim	ALP 2013 2PP	ALP 2010 2PP	Swing 2013
Mean	33.9	45.3	20.9	46.7	50.2	-3.5
Standard Deviation	10.7	10.4	6.7	10.6	11.5	3.2
ALP 2013 Primary	1.00	-0.80	-0.35	0.90	0.86	-0.10
LNP 2013 Primary	-0.80	1.00	-0.29	-0.95	-0.91	0.11
Others 2013 Primary	-0.35	-0.29	1.00	0.04	0.04	-0.02
ALP 2013 2PP	0.90	-0.95	0.04	1.00	0.96	-0.12
ALP 2010 2PP	0.86	-0.91	0.04	0.96	1.00	-0.39
ALP 2PP Swing 2013	-0.10	0.11	-0.02	-0.12	-0.39	1.00



Table 1. This table shows means, standard deviations and cross correlations for the major political variables we profiled at the 2013 election, based on early figures available on the AEC website at mid-morning of September 8.

Labor's Primary vote of 33.9 percent was Labor's lowest vote received since the 31 percent of 1903, when Labor was opposed by Free Trade Party and the Protectionist Party. A Queensland Liberal Party polled 4.8 percent. Women had just been given the vote in all states.

The key figure is the -0.39 for the correlation between the ALP 2PP swing in 2013 and the ALP 2010 2PP vote. This means that swing to Labor candidates went down in 2013, as the 2010 ALP 2PP vote went up. Or, more simply, it infers Labor's 2010 voters voted strongly against the ALP in 2013. This was a similar pattern to the one observed in the 2012 Queensland State election where the correlation between the previous 2009 Labor vote and the swing to Labor in 2012 was minus 0.64 . It was also similar to the 2011 election in New South Wales where the equivalent correlation was minus 0.57.

As we see below in Table 4, the correlation between the Federal swing to Labor in 2010 and the swing to Labor in 2013 was minus 0.64. Since the GFC and the Stimulus, Labor voters have been leading the swing against their own party and the strongest desertions from Labor are coming from those who had most recently swung to Labor. In this context, all the Coalition needs to do to win elections is to keep talking about the ALP wasting money and that is pretty much what they did in 2013.

Stereotypes

Tables 2 to 8 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. A 95 percent confidence level is greater than plus or minus 0.16; for 99 percent confidence the correlation required is greater than 0.21.

We are mainly 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.



Variables	Aust Means	ALP 2013 2PP	ALP 2PP Swing 2013
ALP 2010 Voter	50.1	0.90	-0.23
ALP 2007 Voter	52.7	0.88	-0.09
Single Parent kids over 15	7.5	0.62	-0.10
Youth Allowance FT Student	1.4	0.55	-0.07
Fem Never attend school	0.9	0.53	0.14
persons 35-44 Not Married	4.7	0.53	0.04
Rent \$275-349	19.4	0.52	-0.17
Mort \$1800-2399	20.2	0.50	0.07
Fem Born SE Europe	0.1	0.50	0.01
Born SE Europe	0.1	0.49	0.01
Never attend school	0.8	0.49	0.18
Total Non English speakers	17.8	0.49	0.07
Fem Total Non English speakers	18.6	0.48	0.08
Clerical & administrative	6.5	0.48	-0.07
Fem 30-34 one kid	1.8	0.48	-0.06
Born Croatia	0.2	0.47	0.03
Studies Inadequately described	1.2	0.47	-0.16
person 25-34 Not Married	6.8	0.47	0.03
Fem Born Croatia	0.2	0.47	0.03
Language Croatian	0.3	0.47	-0.01
Fem Language Croatian	0.3	0.46	-0.01
Language Vietnamese	1.1	0.46	0.18
Born Vietnam	0.9	0.46	0.18
Language Vietnamese	1.0	0.45	0.19
Born Vietnam	0.8	0.45	0.19
Born Bosnia	0.1	0.45	0.01

Table 2. ALP 2013 2PP vote.

This is the stereotype of the typical groups of Labor voters in 2013.

It was dominated by 2007 and 2010 ALP voters, as voters tend to stick to the party for which they have voted for three consecutive occasions.

Below these political variables are the overlapping demographic groups which make up the 2013 ALP voter in safer Labor seats.

The largest of these groups includes those men and women not speaking English in the family home. These include migrants from Vietnam, Bosnia, Croatia and South East Europe. Some of these migrants would never have attended school.

Following these groups are families living in home which pay just above average mortgages and average rents. Then we have persons aged under 44 who are not married and this would include young single parents and students on youth allowances.

Finally, we have male clerical and admin workers and - quite extraordinarily - not one white collar or blue collar occupation or industry group. This occupation profile for the modern Labor party makes white bread look insipid.

In the column at far right showing the ALP swing to 2013, we note that former 2007 and 2010 ALP voters swung strongly against Labor in 2013 and that the migrant groups however stuck with Labor.

Variables	Aust Means	LNP 2013 2PP	LNP 2PP Swing 2013
Per Cap Assets Non Res Prop	\$10,017	0.75	-0.07
Worked at home	4.4	0.70	-0.14
Managers	15.6	0.68	-0.05
Fem Studies Education	11.5	0.63	-0.07
Per Capita Assets Total	\$109,130	0.58	-0.08
Per Capita Life Ins spend	\$107	0.52	0.00
persons 55-64 Married	9.7	0.52	0.06
Studies Agriculture & Environment	2.8	0.51	-0.06
Fem Anglican	17.9	0.51	0.04
60-64	5.6	0.51	0.08
Anglican	16.3	0.51	0.02
Mort \$1-299	4.2	0.51	-0.09
Fem Studies Health	14.5	0.50	0.10
Presbyterian	2.7	0.50	-0.12
Fem Managers	9.7	0.49	-0.14
65-69	4.3	0.49	0.03
person 65-74 Married	6.2	0.49	0.03
English speakers	76.6	0.49	0.09
Fem English speakers	76.9	0.49	0.09
Agriculture\ forestry & fishing	3.3	0.48	-0.08
Fem 60-64	5.6	0.48	0.11
Fem Indust Agriculture\ forestry	1.6	0.48	-0.11
Fem Presbyterian	2.9	0.48	-0.10
Med age	37.00	0.46	0.11
Fem 65-69 three kids	1.4	0.45	0.01
55-59	6.0	0.45	0.13

Table 3. LNP 2PP Vote or negative ALP 2PP vote.

The major characteristic of suburbs with a high Liberal vote in 2013 was the ownership of Non Residential property. Other assets were held in life insurance.

The men and women were managers, often working from home if they could and this applied particularly to those managers who were also farmers.

The men had studied agriculture and these worked in the agricultural sector, while the women had frequently studied health.

As couples, they were married, and aged 55-69.

On Sunday, they attended Anglican or Presbyterian Church services.

Their overwhelming characteristic in terms of profile and numbers is that they speak English in the home, along with three out of four Australians.

Basically, we are looking here at older, wealthier Australians, with plenty of assets, saving for retirement.

And judging from the number of small negative scores for the LNP swing, if they were female and living on farms, they were not all that impressed with Tony Abbott and the Coalition in 2013.

Variables	Aust Means	ALP 2010 2PP	ALP 2013 2PP	ALP 2PP Swing 2013 minus 2010
Motorbike Commuters	0.6	-0.20	-0.11	0.33
New Zealand	2.3	-0.19	-0.11	0.32
Fem New Zealand	2.2	-0.18	-0.10	0.32
Total Dwellings Bedrooms 6+	0.9	-0.46	-0.42	0.28
Separate House Bedrooms 6+	0.9	-0.47	-0.43	0.27
Quals Inad Desc	2.0	-0.05	0.03	0.26
Males Income Not Stated	8.5	-0.03	0.04	0.25
Males Employment Not Stated	6.0	0.03	0.10	0.24
Fem Jehovahs Wit	0.4	-0.18	-0.12	0.24
Moved past five years	39.2	-0.13	-0.07	0.23
Rent \$350-449	18.1	0.14	0.22	0.23
Born Fiji	0.2	0.20	0.28	0.22
Language Not Stated	5.6	0.01	0.08	0.22
Fem Fiji	0.3	0.20	0.29	0.22
Mort \$2400-2999	11.2	0.13	0.20	0.21
Birth Not Stated	5.9	0.02	0.09	0.21
Buddhism	2.3	0.34	0.43	0.21
Fem Income Not Stated	7.3	-0.01	0.05	0.21
Jehovahs Wit	0.4	-0.19	-0.14	0.21
Pentecostal	1.0	-0.14	-0.09	0.21
Moved past year	15.1	-0.09	-0.04	0.21
Fem Buddhism	2.7	0.35	0.44	0.21
Rented Total	29.6	0.12	0.19	0.21
Lang Not Stated	4.5	0.04	0.10	0.20
Six or more Persons	3.3	0.10	0.17	0.20
Born Cambodia	0.1	0.20	0.28	0.20

Table 4. 2PP Swing to ALP in 2013.

This is not a very long or a very strong list. The biggest groups were the highly mobile who had moved house in the past five years.

Next were renters and with those paying third quartile rents of \$350 to \$499 per week. We also saw those paying third quartile mortgages of \$2,400 to \$2,999 per month. These are classic middle class urban groups, voting Labor in 2010 and 2013.

We also see strong 2013 Liberal voting families, living in bigger homes, including those with six plus bedrooms.

In terms of incomes, there are men and women who did not state their income and these tend to be the self-employed, who often don't know what their income is for the previous year, until they are told by their accountants well into the following year.

Culturally, we see Kiwis, Pacific Islanders and South East Asians, some of which would be Buddhist. In addition to the Buddhists, we see the return of the Pentecostals who led the charge to Kevin Rudd in 2007.

The Asians and Pacific Islanders were long term Labor voters, while the Kiwis, who overlap the highly mobile group and often commute to work by motorbike, tend to be Liberal voters, frequently employed in construction.

Variables	Aust Means	LNP 2010 2PP	LNP 2013 2PP	LNP 2PP Swing 2013
ALP 07 to 10 Swing	-2.3	-0.29	-0.17	0.64
ALP 2010 Votes	50.1	-0.89	-0.90	0.39
Rent \$225-274	11.7	-0.30	-0.23	0.30
Total Dwellings Bedrooms 3	43.6	-0.28	-0.22	0.27
Fem Utilities	0.6	-0.27	-0.21	0.27
Completed Year 11	9.2	-0.05	0.02	0.26
Did not commute	10.2	0.10	0.19	0.26
Fem Completed Year 11	8.6	0.02	0.10	0.26
Separate House Bedrooms 3	36.9	-0.15	-0.09	0.24
TAFE Students	2.2	-0.44	-0.41	0.23
Fem Employed part time	23.5	0.33	0.42	0.22
Mort \$1000-1399	14.1	-0.03	0.03	0.22
Mort \$300-449	2.4	0.16	0.23	0.20
Fem 55-59 two kids	2.9	0.25	0.33	0.20
Mort \$1400-1799	14.8	-0.32	-0.29	0.20
Rent \$200-224	6.1	0.01	0.07	0.19
No Religion	24.0	-0.01	0.05	0.19
Fem No Religion	20.6	-0.05	0.00	0.19
Dial up Web connection	3.0	0.17	0.24	0.19
Mort \$800-999	5.4	0.12	0.18	0.18
Fem Completed Year 9	5.6	0.03	0.08	0.18
Catholic Ed Spend 12	\$39,544	-0.18	-0.14	0.18
Fem 85+ one kid	0.3	0.06	0.12	0.18
Separate House Bedrooms 2	7.4	-0.03	0.03	0.18
Fem 80-84 two kids	0.7	0.03	0.09	0.18

Table 5. Swing towards LNP in 2013.

The first variable here – voters who swung to Labor in 2010 – pretty much sums up the whole campaign for both Labor and Liberal.

The mean for this variable in the second column was minus 2.3 percent, but this shows only the result in the average seat when we subtract those swinging away from Labor from those swinging to Labor. In individual seats, the swings ranged from minus 13 percent to plus 10 percent, a range of 23 percent, or nearly one in four voters.

So this ALP 07 to 10 Swing variable is looking at up to 13 percent of voters who swung against the Gillard Government in 2010.

It is fair to conclude from the evidence here that the voters who swung to Labor in 2010 and those who voted Labor in 2010, tipped Labor out of office in 2013.

The rest of this table tends to comprise a demographic portrait of those who swung to Labor in 2010: Kath & Kim Year 11 graduates, female part time workers, Agnostics and home buyers paying mortgages in the bottom two quartiles. The Rudd 2013 campaign lost them all.

This last group tended to have dial up web access and seem to have been unimpressed by the \$43 Billion allocated by the Rudd and Gillard Governments to the NBN.

Variables	Aust Means	Others 2013 Prim	ALP 2013 Prim	ALP 2013 2PP	ALP prefs
Rel Other	1.0	0.45	-0.14	0.14	0.28
persons 35-44 De Facto	2.2	0.43	-0.16	0.04	0.19
persons 45-54 De Facto	1.5	0.42	-0.32	-0.17	0.15
Two Person Home	34.0	0.42	-0.53	-0.38	0.15
Fem Rel Other	0.6	0.40	-0.11	0.11	0.22
Family no kids	37.8	0.40	-0.53	-0.35	0.17
Fem No Religion	20.6	0.39	-0.24	0.00	0.24
Bicycle Commuters	1.0	0.38	-0.03	0.24	0.27
Moved past year	15.1	0.38	-0.22	-0.04	0.18
persons 25-34 De Facto	3.3	0.37	-0.09	0.12	0.21
No Religion	24.0	0.37	-0.27	-0.05	0.22
Moved past five years	39.2	0.36	-0.24	-0.07	0.17
persons 55-64 De Facto	0.8	0.36	-0.40	-0.28	0.12
Internet Other	3.9	0.35	-0.01	0.16	0.17
Green 2010 Votes	11.5	0.34	0.03	0.30	0.27
Rel Not Stated	9.2	0.32	-0.21	-0.07	0.14
Rented Private	6.7	0.32	-0.19	-0.06	0.13
Fem Rel Not Stated	7.9	0.31	-0.19	-0.05	0.14
Fem Studies Society & Culture	14.4	0.30	0.10	0.32	0.22
Fem English speaking at home	76.9	0.28	-0.54	-0.49	0.05
persons 20-24 De Facto	1.2	0.28	-0.21	-0.16	0.05
Studies Food, Hospitality	3.6	0.28	0.04	0.09	0.04
English speaking at home	76.6	0.28	-0.54	-0.49	0.05
Fem Ind Accom & Food	7.8	0.27	-0.19	-0.16	0.03
Industry Education	4.5	0.26	-0.18	0.02	0.20
Single Person Home	24.3	0.26	-0.21	-0.05	0.16

Table 6. The Primary Vote for Others.

Here we have a profile in the third column of those demographics clustered in seats with the highest votes for Others. The Others here includes all parties other than the Coalition groups and the Labor Party.

It covers the Palmer United Party, the Greens, the Katter Australian Party, the DLP and all the other parties which contested House of Reps elections and represents some 20.8% of the total primary vote.

If we look at the means column we can see some pretty large demographics here, including English speakers, the highly mobile, the overlapping groups of two person homes and families with no kids and Agnostics.

The inner urban demographic imprint of the Green Party is very strong here, with Agnostics, Pushbike Commuters and a lack of kids, but the more regional English speakers and former Hospitality students look to be drawn from the Palmer United Party.

If we look at columns four, five and six, we also note that virtually all groups had a negative profile for Labor's Primary vote in 2013 and that, in every case, the ALP 2PP vote profile was improved by a disproportionate leakage of preferences to Labor.

Variables	Aust Means	ALP Prefs
Rel Other	1.0	0.28
Green 2010 Votes	11.5	0.27
Bicycle Commuter	1.0	0.27
Tram Commuter	0.5	0.24
Fem No Religion	20.6	0.24
Studies Creative Arts	2.6	0.23
Fem Graduate Diploma	4.0	0.22
No Religion	24.0	0.22
Fem Studies Society & Culture	14.4	0.22
Fem Rel Other	0.6	0.22
Fem Studies Creative Arts	4.1	0.21
Fem 40-44 no kids	1.5	0.21
Fem 50-54 no kids	1.2	0.21
Fem 45-49 no kids	1.4	0.21
persons 25-34 De Facto	3.3	0.21
Fem Industry Arts & recreation	1.5	0.20
Total Dwellings Bedrooms 1	4.7	0.20
Fem Studies Architecture	0.9	0.20
Industry Education	4.5	0.20
Fem 35-39 no kids	1.9	0.20
persons 35-44 De Facto	2.2	0.19
Graduate Diploma	2.2	0.19
Industry Arts & recreation	1.5	0.19
Semi Detached Bedrooms 2	3.7	0.19
Fem 30-34 no kids	3.2	0.18
Fem 55-59 no kids	1.0	0.18
Unit or Apartment Bedrooms 1	2.8	0.18
Moved past year	15.1	0.18
Fem Born Canada	0.2	0.18
Family no kids	37.8	0.17
Moved past five years	39.2	0.17

Table 7. Preference Leakages to the Labor Party.

We have kept this table simple. It shows the minor party demographics ranked in order of their preference leakages to the Labor Party.

Minor parties polled about 20.8% of the primary vote and 63% of them, or 13% of the total votes, leaked to Labor in preferences.

These are the groups which provided that extra 13% for Labor.

The Greens normally leak about 85 percent of their primary votes to the ALP in the House of Reps for the simple reason most of them were taken from the ALP in the first instance.

This table is a deep shade of political Green and is not a bad proxy for the much reduced 2013 Green stereotype.

However the Green primary vote of 8.4% was much lower than the 13% which leaked to Labor, so the ALP received another 5.2% of the total vote in leaked preferences from the 12.4% who voted for Independent parties other than the Greens.

This is a leakage of about 42%. Given the evidence from the Opinion polls about preferences drifts from the Others, the handing out of pro Coalition how to vote cards by the Palmer United Party and the Katter Australian Party probably added up to one percent to the total Coalition national 2PP vote, or up to four seats for the Coalition.

Variables	Aust Means	LNP Prefs
Fem Certificate 3&4	16.8	0.16
Certificate 3&4	37.1	0.15
Fem Inc \$400-599	13.9	0.15
Labourers	11.4	0.14
Studies Construction	10.0	0.14
Fem Community & personal	14.3	0.14
Welfare Rent Assistance	7.4	0.14
Single Parent kids under 15	8.3	0.14
Fem Inc \$600-799	10.7	0.14
Fem Studies Food, Hospitality	6.5	0.14
Studies Food, Hospitality	3.6	0.14
Welfare Parenting Payment Single	2.6	0.13
Certificate 1&2	3.0	0.13
Fem 20-24 one kid	0.7	0.13
Salvation Army	0.2	0.13
Fem Industry Accom & Food	7.8	0.13
persons 20-24 De Facto	1.2	0.13
School to Year 10	21.3	0.13
Car as passenger	5.3	0.13
Fem School to Year 10	20.5	0.13
Truck commuters	1.0	0.13
Fem 25-29 three kids	0.3	0.13
Fem Labourers	7.1	0.13
Family Tax Benefit A	13.0	0.13
Certificate 1&2	1.5	0.13
Fem 60-64 three kids	1.8	0.12
Fem Born Australia	69.9	0.12
English Speaking at home	76.9	0.12
Born Australia	69.7	0.12

Table 8. Preference Leakages to the Coalition.

The profiles for these preference drifts to the Coalition tend to be much smaller than the drifts to Labor.

This infers that the Coalition lost fewer of its primary votes to Others than were lost by Labor, which seems reasonable, given the fact that Labor won back 62.5% of votes cast for Others in the House of Representatives.

This list reads like a demographic who's who of the groups which used to support the Labor Party in the days of Hawke and Keating – skilled blue collar workers with trade certificates, service workers, labourers, truck commuters and young mums.

The final nail in Labor's coffin here are the families on welfare – the single mums getting parenting payments, the battlers on Rent Assistance or the blue collar families on Family Tax A. Not even rusted on Labor voters living on transfer payments remained loyal to Kevin Rudd's New Way of running the new ALP.

These demographics are almost all gone for Labor now – not that anyone fighting semi-public media wars on behalf of Kevin Rudd and Julia Gillard seem to have noticed over the last six years and the fact that Labor just scored its lowest primary vote in more than 100 years hasn't stopped them.

Those here who didn't vote directly for the Coalition, voted indirectly for the Coalition through their preferences.

The killer punch for the Coalition in Labor's outer urban, provincial city and rural seats came from the Australian born who left Labor's candidates and drifted to the Coalition via Other regional candidates for PUP or KAP. It's pretty hard winning an Australian election when the Australians aren't voting for you.

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.

The 2PP charts are in standard excel format, with correlations for the ALP 2013 2PP votes shown in red bars or lines, with the 2PP Swing from 2010 to 2013 shown in pink. The Australian means for each corresponding variable are shown below in yellow, with the relevant figure on the right axis.

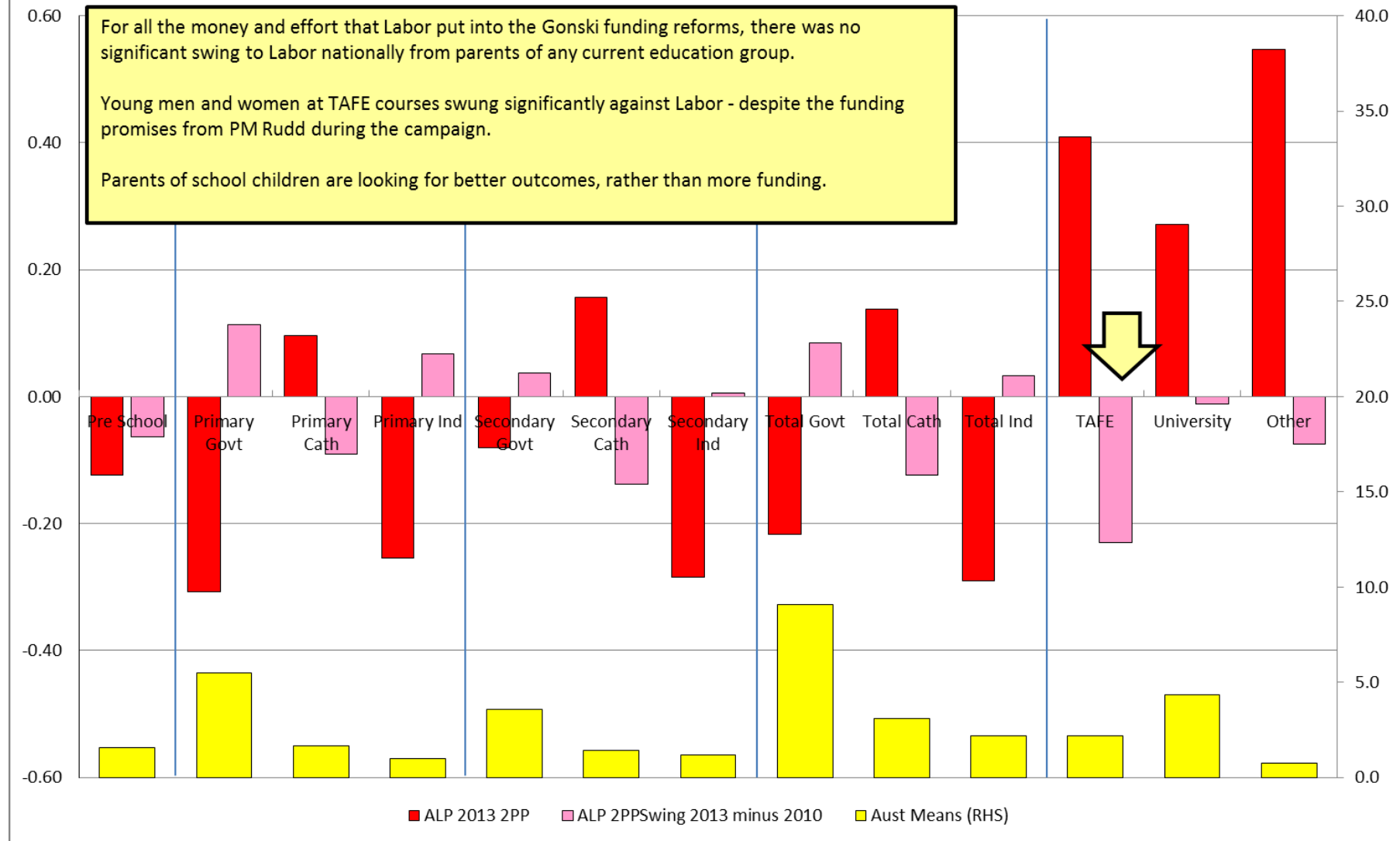
Correlation charts should be read the same way as the worm debating chart – the zero line is neutral and the score heightens as the correlation increases its distance above or below the zero line. Correlations above the line indicate a positive relationship and correlations below the line show a negative 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 0.16. Any correlation for a large group above plus or minus 0.21 has only a one percent chance of being a statistical fluke, so these are worth a closer look.

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 the relevant mean is 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 0.21, consistent patterns across each chart and big population numbers.**

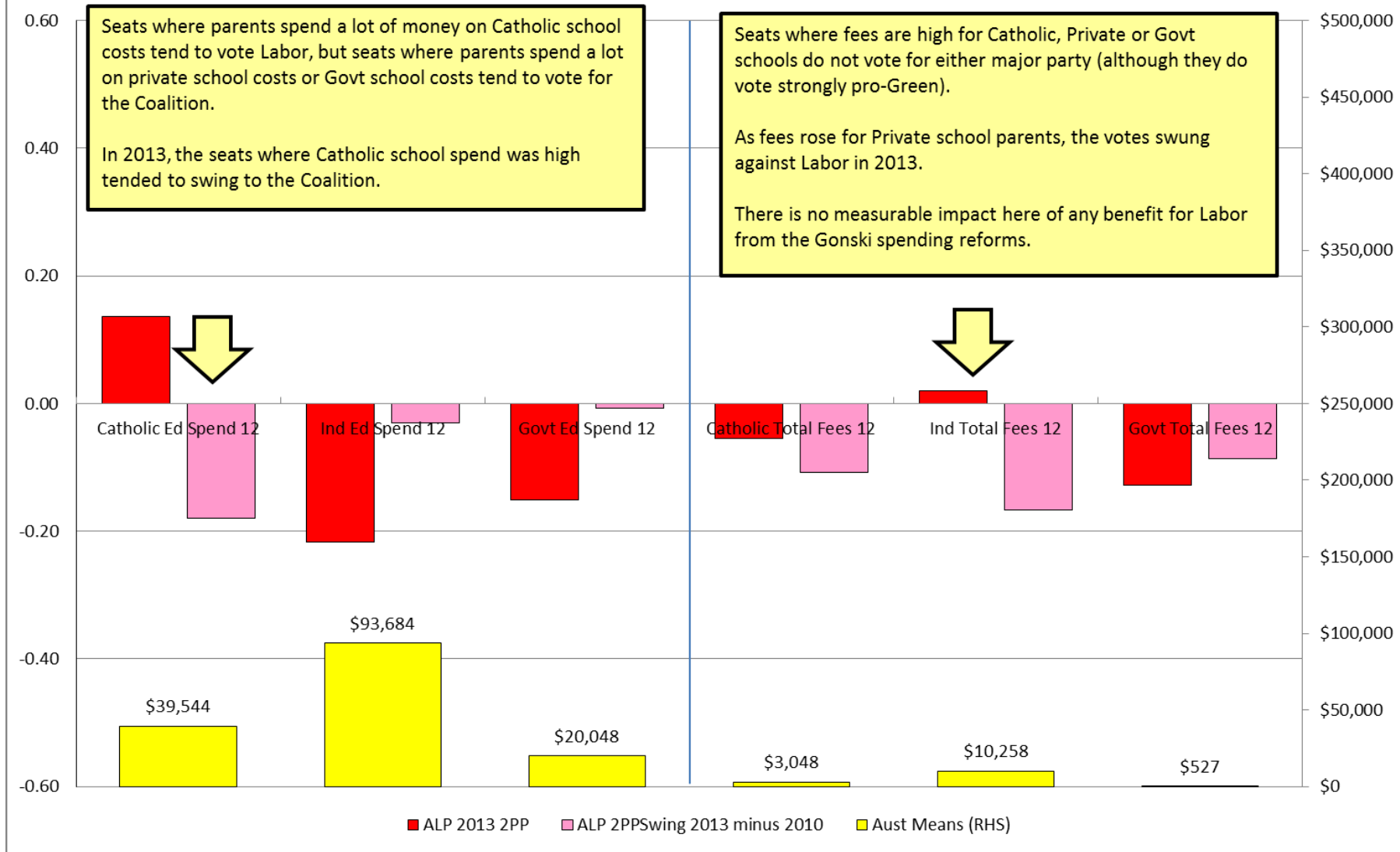
The descriptive information for each chart will tend to be found in the explanatory boxes within the charts themselves.

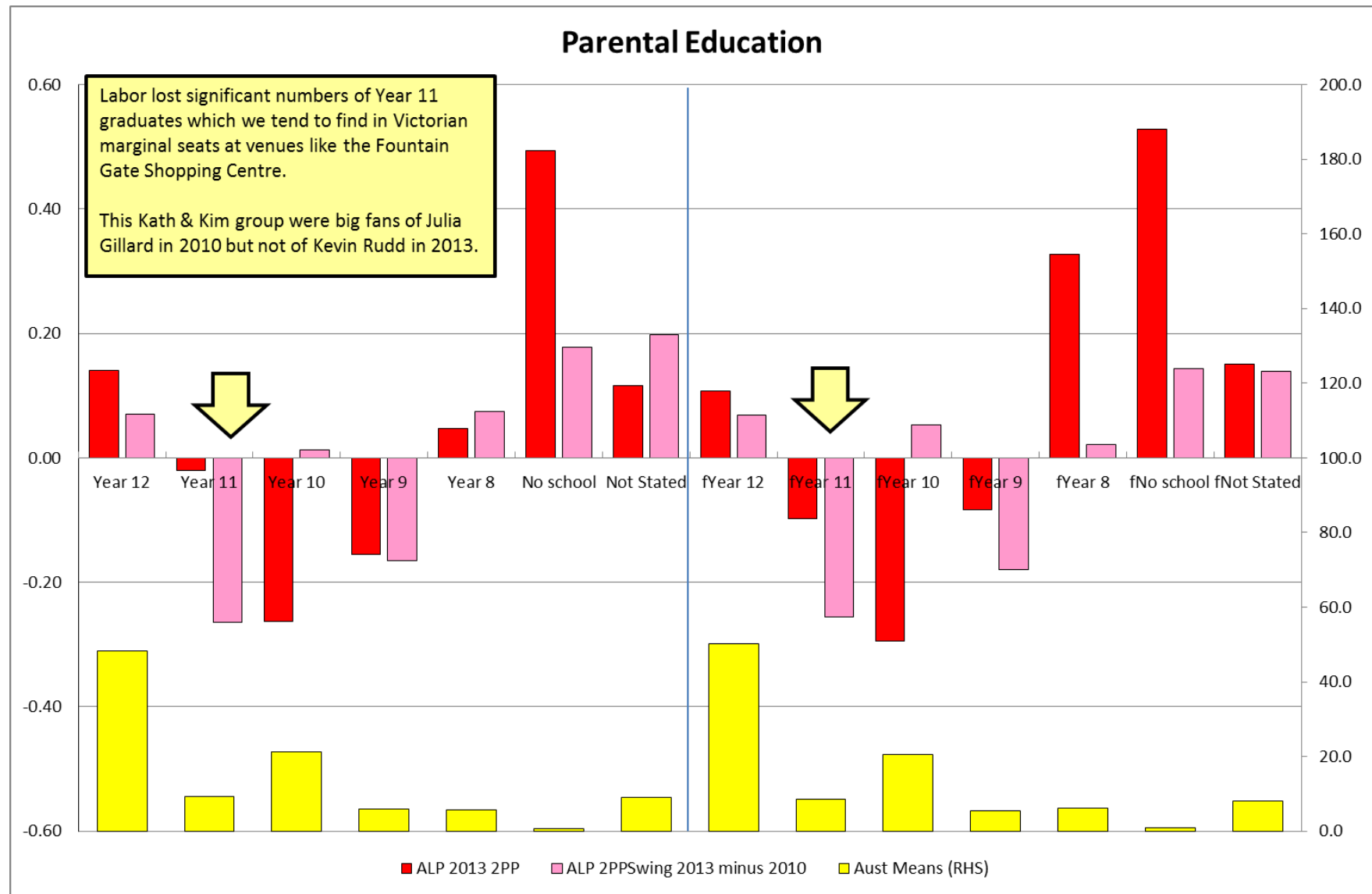
If the stereotype tables are snapshots, the following charts can be seen as small pictures, which can then be combined to make up a fine-grained demographic portrait of each political variable under scrutiny. We emphasize that we're looking here at what happened to the actual votes, in terms of who lived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

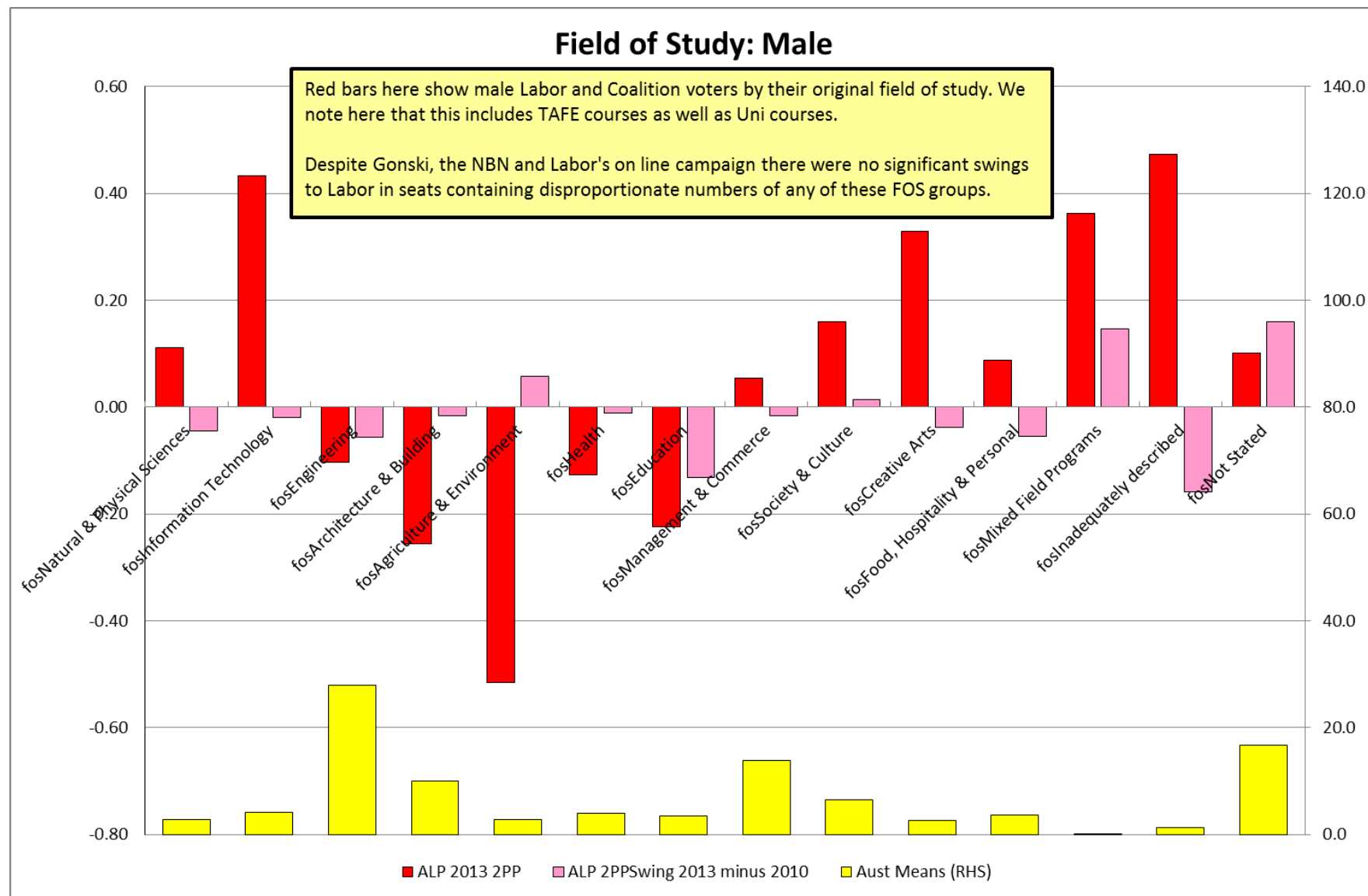
Current Education

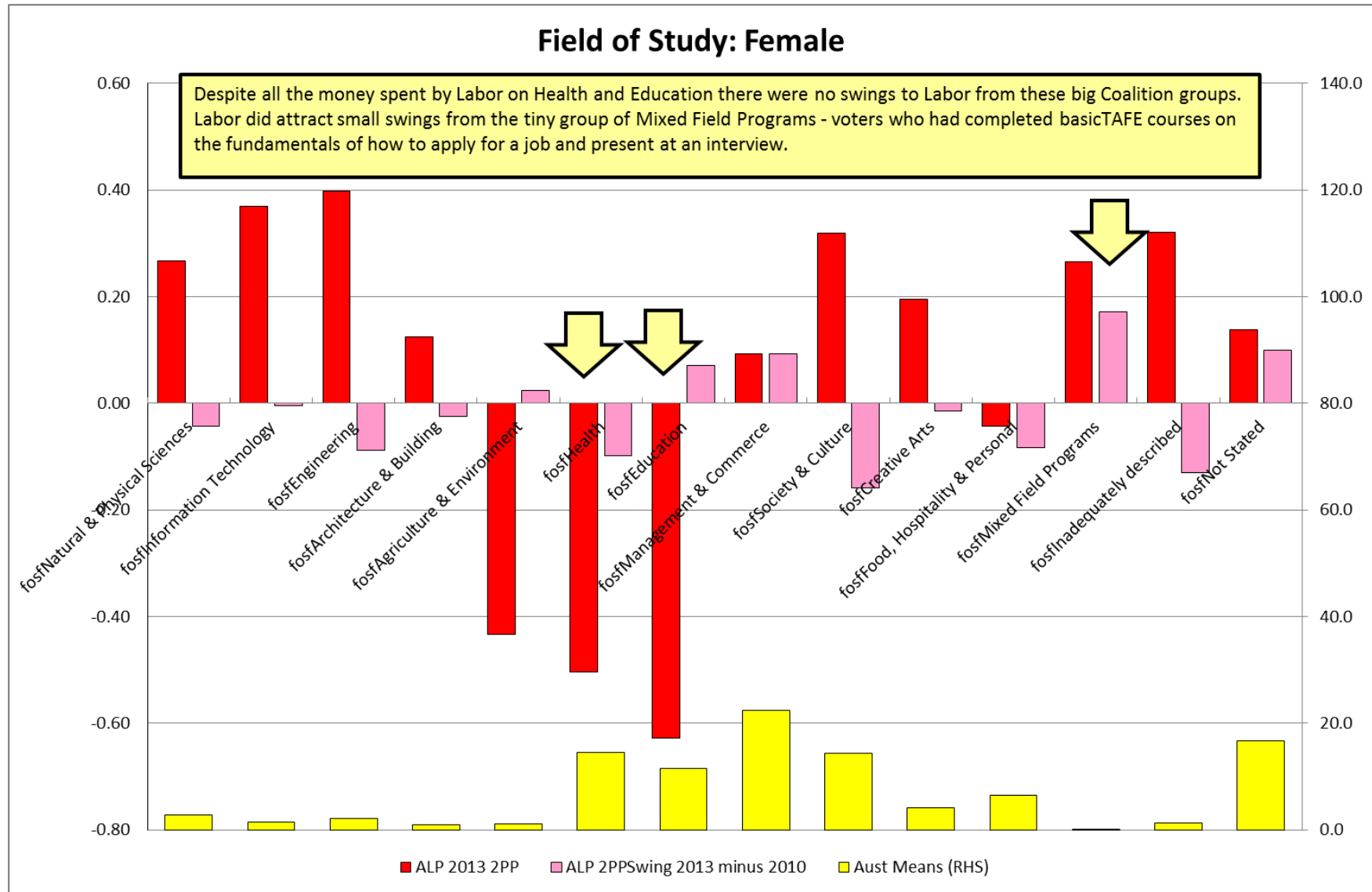


2012 School Spend & Fees by Sector

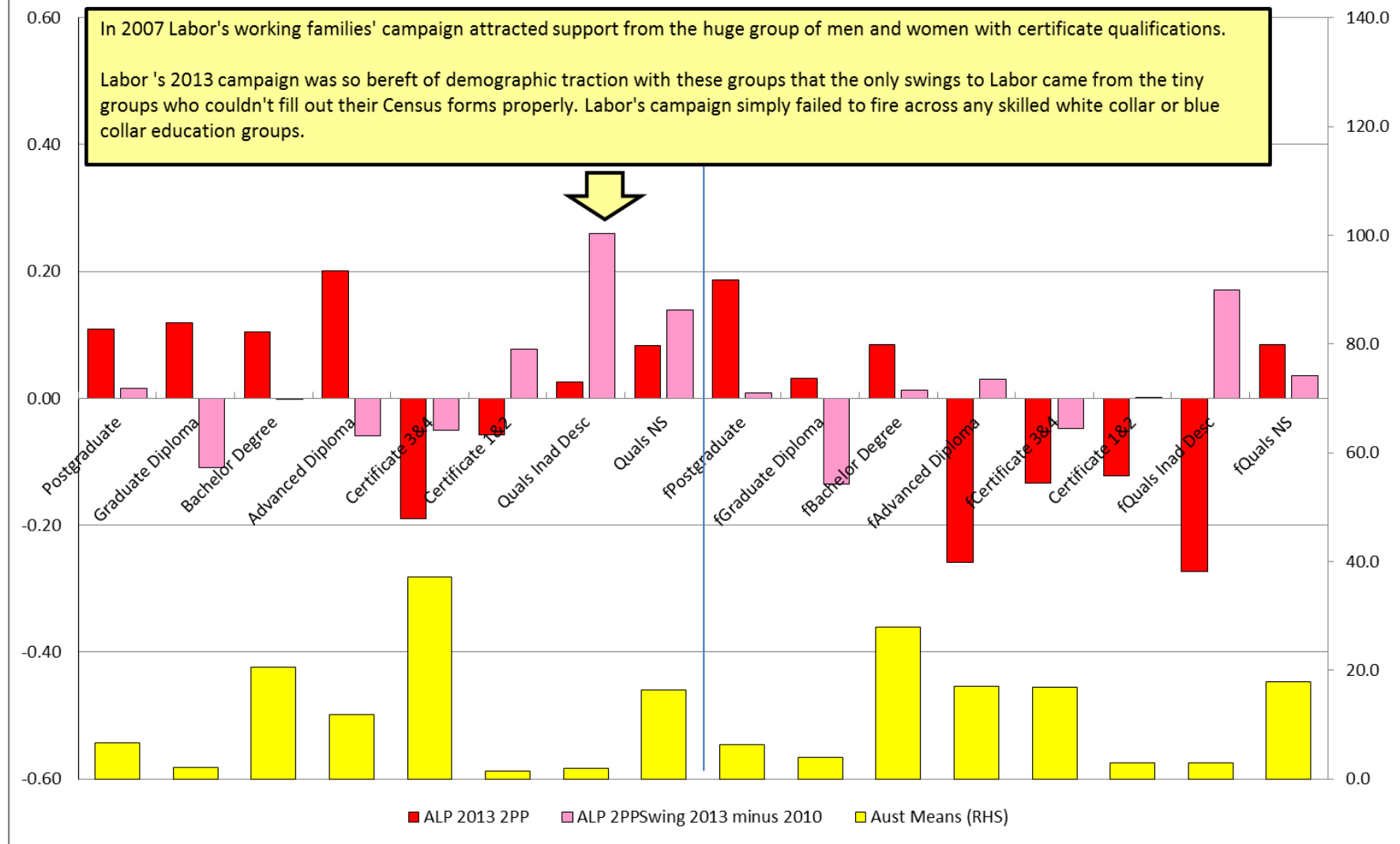








Qualifications: Male & Female



Education charts

For all the money and effort that Labor put into the Gonski funding reforms, there was no significant swing to Labor nationally from parents of any Current Education group. Young men and women at TAFE courses even swung significantly against Labor - despite the funding promises from PM Rudd during the campaign.

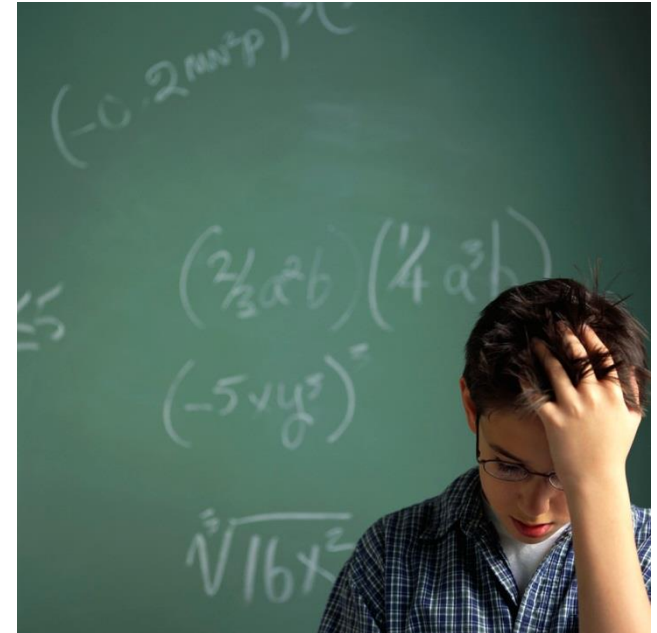
The current education chart showed that parents of school children are looking for better education outcomes, rather than more funding.

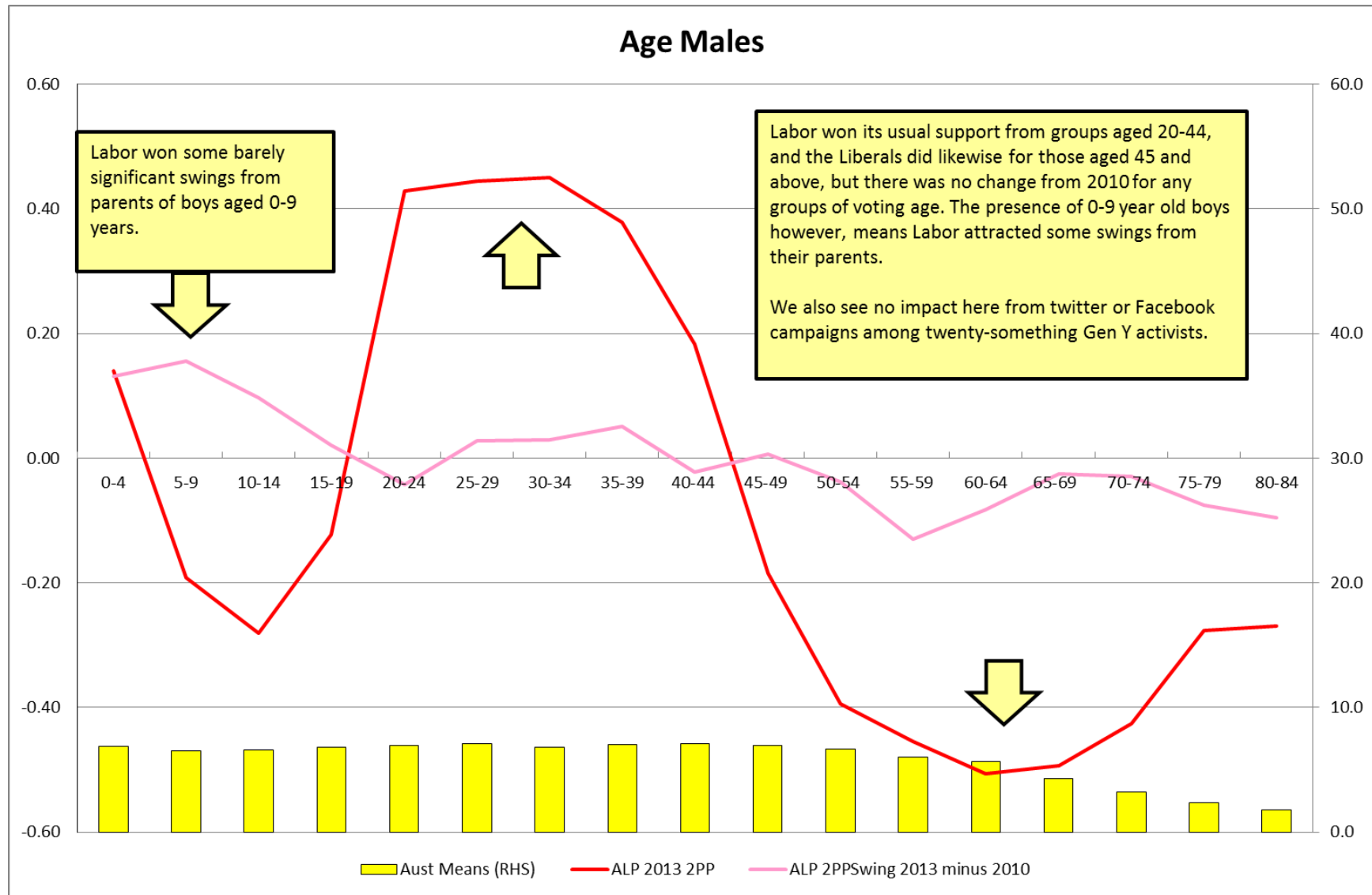
When we look at the stage at which adults left school we saw that Labor lost significant numbers of Year 11 graduates which we tend to find in Victorian marginal seats at venues like the Fountain Gate Shopping Centre. These Kath & Kim groups were big fans of Julia Gillard in 2010 but not of Kevin Rudd in 2013.

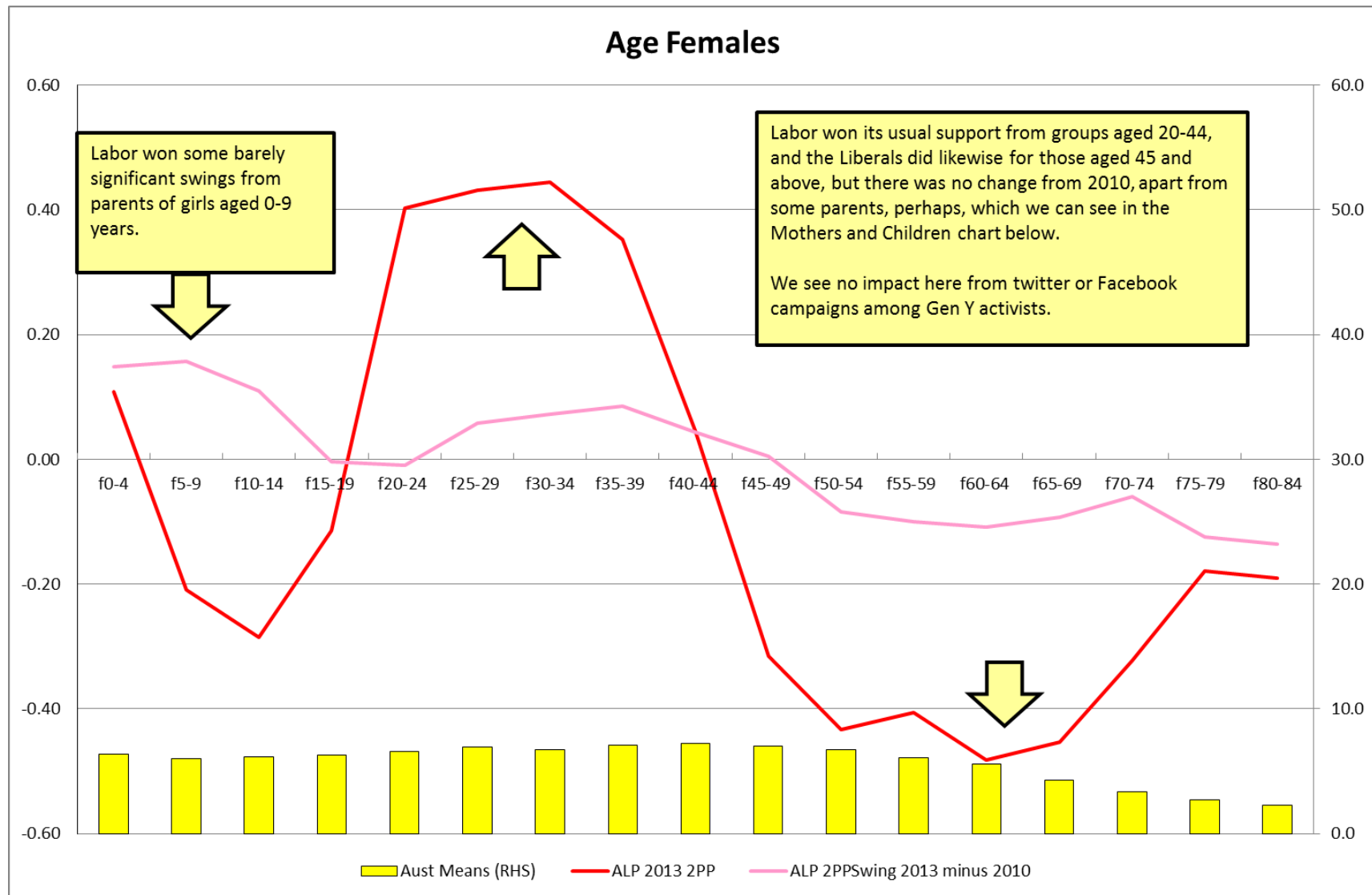
Despite all the money spent by Labor on Health and Education and the 430,000 jobs created in these two industries since 2007, there were no swings to Labor from men and women educated in Health and Education courses. Labor did attract small swings from the tiny group of Mixed Field Programs - voters who had completed basic TAFE courses on the fundamentals of how to apply for a job and present at an interview.

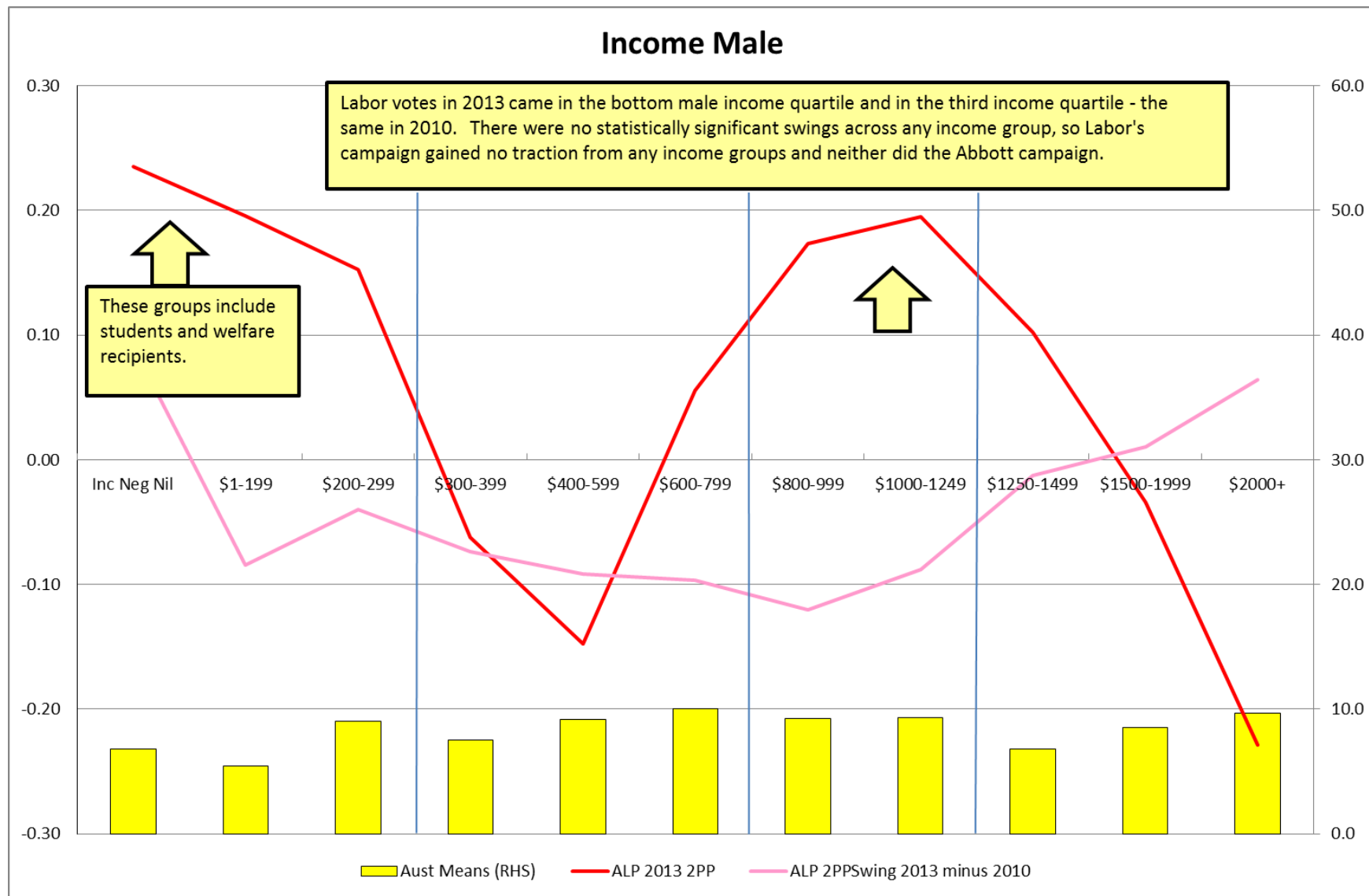
In 2007 Labor's working families' campaign attracted support from the huge group of skilled blue collar men and women with certificate qualifications. However, Labor's 2013 campaign was so bereft of demographic traction in terms of Qualifications, that the only swings to Labor came from the tiny groups who couldn't fill out their Census forms properly.

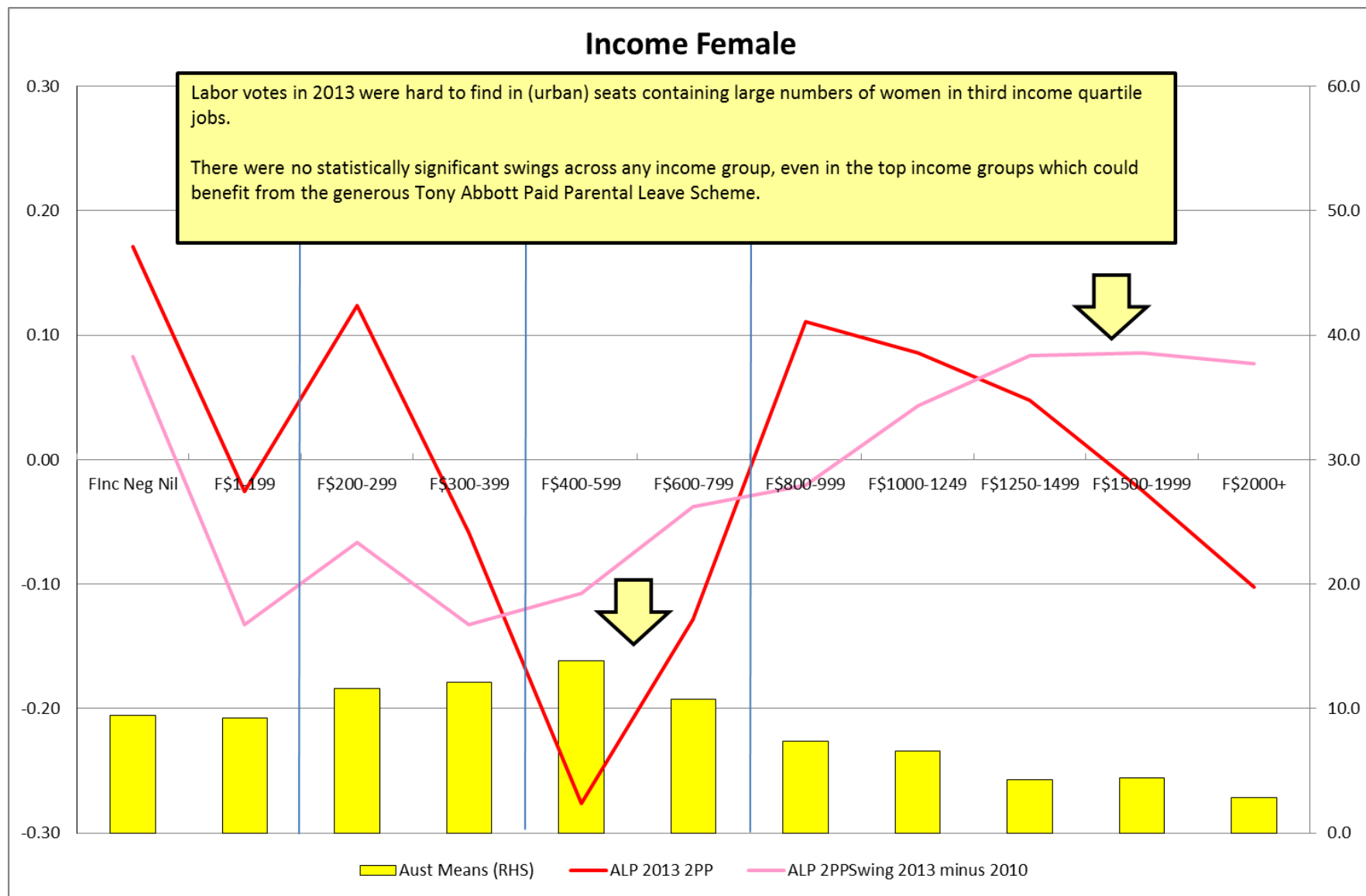
Labor's campaign simply failed to fire across any professional, skilled white collar or blue collar education groups. There was no measurable impact in any of the education charts of any benefit for Labor from the Gonski spending reforms. Apart from these problems, Labor's education ministers have done a sterling job at spending money.

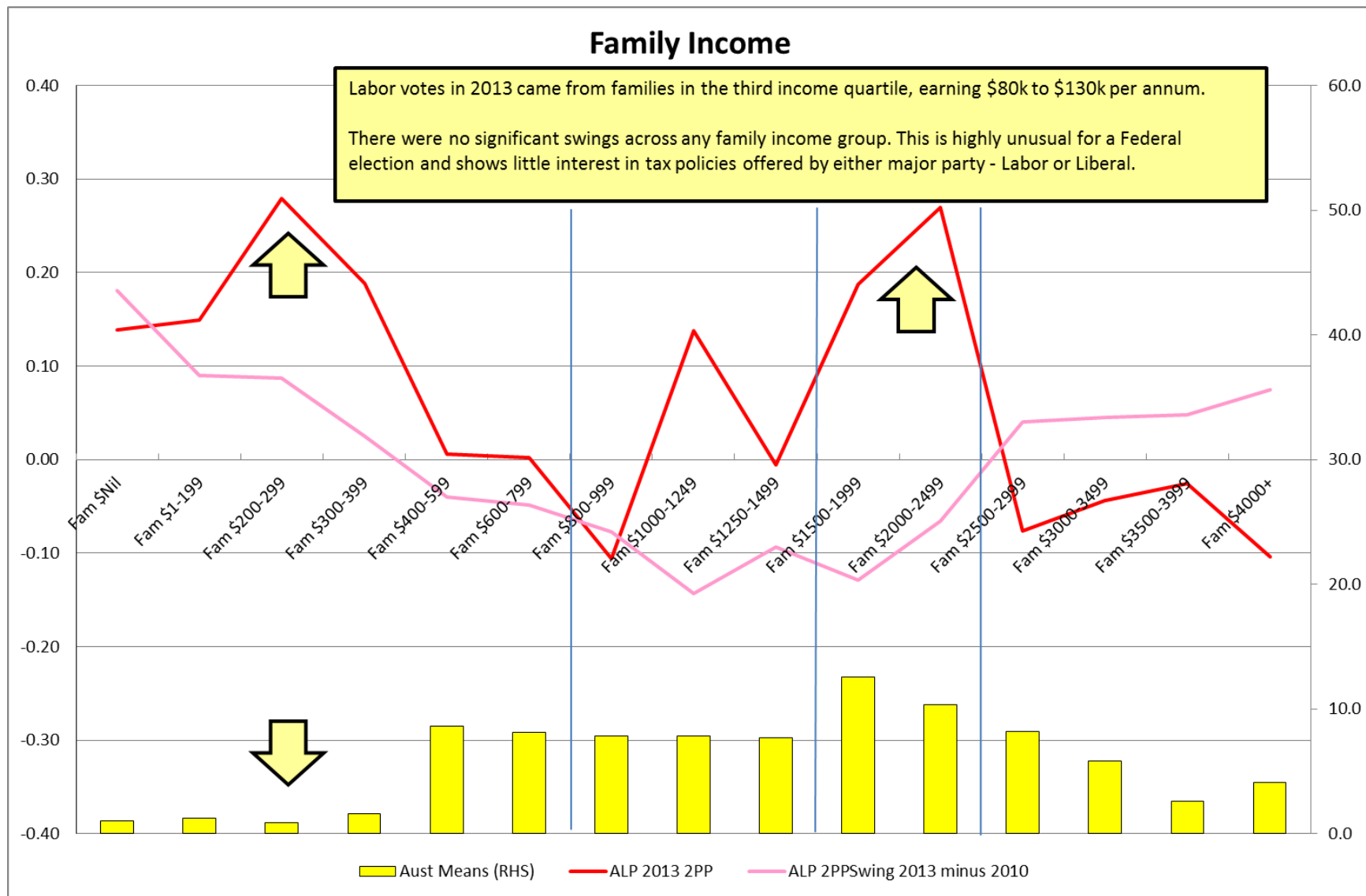












Age and Income charts

Labor won its usual support from groups aged 20-44, and the Liberals did likewise for those aged 45 and above, but there was no change from 2010 for any groups of voting age. We did see signs of a more positive profile for Labor from 0-9 year old boys and girls, which means Labor attracted some swings from their parents.

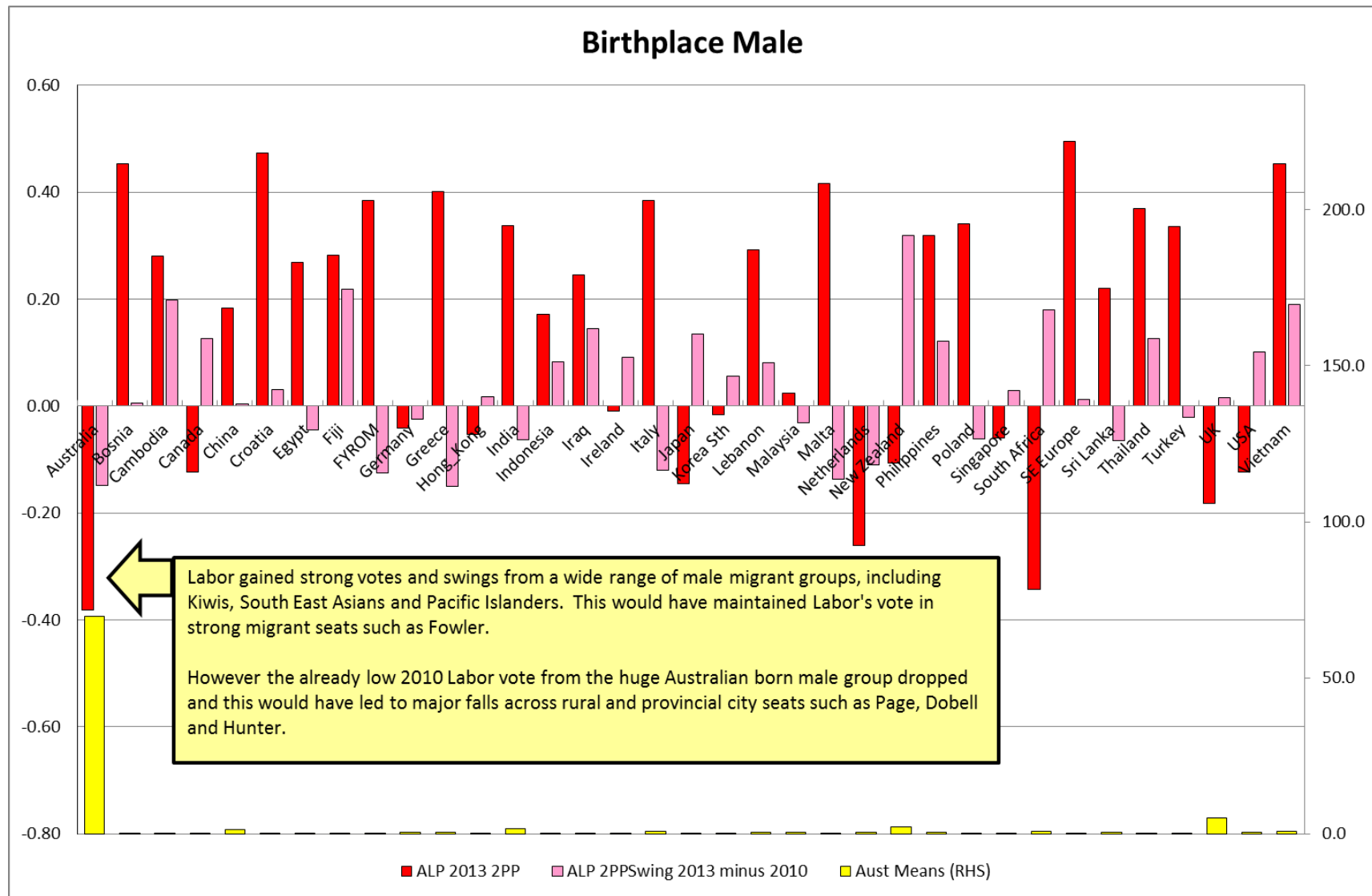
We saw no impact here from twitter or Facebook campaigns among twenty-something Gen Y activists.

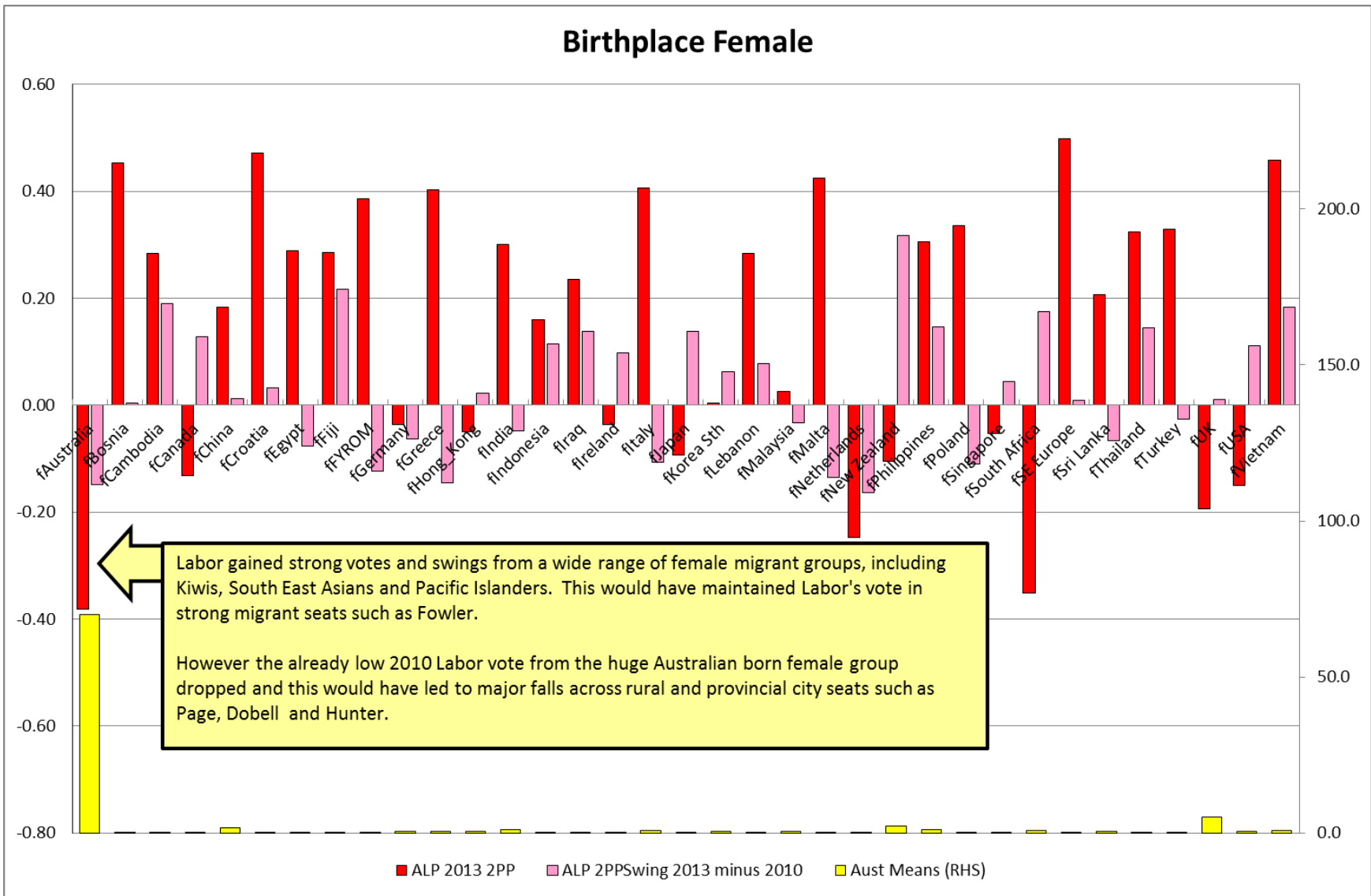
Labor votes in 2013 came from the bottom male income quartile and in the third income quartile - the same support profile we saw in 2010. There were no statistically significant swings across any income group, so Labor's campaign gained no traction from any income groups and neither did the Abbott campaign. Labor in 2013 won very little support from women in third income quartile jobs.

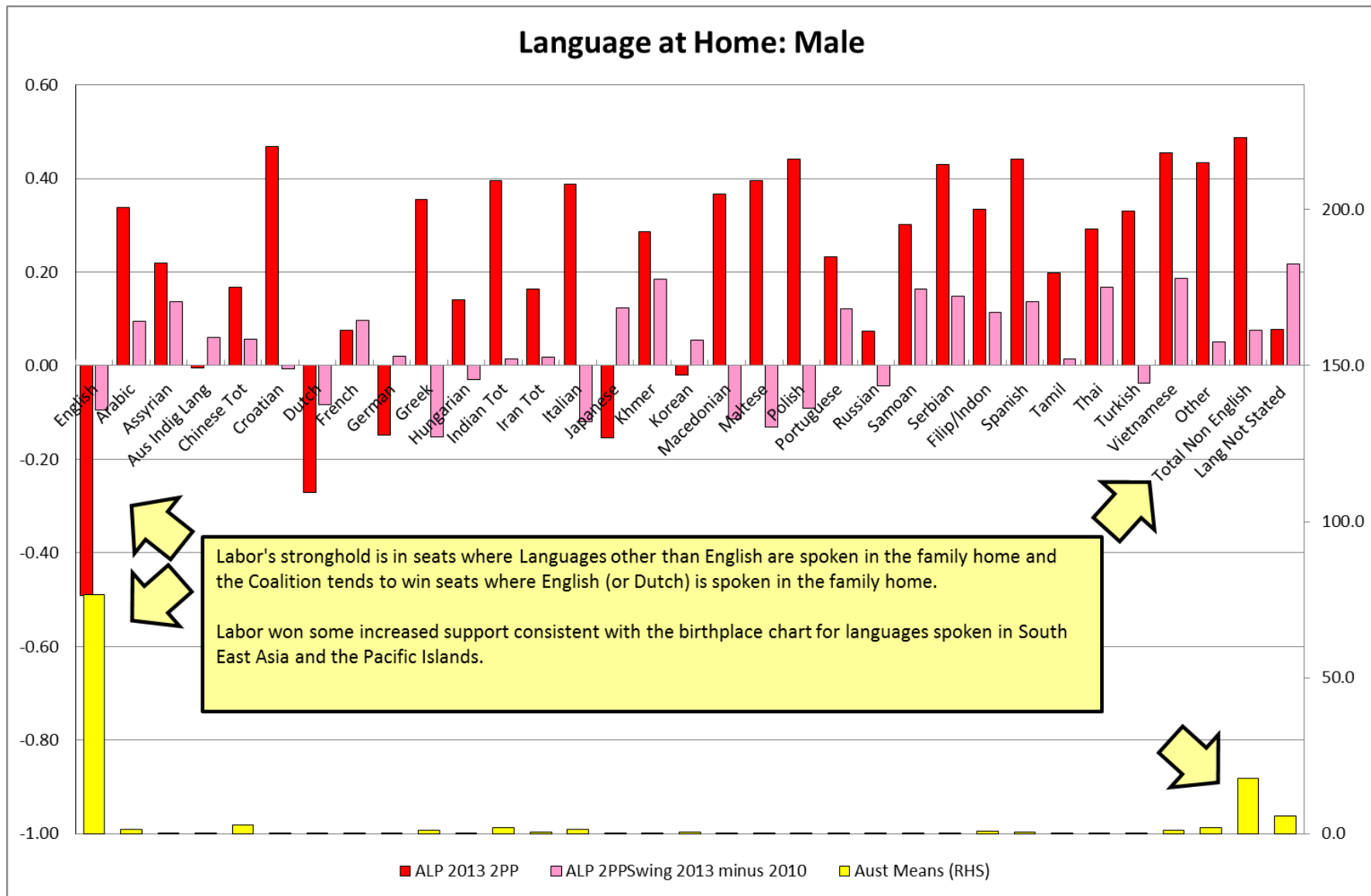
There were no statistically significant swings across any female income group, even in the top income groups which could benefit from the generous Tony Abbott Paid Parental Leave Scheme.

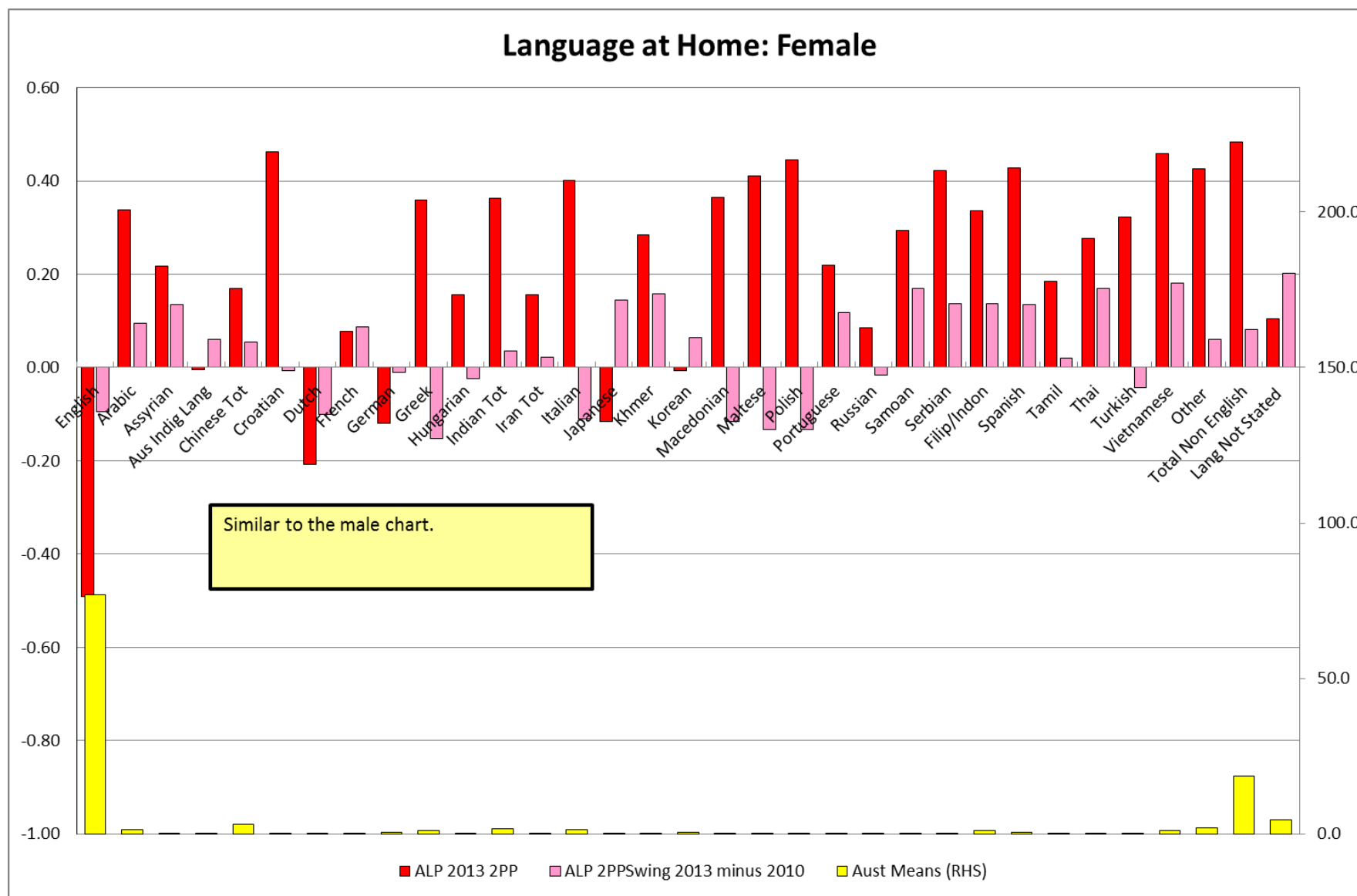
In terms of Family Income, Labor votes in 2013 came from families in the third income quartile, earning \$80k to \$130k per annum. But there were no significant swings across any family income group. This is highly unusual for a Federal election and showed the voters had very little interest in tax policies offered by either major party - Labor or Liberal.

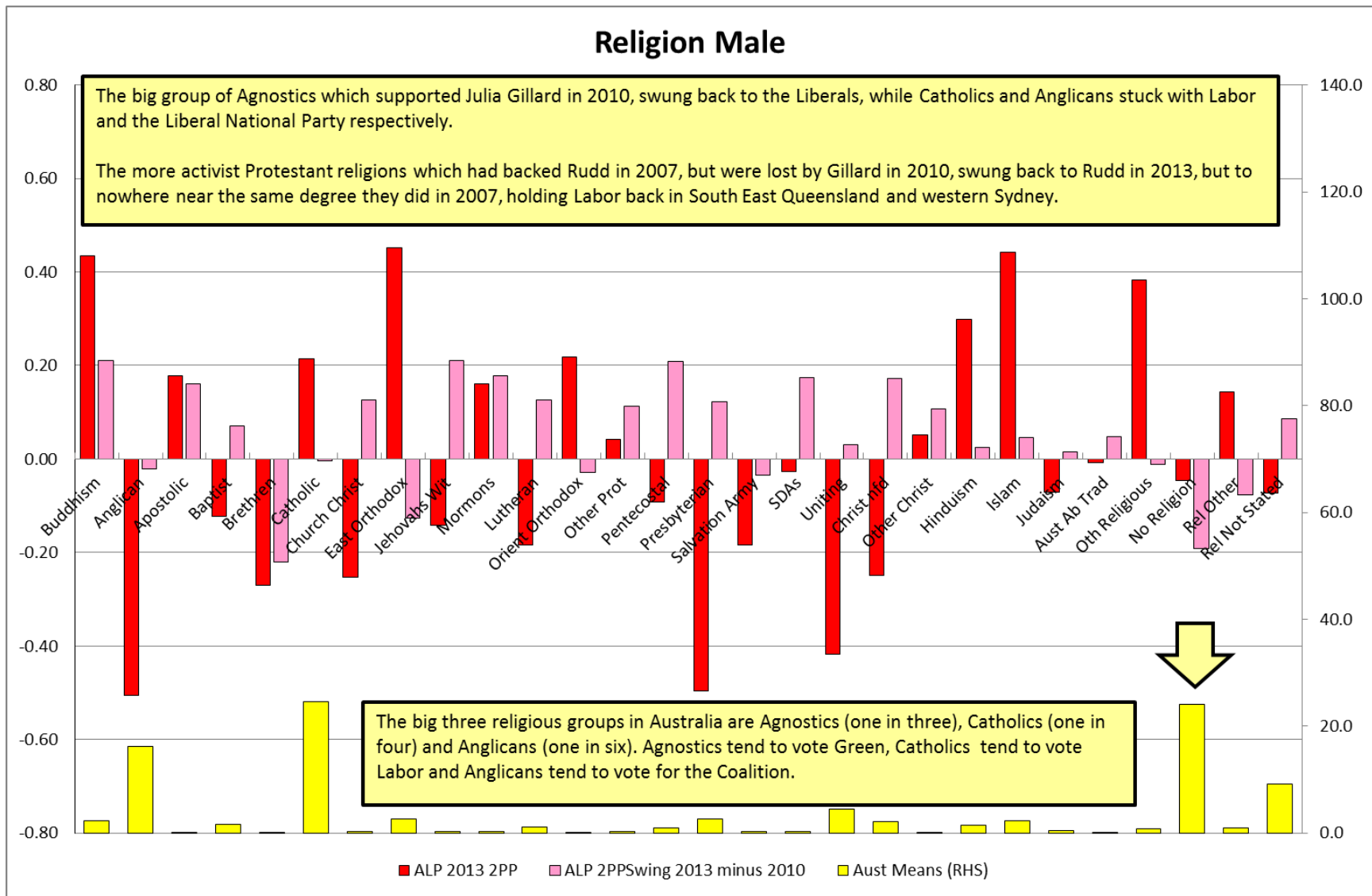




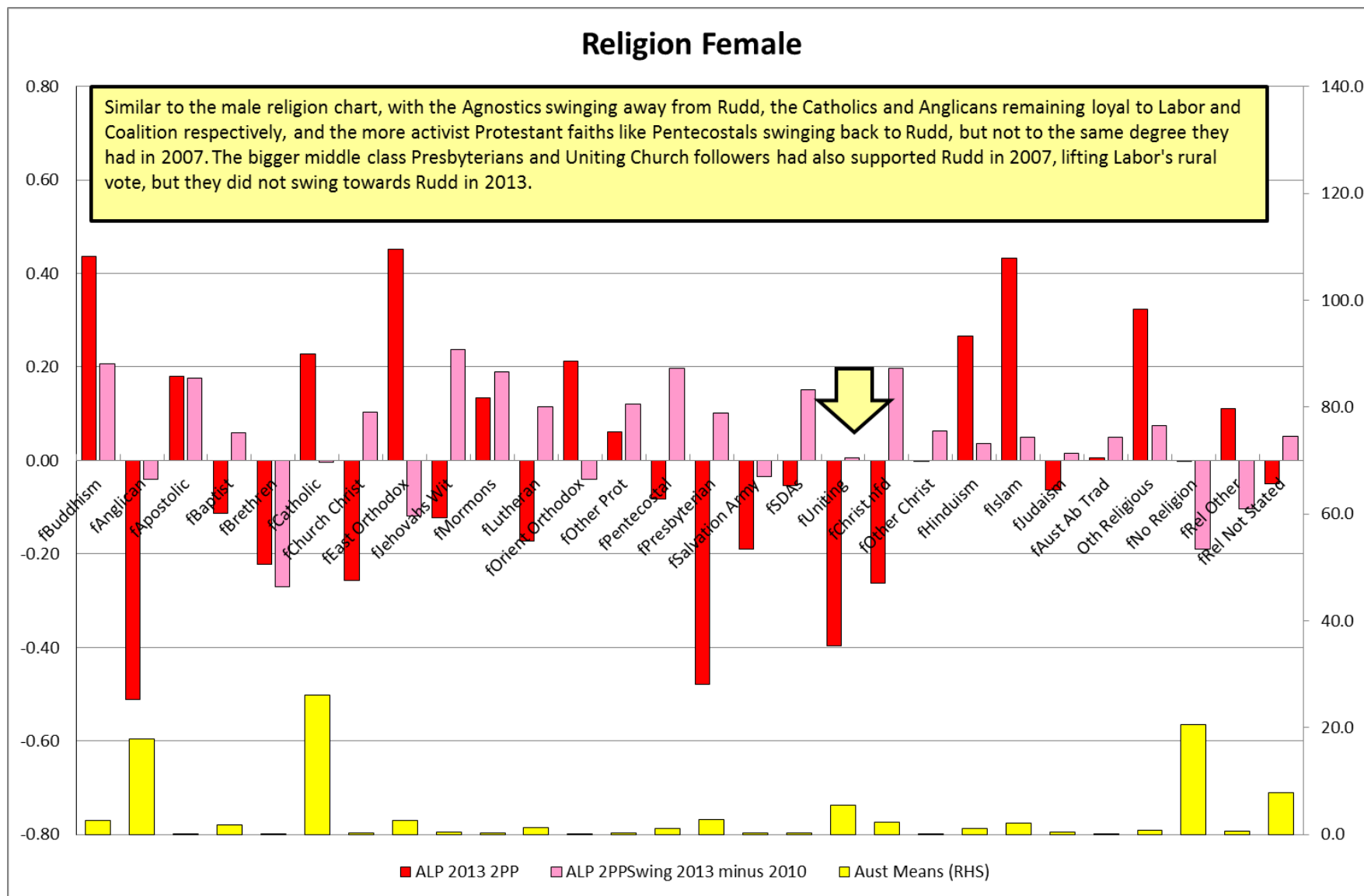








Religion Female



Culture charts

Labor gained strong votes and swings from a wide range of male migrant groups, including Kiwis, South East Asians and Pacific Islanders. This would have maintained Labor's vote in strong migrant seats such as Fowler.

However the already low 2010 Labor vote from the huge Australian born group dropped and this would have led to major falls across Labor's rural and provincial city seats such as Page, Dobell and Hunter.

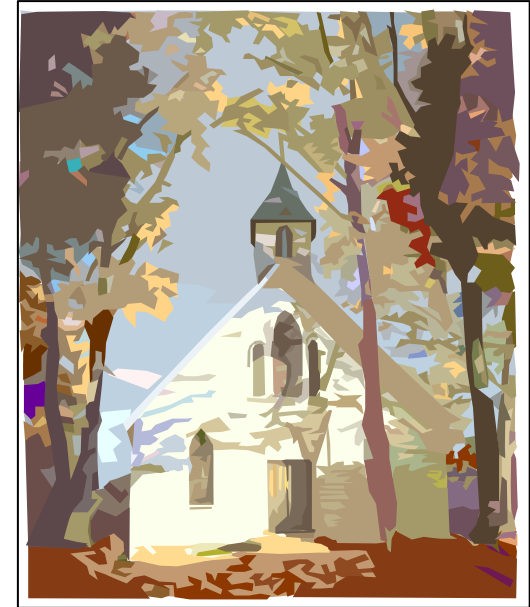
Labor's stronghold is in seats where Languages other than English are spoken in the family home and the Coalition tends to win seats where English (or Dutch) is spoken in the family home. Labor won some increased support consistent with the birthplace chart for languages spoken in South East Asia and the Pacific Islands.

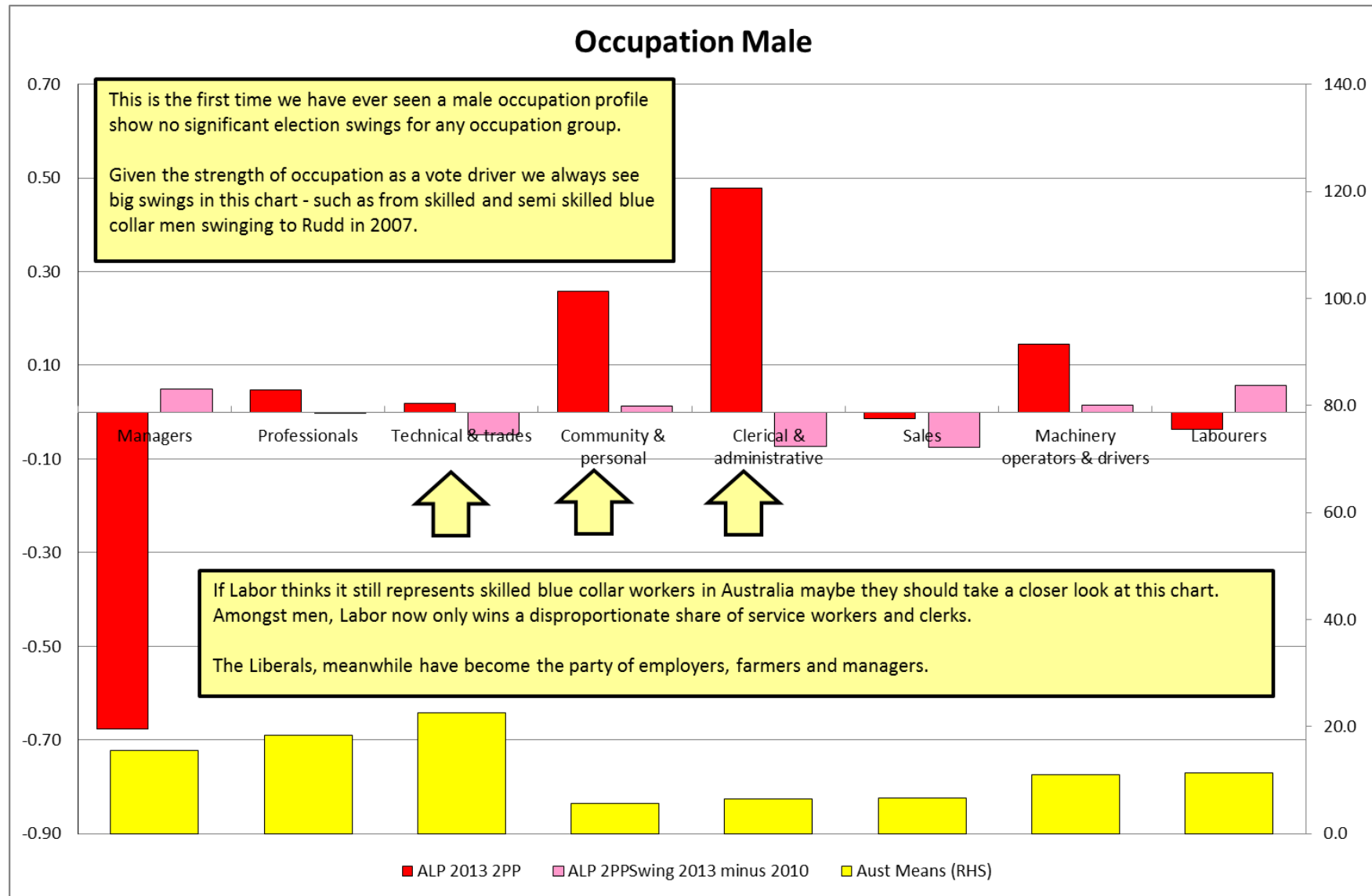
The big group of Agnostics which supported Julia Gillard in 2010, swung back to the Liberals, while Catholics and Anglicans stuck with Labor and the Liberal National Party respectively. .

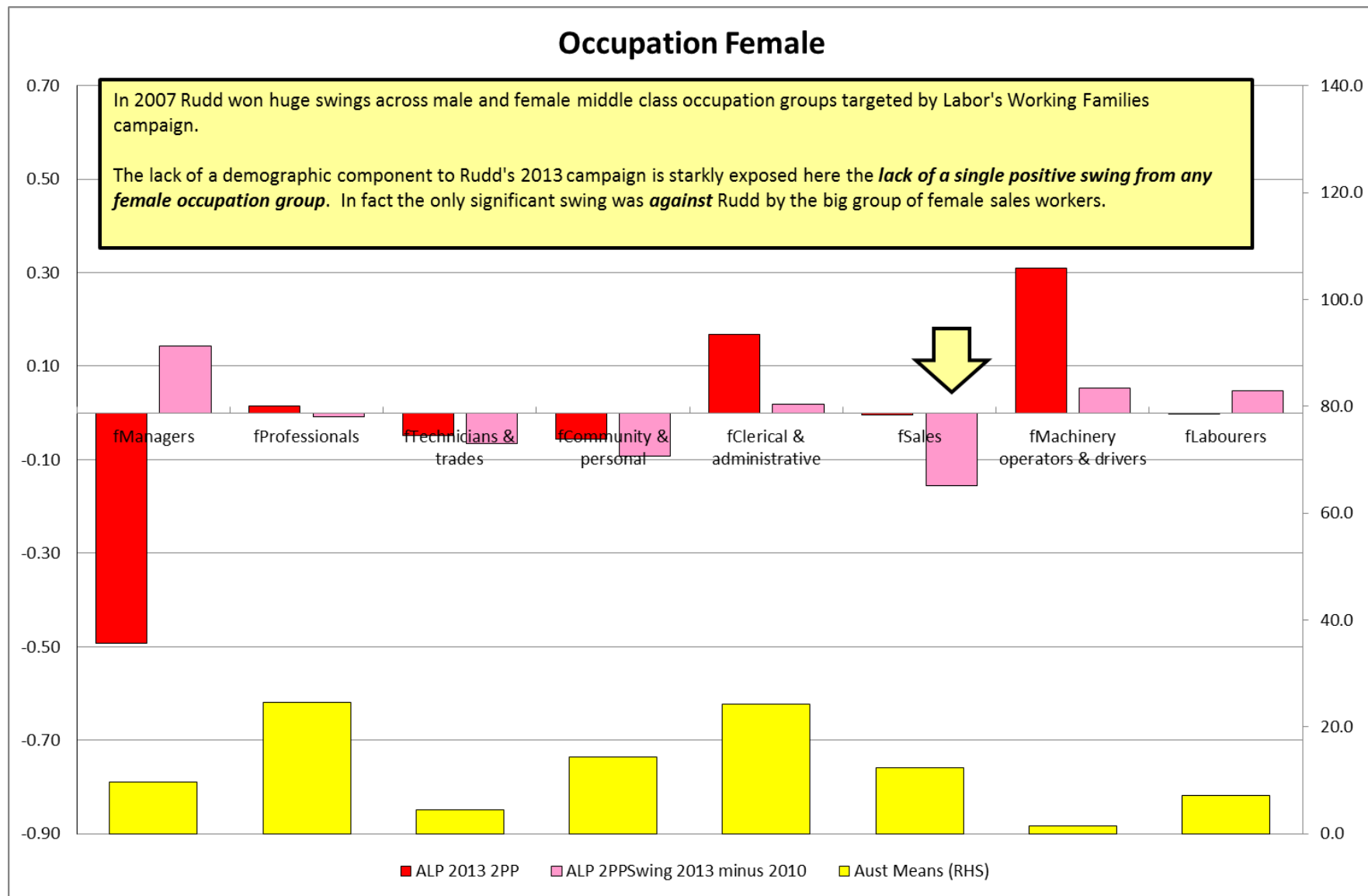
The Religion Charts showed Agnostics swung away from Rudd, the Catholics and Anglicans remained loyal to Labor and Coalition respectively, and the more activist Protestant faiths like Pentecostals swung back to Rudd, but not to the same degree they had in 2007.

The bigger middle class Presbyterians and Uniting Church followers had also supported Rudd in 2007, lifting Labor's rural vote, but they did not swing towards Rudd in 2013.

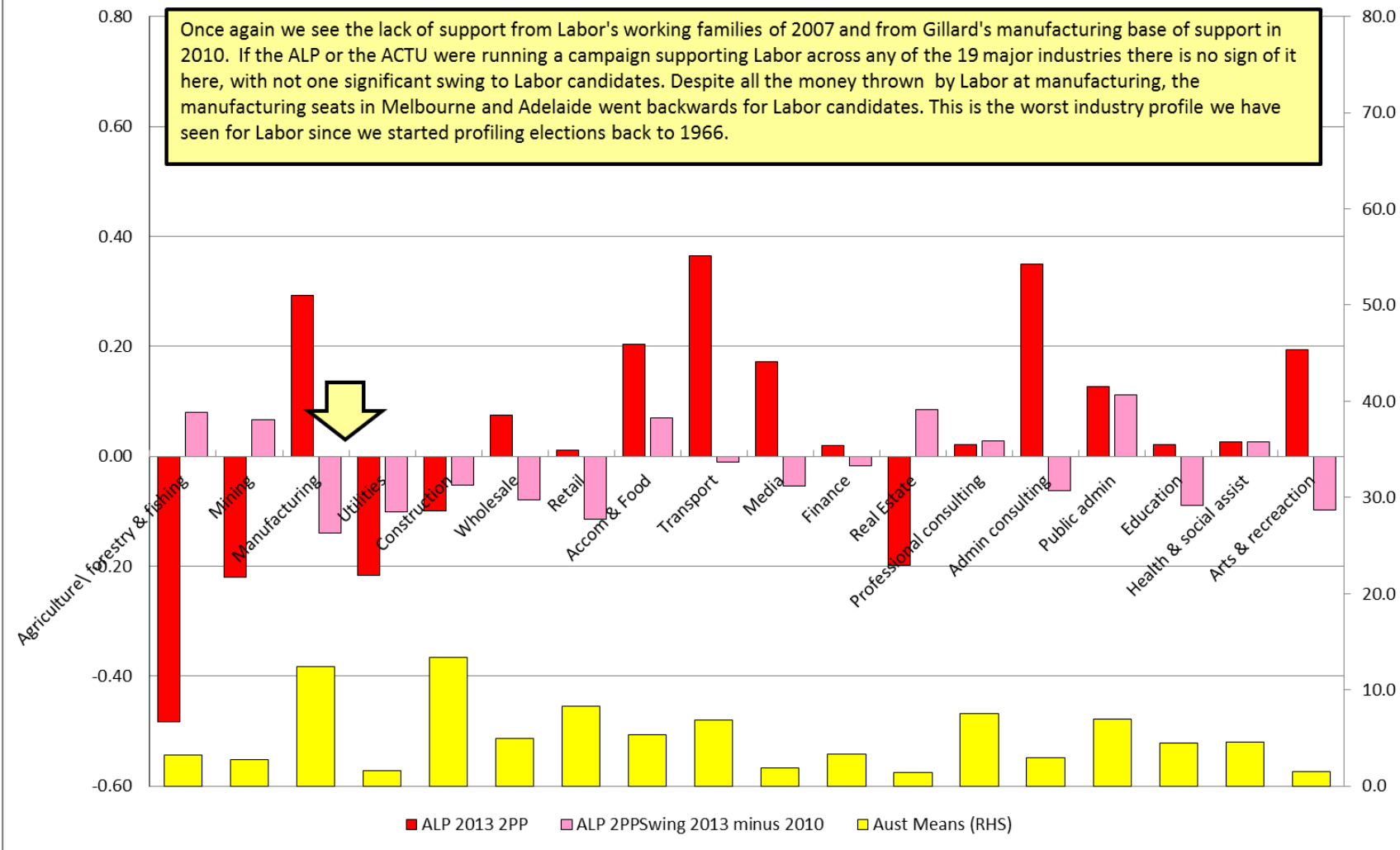
In terms of the Religion Charts, it seems Rudd's outspoken advocacy of Gay Marriage cost him votes where it hurt him the most, in the middle class suburbs and the outer working class suburbs, but he also lost votes in the professional suburbs dominated by Agnostics. These trends may have been linked to Rudd's PNG refugee plan. From the other variables we have seen so far and based on our modeling of the Gay vote, Rudd's Gay Marriage conversion also failed to win any swings from Gay demographics. So votes and seats were lost for no electoral gain.



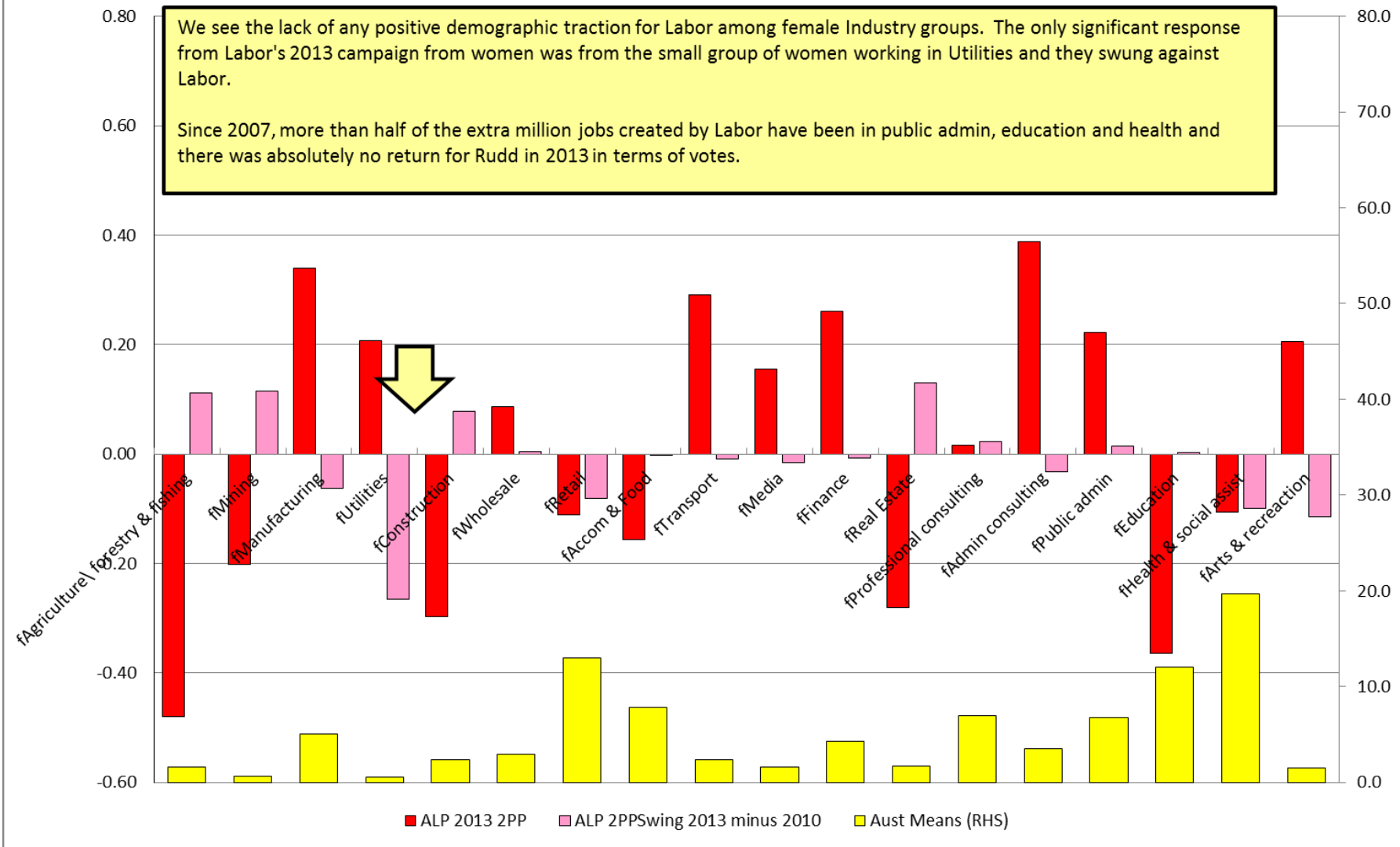




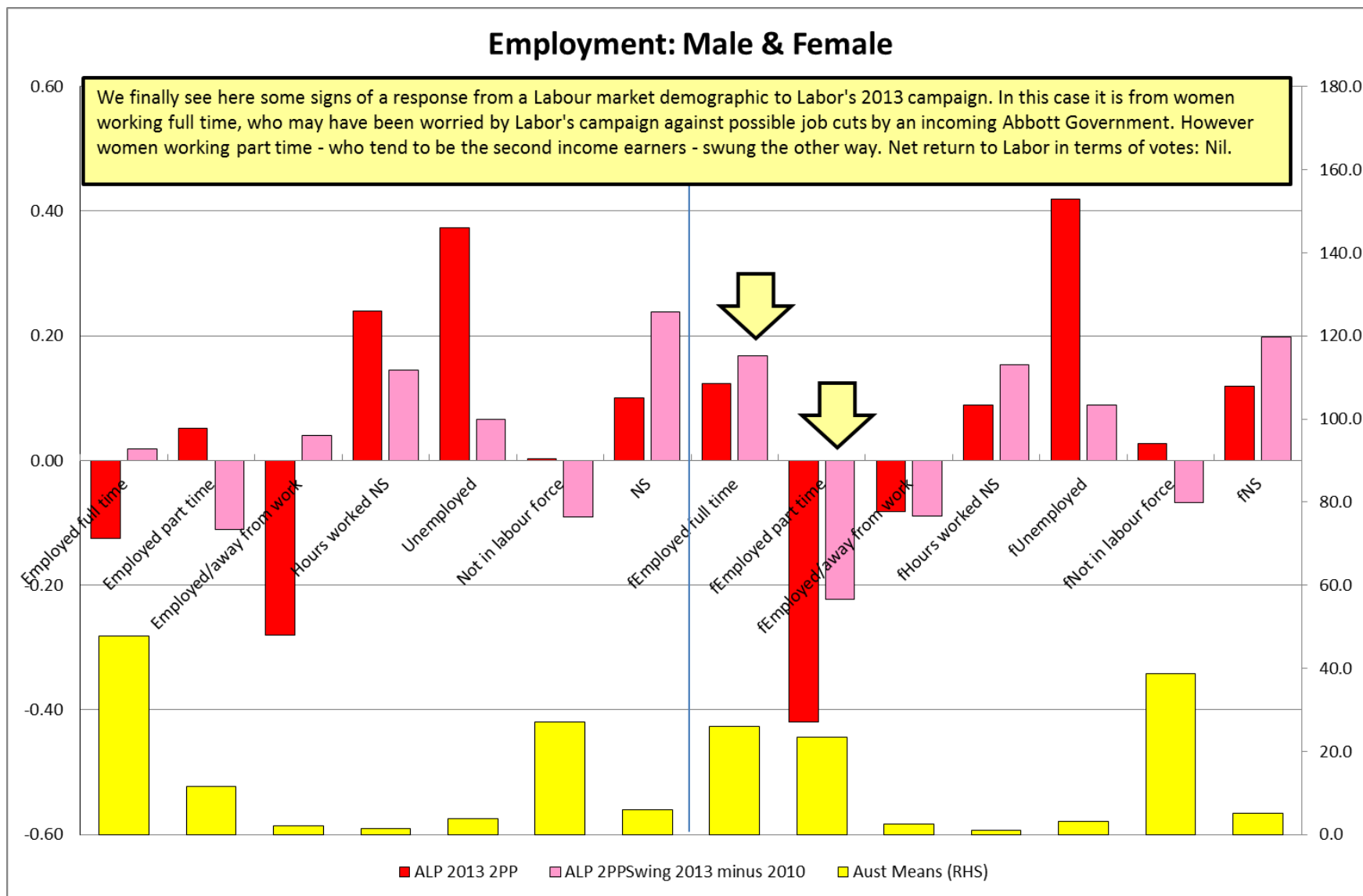
Industry Male



Industry Female



Employment: Male & Female



Occupation and Industry charts

This is the first time we have ever seen a Male Occupation profile show no significant election swings for any occupation group. Given the strength of occupation as a vote driver we always see big swings in this chart - such as from skilled and semi-skilled blue collar men swinging to Rudd in 2007. If Labor thinks it still represents skilled blue collar workers in Australia maybe it should take a closer look at this chart. Amongst men, Labor now only wins a disproportionate share of votes from service workers and clerks.

The Liberals, meanwhile have become the party of employers, farmers and managers and attracted no profile from the fast growing professional groups.

In 2007 Rudd won huge swings across male and female middle class Occupation groups targeted by Labor's Working Families campaign. The lack of a demographic component to Rudd's 2013 campaign was starkly exposed by the *lack of a single positive swing from any female occupation group*. In fact the only significant swing was *against* Rudd by the big group of female sales workers.

The Industry Charts show the lack of support from Labor's working families of 2007 and from Gillard's manufacturing base of support in 2010. If the ALP or the ACTU were running a campaign supporting Labor across any of the 19 major industries there was no sign of it here, with not one significant Industry based swing to Labor candidates. Despite all the money thrown by Labor at manufacturing, the manufacturing seats in Melbourne and Adelaide went backwards for Labor candidates. This is the worst industry profile we have seen for Labor since we started profiling elections back to 1966.

We also see a lack of any positive demographic traction for Labor among female Industry groups. The only significant response to Labor's 2013 campaign from women was from the small group working in Utilities and they swung against Labor.

Since 2007, more than half of the extra million jobs created by Labor have been in the Industries of public admin, education and health and there was no return for Rudd in 2013 in terms of votes from these three industries for men or for women.

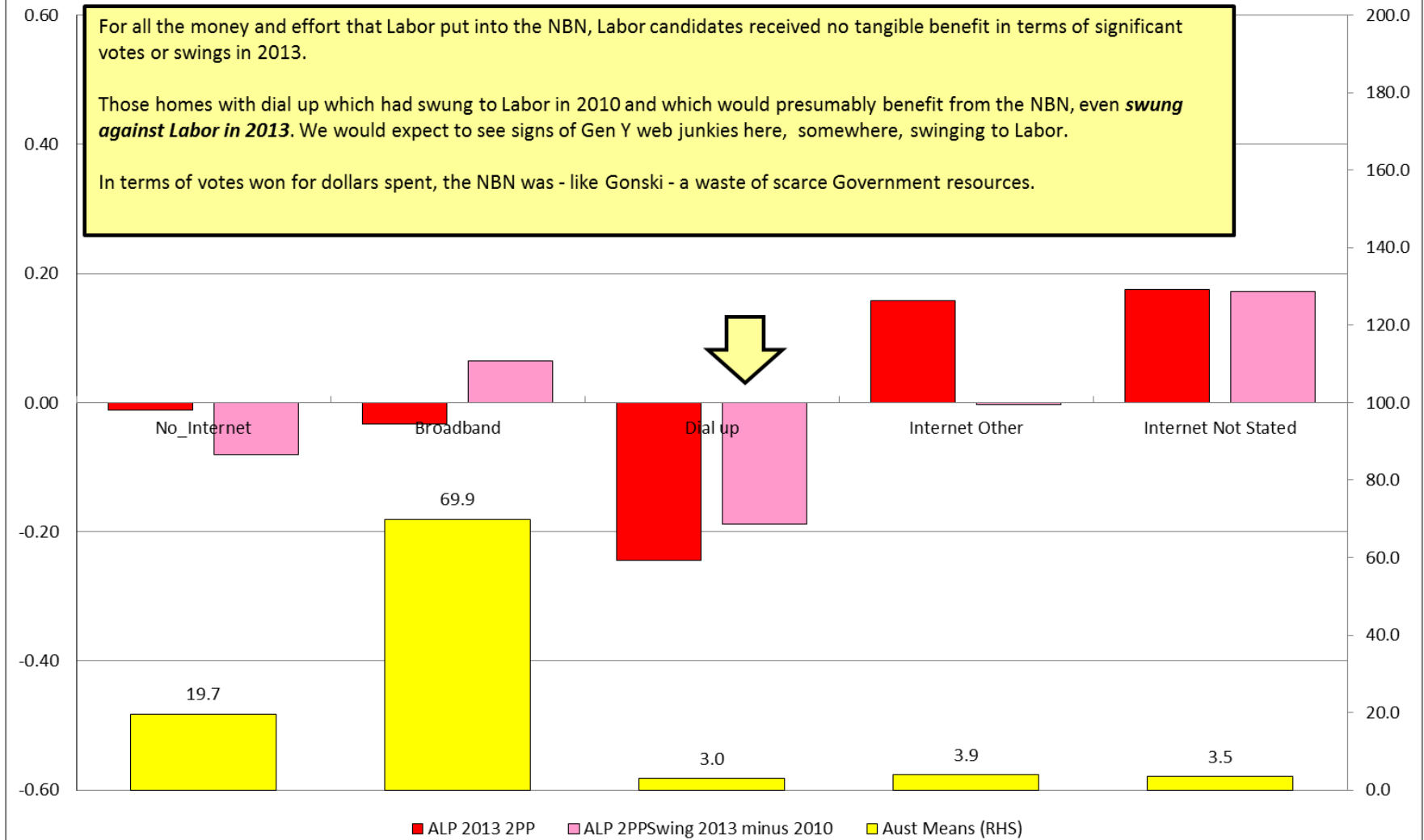
The Employment chart showed some signs of a response from a Labour market demographic to Labor's 2013 campaign. In this case it was from women working full time, who may have been worried by Labor's campaign against possible job cuts by an incoming Abbott Government. However women working part time - who tend to be the second family income earners - swung the other way. Net return to Labor in terms of votes: Nil.

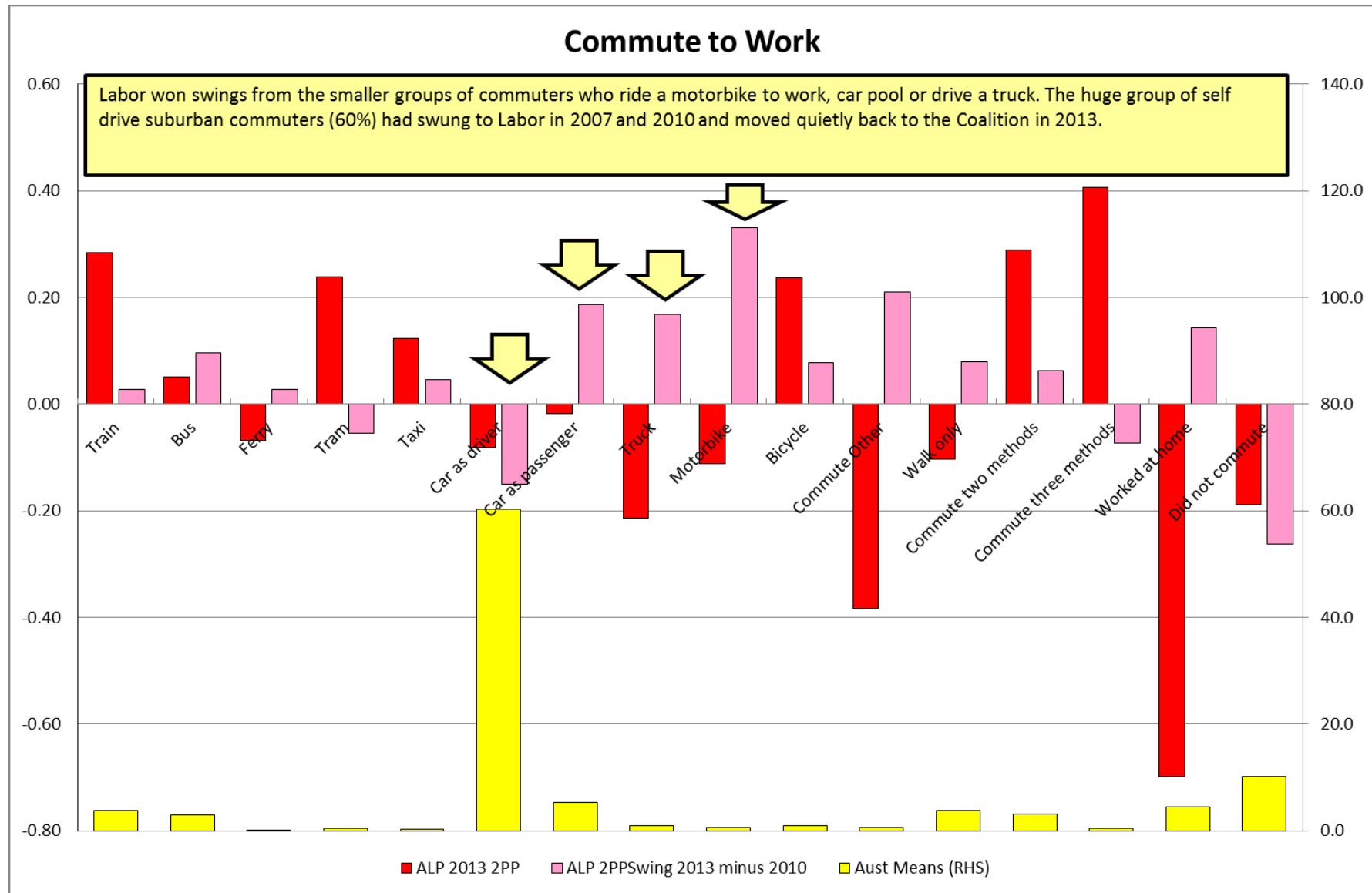
The Web

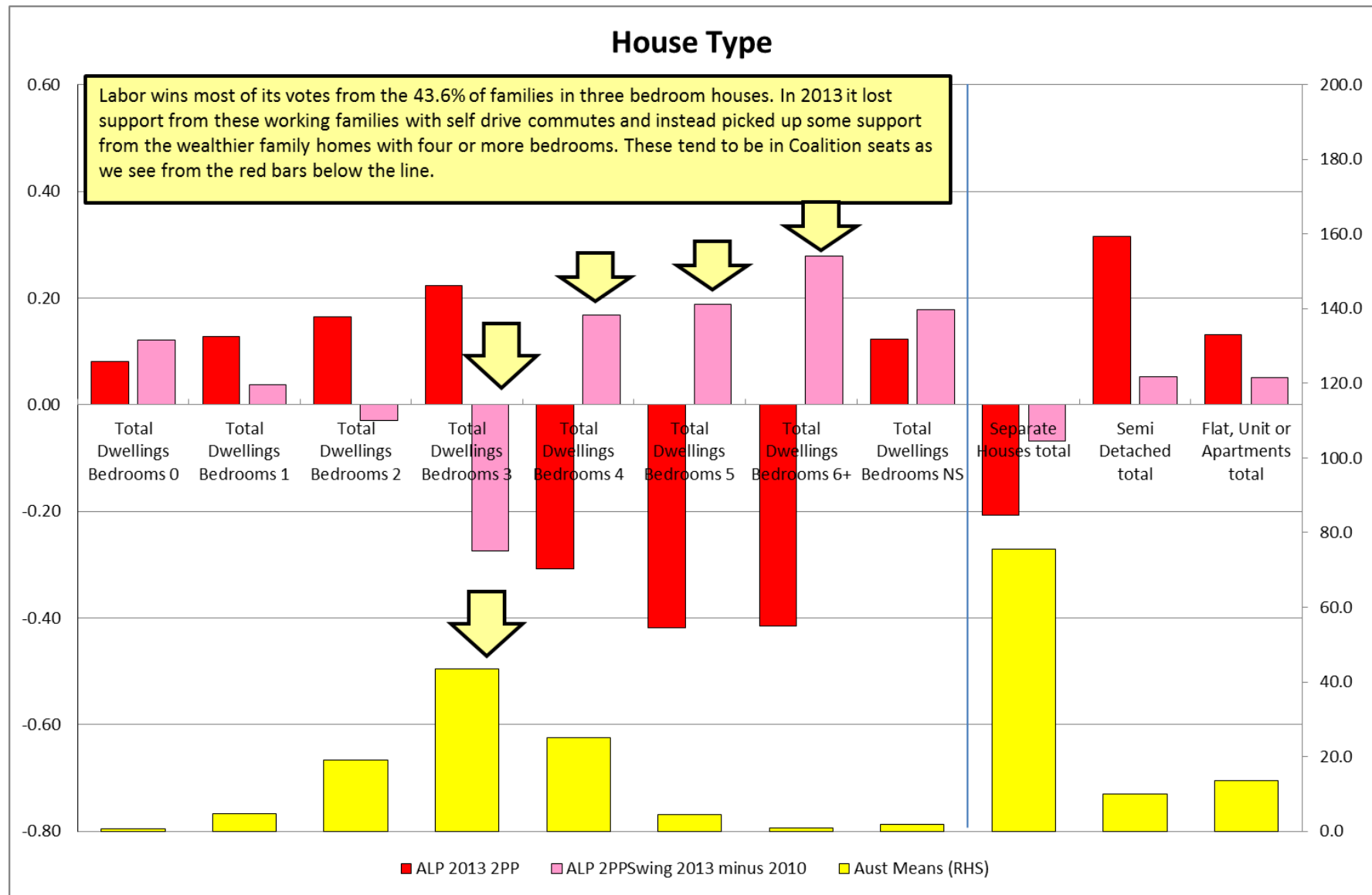
For all the money and effort that Labor put into the NBN, Labor candidates received no tangible benefit in terms of significant votes or swings in 2013.

Those homes with dial up which had swung to Labor in 2010 and which would presumably benefit from the NBN, even **swung against Labor in 2013**. We would expect to see signs of Gen Y web junkies here, somewhere, swinging to Labor.

In terms of votes won for dollars spent, the NBN was - like Gonski - a waste of scarce Government resources.

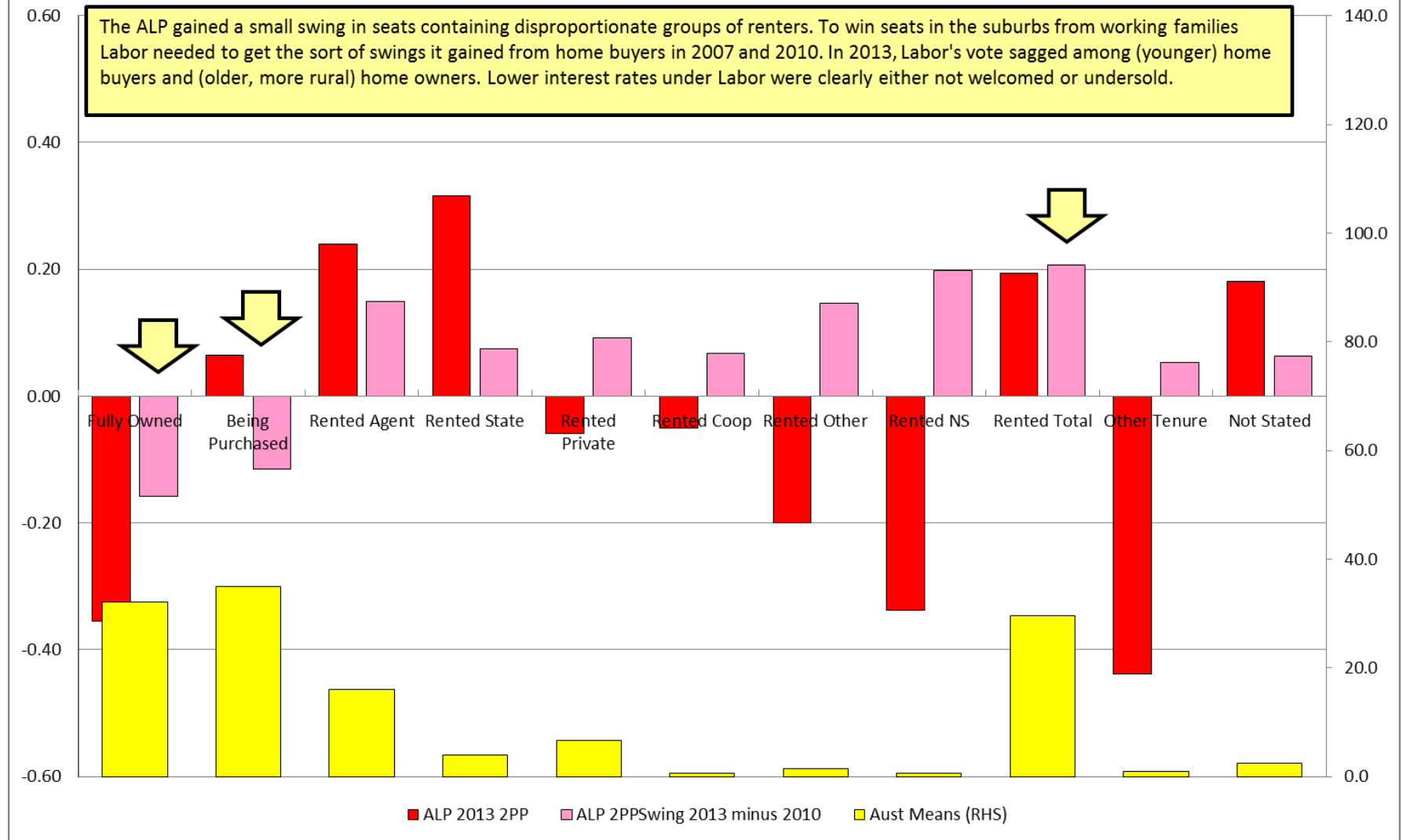


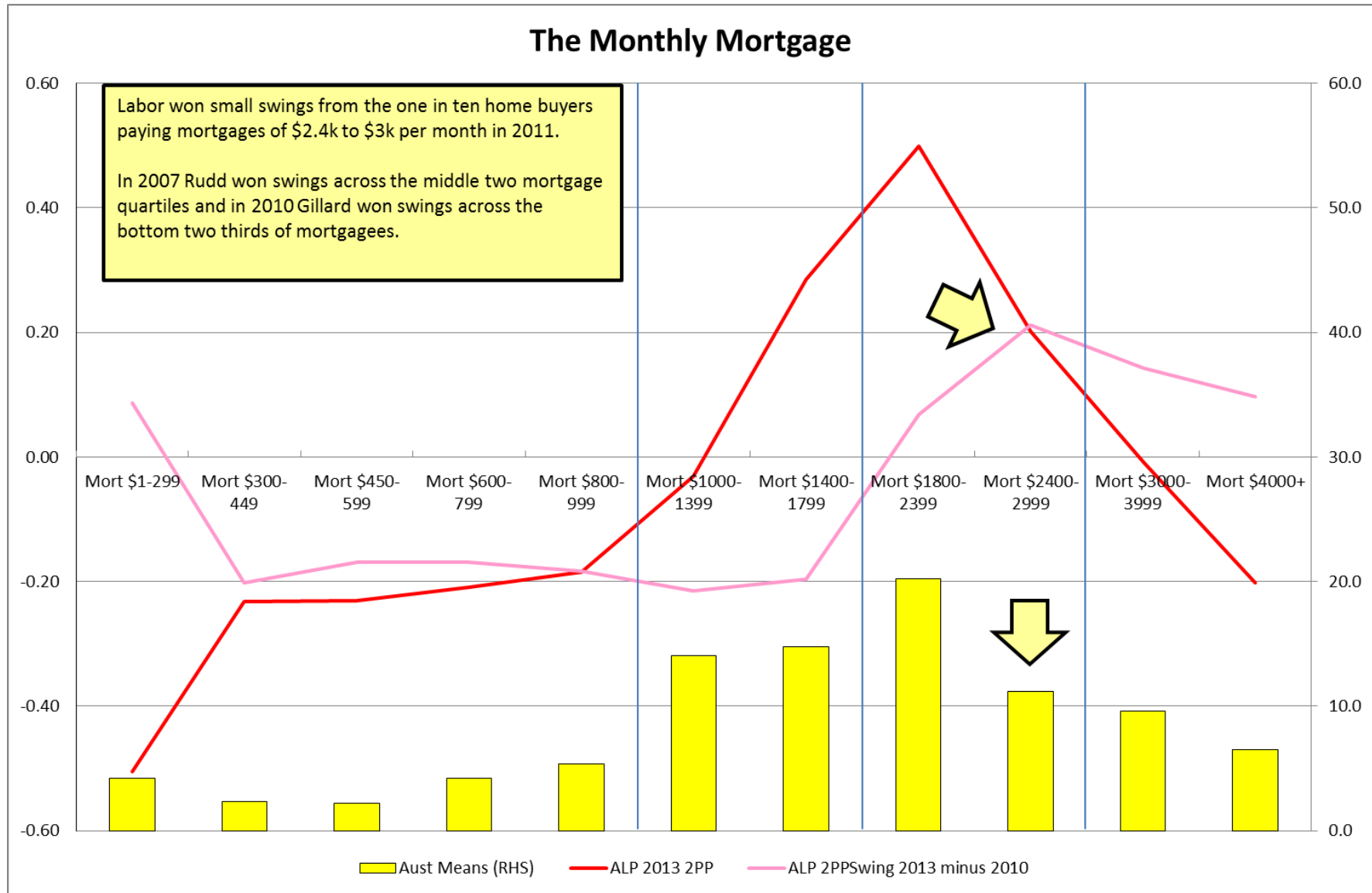


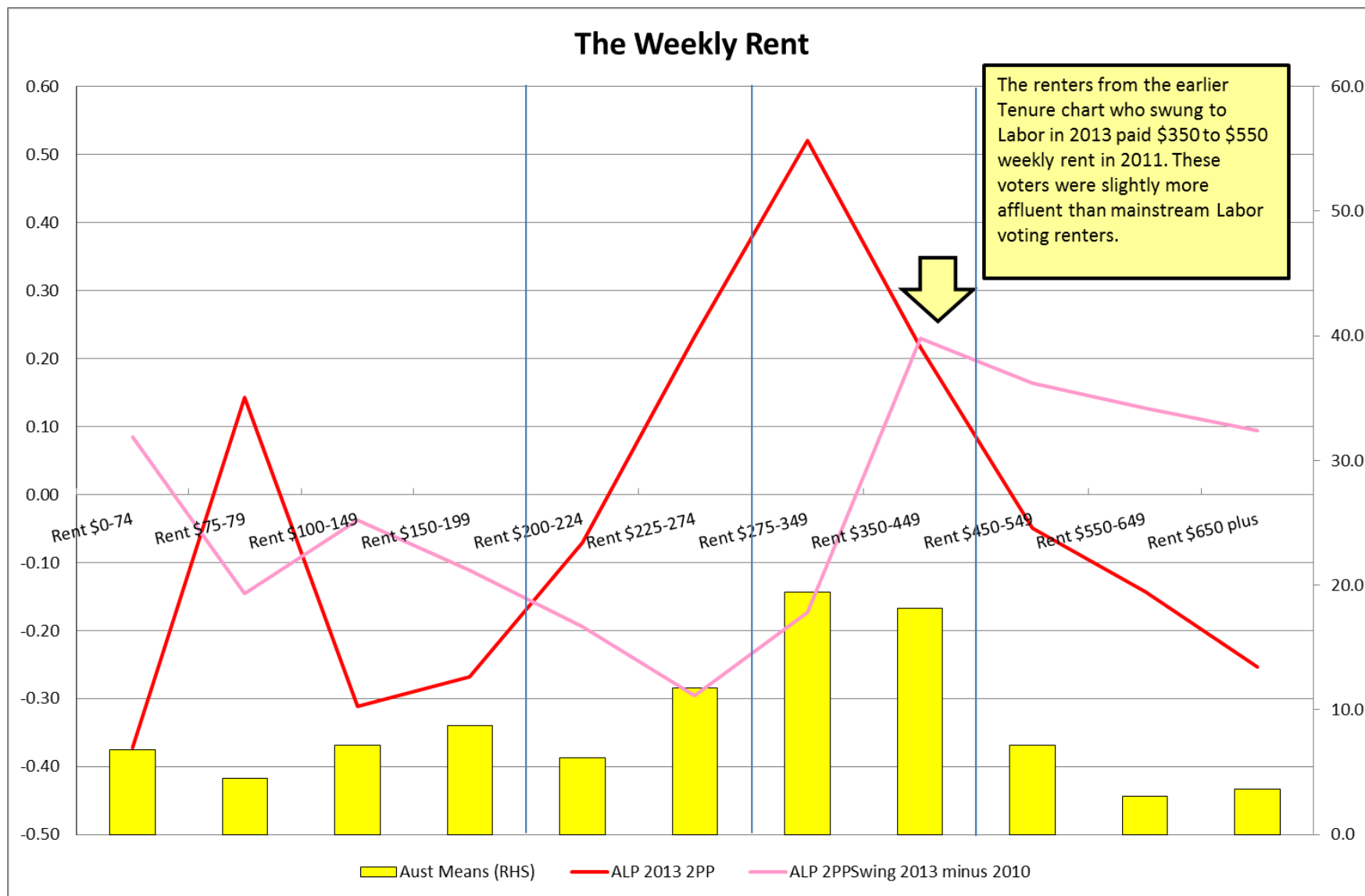


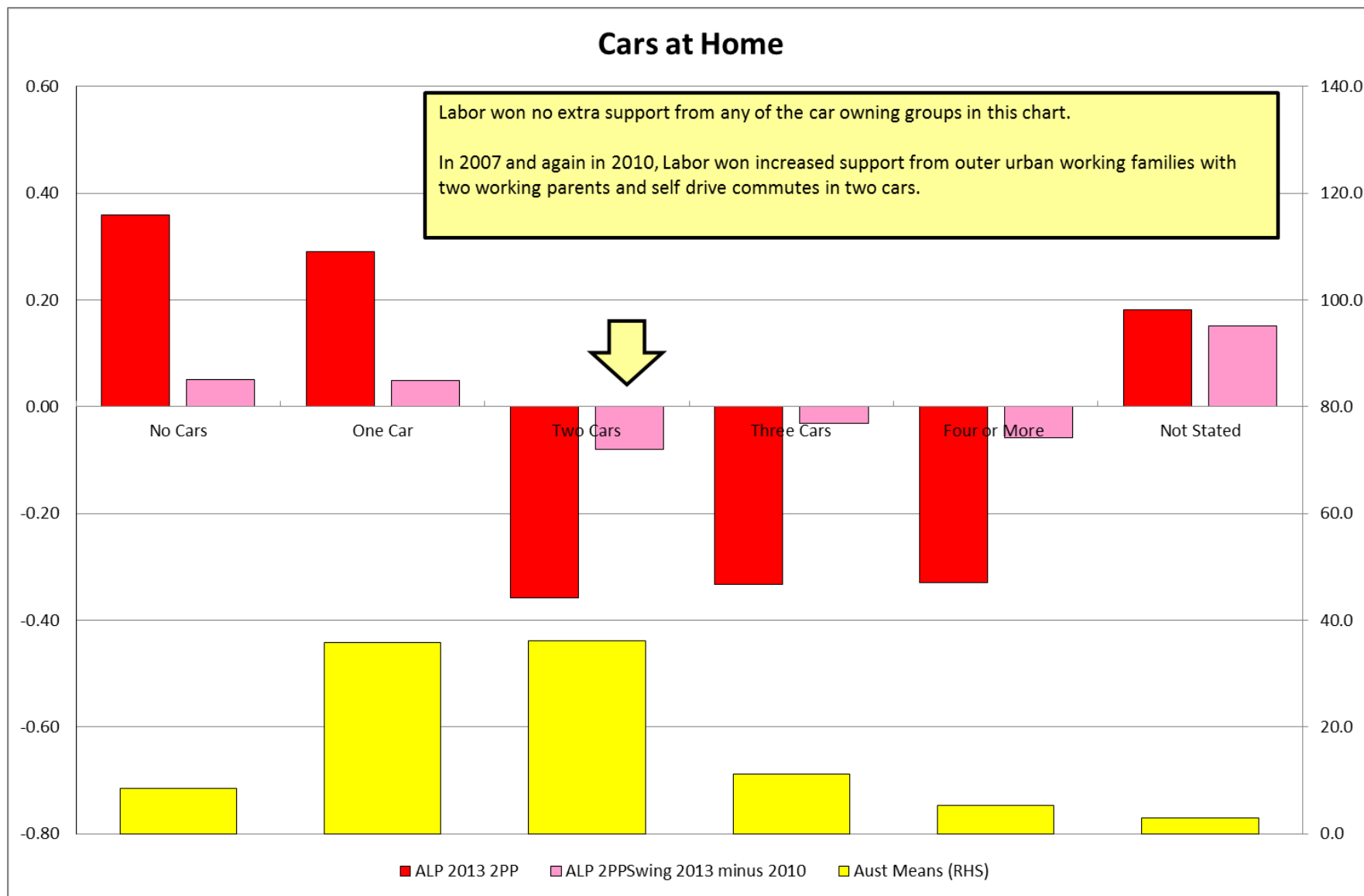
The Family Home

The ALP gained a small swing in seats containing disproportionate groups of renters. To win seats in the suburbs from working families Labor needed to get the sort of swings it gained from home buyers in 2007 and 2010. In 2013, Labor's vote sagged among (younger) home buyers and (older, more rural) home owners. Lower interest rates under Labor were clearly either not welcomed or undersold.









Home and Work charts

For all the money and effort that Labor put into the NBN, the Web Connections chart showed Labor candidates received no tangible benefit in terms of significant votes or swings in 2013. Those homes with dial up which had swung to Labor in 2010 and which would presumably benefit from the NBN *swung against Labor in 2013*. In terms of votes won for dollars spent, the NBN was - like Gonski - a waste of scarce Government resources.

Labor won swings from the smaller groups of commuters who ride a motorbike to work, car pool or drive a truck. The huge group of self-drive suburban commuters (60%) which had swung to Labor in 2007 and 2010, moved back to the Coalition in 2013. No party can win outer suburban seats without picking up support from self-drive commuters.

In terms of the family home, Labor wins most of its votes from the 43.6% of families in three bedroom houses. In 2013 it lost support from these working families with self-drive commutes and instead picked up some support from the wealthier family homes with four or more bedrooms. These tend to be in Coalition seats and so these gains were wasted for Labor.

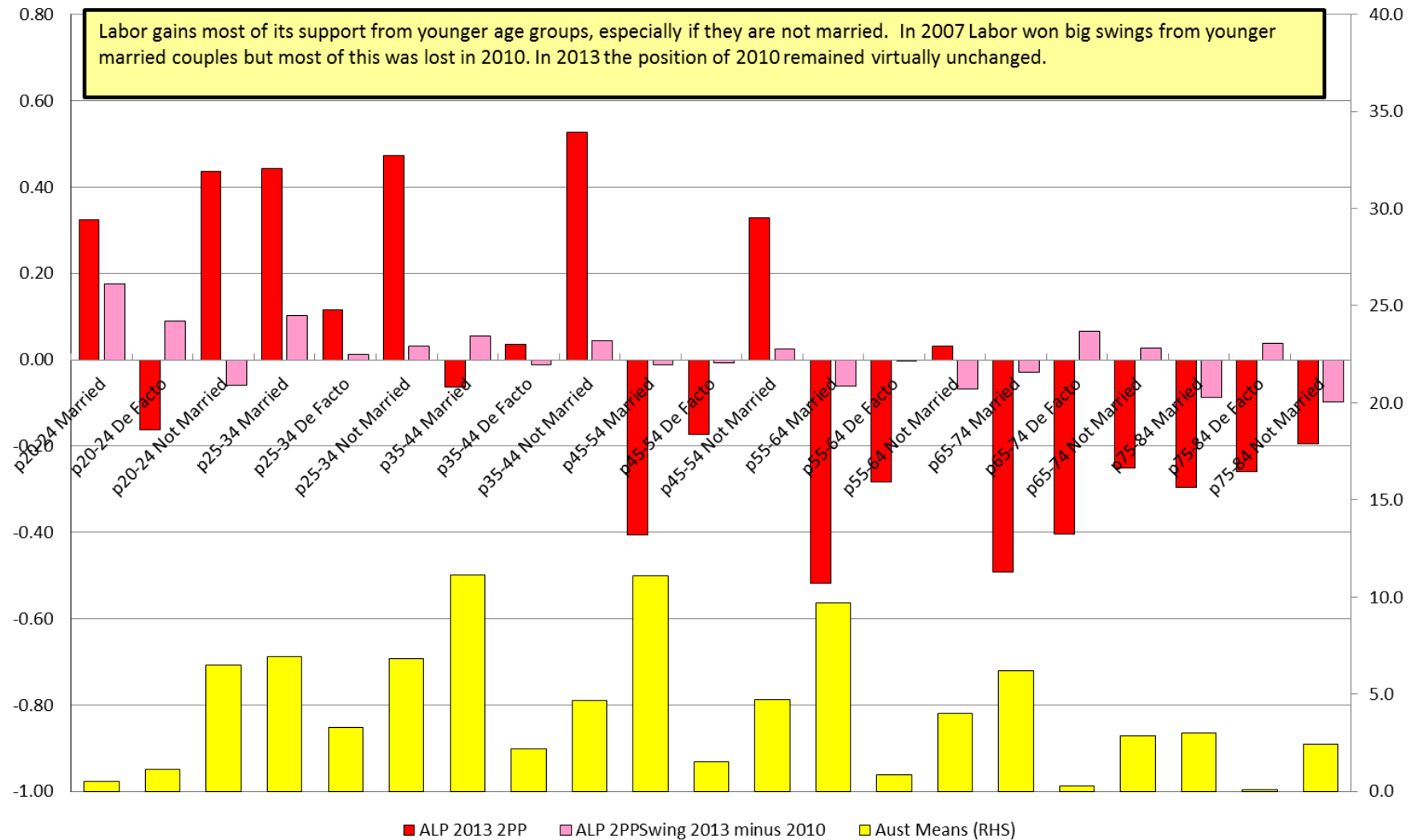
The ALP gained a small swing in seats containing disproportionate groups of renters. To win seats in the suburbs from working families Labor needed to get the sort of swings it gained from home buyers in 2007 and 2010. However, in 2013, Labor's vote sagged among home buyers and home owners. Lower interest rates under Labor were clearly either not welcomed or undersold.

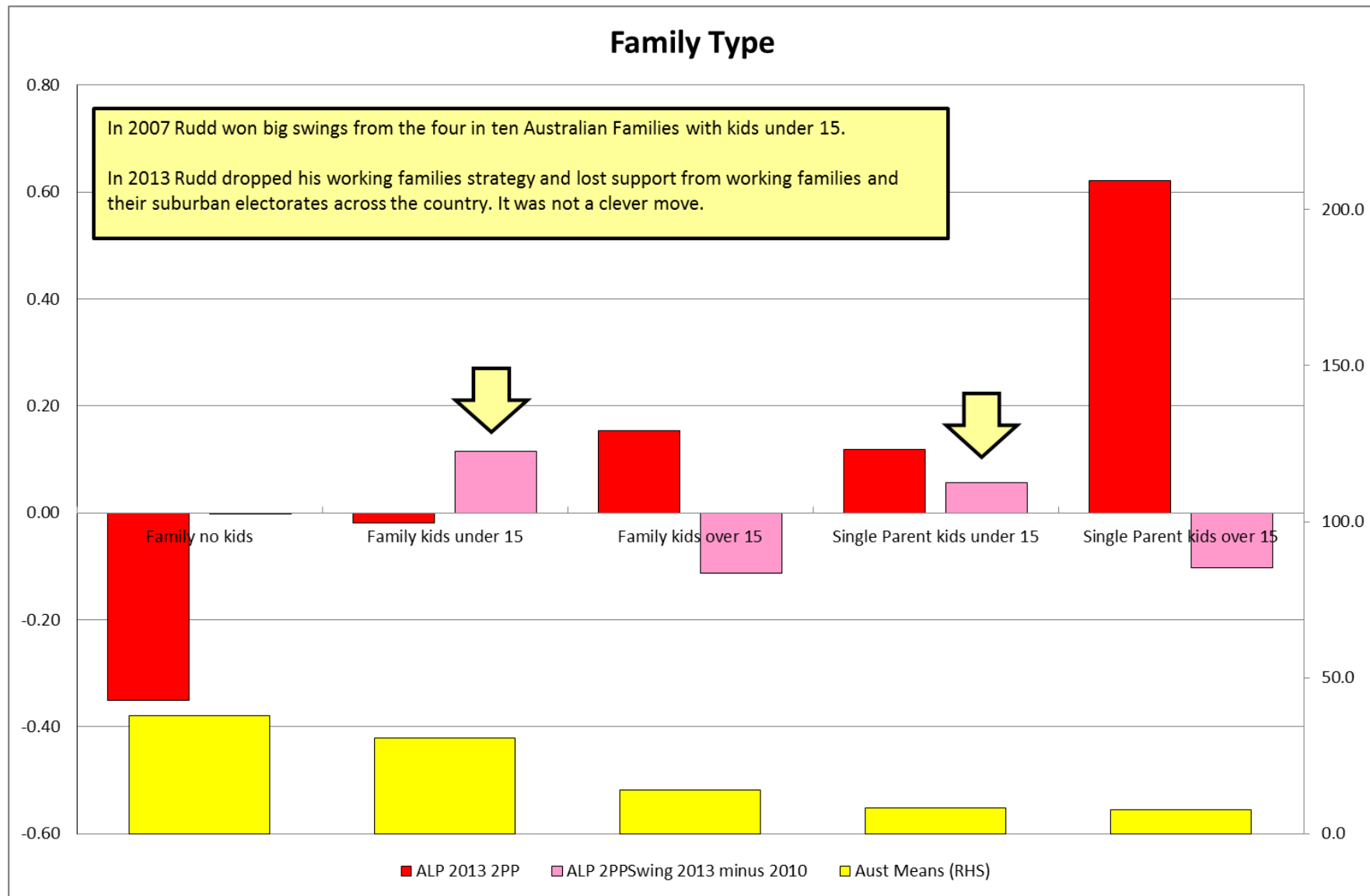
In 2007 and again in 2010, Labor won increased support from outer urban working families with two working parents and self-drive commutes in two cars. But not in 2013.

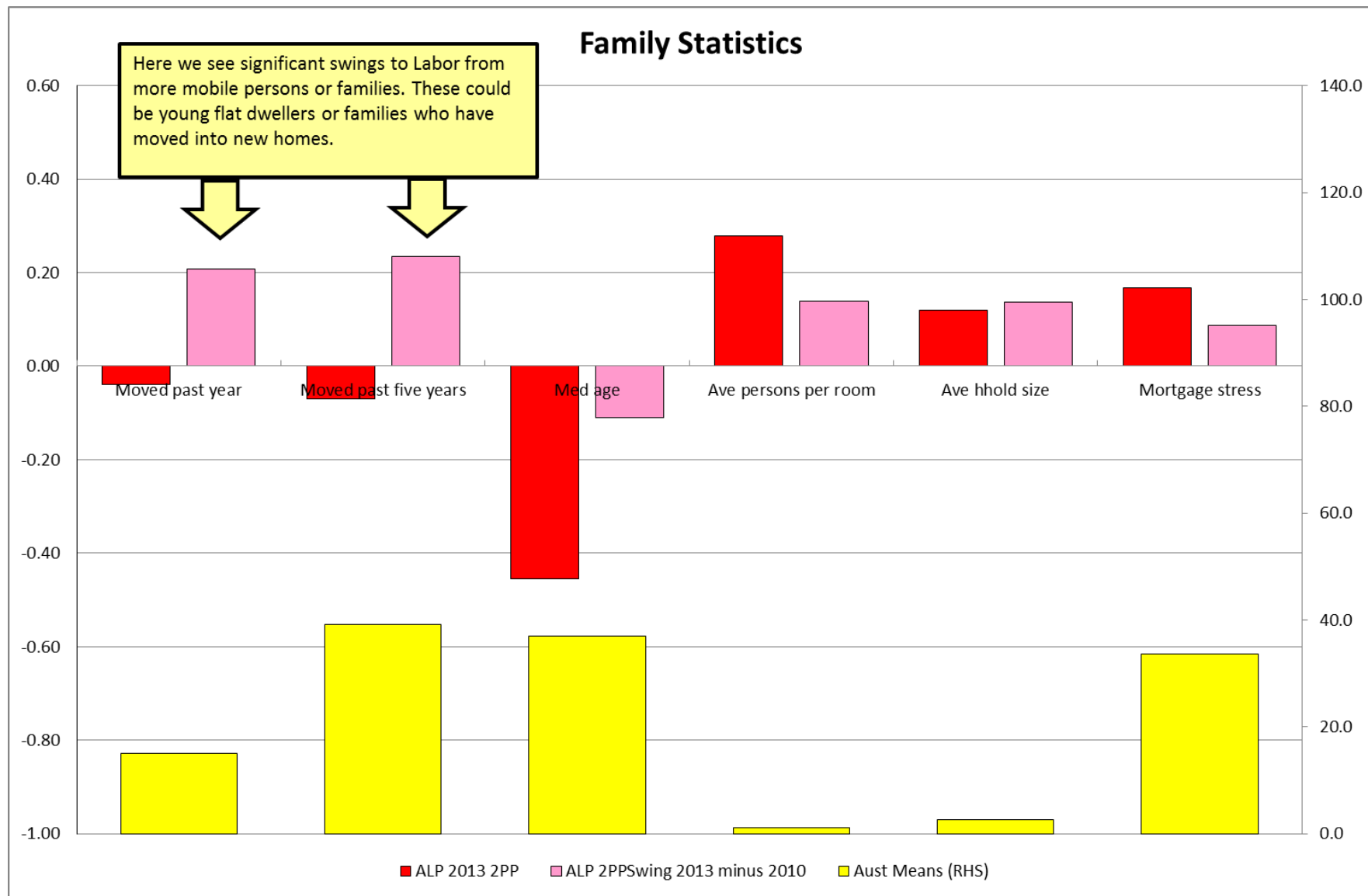


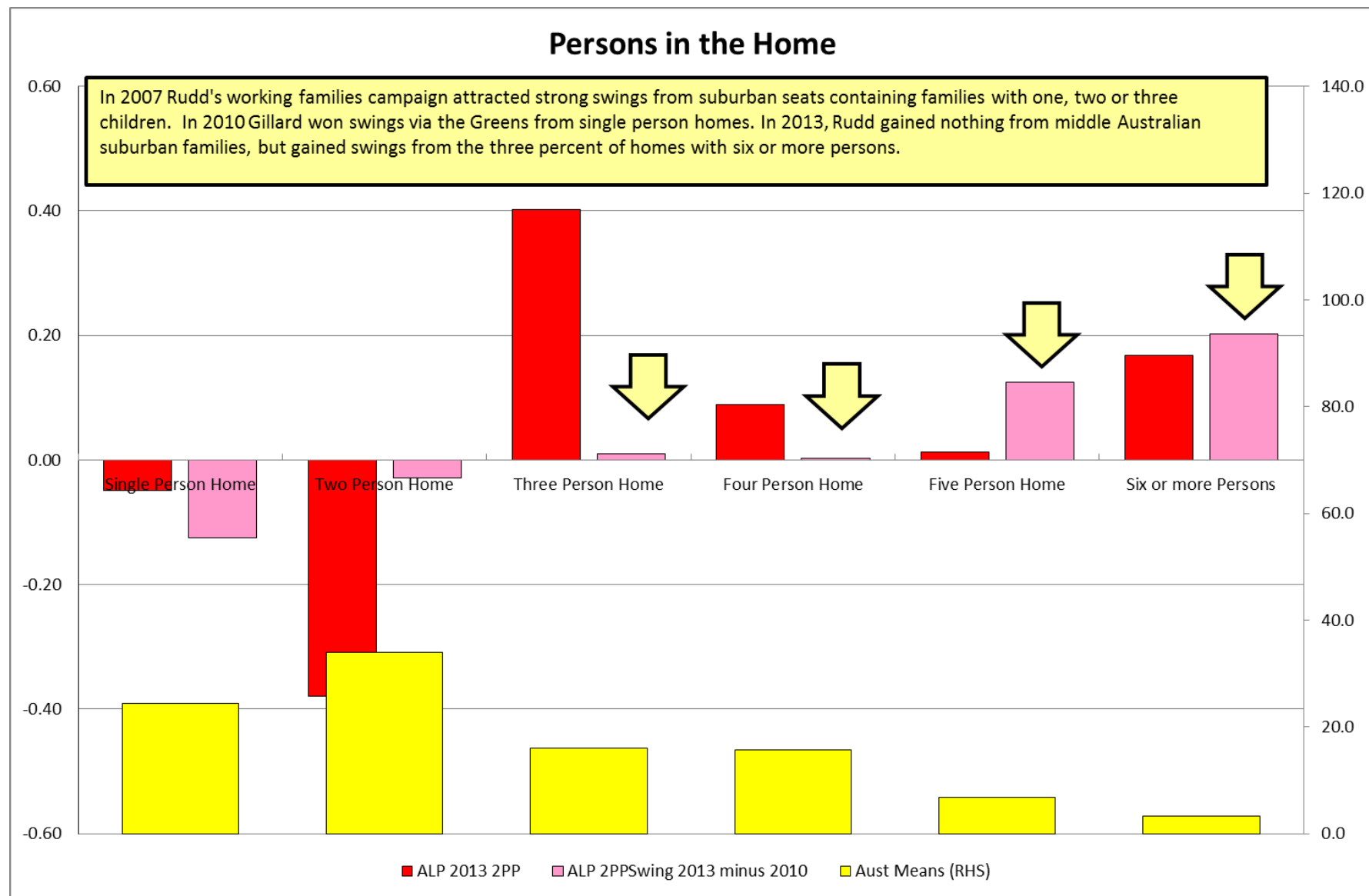
Marital Status

Labor gains most of its support from younger age groups, especially if they are not married. In 2007 Labor won big swings from younger married couples but most of this was lost in 2010. In 2013 the position of 2010 remained virtually unchanged.

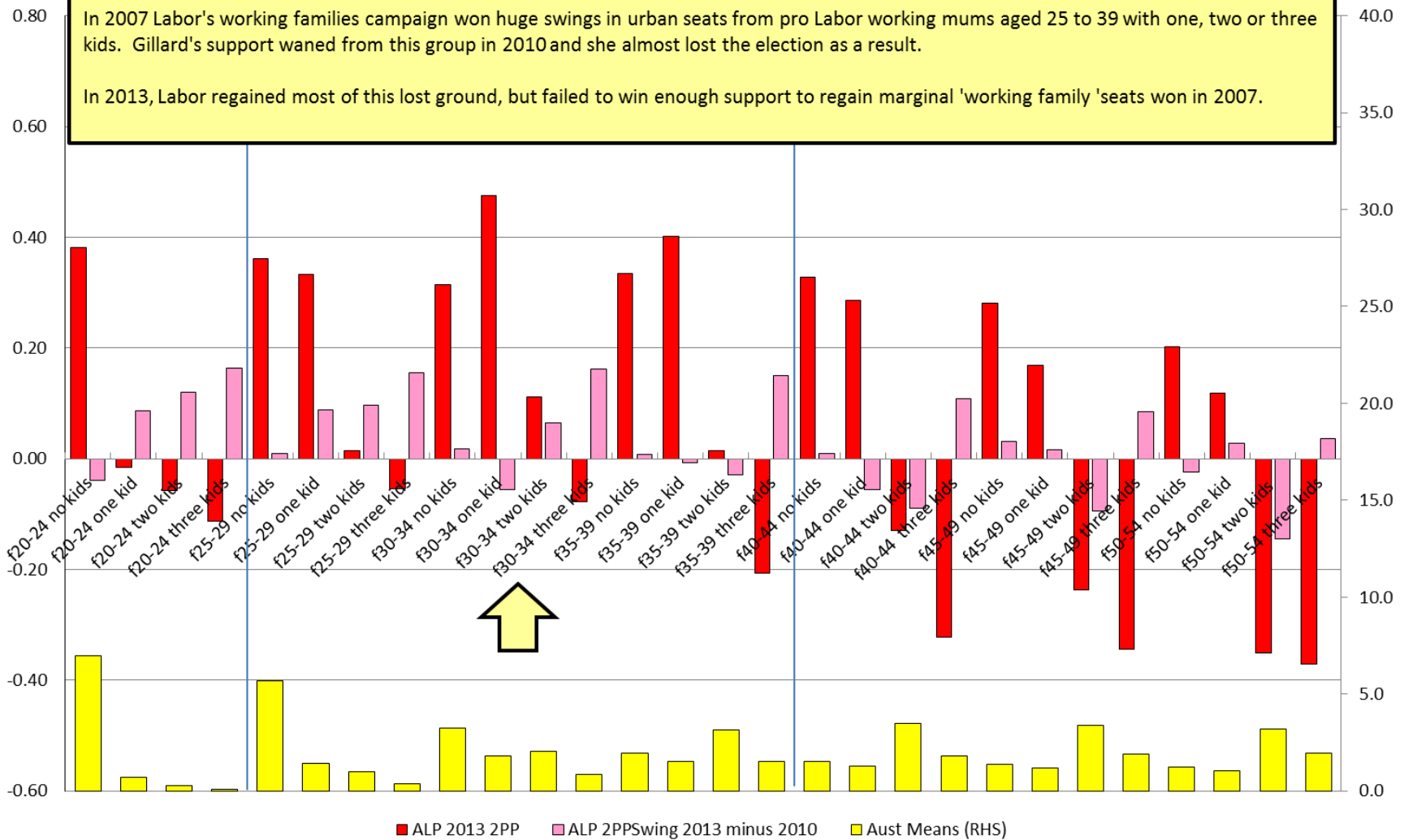








Mothers and Children



Family charts

Labor gains most of its support from younger age groups, especially if they are not married. In 2007 Labor won big swings from younger married couples but most of this was lost in 2010. In 2013 the position of 2010 remained virtually unchanged.

In 2007 Rudd won big swings from the four in ten Australian Families with kids under 15. In 2013 Rudd dropped his working families strategy and lost support from working families and their suburban electorates across the country. It was not a clever move.

The Family Stats Chart showed some rare significant swings to Labor from more mobile persons or families. These could have been young flat dwellers or families who had moved into new homes.

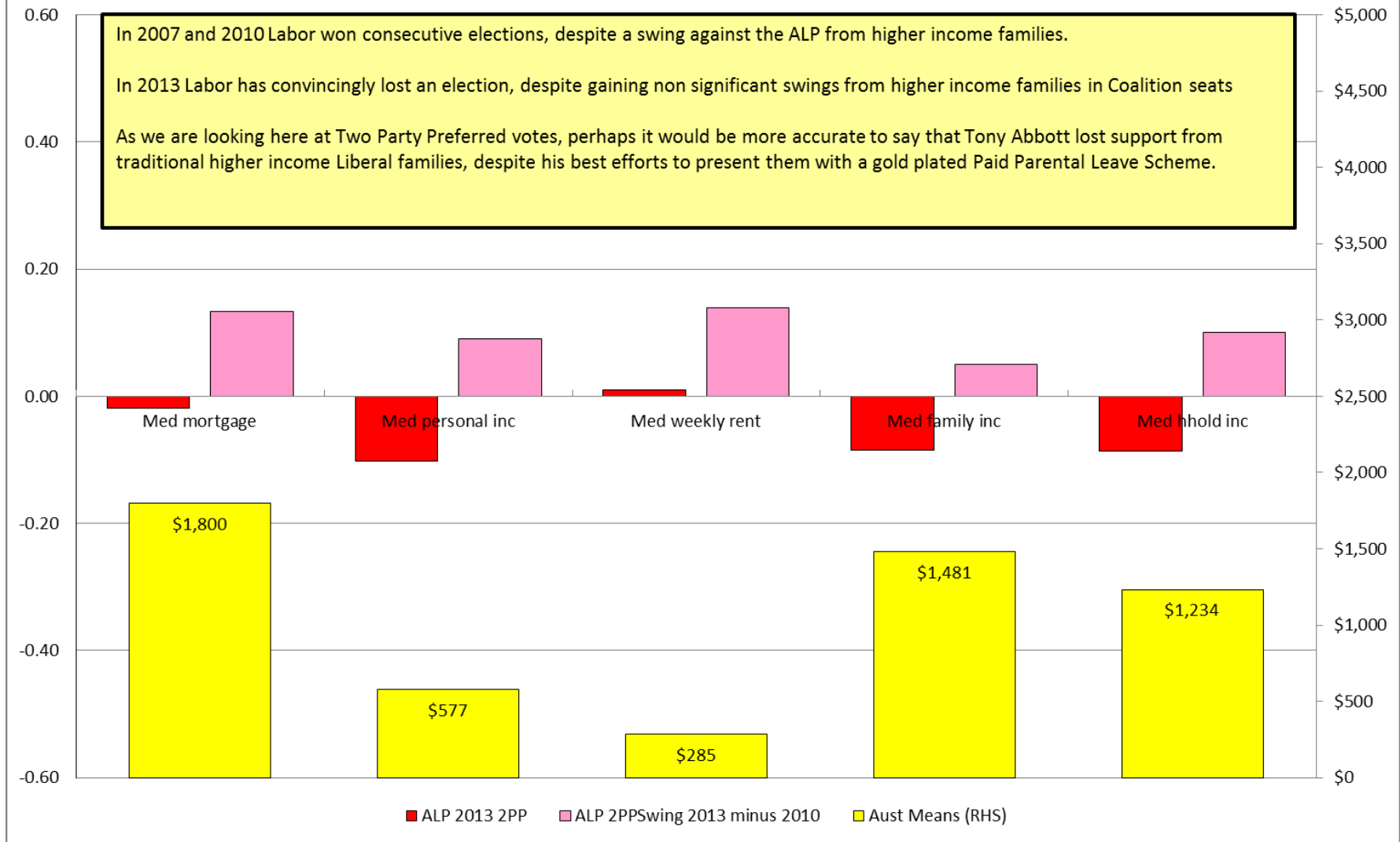
In 2007 Rudd's working families' campaign attracted strong swings from suburban seats containing families with one, two or three children. In 2010 Gillard won swings via the Greens from single person homes. In 2013, Rudd gained nothing from middle Australian suburban families, but gained swings from the three percent of homes with six or more persons.

In 2007 Labor's working families campaign won huge swings in urban seats from pro Labor working mums aged 25 to 39 with one, two or three kids. Gillard's support waned from this group in 2010 and she almost lost the election as a result.

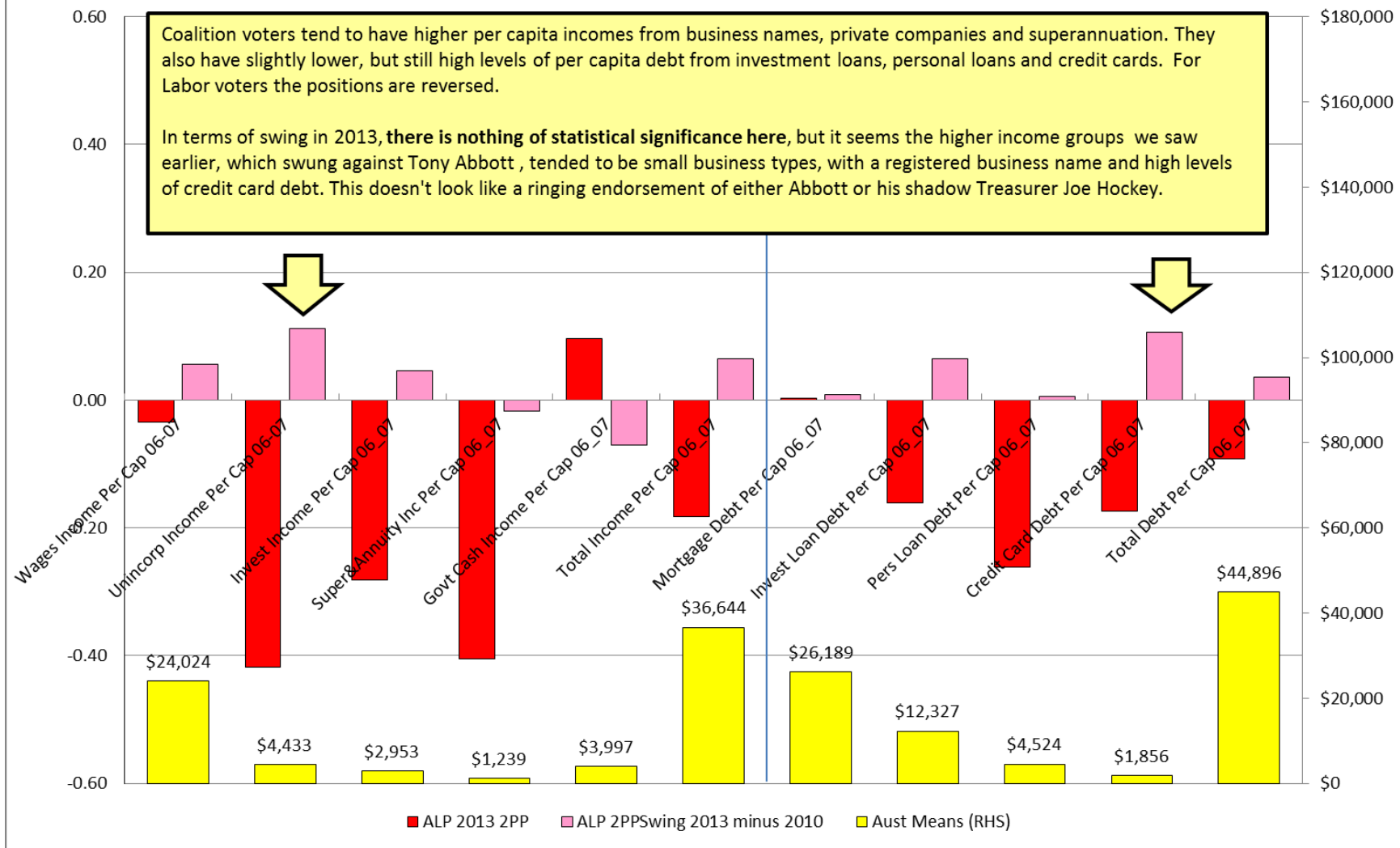
In 2013, Labor regained most of this lost ground from families, but failed to win enough support to regain marginal working family seats won in 2007.



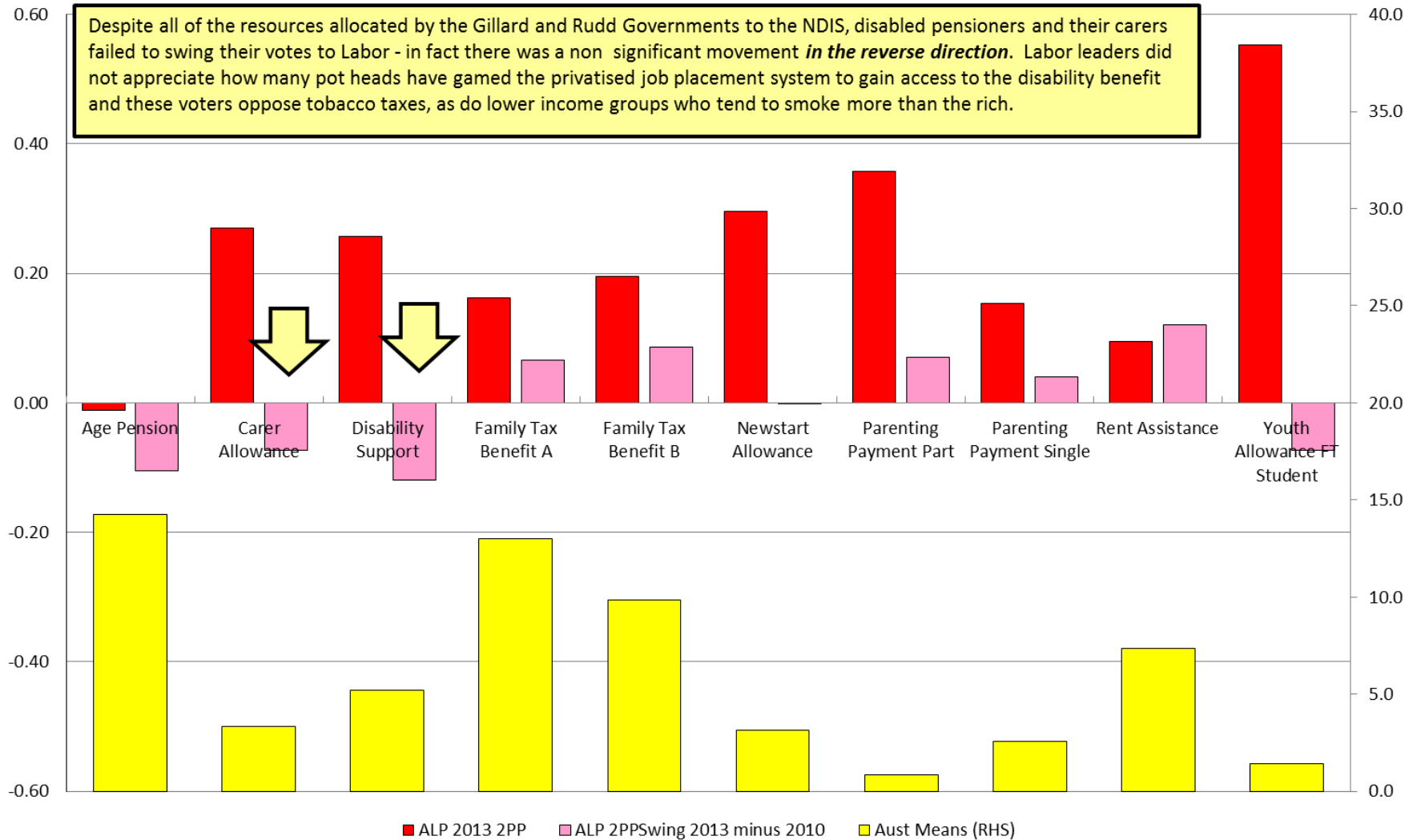
Family Budgets

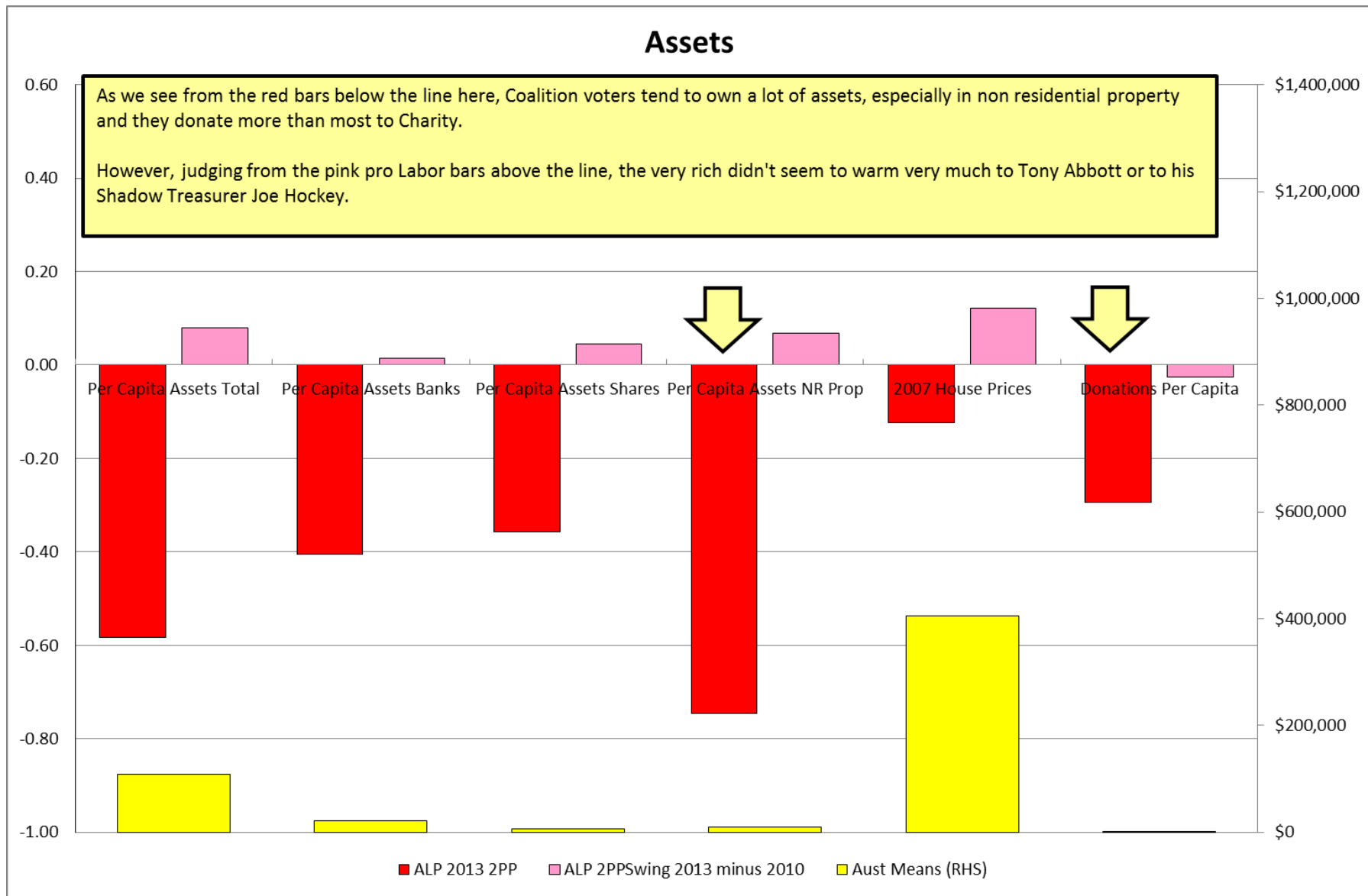


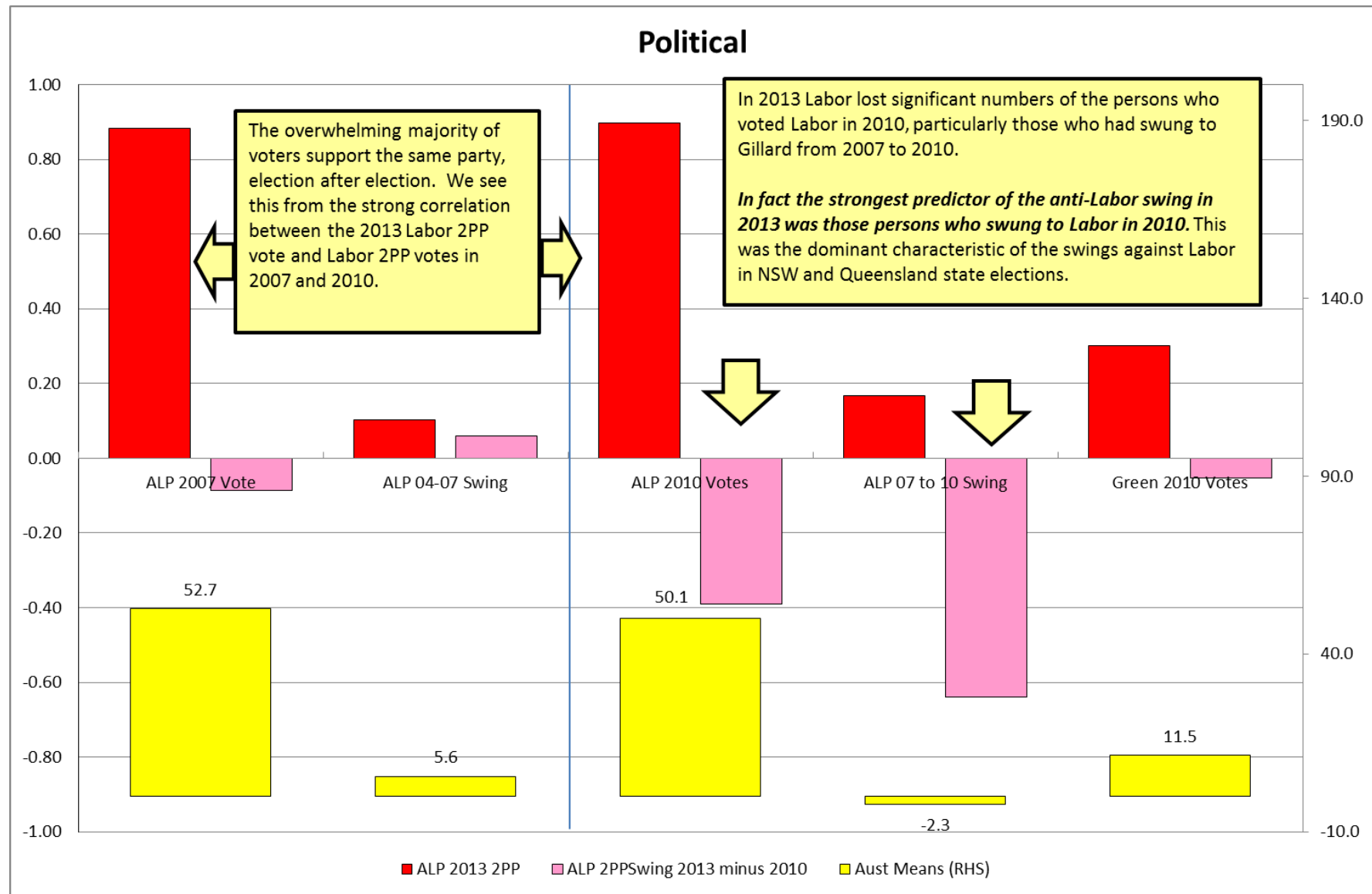
Sources of Income & Debt



Commonwealth Transfer Payments



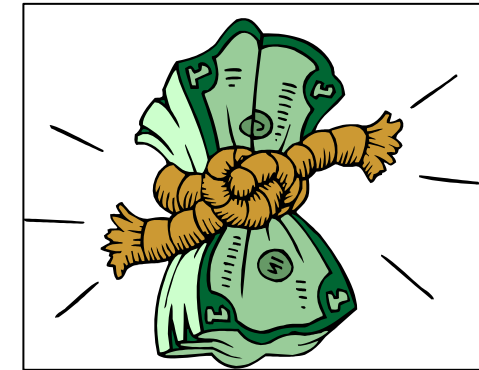




Family Budgets

In 2007 and 2010 Labor won consecutive elections, despite a swing against the ALP from higher income families. In 2013 Labor has convincingly lost an election, despite gaining non-significant swings from higher income families in Coalition seats.

As we are looking here at Two Party Preferred votes, perhaps it would be more accurate to say that Tony Abbott lost support from traditional higher income Liberal families, despite presenting them with a gold plated Paid Parental Leave Scheme.



The sources of Income and Debt chart shows Coalition voters tend to have higher per capita incomes from business names, private companies and superannuation. They also have slightly lower, but still high, levels of per capita debt from investment loans, personal loans and credit cards. For Labor voters the positions are reversed. In terms of swing, there was nothing of statistical significance, but it seems the higher income groups which swung against Tony Abbott, tended to be small business types, with a registered business name and high levels of credit card debt. This doesn't look like a ringing endorsement of either Abbott or his shadow Treasurer Joe Hockey.

The Welfare Chart shows that despite all of the resources allocated by the Gillard and Rudd Governments to the NDIS, disabled pensioners and their carers failed to swing their votes to Labor - in fact there was a non-significant movement *in the reverse direction*. Labor leaders did not appreciate how many pot heads have gamed the privatised job placement system to gain access to the disability benefit and these voters simply wanted cheaper smokes.

The Assets Chart shows Coalition voters tend to own a lot of assets, especially in non-residential property and they donate more than most to Charity. However, judging from the pink pro Labor swing bars above the line, the very rich didn't seem to warm very much to Tony Abbott or to his Shadow Treasurer Joe Hockey.

The final Political Chart shows that in 2013, Labor lost significant numbers of the persons who voted Labor in 2010, particularly those who had swung to Gillard from 2007 to 2010. ***In fact the strongest predictor of the anti-Labor swing in 2013 was those persons who swung to Labor in 2010.*** This was the dominant characteristic of the swings against Labor in NSW and Queensland state elections.