

The ACT Election 2012: A mirror image of 2008

The 2012 ACT Election held on October 20 was in many ways a mirror image of the previous election in 2008. In 2012 the ALP received a small swing to it after suffering a large swing against it in 2008. The Liberals achieved a large swing to them after a small adverse swing in 2008. The Greens lost most of what they gained in 2008. As a result the Liberals obtained 8 (+2) seats, the ALP 8 (+1) and the Greens 1 (-3).

After negotiations the Greens again formed an alliance with the ALP to form a Government; however, this time the one Green member (Shane Rattenbury) become a Minister in the ACT Government.

Election context

- ◆ The agreement between the ALP and Greens delivered stable and cohesive government for the past four years
- ◆ The ALP changed its leader (and Chief Minister) to Katy Gallagher from Jon Stanhope in May 2011, Jon Stanhope had been leader since 1998 and Chief Minister from 2001
- ◆ The Liberals enjoyed a greater level of unity and sense of purpose compared with the period between 2004 and 2008
- ◆ Manipulation of key performance indicator data by ACT health was a problem for Labor and misuse of public funds for political purposes dogged a couple of Liberal MLAs
- ◆ The Liberals used prospective rate increases as their main negative issue and Labor sought to scare voters with job cuts similar to those inflicted by newly elected Liberal Governments in New South Wales and Queensland
- ◆ Two new political parties were formed to contest the election (Bullet Train for Canberra) and (Marion Le Social Justice Party)
- ◆ A number of parties from previous elections appear to have faded away (Democrats), (Community Alliance), (Richard Mulcahy Canberra Party) and Pangello Independents
- ◆ There was a mild "It's Time" factor as Labor had been in office for 11 years
- ◆ The Allan Jones saga re comments on the death of Prime Minister Julia Gillard's father were reverberating around the nation

The electoral system used since 1995 is a variant of proportional representation known as Hare-Clark, candidates names on the ballot paper appear in party or independent groups but the names within those groups are randomly rotated for each ballot paper by a method known as Robson Rotation; a system devised and used in Tasmania.

The ACT is divided into three electorates Ginninderra (covering Belconnen and part of Gungahlin) Brindabella (covering Tuggeranong and parts of Woden) and Molonglo (covering Gungahlin, North Canberra, South Canberra, Woden and Weston Creek). The first two have five members and the latter seven.

There had been a redistribution since the last election to accommodate population changes, The suburb of Palmerston, in Gungahlin, was moved into Ginninderra from Molonglo. On the basis of past results this would slightly weaken Ginninderra for the Greens and Labor.

The main features of the election were:

- ◆ Both major parties enjoyed a swing to them, an unusual occurrence in Australian politics
- ◆ The swing to the Liberals was quite large (7.3 per cent) but lower than average (9.0 per cent), (see Table 3 below)
- ◆ The swing to the ALP was small (1.5 per cent) but was the first swing to an ALP

State/Territory Government since March 2006 when the ALP received an 8.9 per cent swing in the South Australian election

- ◆ The Greens suffered a major adverse swing but their proportion of the vote was still higher than the average Green vote from 1995 to 2012
- ◆ The Australian Motorist Party failed to make any gains except in Ginninderra where their candidate was Chic Henry, the high profile former organiser of the Summernats car festival
- ◆ A single issue party based on providing a high speed train service between Canberra and other capitals (Bullet train for Canberra) received 4.0 per cent of the votes

Table 1: ACT Elections 2008 and 2012 (percentage)

Electorate/Party	Brindabella	Ginninderra	Molonglo	ACT
2008				
ALP	36.5	40.2	36.1	37.3
Greens	13.6	13.9	18.3	15.6
Liberals	35.3	27.8	31.5	31.6
Australian Motorist	7.0	6.1	2.8	5.0
Community Alliance	7.6	3.1	1.1	3.7
Pangello Independents	na	na	4.8	2.0
Richard Mulcahy CP	na	na	2.7	1.1
Other ⁽²⁾	na	8.9	1.9	3.7
2012				
ALP	35.7	39.9	40.4	38.9
Greens	7.9	10.1	13.2	10.7
Liberals	46.4	33.7	37.4	38.9
Australian Motorist	3.9	7.3	2.1	4.2
Bullet Train for Canberra	3.8	3.6	4.5	4.0
Community Alliance ⁽¹⁾	na	na	na	na
Pangello Independents ⁽¹⁾	na	na	na	na
Other ⁽²⁾	2.3	5.4	2.4	3.3

Source: Elections ACT

1. Did not contest 2012 election 2. Includes independents and minor parties

Table 2: Swings from 2008 to 2012 (per cent)

	Brindabella	Ginninderra	Molonglo	ACT
ALP	-0.6	-0.3	4.3	1.5
Greens	-5.7	-3.8	-5.1	-4.9
Liberals	11.1	5.9	5.9	7.3
Australian Motorist	-3.1	1.2	-0.7	-0.8
Community Alliance	-7.6	-3.2	-1.1	-3.7
Pangello Independents	0.0	0.0	-4.8	-2.0
Richard Mulcahy CP	0.0	0.0	-2.7	-1.1
Bullet Train for Canberra	3.8	3.6	4.5	4.0
Other	2.3	-3.4	0.5	-0.4

The 2012 election in historical context

Local elections have been held in the ACT since at least 1930 for a variety of local bodies. The earliest data from the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) for ACT local elections is for the Advisory Council election of 1967. Data for elections before then are hard to find, even in the AEC. Since the inception of responsible government in 1989 there have been eight elections. Details of these are reported in Table 3.

In the first ACT self Government election in 1992 the major party (ALP and Liberals) share of the vote was only 37.7 per cent, it peaked at 81.65 per cent in 2004 when the ALP won a majority. In 2008 the share dipped substantially when the Greens, Australian Motorists Party, Community Alliance and Independents snared a lot of votes. However, in 2012 the majors recovered to obtain 77.78 per cent, the second highest for the years covered.

The 2012 election was the first where the ALP and Liberals received close to equal support.

The average share for the major parties is 70.51 per cent, meaning that around 30 per cent of ACT residents are not committed to a major party.

Table 3: Votes of Major parties in ACT Local Elections since 1967

Election	ALP	Liberal	ALP-Lib	ALP+Lib	ALP swing	Lib Swing
ACT Advisory Council - 8 seats						
1967	37.50	25.00	12.50	62.50		
1970	30.40	13.50	16.90	43.90	-7.10	-11.50
ACT Legislative Assembly - 18 seats						
1974	24.20	33.60	-9.40	57.80	-6.20	20.10
ACT House of Assembly - 18 seats						
1979	41.50	21.20	20.30	62.70	17.30	-12.40
1982	41.00	25.80	15.20	66.80	-0.50	4.60
ACT self Government Legislative Assembly for the ACT - 17 seats						
1989	22.80	14.90	7.90	37.70	-18.20	-10.90
1992	39.90	29.00	10.90	68.90	17.10	14.10
1995	31.63	40.48	-8.85	72.11	-8.27	11.48
1998	27.61	37.83	-10.22	65.44	-4.02	-2.65
2001	41.70	31.60	10.10	73.30	14.09	-6.23
2004	46.84	34.81	12.03	81.65	5.12	3.17
2008	37.39	31.59	6.00	68.98	-9.45	-3.32
2012	38.88	38.90	-0.02	77.78	1.49	7.31
Average	38.48	32.05	6.45	70.51	9.17*	9.00*

Source: Elections ACT, Australian Electoral Commission and the Canberra Times

*sign ignored

Voting in ACT Communities

Election results varied considerably among the several ACT communities:

- ♦ The Liberals obtained swings to the them in every community, the highest was in Tuggeranong with 11.67 per cent and lowest in North Canberra 2.84 per cent
- ♦ The ALP obtained solid swings in Weston Creek, Woden and South Canberra. The swing to the ALP was less in Gungahlin and North Canberra. In Belconnen it was quite small and slightly negative in Tuggeranong
- ♦ The Greens suffered adverse swings in every community except their heartland of North Canberra where it was only 2.14 per cent

- ◆ In terms of support the ALP is strongest in Belconnen, North Canberra, Weston Creek and Woden while the Liberals dominate South Canberra, Tuggeranong and Gungahlin

Table 4: Voting in ACT Communities

	ALP	Liberal	Greens	Motorists	Bullet Train for Canberra	Community Alliance
2008						
Belconnen	41.65	25.58	14.06	6.45	0.0	3.36
Gungahlin	35.78	40.74	9.46	4.09	0.0	1.05
North Canberra	39.92	23.11	26.72	2.03	0.0	0.93
South Canberra	33.15	33.41	18.68	2.41	0.0	1.05
Tuggeranong	37.20	34.41	13.10	7.58	0.0	7.75
Weston Creek	36.14	30.85	15.18	3.27	0.0	1.59
Woden	36.93	31.96	17.16	2.73	0.0	2.80
2012						
Belconnen	41.88	31.09	10.20	7.59	3.52	0.0
Gungahlin	37.28	44.44	7.32	4.10	3.70	0.0
North Canberra	42.85	25.95	21.22	1.53	5.92	0.0
South Canberra	37.98	42.85	11.94	1.39	4.80	0.0
Tuggeranong	36.36	46.08	7.26	4.37	3.54	0.0
Weston Creek	41.90	39.67	10.61	2.25	3.68	0.0
Woden	42.01	38.62	11.70	1.86	3.86	0.0
Swings						
Belconnen	0.23	5.51	-3.86	1.14	3.52	-3.36
Gungahlin	1.50	3.70	-2.14	0.01	3.70	-1.05
North Canberra	2.93	2.84	-5.50	-0.5	5.92	-0.93
South Canberra	4.83	9.44	-6.74	-1.02	4.80	-1.06
Tuggeranong	-0.84	11.67	-5.84	-3.21	3.54	-7.75
Weston Creek	5.76	8.82	-4.57	-1.02	3.68	-2.8
Woden	5.08	6.66	-5.46	-0.87	3.86	-2.80

Note: Some of these results may appear inconsistent with other figures but these are based on polling booth data only and exclude pre-polls, declaration and postal votes.

The Liberals have always done well in South Canberra and Gungahlin but in the past the ALP has done better in Tuggeranong, in 2001 it was the first of the five member seats to return three ALP members. The swing to the Liberals was very large in Tuggeranong and the

electorate that includes it, Brindabella.

The ACT's seven communities are based on the townships developed by the former National Capital Development Commission (NCDC). North and South Canberra is the original "Burley Griffin" Canberra or what would be called inner city in other cities. Of the new towns Woden was first in the 1960s, followed by Belconnen and Weston Creek in the 1970s, then Tuggeranong in the late 1970s to 1980s. Gungahlin is the most recent dating from the 1990s.

Table 5: ACT Communities socio economic characteristics

	Median age years	Median Income \$ weekly	Proportion in Managerial professional occupations	Proportion in public sector Occupations⁽¹⁾
Belconnen	34	858	42.13	47.91
Gungahlin	31	1,019	44.78	48.78
North Canberra	31	853	57.61	55.78
South Canberra	39	1,172	60.92	54.00
Tuggeranong	35	900	36.27	48.97
Weston Creek	40	910	47.67	53.99
Woden	40	948	52.76	54.81

Source: ABS Census 2011

1. Public administration and safety, Education and training and Health care and social assistance

Table 5 displays a number of socio economic attributes of each community. The two highest income communities are, as expected, better for the Liberals, but Tuggeranong has a similar profile to Belconnen, except for the proportion in managerial/professional occupations where Tuggeranong has almost 6 per cent less. The Liberal vote is about 15 per cent lower in Belconnen than in Tuggeranong, an inexplicable difference given their similar socio economic profile.

The socio economic indicators in Table 5 provide very little guidance as to voting patterns¹.

Hip and unhip

North Canberra includes two suburbs described as "hip" by Urbis² - Braddon and Canberra City. The Urbis organisation includes these in Australia's 21 Hippest suburbs.

According to a report in Crikey (August 28 2012) "They found these two suburbs distinguished themselves clearly on eight attributes measured at the 2011 Census. They both have a high proportion of residents who are aged 20-39 years; are not married; have tertiary qualifications; were born overseas; have no religion; live in medium-high density housing; don't live in families; and live in households without a car."

How did they vote? The relevant polling places are Canberra City and Ainslie. Table 6 compares their voting with that of the ACT and two outer suburbs. Conder in the south and Dunlop in the North.

While they had a roughly similar proclivity to vote ALP their enthusiasm for the Liberals was much less. Their support for the Greens and Bullet Train for Canberra was much higher. As well they shunned the pro car group the Australian Motorists Party.

However, they all had lower median incomes than the ACT but the hip suburbs had much higher proportions of managerial and professional workers.

It could be that the class basis of voting is, to some extent, being replaced by lifestyle/locality influences.

Canberra city includes the ANU with some academic staff resident in the area as well as student accommodation.

Table 6: Hip and unhip-impact on voting

Party vote (per cent)	Ainslie (hip)	Canberra City (hip)	Conder (outer suburb)	Dunlop* (outer suburb)	ACT
ALP	48.2	39.4	34.4	40.1	38.9
Liberal	23.6	22.8	49.9	36.6	38.9
Green	18.7	22.2	6.1	5.7	10.7
Motorists	1.1	0.5	4.9	10.1	4.2
Bullet train	6.4	10.9	3.1	2.8	4.0
Socio economic indicators of relevant suburbs					
Median age	28	24	32	31	34
Median income	972	478	904	981	917
Managerial/ professional proportion	56.56	54.38	34.00	37.21	45.49
Proportion in public sector occupations	56.66	46.87	49.34	49.81	50.66

Source: Elections ACT, Australian Bureau of statistics

Where and why did the votes shift?

Liberals

The Liberals large increase in support was not at the expense of the ALP. Their increase appears to have been at the expense the Motorists Party, the Community Alliance and the Greens. They appear to have attracted all of the Community Alliance votes, whose 2008 candidate (Val Jeffery) went over to the Liberals in 2012. Ironically he was not elected. In Belconnen they appear to have taken most of the votes received by independent Mark Parton and the Community Alliance in 2008. The Motorist Party in contrast to the other communities increased their vote in Belconnen where their candidate was the high profile Chic Henry, former organiser of the Summernats car festival.

The Liberals did particularly well in Brindabella increasing their vote by 11.1 per cent compared to 7.3 per cent for the ACT as a whole. The reasons suggested are:

- ◆ The concentrated their resources on the seat, seeing it as their best prospect for a gain
- ◆ Their leader and deputy leader were candidates giving them higher profile in the seat
- ◆ The area is it bit more "bogan"³ and was attracted to the Liberals conservatism.

The first two are the most likely while the third is debatable, Tuggeranong does have a smaller proportion of Managerial and professional workers than the other communities and the hip/unhip factor may be relevant.

ALP

The ALP increased its support especially in Molonglo probably due to the high profile of its candidates who included Chief Minister Katy Gallagher, Deputy Chief Minister Andrew Barr and Attorney General Simon Corbell⁴. The Liberals appear to have been boosted by much the same scenario in Brindabella.

The ALP vote held up in Ginninderra where their team included the hard working Mary Porter and Chris Bourke who had replaced Jon Stanhope in 2011. Chris Bourke had contested the 2008 election and was elected to the Assembly in a count back of 2008 votes. He entered the Ministry about six months after being elected. Despite a small decline in votes the ALP secured a third member in Ginninderra, Yvette Berry the daughter of former ALP stalwart, Wayne Berry, who had been a member for Ginninderra from 1989 to 2008.

In Brindabella The retirement of John Hargraves, a larrikin type of personality, reduced the ALP's profile. Minister Joy Burch was the only sitting ALP identity to stand. Former MLA Nick Gentleman was able to reclaim his seat.

Greens

The Greens lost some votes to both the ALP and the Liberals; although it seems that most went elsewhere, possibly the Bullet Train for Canberra Group.

Their reduced vote caused them to lose 3 of their four seats, a bad result for them. Although their vote at 10.7 per cent was the second highest since contesting ACT elections in 1995.

Table 7: Percentage voting for Greens at ACT elections

Election	Percent	Seats won
1995	9.06	2 (Molonglo, Ginninderra)
1998	9.10	1 (Molonglo)
2001	9.10	1 (Molonglo)
2004	9.30	1 (Molonglo)
2008	15.6	4 (Molonglo, Ginninderra and Brindabella)
2012	10.7	1 (Molonglo)
Median	9.2	

The Greens are the most successful minor party in the ACT, since their debut in 1995 they have always obtained representation. In 2008 their vote was probably at a level that was not sustainable. In 2008 Canberra had endured a long drought and concern about climate change and its mitigation was at a height which provided a favourable situation for the Greens. The drought broke in 2010 and rainfall has been above average since then.

Always looking for that bit extra or "cool"

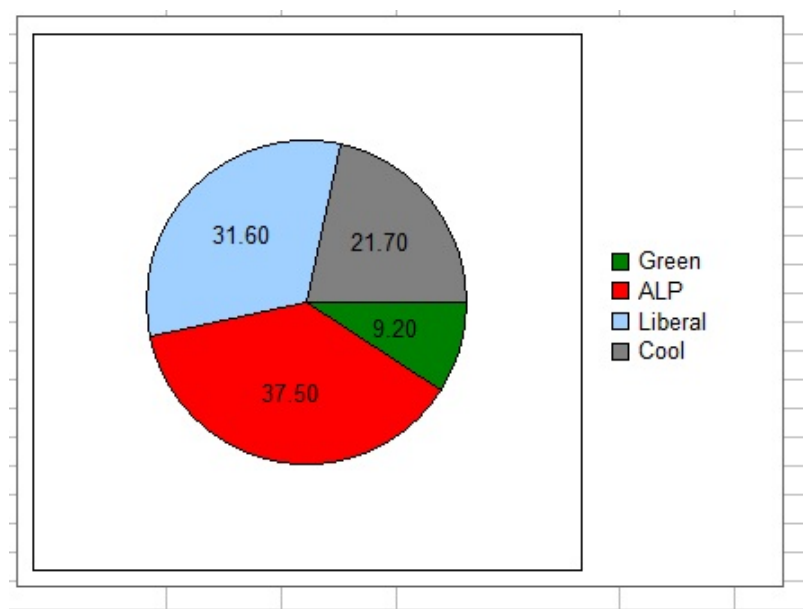
From table 3 there is evidence that there is a largish proportion of voters in the ACT who have no loyalty to the major parties or the Greens. Furthermore, although there are usually large swings in each election these rarely involve moves between the Labor and the Liberals. Only 1974, 1979, 1995 and 2001 produced that outcome. More often it involves swings among major parties, minor parties and independents. It is not quite the swinging voter syndrome. It suggests an unsettled group of voters that "can't get no satisfaction".

The median ALP vote is 37.5 per cent, Liberal 31.6 per cent and Greens 9.2 per cent. Leaving 21.7 per cent floating, a group that always seems to be looking for a party or independent that

will overcome all the perceived shortcomings of the major parties, or a party that is fashionable or “cool”. In just about every election there is a new party or independents trying to corner this group.

Who is cool seems to vary from election to election. In 2008 the Greens, Motorist party Mark Parton and Val Jeffery were cool. In 2004 it was the ALP. In 2012 it was the Liberals, Bullet train for Canberra and Chic Henry, even the ALP was slightly cool.

The Bullet Train seems to have taken votes from the Greens as there is a rough approximation on the swing to them and the swing away from the Greens in each electorate. However, there was no strong flow of preferences from them to the Greens, if there were the Greens would have won more seats. It is more likely that the Bullet Train for Canberra party attracted votes from the cool group who may have voted Green in 2008 but only had minimal commitment to them, even though there are environmental aspects in the objectives of both parties.



Campaign issues

Undoubtedly the rates issues was the main issue in the campaign. The Liberals claimed that the Labor tax reform policy would triple rates on residences, they associated the Green with it as well. Though the Greens supported it they did not initiate it. The ALP Government introduced changes to the tax mix in the 2012 budget which moved taxation away from stamp duties and other levies towards rates and land type taxes. It was based on the recommendations of a Committee of inquiry into Territory taxes chaired by former ALP Treasurer, Ted Quinlan.

It was not controversial at the time of the budget and was well received by a number of commentators. The Liberals decided to use it as a scare campaign and employed it extensively during the campaign. Large roadside displays simply read Labor + Greens = Triple rates. It was a bit of a “barbecue stopper”. In the last week of the campaign an academic⁵ associated with the review claimed that the Liberal campaign had misrepresented some data he had published.

Did it adversely impact on Labor and the Greens?

The overall ALP vote increased slightly and in some communities by around 5 per cent. In areas where rates are usually a sensitive issue (inner areas or older established areas where ratable values increase more than residents incomes) the ALP improved its vote. Furthermore,

the Treasurer, Andrew Barr, who introduced the proposal was re - elected easily. His vote did drop from 6.23 per cent to 4.20 per cent but this is more likely due to the large share of the ALP vote taken by the leader Katy Gallagher⁶. In fact Andrew Barr out polled all of his ALP colleagues bar Ms Gallagher.

On this basis there does not appear to be much evidence of it adversely impacting on the ALP. It is also unlikely to have been a factor in the Greens decline. Of course it could be argued that the ALP may have done better without it, but the lack of consistent polling in the ACT makes this difficult to ascertain.

Polls apart

The Major Polling companies (Newspoll, Nielsen a Morgan) rarely poll The ACT, in fact there was no poll taken by any of these over the four years from 2008. The parties conduct their own polls but these are not available to the public. The results of a poll conducted by the Greens a few months before the election was leaked. It suggested that the ALP and Liberals would win 7 seats and the Greens 3. The major parties were about even and the Greens obtaining about 12 per cent. Another poll conducted by the Australian Education Union again had the two majors close and the Greens at about 10 per cent, but with a large undecided group.

The Canberra Times Newspaper usually conducts polls in the run up to the election. In 2008 they did one a month before and the second on the Wednesday before election day. This time they only did one a week before. The results together with the outcome are reported in Table 8 below:

Table 8: Canberra Times poll and the outcome - comparisons

Party	ALP	Liberal	Green	Motorists	Bullet Train
Ginninderra					
CT Poll	45	36	9	3	2
Actual	40	34	10	7	4
Difference	5	2	1	4	2
Molonglo					
CT Poll	45	30	20	1	1
Actual	40	37	13	2	4
Difference	5	7	7	1	3
Brindabella					
CT Poll	43	43	9	2	2
Actual	36	46	8	4	4
Difference	7	3	1	2	2

The Poll was not an accurate predictor of the result. The Canberra Times run prominent articles on Labor's impending victory on the Friday before the election. Although Labor got back into government it was not as emphatic as the Canberra Times suggested. It significantly over estimated the ALP's vote in all electorates and predicted an ALP vote overall of 44 per cent. This should have sent alarm bells ringing as the probability of an 11 year old government facing a revitalised opposition getting an 8 per cent swing to it was remote.

The Liberal vote was under estimated but was closer in Brindabella and Ginninderra. In

Molonglo it was 7 per cent short.

The Green vote was greatly over estimated in Molonglo by 7 per cent.

The poll was conducted by the Patterson Research group from Perth. They claimed a survey error +/- 2.8 per cent for the whole ACT and +/- 4.5 per for each electorate at the 95 per cent confidence level⁷.

The sample size was 1200, 400 for each electorate, a size considered adequate for this purpose.

In five cases the prediction was outside the survey error. Sample survey technology is well understood and usually delivers better results than this, in fact in past ACT elections the same group's predictions were much better.

A week later the Groups manager Keith Patterson wrote in the Canberra Times that "Either the poll was wrong, or the electorate reacted to the reporting to bring the Liberals back into the picture. It is impossible to know for sure which of these two scenarios is correct. But I can report to Canberra Times readers that the poll was conducted to the highest standards, using a format that has been reliably accurate for many years."⁸

Conclusions

Labor retained government this time with one Green Minister (Shane Rattenbury). In any situation where the incumbent party had held onto its vote and gained a seat this would be seen as an exceptional performance, especially after 11 years in office. Their partner in the Assembly, the Greens did suffer a reverse but they were not in a formal coalition and had no day to day control of any aspect of the government.

The Liberals did well to obtain their highest representation ever in the ACT Legislative Assembly; however, they had little chance of forming an alliance with the Greens, a party with quite different views to most Liberals. Many Liberal rank and file supporters detest the Greens. It was said that the Liberals with the highest number of votes had a moral right to govern, but they did not have an absolute majority of votes over all the parties. Two party preferred votes are not calculated for the ACT due to the use of the Hare Clark system and the lack of any requirement to allocate all preferences by voters. Despite this a rough⁹ calculation of two party preferred gives the ALP 53.1 per cent down from 57.6 in 2008. Consequently they still have a healthy lead.

Can the Liberals win in 2016? Yes but they will need to pick up another seat in either Ginninderra or Molonglo and hold the 3 in Brindabella. Failing that they would need a sympathetic minor party or independent to displace a Green or Labor member. Unless the ALP loses support on the floor of the Assembly with the Green switching to the Liberals, the ALP will have been in Government for 15 years by 2016. A long term in the context of the last 30 years of Australian politics, the last long term government in Australia was the 32 year run of the National party in Queensland which ended in 1989.

Factors such as the economy, the outcome of the Federal election, and the cohesion of the ACT government will be factors. Apart from these there is likely to be a new electoral configuration by 2016, the ACT Assembly is likely to be expanded. The options are for 21 members with three seats of seven (favoured by the Greens) or 25 members with five seats of five (favoured by the ALP). What the Liberals want is unclear at present. The boundaries of these seats will be crucial in determining who stands to gain or lose.

Terry Giesecke
January 2013

1. Regression equations among the ALP, Liberal and Green votes with each of the socio economic indicators revealed no significant relationships, although the Greens vote was significantly related to the proportion in managerial/professional occupations and the proportion in public sector occupations at the 10 per cent level of significance, a level usually considered inadequate in respect of significant relationships between variables.

2. Urbis is a professional consulting firm operating in Australia, Asia and the Middle East advising on the use, development, investment and governance of property, cities and communities.

3. The term bogan is Australian and New Zealand slang, usually pejorative or self-deprecating, for an individual who is recognised to be from an unsophisticated background or someone whose limited education, speech, clothing, attitude and behaviour exemplifies a lack of manners and education. Wikipedia

4. Perhaps this can be seen by comparing the outcomes in two polling booths, Farrer and Mawson. Farrer is part of Brindabella and Mawson is Molonglo but they are contiguous in the southern part of Woden. In Farrer the Swing to the Liberals was 6.6 per cent and to the ALP -0.6. In Mawson the swing to the Liberals was 8.0 per cent and to the ALP 5.7 per cent.

5. Alan Duncan NATSEM

6. Leaders of both major parties have always received the Lion's share of their parties votes since the inception of the Hare Clark system in 1995.

7. 95 per cent is the usual level used by statisticians, it means that in 95 cases out of 100 the actual result will be within the survey error boundaries.

8. The Complexities of entering a voter's mind" Keith Patterson of Patterson Research Group, Canberra Times November 3 2012.

9. Based on 80 per cent of Green preferences going to the ALP and a 50/50 split for all the others.