



What are elections about?

- Past performance – ‘a referendum on Scott Morrison’
- Competence – past and future – ‘a choice between
- Party
- Leader
- Team
- Local MP/candidate
- Values and philosophy - individual/state; economic; social; ‘post materialist’
- Timeframe – short-term, medium-longer term
- Promises and policies - direct impact on individual/family/community; indirect and broader impacts on society



Where policies are essentially the same

- **Tax** – income tax cuts, no changes to CGT, negative gearing, franking credits
- **Job seeker** – no increase
- **Temporary cost of living supports** – fuel excise cuts, one-off payments
- **Net zero carbon emissions target by 2050***
- **Defence, foreign affairs** – AUKUS, capital spending, nuclear subs, China
- **Asylum seekers/refugees*** – boat turn backs, offshore processing
- **Support for seniors** – expanded access to seniors card, housing changes
- **Housing supply, rental** – (in)action relative to boosting housing demand
- **Housing demand** – home loan guarantee expansion
- **COVID**



Differences in degree not kind

- **PBS** – Coalition cuts price by \$10; Labor by \$12.50 per script
- **Company tax** – Labor ‘crackdown’ on multinationals to raise \$2bn
- **Debt and deficits** – Labor deficits \$7.4b more over 4 years, but neither party sees return to surplus for several years
- **Climate change** – Labor to cut emissions by 43% by 2030 vs Coalition 26-28%. Labor – ‘safeguard mechanism’, plus \$20b ‘Powering Australia’ plan
- **NDIS** – Labor pledges a review to ensure more person-centric approach and to tackle scam providers
- **Aged care** – bigger spending by both, Labor has specific pledges re nurses 24/7 as part of a \$2.5b package on top of Government’s \$19b plan
- **National security/borders** – Labor: more aid to the Pacific; opposes TPVs



More Significant Differences

- **Wages** – Labor supports 5.1% increase for workers on minimum wages; also large increase for aged care workers
- **Housing** – Labor has \$10b Housing Australia Future Fund (social housing); plus ‘Help to Buy’ scheme; Coalition has Super Home Buyer
- **Childcare** – Labor promises to increase subsidy to 90% and the family earning threshold to qualify. Ultimate aim is universal CC
- **Integrity** – Labor commits to a CwltH Integrity Commission this year
- **Indigenous** – Labor supports Uluru statement, and promises a referendum on Indigenous Voice to Parliament. Govt opposes it
- **Education/Training** – Labor: 465,000 fee-free TAFE and 20,000 uni places
- **Health** – Labor \$750m for Medicare, \$220m for GP practices; Coalition \$150m for regional health, \$458m for 2 cancer treatment centres



Other parties & candidates

- Greens – ‘Balance of Power shortlist’:
 - no new coal and gas;
 - dental and mental health into Medicare;
 - build 1 million affordable homes and better renters rights;
 - free childcare;
 - wipe student debt;
 - lift income support; and
 - progress on all elements of the Uluru Statement from the Heart
 - [billionaires’ tax]
- ‘Teal’ independents:
 - More ambitious CO2 emission reductions by 2030
 - Strong and effective anti-corruption body
 - Policies to improve women’s safety and equality



The big picture

Party	Seats (out of 151)
Liberal/National coalition	76
Labor	69
Green	1
Independent	5

- A uniform swing against the Government of less than 1% will deprive it of its majority
- A uniform swing towards Labor of 3.3% is required for it to form government



State by state..

State	Coalition seats with margins under 5% (total of 15)	ALP seats with margins under 3% (total of 13)
Queensland	4	4
Victoria	4	2
NSW	3	6 (9 seats under 5%)
Tasmania	2	0
Western Australia	1	1
South Australia	1	0
Northern Territory	0	0
ACT	0	0



The WA Picture

Liberal	Margin	Labor	Margin
Swan	3.2 %	Cowan	0.9%
Pearce	5.2%	Perth	3.2%
Hasluck	5.9%	Burt	5.5%
Tangney	9.5%	Brand	6.7%
Canning	11.6%	Fremantle	6.9%
Moore	11.6%		
Durack	13.5%		
Curtin	13.9%		
Forrest	14.6%		
O'Connor	15.4%		



Seats to watch

- Swan (Liberal) 3.2%
 - The Liberal party has held this seat since 2007.
 - Departure of sitting MP Steve Irons makes retention of the seat harder for the Liberals
 - March Utting poll: 59-41 to Labor
 - May Utting poll: 53-47 to Labor





Seats to watch

- Pearce (Liberal) 5.2%
 - The Liberal party has held this seat since its creation in 1993
 - The seat has had a radical redistribution since the last election, now based around the Wanneroo LGA
 - Controversy around sitting MP Christian Porter and his retirement has made this seat harder to retain for the Liberal party
 - Wanneroo mayor Tracey Roberts is the Labor candidate
 - March Utting poll: 55-45 to Labor
 - May Utting poll: 52-48 to Labor
 - 20 May YouGov poll: 53-47 Labor





Seats to watch

- Hasluck (Liberal) 5.9%
 - Held by the Liberal party since 2010
 - Sitting MP Ken Wyatt is Minister for Indigenous Australians, the first Indigenous MP elected to the HoR
 - Labor candidate is Tania Lawrence, who ran in the state seat of Darling Range in 2018
 - March Utting poll: 52-48 to Labor
 - May Utting poll: 54-46 to Liberal





Seats to watch

- Curtin (Liberal) 13.9%
 - Held by the Liberal party since
 - Celia Hammond succeeded Julie Bishop in 2019
 - High profile Independent Kate Chaney running in 2022
 - Considerable resources being ploughed into the seat from both campaigns
 - April Utting poll: 51-49 Hammond
 - May Utting poll: 52-48 Chaney





Seats to watch

- **Cowan (Labor) 0.9%**
 - Held by Labor since
 - Sitting MP is Anne Aly, first Muslim woman elected to HoR
 - Liberal candidate is Vince Connolly, current Member for Stirling
 - Large parts of the former seat of Stirling are now in Cowan





Conclusions

- NSW and Queensland will play a critical role in deciding the election
- The election could be very close, and a hung parliament is a possibility
- WA could be very important if the election is close
 - McGowan factor?



Senate



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A U S T R A L I A

Party	Seats (out of 76)	Facing election	Potential total
Liberal/National coalition	35	18	33 (16)
Labor	26	15	25 (14)
Green	9	3	12 (6)
One Nation	2	1	2 (1)
Centre Alliance	1	1	1 (1)
Lambie Network	1	0	2 (1)
Liberal Democratic	1	1	0 (0)
Independent (Rex Patrick)	1	1	0 (0)

Senate



STATE	LNP	LAB	GRN	ON	CA	LN	GAINS
NSW	3	3					+1/ -1
VIC	3	2	1				-
QLD	3	2		1			+1/ -1
WA	3	2	1				-
SA	2	2			2		+1/ -1
TAS	3	2	1				+1/ -1
ACT	1	1					+1/ -1
NT	1	1					



Things you may not know..

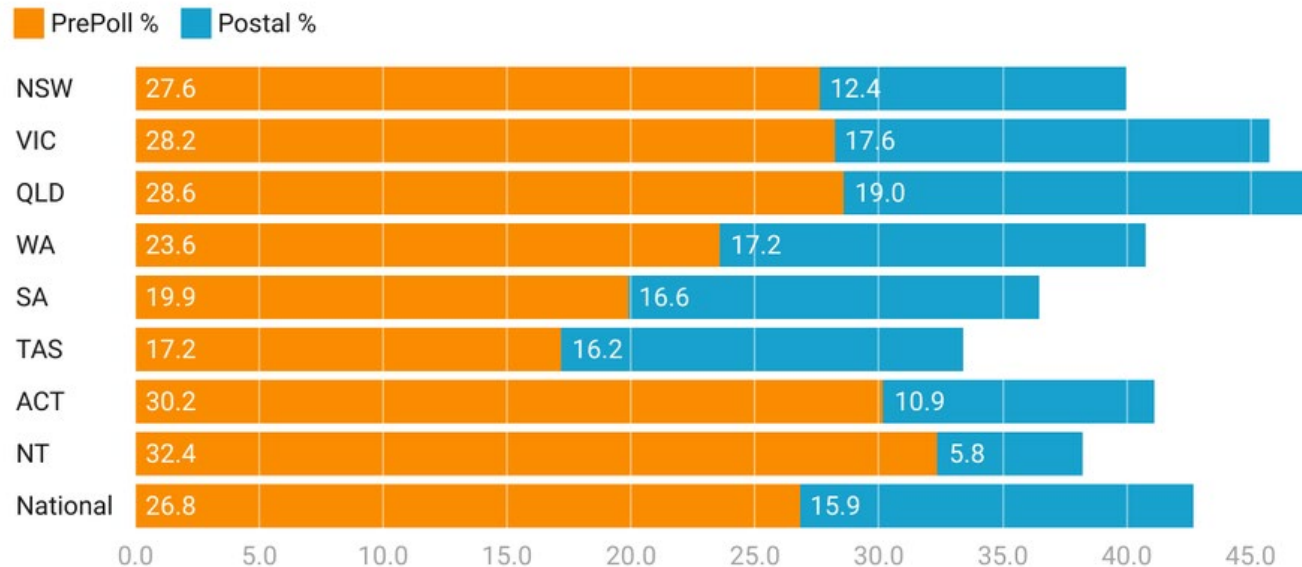
- A record number of people voted early in 2019 (40%)
- The AEC expects large numbers of postal voters in 2022
- If at all close, we may not know the election result for days





Early voting 2022

2022 Federal Election - Early Voting by State



Values calculated as a percentage of enrolment. Postal figure represents postal vote applications. Pre-poll figure includes both Pre-poll ordinary and declaration votes.

Chart: Antony Green • Source: AEC



Early voting (in-person) 2022

Pct Pre-poll Votes by Day - 2019 and 2022 Compared

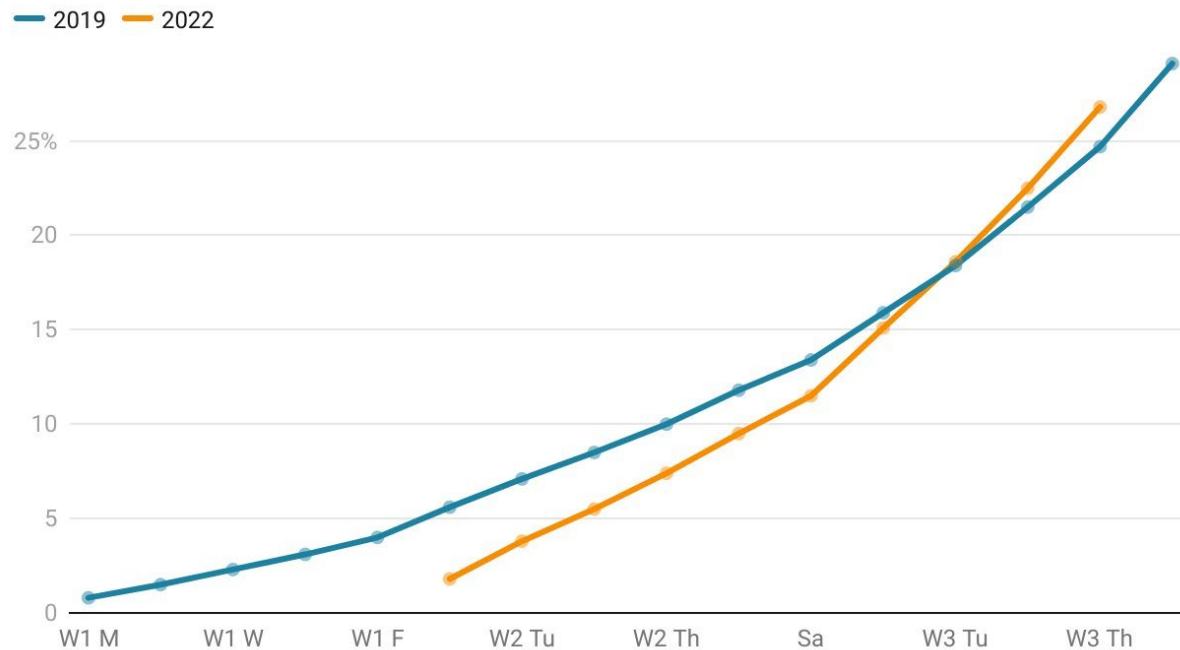
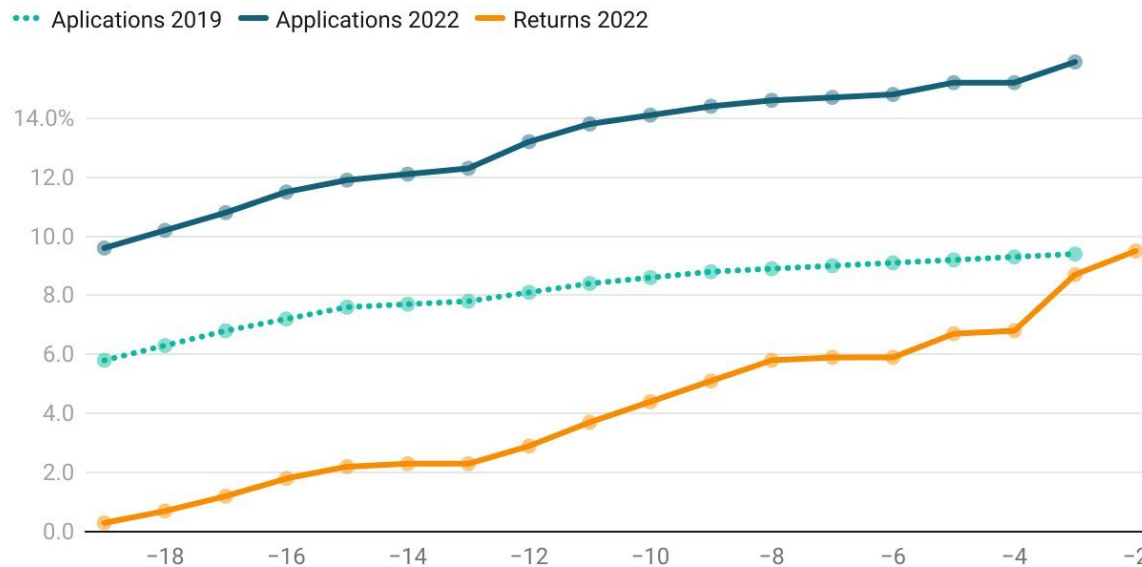


Chart: Antony Green • Source: Australian Electoral Commission



Early voting (postal) 2022

Postal Vote Application and Return Rates



Percentages calculated by author as a proportion of total enrolment. Horizontal axis shows days before polling day. Applications close three days before polling day.

Chart: Antony Green • Source: Australian Electoral Commission

Why a hung parliament is a possibility..



Labor gains	Liberal gains	Other
Bass (TAS) 0.4	Macquarie (NSW) 0.2	Griffith (QLD) 2.9*
Chisholm (VIC) 0.4	Lilley (QLD) 0.6	Hunter (NSW) 3.0
Boothby (SA) 1.4	Gilmore (NSW) 2.6	Ryan (QLD) 6.0*
Reid (NSW) 3.2		Kooyong (VIC) 6.4*
Swan (WA) 3.2		Goldstein (VIC) 7.8*
Higgins (VIC) 3.7		
Casey (VIC) 4.6		
Brisbane (QLD) 4.9		
Pearce (WA) 5.2		
Bennelong (NSW) 6.9		

- Net result: Lab 74, Lib 67, Others 10