# **STATE OF PLAY /** A Briefing

ECG Advisory Solutions / March 2013







STRATEGIC COMMUNICATIONS



# **■ ECG-JWS RESEARCH MARGINAL SEAT POLL – LABOR IN WIPEOUT TERRITORY**

STRATEGIC ADVICE

A special marginal seat poll of 4,070 voters in 54 key federal marginal seats commissioned jointly by ECG Advisory Solutions and the Australian Financial Review shows a two-party preferred (TPP) vote swing against the ALP of 9.3 percentage points since the last election.

On this swing, Labor would lose all of its 24 seats with a "swing-to-lose" margin of 6.0% or less.

And if a swing of this magnitude occurred evenly across the entire nation, it would reduce Labor's numbers in the Parliament to just 32 seats.

The poll was conducted by independent pollster JWS Research and forms the second in a marginal seat research series commissioned by ECG, which is designed to check the political pulse in the seats that will matter in the upcoming general election.

National polls measure outcomes in "safe" as well as marginal seats, blurring the picture as far as the seats that matter are concerned. This poll is much deeper than other published polls and therefore has a much lower margin of error at 1.5 percent.

The latest poll, conducted on Monday this week, showed that since the last key marginal seat poll in late January, Labor's pri-

mary vote has dropped by just over a point, from 33.5 percent to 32.2 percent, while the Coalition's primary vote has improved by more than three points, from 48.9 percent to 52.1 percent.

After distribution of preferences, according to respondents' nominations, the ALP's TPP vote is 40.6 percent, down from 45.1 percent in January, whilst the Coalition's TPP vote is 59.4 percent, up from 54.9 percent.

Since the last poll, the government has undergone two reshuffles and endured a leadership spill in the week before the poll was conducted. The outcome of the leadership challenge (or non-challenge) brought about an end to Kevin Rudd's leadership chances, one of the possible factors for a huge turnaround in the Queensland vote. It has also seen its controversial media reforms fail to pass the House of Representatives.

#### Other points of note:

- Just 21 percent of voters think the Government is doing a good job, down from 25 percent in January, and 56 percent (up 9 points) think it is doing a poor job, including 40 percent (up 13 points) who say it is doing a very poor job.
- Julia Gillard is the preferred Prime Min-

ister among 28 percent of voters (down 5 points) and Tony Abbott is the preferred PM among 37 percent of voters (up 5 points).

- Julia Gillard has a net favourability rating of -24 points, with only 25 percent (down 4 points) viewing her favourably and 48 percent (up 5 points) unfavourably.
- Tony Abbott has a net favourability rating of -2 points, based on 38 percent (up 8 points) favourable views and 41 percent (down 5 points) unfavourable views.
- Voters are split on what the cross bench members of parliament should do given the current instability within the Labor government 34 percent think they should continue to support Julia Gillard and Labor through to the scheduled September election, 20 percent think they should force Julia Gillard to stand down as Prime Minister but still support a Labor government with a new leader through to the election, and 36 percent think they should withdraw support from the government and force an early election.
- There are three key issues driving vote: the economy and jobs (mentioned by 29 percent, up 4 points since January), cost of living (22 percent, up 7 points) and healthcare and hospitals (18 percent, down 2 points).

# **■** Polls- the numbers that matter

	2PP* (%)	Primary Vote
ECG/JWS	59.4-40.6	52.1-32.2
(25 March 2013)	(Coalition- Labor)	(Coalition- Labor)
Newspoll	58-42	50-30
(22-24 March 2013)	(Coalition- Labor)	(Coalition- Labor)
AC Nielsen	56-44	47-30
(14-16 March 2013)	(Coalition- Labor)	(Coalition- Labor)
Essential Research (25 March 2013)	54-46 (Coalition- Labor)	47-33 (Coalition- Labor)

<sup>\* 2</sup>PP refers to the two-party-preferred vote after the distribution of preferences from other minor parties.

### **Primary Vote**

While the primary vote has moved against the government, it has also moved against the Greens. Their primary vote fell markedly to 7.6 percent from 9.3 percent in January. There has been little movement in support for Independents, although polling has not taken place in any seats held by Independents. In terms of gender, this poll shows that the government attracts the vote of just 33.5 percent of women, while the Coalition would gain 49.1 percent of the female vote. As far as marginal seats are concerned, this shows that the debate on misogyny in the parliament has

not had much impact.

Labor also trails in every age category, with the Coalition leading by a massive 48.9 percent to 32.3 percent among younger (18-34) voters. Labor performs best among older voters but still trails 54 percent to 35.7 percent.

### **Analysis by State**

Analysis by area, shows the overall 9.3 percent swing against the ALP is concentrated mostly in NSW (-11.8 percent) and Queensland (-11.0 percent).

Looking at the swings on a state-by-state basis, Labor stands to lose 10 seats in NSW, 7 seats in Queensland and 3 each in Victoria and WA.

Labor's drop in voting support since the January ECG-JWS Research poll has come mostly from Queensland, Western Australia and in non-metropolitan seats.

The biggest change has been in Queensland, where Labor enjoyed a swing to it of 2.6 percent in the January poll. This has collapsed and the ALP has suffered an 11 percent swing against since the last election in 2010.

Since the last poll, Queenslander Kevin Rudd has indicated that he will not lead the ALP again. This is likely to have had an impact on the Labor vote in Queensland.

The ALP has seen a slight improvement in Victoria, with the swing against moderating from 4.8 percent to 3.7 percent. However, this would still be enough to lose three seats in the State.

**Table 1: Primary voting intention** 

F. d I D V. I.					/S Research I March 2013	Poll			
Federal Primary Vote	17 January	25 March	:h Region		Gender		Age		
	2013 2013	2013	Metro	Country	Male	Female	18-34	35-54	55+
Labor	33.5%	32.2%	32.7%	31.2%	30.8%	33.5%	32.3%	28.9%	35.7%
Liberal National Coalition	48.9%	52.1%	51.4%	53.6%	55.3%	49.1%	48.9%	53.0%	54.0%
Greens	9.3%	7.6%	8.3%	6.3%	5.7%	9.4%	11.6%	7.6%	4.1%
Independent/Other	8.3%	8.1%	7.7%	8.9%	8.2%	8.0%	7.2%	10.5%	6.2%

Question: If a Federal election for the House for Representatives was held today, which party would you vote for? If undecided: Even though you are undecided, do you have a leaning towards any candidates or parties?

Note: 4% undecided overall on primary vote has been redistributed.

<sup>\*</sup> A primary vote comparison to the August 2010 federal election is not available as the AEC has since conducted redistributions in Victoria and South Australia

#### **Table 2: Two-party preferred voting intention**

	Election	Results	ECG-JWS Research Polls 25 March 2013		Change	TPP Swing*	
Federal TPP Vote	21 August 2010 in all 150 Seats *	21 August 2010 in 54 +/- 6% Seats *	17 January 2013	25 March 2013	(ECG-JWS 25 Janary 2013- 17 March2013)	(ECG-JWS 25 March- 2010 Election)	
ALP	49.9%	49.9%	45.1%	40.6%	-4.5%	-9.3%	
Liberal National Coalition	50.1%	50.1%	54.9%	59.4%	+4.5%	+9.3%	

Question: Even though it is not your first choice, if a Federal election was held today and you must choose between Labor and the Liberal National Coalition, who would you likely choose?

Note: 8% undecided overall on primary and preferential vote has been redistributed.

Note: The TPP calculation is based on applying preference distributions according to the respondent nominated preferences in this survey conducted March 25 2013. \* The TPP election results quoted take into account the notional results of redistributions the AEC has conducted Victoria and South Australia since the August 2010 Federal election as calculated by Antony Green. The election result in all seats at the last election is shown for reference only, direct comparisons should only be made for this poll against the same 54 marginal seats included in this poll.

Table 3: Two-party preferred voting intention - ECG-JWS Research poll trend

	ECG-JWS 17	January 2013	ECG-JWS TPP	ECG-JWS 2	5 March 2013	ECG-JWS TPP	TPP Change
TPP Vote in +/-6% Marginal Seats	ALP	LNP	Margin 17 Jan	ALP	LNP	Margin 25 March	For/Against ALP since 17 Jan
Total	45.1%	54.9%	-4.9%	40.6%	59.4%	-9.4%	-4.5%
ALP seats	46.8%	53.2%	-3.2%	40.6%	59.4%	-9.4%	-6.2%
LNP seats	43.7%	56.3%	-6.3%	40.6%	59.4%	-9.4%	-3.1%
3-6% ALP seats	50.4%	49.6%	+0.4%	39.9%	60.1%	-10.1%	-9.8%
0-3% ALP seats	41.3%	58.7%	-8.7%	41.6%	58.4%	-8.4%	+0.3%
0-3% LNP seats	46.4%	53.6%	-3.6%	40.1%	59.9%	-9.9%	-6.3%
3-6% LNP seats	40.9%	59.1%	-9.1%	41.1%	58.9%	-8.9%	+0.2%
Metropolitan	44.0%	56.0%	-6.0%	41.6%	58.4%	-8.4%	-2.4%
Country	47.3%	52.7%	-2.7%	38.4%	61.6%	-11.6%	-8.9%
QLD	52.6%	47.4%	+2.6%	38.8%	61.2%	-11.2%	-13.8%
NSW	38.2%	61.8%	-11.8%	38.6%	61.4%	-11.4%	+0.4%
VIC	44.8%	55.2%	-5.2%	45.2%	54.8%	-4.8%	+0.4%
WA	47.4%	52.6%	-2.6%	42.8%	57.2%	-7.2%	-4.6%
SA**	n/a	n/a	n/a	43.2%	55.8%	-5.8%	n/a

<sup>\*</sup> The TPP election results quoted take into account the notional results of redistributions the AEC has conducted Victoria and South Australia since the August 2010 Federal election. Comparisons can only be made against the same 54 marginal seats included in this poll, not with seats outside the +/-6% bandwidth. See Attachment 1 for a list of all seats surveyed.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Note: Individual South Australia and Northern Territory results not shown due to low sample sizes.

### Table 4: Two-party preferred voting intention - Swings and net gain/losses

TPP Vote in +/-6% Mar- ginal Seats	2010 Election TPP Margin (ALP-LNP) *	ECG-JWS Research Poll Margin 25 March (ALP-LNP)	TPP Swing For/Against ALP Since 2010	ALP Net Gains/Losses In +/-6% Seats
Total marginal seats	-0.1%	-9.4%	-9.3%	-25
ALP seats	+3.3%	-9.4%	-12.7%	-25
LNP seats	-3.0%	-9.4%	-6.4%	0
3-6% ALP seats	+4.7%	-9.4%	-14.1%	-15
0-3% ALP seats	+1.3%	-8.4%	-9.7%	-10
0-3% LNP seats	-1.7%	-9.9%	-8.2%	0
3-6% LNP seats	-4.7%	-8.9%	-4.2%	0
Net result by marginality groups				-25
Metropolitan	+0.3%	-8.4%	-8.7%	-18
Country	-1.0%	-11.6%	-10.6%	-7
Net result by metro/ country				-25
QLD	-0.2%	-11.2%	-11.0%	-7
NSW	+0.4%	-11.4%	-11.8%	-10
VIC	-1.1%	-4.8%	-3.7%	-3
WA	+0.6%	-7.2%	-7.8%	-3
SA	-2.1%	-5.8%	3.7%	0
Net result by state				-23

<sup>\*</sup> The TPP election results quoted take into account the notional results of redistributions the AEC has conducted Victoria and South Australia since the August 2010 Federal election. Comparisons can only be made against the same 54 marginal seats included in this poll, not with seats outside the +/-6% bandwidth. See Attachment 1 for a list of all seats surveyed.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Note: Individual South Australia and Northern Territory results not shown due to low sample sizes.

Most important issue	Total +/-6% Marginals 17 Jan 2013	Total +/-6% Marginals 25 March 2013
Economy and jobs	25%	29%
Cost of living	15%	22%
Healthcare and hospitals	20%	18%
Education	8%	9%
Immigration and border security	9%	7%
Enviroment	7%	6%
Leadership	10%	5%
Something else	5%	4%

Question: Which one of the following seven issues is the most important issue to you in deciding how you'll vote at the next Federal election?

Table 6: Seats polled

Seat	Held by	Margin	State	Metro/Country
Chisholm	ALP	5.9%	VIC	Metropolitan
Perth	ALP	5.9%	WA	Metropolitan
Oxley	ALP	5.8%	QLD	Metropolitan
Fremantle	ALP	5.7%	WA	Metropolitan
Rankin	ALP	5.4%	QLD	Metropolitan
Kingsford Smith	ALP	5.2%	NSW	Metropolitan
Dobell	ALP	5.1%	NSW	Country
Parramatta	ALP	4.4%	NSW	Metropolitan
Eden-Monaro	ALP	4.2%	NSW	Country
Blair	ALP	4.2%	QLD	Metropolitan
Page	ALP	4.2%	NSW	Country
Lingiari	ALP	3.7%	NT	Country
Capricornia	ALP	3.7%	QLD	Country
Brand	ALP	3.3%	WA	Metropolitan
Lilley	ALP	3.2%	QLD	Metropolitan
Reid	ALP	2.7%	NSW	Metropolitan
Petrie	ALP	2.5%	QLD	Metropolitan
Banks	ALP	1.4%	NSW	Metropolitan
La Trobe	ALP	1.3%	VIC	Metropolitan

Moreton	ALP	1.1%	QLD	Metropolitan
Lindsay	ALP	1.1%	NSW	Metropolitan
Robertson	ALP	1.0%	NSW	Country
Greenway	ALP	0.9%	NSW	Metropolitan
Deakin	ALP	0.5%	VIC	Metropolitan
Corangamite	ALP	0.2%	VIC	Country
Boothby	LNP	-0.4%	SA	Metropolitan
Aston	LNP	-0.5%	VIC	Metropolitan
Hasluck	LNP	-0.6%	WA	Metropolitan
Dunkley	LNP	-1.0%	VIC	Metropolitan
Brisbane	LNP	-1.1%	QLD	Metropolitan
Macquarie	LNP	-1.3%	NSW	Metropolitan
Forde	LNP	-1.6%	QLD	Metropolitan
Solomon	LNP	-1.8%	NT	Country
Casey	LNP	-1.8%	VIC	Metropolitan
Longman	LNP	-1.9%	QLD	Metropolitan
Herbert	LNP	-2.2%	QLD	Country
Canning	LNP	-2.2%	WA	Metropolitan
Dawson	LNP	-2.4%	QLD	Country
Swan	LNP	-2.5%	WA	Metropolitan
Bonner	LNP	-2.8%	QLD	Metropolitan
Macarthur	LNP	-3.0%	NSW	Metropolitan
Bennelong	LNP	-3.1%	NSW	Metropolitan
Flynn	LNP	-3.6%	QLD	Country
Sturt	LNP	-3.7%	SA	Metropolitan
Fisher	LNP	-4.1%	QLD	Country
McMillan	LNP	-4.2%	VIC	Country
Leichhardt	LNP	-4.6%	QLD	Country
Higgins	LNP	-5.1%	VIC	Metropolitan
Dickson	LNP	-5.1%	QLD	Metropolitan
Hughes	LNP	-5.2%	NSW	Metropolitan
Gilmore	LNP	-5.3%	NSW	Country
Paterson	LNP	-5.3%	NSW	Country
Stirling	LNP	-5.5%	WA	Metropolitan
Wannon	LNP	-5.7%	VIC	Country





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