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■ ECG-JWS RESEARCH POLL - GILLARD OR RUDD, LABOR HEADED FOR ELECTION DISASTER

ECG Advisory Solutions latest exclusive in-depth poll of critical Labor seats shows for the first time that Labor would clearly lose an election with either Julia Gillard or Kevin Rudd at the helm.

Conducted for ECG and the Australian Financial Review by the independent JWS Research, the poll of 3903 voters in 47 federal 0-12% ALP seats, shows a two party preferred (TPP) vote swing of 7.6 percentage points against the ALP since the 2010 federal election.

The TPP result in 0-12% ALP seats is 48.3% to Labor and 51.7% to the Coalition, compared to 55.9% for Labor and 44.1% to the Coalition at the last election. On this -7.6 swing Labor would lose 32 of its 47 0-12% seats, reducing it to 40 seats in the parliament if the swing occurred uniformly.

Despite this impending electoral disaster for Labor, voters are unenthusiastic about the possible return of Kevin Rudd. Just 33% of voters in Labor's 0-12% seats think Kevin Rudd should challenge Julia Gillard for the Labor

leadership before the next election, with most (54%) saying he should not, including 53% of Labor supporters and 59% of Coalition supporters.

Detailed analysis by marginality group shows that even more seat losses can be expected:

- A loss of all 10 0-3% ALP seats, with a swing of -5.9 points against Labor in this group
- A loss of all 15 3-6% ALP seats, with a swing of -7.5 points against Labor
- A loss of 10 of the 12 6-9% ALP seats, with a swing of -8.0 points against Labor

The largest swing by marginality group, of -8.6 points, occurs in the ALP 9-12% seats. Although this does not indicate any losses in the ALP 9-12% band at this stage, a swing of this magnitude brings these seats into play as key battlefield seats for the campaign. Based on this marginality analysis, there is a potential loss of 35 seats for Labor, reducing it to just 37 seats in the parliament.

Analysis by state reveals the potential

loss of many key Labor ministers in ALP 0-12% seats:

- In NSW a swing of -7.6 points results in a potential loss of 13 seats, including Assistant Treasurer David Bradbury in Lindsay and Education Minister Peter Garrett in Kingsford Smith
- In QLD a swing of -6.2 points results in a potential loss of 7 seats, including Treasurer Wayne Swan in Lilley and Trade Minister Craig Emerson in Rankin, with Kevin Rudd the only QLD Labor MP to retain his seat
- In SA a swing of -14.4 points results in a potential loss of 4 seats, including Kate Ellis in Adelaide
- In WA a swing of -9.2 points results in a potential loss of 3 seats, including Defence Minister Stephen Smith in Perth and Resources and Energy Minister Gary Gray in Brand
- In VIC a swing of -4.2 points results in a potential loss of 3 seats
- In TAS a swing of -10.6 points results in a potential loss of 2 seats, including Sid Sidebottom in Braddon.



Rudd v Gillard

ECG has previously polled 0-6 percent marginal seats to gauge where community sentiment stood in the key battleground seats.

However, as support for Labor has ebbed away in previous months, and the ALP faced a difficult leadership dilemma, we decided to see how the government's fortunes were situated in their own seats, particularly given there has been a long and destabilising period of leadership tension.

Media reports have suggested that a return to Rudd might tighten an election race, however, this latest polling in the seats that count show that the appetite for a change is muted and that Rudd would only do slightly better if an election was held now with him as Prime Minister.

A return of Kevin Rudd to the ALP leadership would certainly have a positive influence on Labor's vote. However, Labor is headed for an almost certain defeat regardless of who leads them to the election.

Kevin Rudd actually suffers from net negative favourability, with 37% of voters in ALP 0-12% seats rating him favourably and 40% unfavourably, including 56% of Coalition voters.

And while the poll measures what would happen at this moment in time, this overlooks the effects of a corrosive election campaign in which the Coalition would be certain to target Rudd over his past record and the unhelpful comments made about him by his colleagues in his last challenge.

This would likely damage Rudd.

Support for the view that Rudd will challenge is mixed with fewer voters believing Rudd actually intends to challenge for the Labor leadership (31%) than believe he should (33%), including 50% of Labor supporters. If Rudd were to take the leadership, 23% of voters say they would be much more likely to vote for Labor and 9% much less likely, however much of this potential increased support comes from exist-

ing Labor voters.

Amongst Coalition supporters, from whom Labor needs to draw votes to win the 2013 election, 13% are much more likely to vote for Labor under a Kevin Rudd leadership, but 12% are much less likely.

However, there is some tactical advantage in Kevin Rudd replacing Julia Gillard in the leadership as he has a higher favourability amongst men than women and he draws more support to Labor amongst men than women.

States

Based on this state analysis, there is a potential loss of 32 seats for Labor, 33 including the likely loss of Veterans' Affairs Minister Warren Snowden in Lingiari. This would reduce Labor to 39 seats in the parliament.

In summary, all three analyses strongly indicate a disaster for Labor at the next election, with the loss of between 32-35 seats. It is important to note that these results do not take into account the relative strength of individual Labor members, which can make their position either more or less tenable in their individual seats.

In other results:

- Both Prime Minister Julia Gillard and Opposition Leader Tony Abbott are viewed more unfavourably than favourably in ALP 0-12% seats. Julia Gillard has a net favourability of -12 (favourable 32%, unfavourable 44%), while Tony Abbott has a net favourability of -14 (favourable 33%, unfavourable 46%).
- Gillard is slightly more preferred as PM than Abbott on 41% to 39%, although Abbott is more preferred among men than women (42% to 39%).
- 48% of voters rate the Gillard Labor government as doing a poor job, including 29% who say they're doing a very poor job.



Table 1: Primary voting intention*

Federal Primary Vote	JWS Research 22-23 June 2013	Gender	
		Male	Female
Labor	38.7%	37.7%	39.6%
Liberal National Coalition	46.5%	48.0%	45.1%
Greens	7.6%	7.4%	7.9%
Independent/Other	7.3%	7.0%	7.5%

Question: If a Federal election for the House of 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: 5% undecided overall on primary vote has been redistributed.

* 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

Federal TPP Vote	Election Results		JWS Research 22-23 June 2013	TPP Swing* (ECG-JWS 22-23 June - 2010 Election)
	21 August 2010 in all 150 Seats *	21 August 2010 in 47 ALP 0-12% Seats*		
ALP	49.9%	55.9%	48.3%	-7.6
Liberal National Coalition	50.1%	44.1%	51.7%	+7.6

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 22-23 June 2013.

* The TPP election results quoted take into account the notional results of redistributions the AEC has conducted in 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 47 ALP 0-12% seats included in this poll. See Appendix A for a list of all seats surveyed.

Table 3: Two-party preferred voting intention*

TPP Vote in 0-12% ALP Seats	Seats	2010 Election TPP Margin*	ECG-JWS Research 22-23 Jun 2013 TPP Vote		JWS Research TPP Margin 22-23 Jun 2013	TPP Swing* (JWS Research 22-23 Jun - 2010 Election)	ALP Net Gains/ Losses
			ALP	Coalition			
Total 0-12% ALP seats	47	+5.9%	48.3%	51.7%	-1.7%	-7.6	32/47
0-3% ALP seats	10	+1.3%	45.4%	54.6%	-4.6%	-5.9	10/10
3-6% ALP seats	15	+4.7%	47.2%	52.8%	-2.8%	-7.5	15/15
6-9% ALP seats	12	+7.4%	49.4%	50.6%	-0.6%	-8.0	10/12
9-12% ALP seats	10	+10.3%	51.7%	48.3%	+1.7%	-8.6	0/10
NSW	16	+4.8%	47.2%	52.8%	-2.8%	-7.6	13/16
VIC	11	+6.9%	52.7%	47.3%	+2.7%	-4.2	3/11
QLD	8	+4.3%	48.1%	51.9%	-1.9%	-6.2	7/8
TAS	3	+8.3%	47.7%	52.3%	-2.3%	-10.6	2/3
WA	3	+5.0%	45.8%	54.2%	-4.2%	-9.2	3/3
SA	4	+9.0%	44.6%	55.4%	-5.4%	-14.4	4/4

* 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. Direct comparisons should only be made against the same 47 0-12% ALP seats included in this poll, not with seats outside the 0-12% bandwidth. See Appendix A for a list of all seats surveyed.

** Note: Results in Northern Territory and ACT are not shown due to low sample sizes



Table 4: Performance of the Gillard Labor Government

Performance of Gillard Labor Government	Total 0-12% ALP seats 22-23 Jun 2013	Primary Voting Intention				Gender	
		ALP	Coalition	Other	Undecided	Men	Women
Very good	14%	30%	2%	13%	4%	14%	13%
Good	13%	28%	2%	13%	5%	12%	14%
Average	21%	27%	13%	32%	17%	20%	22%
Poor	19%	9%	27%	19%	22%	17%	21%
Very poor	29%	4%	53%	20%	26%	32%	26%
TOTAL GOOD	27%	58%	4%	25%	9%	26%	28%
TOTAL POOR	48%	13%	80%	39%	48%	50%	46%
Undecided	4%	2%	3%	3%	26%	3%	4%
Net performance (good-poor)	-21	+46	-76	-14	-39	-23	-19

Question: How do you rate the performance of the Gillard Labor Government?

Table 5: Preferred Prime Minister

Preferred PM	Total 0-12% ALP seats 22-23 Jun 2013	Primary Voting Intention				Gender	
		ALP	Coalition	Other	Undecided	Men	Women
Julia Gillard	41%	83%	6%	46%	18%	39%	42%
Tony Abbott	39%	4%	79%	12%	18%	42%	37%
Neither/Other	17%	11%	12%	38%	44%	17%	17%
Undecided	3%	2%	2%	4%	21%	2%	4%
Net PM (Gillard - Abbott)	+1	+78	-73	+33	--	-3	+6

Question: Who do you think would make the better Prime Minister - Julia Gillard or Tony Abbott?



Table 6: Prime Minister Julia Gillard name ID (awareness and favourability)

Julia Gillard name ID	Total 0-12% ALP seats 22-23 Jun 2013	Primary Voting Intention				Gender	
		ALP	Coalition	Other	Undecided	Men	Women
Favourable	32%	65%	7%	30%	11%	31%	33%
Unfavourable	44%	18%	69%	38%	28%	47%	41%
No particular view	22%	17%	21%	30%	47%	19%	25%
Never heard of Julia Gillard	3%	--	4%	1%	14%	4%	2%
Net favourability (fav-unfav)	-12	+48	-62	-8	-17	-16	-8

Question: How do you view the Prime Minister, Julia Gillard?

Table 7: Opposition Leader Tony Abbott name ID (awareness and favourability)

Tony Abbott name ID	Total 0-12% ALP seats 22-23 Jun 2013	Primary Voting Intention				Gender	
		ALP	Coalition	Other	Undecided	Men	Women
Favourable	33%	4%	66%	10%	9%	35%	30%
Unfavourable	46%	78%	14%	67%	47%	46%	47%
No particular view	19%	17%	19%	21%	37%	16%	23%
Never heard of Tony Abbott	2%	1%	1%	1%	7%	3%	0%
Net favourability (fav-unfav)	-14	-74	+53	-57	-38	-11	-16

Question: How do you view the Opposition Leader, Tony Abbott?

Table 8: Kevin Rudd name ID (awareness and favourability)

Kevin Rudd name ID	Total 0-12% ALP seats 22-23 Jun 2013	Primary Voting Intention				Gender	
		ALP	Coalition	Other	Undecided	Men	Women
Favourable	37%	54%	24%	37%	23%	41%	32%
Unfavourable	40%	27%	56%	34%	20%	39%	42%
No particular view	22%	18%	20%	29%	46%	18%	25%
Never heard of Kevin Rudd	1%	0%	1%	--	11%	1%	1%
Net favourability (fav-unfav)	-4	+27	-32	+3	+3	+2	-9

Question: How do you view Kevin Rudd?

Table 9: Should Kevin Rudd Challenge for ALP Leadership

Should Rudd Challenge	Total 0-12% ALP seats 22-23 Jun 2013	Primary Voting Intention				Gender	
		ALP	Coalition	Other	Undecided	Men	Women
Yes	33%	40%	29%	28%	23%	37%	29%
No	54%	53%	59%	49%	43%	51%	58%
Not sure	13%	8%	12%	23%	35%	12%	14%
Net should challenge (yes-no)	-22	-13	-29	-20	-20	-14	-29

Question: Do you think Kevin Rudd should challenge Julia Gillard for the Labor leadership before the next election?



Table 10: Will Kevin Rudd challenge for ALP leadership?

Will Rudd Challenge	Total 0-12% ALP seats 22-23 Jun 2013	Primary Voting Intention				Gender		Should Rudd challenge		
		ALP	Coalition	Other	Undecided	Men	Women	Yes	No	Not sure
Yes	31%	30%	35%	25%	21%	32%	31%	42%	28%	18%
No	45%	50%	44%	40%	29%	48%	42%	35%	54%	31%
Not sure	24%	20%	21%	35%	50%	20%	27%	22%	18%	51%
Net will challenge (yes-no)	-14	-20	-9	-15	-9	-16	-12	+7	-26	-14

Question: Do you think Kevin Rudd actually intends to challenge Julia Gillard for the Labor leadership before the next election, possibly even this week?

Table 11: Effect of Rudd Challenge on vote

Effect of Rudd Challenge	Total 0-12% ALP seats 22-23 Jun 2013	Primary Voting Intention				Gender	
		ALP	Coalition	Other	Undecided	Men	Women
Much more likely to vote Labor	23%	34%	13%	30%	14%	26%	21%
Somewhat more likely to vote Labor	12%	11%	13%	8%	16%	12%	11%
Somewhat less likely to vote Labor	8%	8%	7%	9%	4%	6%	9%
Much less likely to vote Labor	9%	5%	12%	9%	4%	8%	10%
Little or no difference	47%	41%	54%	43%	47%	47%	47%
TOTAL MORE LIKELY	35%	45%	26%	38%	31%	37%	33%
TOTAL LESS LIKELY	16%	13%	19%	18%	9%	14%	19%
Undecided	1%	1%	0%	1%	14%	2%	1%
Net likelihood (more-less)	+18	+32	+6	+20	+22	+23	+14

Question: If Kevin Rudd were to replace Julia Gillard as Prime Minister, would it make you more or less likely to vote for Labor at the next election, or would it make no difference to your vote?



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Appendix A: 47 0-12% ALP Seats Polled*

Seat	Held by	Margin	State	Metro/Country
Corangamite	Darren Cheeseman	0.3%	VIC	Country
Deakin	Mike Symon	0.6%	VIC	Metro
Greenway	Michelle Rowland	0.9%	NSW	Metro
Robertson	Deb O'Neill	1.0%	NSW	Country
Moreton	Graham Perrett	1.1%	QLD	Metro
Lindsay	David Bradbury	1.1%	NSW	Metro
Banks	Daryl Melham	1.5%	NSW	Metro
La Trobe	Laura Smyth	1.7%	VIC	Metro
Petrie	Yvette D'Ath	2.5%	QLD	Metro
Reid	John Murphy	2.7%	NSW	Metro
Lilley	Wayne Swan	3.2%	QLD	Metro
Brand	Gary Gray	3.3%	WA	Metro
Lingiari	Warren Snowdon	3.7%	NT	Country
Capricornia	Kirsten Livermore	3.7%	QLD	Country
Blair	Shayne Neumann	4.2%	QLD	Metro
Eden-Monaro	Mike Kelly	4.2%	NSW	Country
Page	Janelle Saffin	4.2%	NSW	Country
Parramatta	Jule Owens	4.4%	NSW	Metro
Dobell	Craig Thomson	5.1%	NSW	Country
Kingsford Smith	Peter Garrett	5.2%	NSW	Metro
Rankin	Craig Emerson	5.4%	QLD	Metro
Fremantle	Melissa Parke	5.7%	WA	Metro
Oxley	Bernie Ripoll	5.8%	QLD	Metro
Chisholm	Anna Burke	5.8%	VIC	Metro
Perth	Stephen Smith	5.9%	WA	Metro
Hindmarsh	Steve Georganas	6.1%	SA	Metro
Bass	Geoff Lyons	6.7%	TAS	Country
Werriwa	Laurie Ferguson	6.8%	NSW	Metro
Barton	Robert McClelland	6.9%	NSW	Metro
Richmond	Justine Elliott	7.0%	NSW	Country
Adelaide	Kate Ellis	7.5%	SA	Metro
Braddon	Sid Sidebottom	7.5%	TAS	Country
Bruce	Alan Griffin	7.7%	VIC	Metro
McMahon	Chris Bowen	7.8%	NSW	Metro
Melbourne Ports	Michael Danby	7.9%	VIC	Metro



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Seat	Held by	Margin	State	Metro/Country
Griffith	Kevin Rudd	8.5%	QLD	Metro
Fowler	Chris Hayes	8.8%	NSW	Metro
Watson	Tony Burke	9.1%	NSW	Metro
McEwen	Rob Mitchell	9.2%	VIC	Country
Canberra	Gai Brodtmann	9.2%	ACT	Metro
Bendigo	Steve Gibbons	9.4%	VIC	Country
Isaacs	Mark Dreyfus	10.4%	VIC	Metro
Wakefield	Nick Champion	10.5%	SA	Metro
Franklin	Julie Collins	10.8%	TAS	Metro
Jagajaga	Jenny Macklin	11.1%	VIC	Metro
Ballarat	Catherine King	11.7%	VIC	Country
Makin	Tony Zappia	12.0%	SA	Metro

Note: The election results for Victorian and South Australian seats are notional results based on redistributions the AEC has conducted in these states since the August 2010 federal election



David Gazard
Director



Jonathan Epstein
Director

Contact

Canberra

David Gazard | Director

Suite 2/237 Endeavour House
 Captain Cook Crescent
 Manuka ACT 2603
 Mob. (+61) 428 405 107
 E. david.gazard@ecgadvisory.com.au

Melbourne

Jonathan Epstein | Director

Level 41, 120 Collins Street
 Melbourne VIC 3000
 Office. (+613) 8662 8500
 Fax. (+613) 9650 7402
 Mob. (+61) 438 927 109
 E. jonathan.epstein@ecgadvisory.com.au

General enquiries

E. enquiries@ecgadvisory.com.au