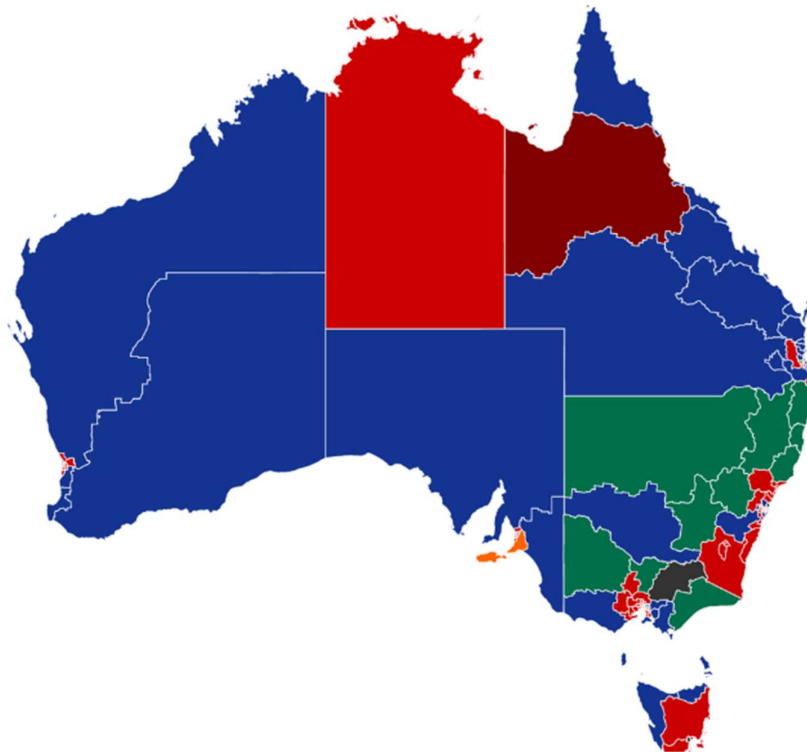


Election 2022



Does the 2022 election result represent a seismic shift in Australian Political life?

If so, what is different now?

This overview is mostly regarding the lower house, the House of Representatives. The party of majority in the lower house forms Government, and that party's leader becomes the Prime Minister. All legislation must pass through the lower house before the senate can 'review' it.

Federal Results for the House of Representatives

National Tallies by Party

The table below sets out the result of the election, for the whole country. Seats were lost by both the ALP (2) and the Coalition (18)

The 'Two Party Preferred' vote for 2022 was: **ALP 52.1% <> Coalition 47.9%**

Nationwide	Vote count	Vote %	Swing	Seats Won	Changed	
Labor Party	4,759,436	32.6%	-0.8%	77	+8	<div>Gained: 10</div> <div>Lost: -2</div>
Liberal Party	3,489,050	23.9%	-4.3%	27	-16	
Greens	1,787,939	12.2%	+1.8%	4	+3	
Liberal National Party	1,172,029	8.0%	-0.7%	21	-2	
Independent	774,084	5.3%	+1.9%	10	+7	
The Nationals	527,315	3.6%	-0.7%	10	0	
Katter's Australian Party	55,853	0.4%	-0.1%	1	0	
Centre Alliance	36,558	0.3%	-0.1%	1	0	

Some Notes:

- There are 151 Lower House seats, so 76 are needed for a majority. The ALP made it with one to spare.
- The Coalition seats has a total of 58 seats (Liberal **27**, LNP **21** & National **10**).
- In Qld, the LNP hold 21 out of 30 seats (70%). In the rest of Australia, the Coalition holds 37 seats out of 121 (30%), showing the strength of the Coalition in Qld.
- Essentially all coalition seats lost, were lost by the liberals. The two Qld seats lost were inner city, and before the LNP formed, they were Liberal seats. Even though the National Party vote was reduced by a larger amount proportionally than the Liberals, they lost no seats.
- Of those who got elected, only the Independents and the Greens Increased their vote. The increase was very significant in both cases.
- An irony of how votes are distributed around the country is seen in that:
 - the Nationals got 3.6% of vote and get ten seats,
 - while the Greens got 12.2% of vote, for only four seats.

The Senate Results

In the table below, the column titled 'Continuing' is effectively the result of the 2019 election.

The senate has 76 seats. To pass legislation the government needs to get 39 votes. The ALP has only 26 votes, so needs to find 13 extra each time a vote is taken.

One Nation and The UAP will almost always vote with the Coalition. Hence to pass legislation, the government will need the greens as well as either the Jackie Lambie Network, or David Pocock.

There are 12 senators from each State. They have six-year terms. Half are elected each three years.

There are 2 senators from each Territory (ACT & NT). They have three-year terms, so all four are up for election, at every election

Senate			
	Total	Continuing	2022
Coalition	32	17	15
One Nation	2	1	1
UAP	1		1
Lambie Network	2	1	1
ALP	26	11	15
Greens	12	6	6
Pocock	1		1

Some Notes

- The ALP and the Coalition both got 15 senators from the 2022 election. In 2019 it was ALP 11, Coalition 17.
- The Greens now have two senators from each state, giving them 12. This is the highest number they have ever had.
- The Coalition senators are mostly from the liberals. There are two directly elected Nationals (1 NSW, 1 Vic). Some of the Qld LNP senators sit with the Nationals in the Senate.
- Minor parties and the one independent have 18 out of the total 76 seats in the Senate. So, Minor parties and the independent carry a lot of clout in the Senate.

House of Representatives - Seat Changes by State

Changes

Seats changed hands in five states. The voting patterns by state, show some marked differences.

There was no change in the NT and in the ACT.

There was a large swing against the ALP in Tasmania, without any seats changing. Perhaps Brigit Archer was a major factor in that.

South Australia had one change. A Liberal MP seat was taken by the ALP candidate. All others remained unchanged.

In NSW and Victoria, there were a few changes. The patterns were similar. The seat lost by the ALP in western Sydney (the seat of Fowler) was lost on local issues around red hot anger at the ALP for parachuting Kristina Keneally into the seat displacing a very credible local candidate. (The ALP did a similar thing in Parramatta, next door to Fowler, but managed to hold that seat.)

	Seats		ALP	GRN	IND	Coalition
NSW	7	Gains:	3	-	4	-
		Loss:	-1			-6
VIC	4	Gains:	2	-	2	-
		Loss:				-4

The results in WA and Qld were very different. The LNP lost two seats in Qld, and all their candidates except one had a swing against them, but overall, the Coalition fared much better in Qld than everywhere else except Tasmania.

	Seats		ALP	GRN	IND	Coalition
QLD	3	Gains:	-	3	-	-
		Loss:	-1			-2

Western Australia was still drinking deeply at the well of Mark McGowan, and still incensed that Morrison had backed Palmer's legal attack on WA. The result was very surprising. Without the strong swing in WA, we would almost certainly have a minority government.

	Seats		ALP	GRN	IND	Coalition
WA	5	Gains:	4	-	1	
		Loss:				-5

The Coalition leaves Town.

The electorates with the highest average household income are almost exclusively inner city seats in the State capital cities. These were once held exclusively by the Coalition. The ALP have been winning seats in the inner city. However, with the exception of Melbourne, their inroads had not been very large previously.

This election saw a large shift, in two ways. The ALP took some more of these seats from the Liberals. Also, a significant number were taken by the Independents and the Greens. The table below shows the extent of this shift. The figures in the table are Average Household Income for each electorate.

After 2019 Election

LIB Electorates: \$126,940

ALP Electorates: \$121,020



After 2022 Election:

LIB Electorates: \$118,880

ALP Electorates: \$122,020

GRN/IND Electorates: \$145,690

The Issues that Changed Votes

ANU Survey

Of 3,500 voters - Conducted after every election since 1987

The survey found that Morrison and Joyce to be the most unpopular leaders ever in the history of the survey (from any party)

The survey ranked Albanese the 4th most popular ALP leader at any election, after Hawke (1987); Beasley (1998) and Rudd (2007).

The ANU survey found that the handling of the pandemic was a negative for the Coalition. The four most common issues that changed votes were:

- Climate Change
- Disaster Management
- Concern about the state of the political system (corruption & integrity)
- Issues around race.

Liberal Post Election Analysis:

Two major factors that came up in this preliminary review, found that:

- Coalition lost female votes across all age groups. The Coalition did not get a majority of female voters in any age group.
- There were swings against Coalition candidates in all electorates with significant numbers of Chinese.

In the Qld electorate of Moreton (Southern Brisbane), the ALP candidate received the highest number of votes ever. The electorate has high numbers of migrants, including Chinese

ALP results

ALP result by State – Primary vote and Swings

The table below shows the gains. Losses and percentage of primary votes for the ALP, listed by State.

Australian Labor Party - Swing on First Preferences

State	Seats	Won	Gain	Loss	Total %	Swing %
NSW	47	26	3	- 1	33%	-1.1%
VIC	39	24	2		33%	-4.0%
QLD	30	5		- 1	27%	0.8%
WA	15	9	4		37%	7.3%
SA	10	6	1		34%	-1.0%
TAS	5	2			27%	-6.4%
ACT	3	3			45%	3.8%
NT	2	2			38%	-4.1%

Some Notes:

- The three biggest states hold 116 of the total 151 seats making their results most significant.
- The biggest ALP primary vote losses were in Victoria, but they gained seats. Second preferences were very important.
- Qld is very bad for the ALP, even though they improved very slightly on their 2019 primary vote, they now have one less seat. They now hold 5 out of 30 seats in Qld. The 27% primary vote in Tasmania and Qld is much lower than the rest of Australia.
- WA is a standout, delivering a certain majority for the ALP, and very different to the 2019 result. Probably the ALP will not be able to keep all these seats in future elections.

The election was won with a very small primary vote, significantly less than the losing party (the Coalition). This is very unusual!!

ALP 32.6% <> Coalition 35.5%

It is true that some ALP supporters voted for independents in seats where they had a chance to unseat Liberals, thus suppressing the ALP primary vote. Overall, this would have reduced the ALP primary vote a little.

This is the first time the ALP has won from opposition with a leader with a low public profile (Albo may disagree of course).

In this election, the ALP won same the same number of Senate seats as the Coalition (3 ALP in WA!!!). This has not happened for a long time.

Ruling in Interesting times.

The concept of the 'Collective Unconscious' is a concept that has been studied in the sciences of psychology and Sociology for more than 150 years. The pattern of Federal Government changes in Australia would be a rich source of study in that field.

Below is a summary of each time that the ALP has taken Government from opposition, and the economic and political events at that time. Curtin became Prime ministership in 1941. Menzies had been in a minority government, supported by two independents. The two independents changed to support the ALP, and hence Curtin replaced Menzies as PM.

Andrew Fisher:	1914 - Just in time for WW1 to start
Jim Scullin:	1929 - Two weeks before the Great depression
John Curtin:	1941 - Took the reins as Japan entered hostilities - war in the Pacific
Gough Whitlam:	1972 - Just in time for an energy crises and rapidly rising inflation
Bob Hawke:	1983 - Business depressed, v. high interest rates & a huge deficit
Rudd/Gillard	2007 - End of mining boom, just in time for the Global Financial crisis
Albanese	2022 - Energy crisis, inflation, rapidly rising interest rates, stagnant wages, and a huge deficit, overloaded health system etc, etc

Coalition Results

The Coalition had a bad result across almost all of Australia. They received a small swing to them in Tasmania but did not take anymore seats. The table is a bit more complex than the ALP one because of the different parties that make up the Coalition. There are actually five parties in total in the Coalition, but the Northern Territory's CLP and the separate WA Nationals did not win any seats in the lower house. The CLP has a senate seat.

Coalition Parties - Swing on First Preferences

State	Seats	Won	Gain	Loss	Total %	LP Swing	Nat Swing
NSW LP	47	9		- 6	28.3%	-4.5%	
NP		7			8.4%		-1.4%
VIC LP	39	8		- 4	29.7%	-5.2%	
NP		3			3.6%		-
QLD LNP	30	21		- 2	39.7%	-4.0%	
SA LP	10	3		- 1	35.4%	-5.2%	
NP		-			0.2%		-
WA LP	15	5		- 5	34.3%	-9.5%	
NP		-			0.6%		-0.8%
TAS LP	5	2			33.0%	2.3%	
ACT LP	3	-			26.6%	-4.7%	
NT CLP	2	-			29.4%	-8.1%	

Some Notes:

- The table shows that generally the swing against the Coalition was similar in most parts of Australia. The exceptions being Tasmania (v. good) and WA (v. bad).
- Even though Qld LNP vote dropped, they are still well ahead of most of Australia, with 40% of the primary vote. That is the highest of any party by a big margin in any of the states. (Beaten only by the ALP in the ACT – perhaps public servants don't like the government???)

Regarding the result, Peter Dutton said that:

“We lost 200,000 votes to progressives, and 700,000 to right leaning minor parties”

I expect that the 200,000 and 700,000 are an exaggeration. However, it is true that many of the almost one million Liberal votes lost went to One Nation, or Palmer's UAP or the Liberal Democrats.

It also is true that several of the independents got a significant number of votes from people who normally vote either Greens or the ALP.

However:

- Every LIB/LNP member who lost – lost to a more progressive candidate.
- Mostly, it was moderate Libs who lost:

Now, there are only:

- 6 moderate Coalition members in the House of Representatives.
- 7 moderate Coalition members in the Senate.

Is the Liberal Party in Decline?

Australia-wide, in the last 20 elections, including at the Federal, State and Territory levels, (back to 2014), the Liberal vote declined in 19 out of 20 of those elections.

Looking across all governments in Australia, the Coalition:

- Hold a majority Govt in one state (Tas – by 1 seat)
- In minority govt in NSW
- In opposition in all other states and Territories

Although this seems stark, it is worth remembering that in 2007, after the ALP won the Federal election, The Coalition were in opposition in all six states as well as Federally. In the next few years they rebuilt relatively quickly. The question arises:

Is the situation now different, and will the same strategy they applied then still work?

The Liberal party in NSW appears to have a different approach to the recent Federal Coalition Government on many of the issues that worked against the Liberals at the 2022 election. Liberals in Tasmania and South Australia seem more expansive and pragmatic. The next few Liberal Party national conventions may be interesting.

Democracy works best when governments have a healthy engaged opposition, not one that merely opposes. Australia needs a strong opposition to intelligently critique the government and to be proactive in the policy area. The Coalition announced very few policy initiatives at either the 2019 or the 2022 elections.

Independents and Minor Parties

There are several Minor parties now with seats. Some have been around for some time. Bob Katter is now the longest serving federal politician in the parliament.

The Minor parties

Before the 2022 election there were three Minor party members in the House of Representatives:

- The Greens - one seat in House of Representatives - since 2010. After 2022 they have 4 members. (1 from Vic, 3 from Qld).
- Katter Australia Party – Bob Katter, elected originally as a National, has been in the Lower House since Moses prised open the door of the ark after the flood. Re-elected in 2022.
- Centre Alliance - Rebecca Sharkie (SA) since 2016. Re-elected in 2022.

In the Senate, before the election, there were members from the Greens, One Nation, Centre Alliance and The Jackie Lambie Network. The last of the Centre Alliance members are now gone.

- The Greens – Strong Senate Presence since 1990s. Now have 12 seats in the Senate
- One Nation – Senate seats (Since 2016) – currently hold 2 senate seats, both from Qld.
- United Australia Party – Clive Palmer was in parliament for one term. They had three senators in 2013. UAP won one Senate seat (Vic) in 2022.
- Jackie Lambie Network. Jackie entered the under Palmer's UAP in 2013. She won election in 2016 under her JLN party. After the 2022 election, there are two JLN members, both from Tasmania.

Independents

Before the 2022 election there were three Independents in the lower house:

- Andrew Wilkie – Tasmania (City/urban). Elected in 2010.
- Helen Haines – Victoria – Rural seat. Replaced independent Cathy McGowan. Haines was re-elected in 2022.
- Zali Steggall – NSW. She beat Tony Abbott in 2019. Re-elected in 2022.

Of the ten independents in the Lower House. Probably seven of these would put themselves in the TEAL camp.

The Senate:

- Had no independents after 2019 election. Most disappeared at the 2016 election.
- Now has one – David Pocock from the ACT. He is a progressive thinker.

Some Notes:

- Over the past decade there has been a shift in voter willingness to vote for independents and minor parties in the House of Representatives. This arose gradually and was strong enough in 2010 to see Bandt and McGowan elected.
- Independents have been in the Senate longer,
- At the 2022 election, the primary vote for the minor parties & for Independents was the highest ever, by a big margin. Nationally, more than 30% of primary vote went to minor parties and independents.
- The 3 independents and 3 minor party members already in the parliament were all re-elected comfortably in 2022

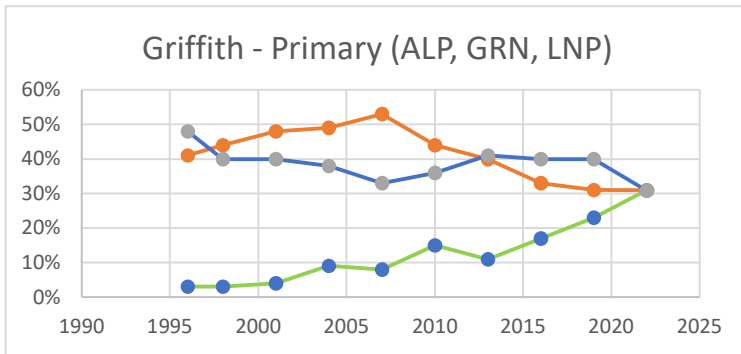
A question arises:

- Will this govt be the last majority govt for some time, given the growing number of Australians willing to vote outside the major parties.

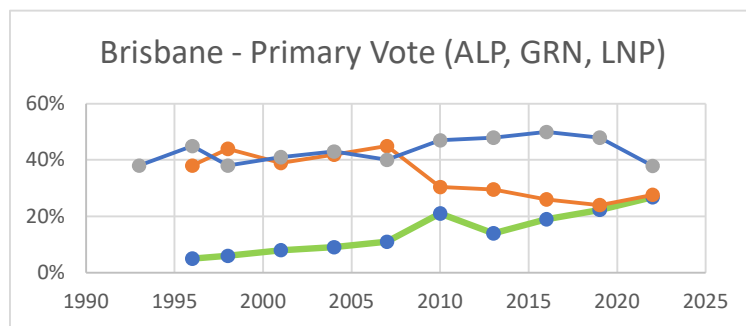
The Greens

You could say that the Greens have finally reached critical mass. The graphs below show that in the three Qld seats won, they have been creeping up towards victory for a long time. The red line is the ALP primary vote, the blue line is the LNP primary vote, and the green line is for the Greens.

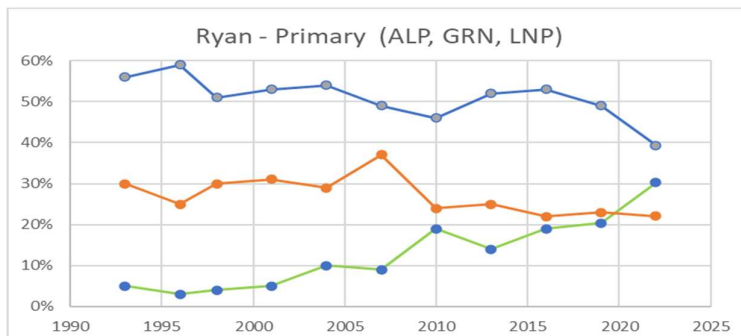
Griffith - South of the River



Brisbane – North of the River, mostly east of the city



Ryan – North of river, west of city



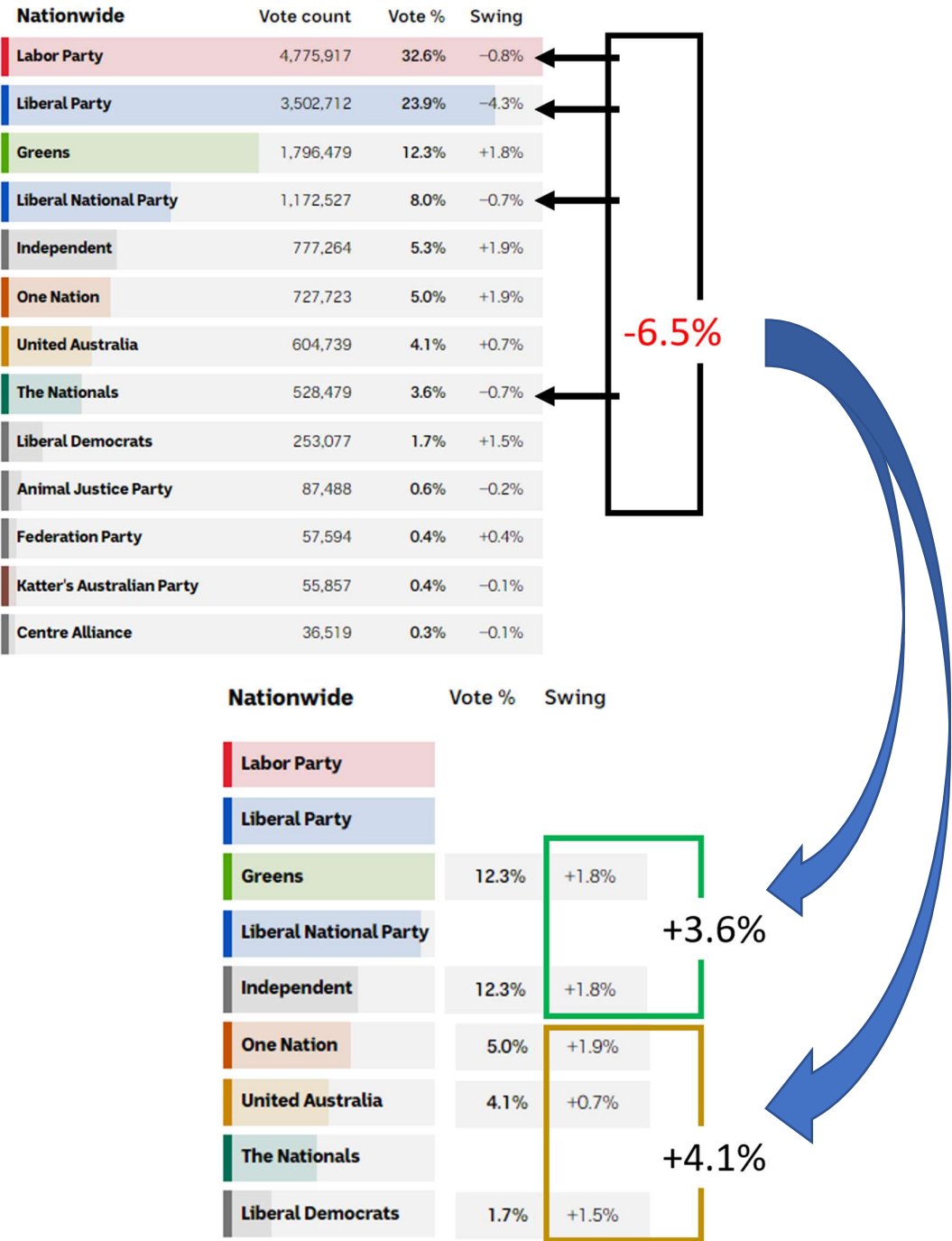
The greens vote in Inner Brisbane has been growing for 25 years. This is also true for a number of Inner-city Melbourne seats, and also in some rural seats in NSW and in Victoria., for example, Richmond in the North-east corner of NSW.

The rise of the so-called TEALs has been much more recent. However, the groundwork for accepting them has been done over a couple of decades.

Is Australia becoming Increasingly Polarised.

Where did the votes go?

The major parties' lost votes at this election. The minor parties and independents gained votes.



The numbers above only include some of the parties, hence the difference in the numbers. Those minor parties that are referred to as 'Progressive' increased their votes. The so called 'Freedom Parties' also had a swing to them. (ONP, UAP and LDP).

There are a number of aspects to this election that seem to point to an increasing this polarisation within the Australian voting public. The polarisation is around a number of issues

<i>Youth</i>	<>	<i>Older established voters</i>
<i>City</i>	<>	<i>Rural</i>
<i>Progressives/moderates</i>	<>	<i>'Freedom Lovers'</i>
<i>Male</i>	<>	<i>Female</i>
<i>Anglo</i>	<>	<i>Ethnically diverse</i>

New influence block in Parliament

The Inner-city moderates (GRN & IND) – the TEAL and Green camps present a new block of influence on the parliament. They have a lot in common, but some major differences as well.

- Well educated
- High concern for female safety and equality
- Older voters are Wealthy, diverse group of younger voters
- Environmentally progressive, socially progressive to a point
- Concern for integrity
- Concern for some forms of equity
- GREENS and TEALS - different economic emphasis
- Politically very active, high wealth campaigns

The Electoral Map

Australia's electorates can be broadly placed into one of three groups. The polarisation is social, economic and political.

Politically, it looks like this:

Inner City

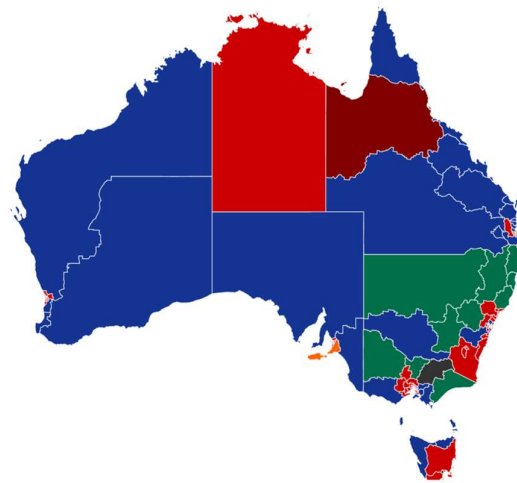
- ALP is very strong.
- Most of the Independents (7/10)
- All of the Greens (4/4)

Suburbs

- ALP is strong – with a majority in most capital cities.,
- Coalition small,
- Independents small (2/10)

Rural

- Coalition very dominant
- ALP is small – almost all are in NSW & Vic.
- ALP ok in Tas, NT and ACT
- Minor parties (2/6)
- Independents (1/10)



These divides were significantly widened in the 2022 election.

Conclusion

To bring this together, I will go back to the opening question.

Does the 2022 election result represent a seismic shift In Australian Political life?

The review above covers various aspects of the change, a few observations may serve to summarise:

- Independents and Minor parties have 16 seats out of 151 in the lower house, and 18 out of 76 in the upper house. They represent 30% of Australia's voters, nearly the same as either the ALP or the Coalition. However, this has not really been a seismic shift. The groundwork for this shift has been done over the past three decades. The concept of reaching 'critical mass' is probably a more apt metaphor.
- The liberal party has particularly been weakened by this election, both in numbers and in experienced members. Many would say this is entirely their fault given the past three years. The party has rebuilt before. Many of the Liberal people at State level are operating in a less divisive and more proactive way. It remains to be seen if the Federal party can rebuild and become more 'Centre-Right' again.
- This election seemed to demonstrate a growing polarisation within our society, rather perhaps I should say, that the election reflected a growing polarisation that is now in our society. This has been happening for some time. I assume our leaders are aware and trying to think through how to take people forward and begin to reverse the divisiveness.

The ALP have scraped into government with a majority in the House of Representatives and with a Senate that has improved on the previous one, from the ALP's perspective. They are in a reasonably good position to govern, but there will be a lot of people pushing and pulling them to do things differently every time they bring in new legislation.

We can expect a proactive and productive three years if the ALP and everyone else can hang together. It will be very interesting to go along for the ride. Who said politics was dull?

If the ALP government led by Albanese achieves reasonably well, some of the 2022 trend may be reversed. On the other hand, if the existing 25-year trend toward minor parties and Independents continues to grow, then this current majority government may be the last majority government for some time.