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THE 2006 VICTORIAN STATE ELECTION

An analysis of the Victorian state election which took place on 25th November 2006. This paper examines the campaign and the result, describing who won and why. It also includes a detailed explanation of voting for the new-look Legislative Council, and voting figures for each Assembly District and Council Region.

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This research paper is part of a series of papers produced by the library's Research Service. Research Papers are intended to provide in-depth coverage and detailed analysis of topics of interest to Members of Parliament.

Parliament of Victoria

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List of abbreviations

ALP	Australian Labor Party – Victorian Branch
CA	Country Alliance
CDP	Christian Democratic Party (Fred Nile Group)
CEC	Citizens Electoral Council
Democrats	Australian Democrats (Victorian Division)
DLP	Democratic Labor Party of Australia
Family First	Family First Victoria Inc.
Liberal	Liberal Party of Australia – Victorian Division
Nationals	National Party of Australia – Victoria
People Power	People Power
SA	Socialist Alliance (Victoria)
Greens	The Australian Greens - Victoria

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Note

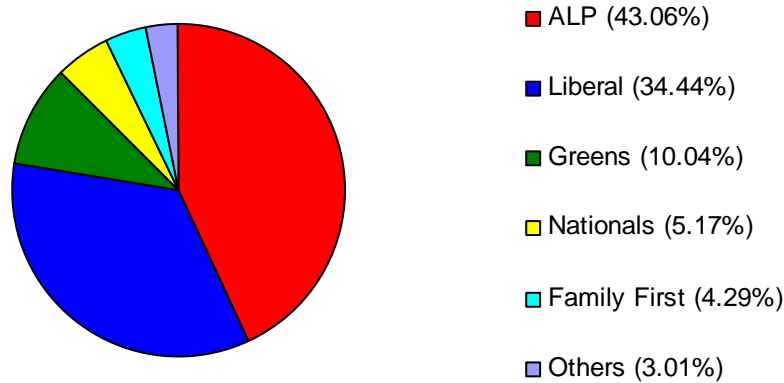
This paper is the product of a collegial effort involving the Research Service's Claire Macdonald and Dr Greg Gardiner, and Professor Brian Costar, Chair of Victorian Parliamentary Democracy at Swinburne University.

Section 7 of this paper has been updated to reflect the final election results as presented in the VEC's *Report to Parliament on the 2006 Victorian State Election*, published in July 2007.

Victorian State Election 2006: Overview of results

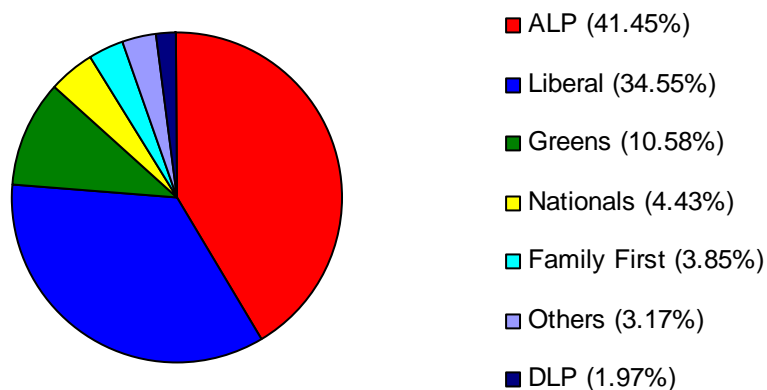
The following charts and tables show the proportion of first preference votes received by each party, and the composition of the parliament's two chambers following the 2006 state election:

**Chart 1: The Legislative Assembly
Proportion of first preference vote received by party**



Party	ALP	Liberal	Nationals	Independent
Seats	55	23	9	1

**Chart 2: The Legislative Council
Proportion of first preference vote received by party**



Party	ALP	Liberal	Greens	Nationals	DLP
Members	19	15	3	2	1

Introduction

The 2006 Victorian state election was notable for a number of firsts including: a new proportional representation voting system for the Legislative Council, which had been reduced in size from 44 members to 40; an “above the line” voting method in the Council together with “optional preferential” voting “below the line”; a fixed election day of 25 November 2006; a new contestant in the form of the Family First Party, which had a Senator elected from Victoria at the 2004 federal election; the real prospect of a party other than Labor, Liberal and National gaining parliamentary election for the first time since 1955; and Premier Steve Bracks had the task of defending the Labor Party’s only landslide victory, achieved in 2002.

The key results of the election were as follows:

- The Labor Party achieved a third successive election win, with limited losses in the Legislative Assembly;
- The first Greens representatives were elected to the Victorian Parliament, with three members in the Legislative Council;
- The Liberal Party’s primary vote rose by 0.5 per cent, while the Liberal/National parties combined gained a 3.6 per cent swing toward them, producing a two-party preferred result of ALP 54.2% to Liberals/Nationals 45.8%¹;
- Competing in their first Victorian election, Family First polled strongly across the state, receiving a total of 4.3 per cent of the primary vote in the Assembly;
- The Nationals increased their primary vote and won two extra seats in the lower house;
- The Democratic Labor Party re-emerged after almost a 50 year absence, winning the fifth place in the Western Victoria Region of the Council;
- The government lost its majority in the Council; and
- Premier Bracks became only the second Labor leader to win three elections in a row, and will become Victoria’s second longest serving Premier (and Labor’s longest serving Premier) in this term.

This paper examines the 2006 Victorian State election, providing description and analysis of the results for both houses of parliament. Part A provides an overview of the background to the election, the key issues and policies announced by the parties during the election campaign, the leaders’ debate, polls data, and preference negotiations. Part B examines the outcomes in the Assembly and the Council, with an emphasis on where the major parties won or lost, how the minor parties fared, preference effects, and geographic influences. Results for the Council are analysed by region and by party, as are the outcomes under the new proportional representation system. Part B also includes a short section on women MPs, voter turnout and numbers of contesting candidates. Part C of the paper comprises election results in tabulated form for each district and region, including first preference vote (by number and percentage), two-party preferred vote, voting statistics, plus additional tables and information. The paper also contains maps of the state showing party representation in Legislative Assembly districts and Legislative Council regions.

¹ Due to various complications with calculating a two-party preferred result, the Victorian Electoral Commission has not yet produced official overall two-party preferred figures. The overall figures included in this paper have been determined by Malcolm Mackerras, and incorporated with his permission.

PART A: THE RACE TO NOVEMBER

1. The context for the 2006 election

1.1 The Victorian electoral landscape

The Bracks government went to the polls holding 62 of the Legislative Assembly's 88 seats—seven of which were held by margins of 2.8 per cent or less. Few commentators doubted that the government would be returned since the Liberal Party and the Nationals needed a swing of nearly eight per cent to win a majority of seats; none of the published polls in 2006 indicated that a swing of that magnitude was likely. As one commentator argued, a reasonable performance by the Liberal Party at this election would enable a more realistic chance of winning the next election in 2010.² Incumbent state governments across Australia are notoriously difficult to dislodge. Usually, some or all of the following conditions must exist to trigger a change in government: a severe economic recession, gross financial mismanagement, or widespread corruption. None of these factors was evident in Victoria in late 2006, thereby making the Liberals' task of convincing a majority of voters that a change of government was warranted a very difficult one. Additionally, Liberal leader Ted Baillieu had a relatively short time to make himself known to the electorate, having replaced Robert Doyle in May 2006, just over six months prior to the election. The second Bracks government (2002 to 2006) was relatively trauma free.³ Over the period the economy continued to grow, and with budget surpluses each year, the government was generally viewed as fiscally responsible.⁴ While no major political scandal beset the government, the Opposition did call during the term for the establishment of a permanent anti-corruption commission, and later a Royal Commission, into alleged police corruption and a spate of gangland killings. However, by 2006 the violence had abated and a number of people were facing serious charges. In the election campaign the Opposition called for an Independent Police Conduct Auditor to be appointed rather than an anti-corruption commission.⁵

1.2 Constitutional reform

In 2003 the Victorian Parliament passed the *Constitution (Parliamentary Reform) Act*, which introduced a wide range of changes to the Victorian Constitution, including reform of the Legislative Council.⁶ The Act re-constituted the Council to consist of 40 members (down from 44) elected from eight regions with each region returning five members and consisting of eleven contiguous lower house districts. The Act provided for proportional representation with optional preferential voting. Voters now have the choice, as in the Australian Senate since 1984, of an “above the line” vote (a ticket

² For example, see J. Dowling (2006) ‘Now listen, Steve’, *The Age*, 19 November, p.19.

³ See D. Hayward (2006) ‘Steve Bracks: The Quiet Achiever’ in P. Strangio & B. Costar (eds) *The Victorian Premiers 1856-2006*, Sydney, The Federation Press, pp. 382-403.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ Liberal Party of Australia Victorian Division (2006) ‘A Liberal Government plan for Victoria Police: our streets, our homes, our force’, viewed 1 February 2007, <http://www.vic.liberal.org.au/default.cfm?action=policies_2006>.

⁶ The *Constitution (Parliamentary Reform) Act 2003* amended the *Constitution Act 1975*, see <<http://www.dms.dpc.vic.gov.au/>>. For discussion of the constitutional changes see G. Gardiner & B. Costar (2003) ‘Legislative Council Reform’, *Research Paper No. 2*, Melbourne, Parliamentary Library.

vote), or a below the line vote (numbering a minimum of five candidates). With five member regions a quota of just over 16.66 per cent is required for successful election of a candidate.

The Act outlined the process for transferring surplus votes (the Australian STV system) from successful (and unsuccessful) candidates to ongoing candidates based on preferences. The Act also amended the *Electoral Boundaries Commission Act 1982*, to provide the Electoral Boundaries Commission (EBC) with authority to divide the state into new electoral regions. The EBC introduced the eight new regions in 2005, with five metropolitan and three non-metropolitan regions. The Act tied the term of the Council to that of the Assembly and provided for a fixed four year term, with coincident elections for both houses to be held on the last Saturday in November at the conclusion of each four year electoral cycle. Casual vacancies in the Council are to be filled by a process of a joint sitting of both houses, with the party of the vacancy nominating a replacement.

2. The campaign: key issues, policies and strategies

While there were many elements to the 2006 election campaign, the media focus was largely on the leaders of the two major parties, Labor's Steve Bracks and the Liberals' Ted Baillieu. Labor worked to convince the electorate that it should trust Bracks as Premier for another term, while the Liberals endeavoured to build the electorate's familiarity with their relatively new leader. It was noted in the *Herald Sun* that 'Brand Bracks' was core to the Labor strategy; Treasurer John Brumby received only a fifth of the number of press mentions as Bracks in the three weeks leading up to the election, while Deputy Premier John Thwaites received even less.⁷ Similarly, deputy Liberal leader Louise Asher was in the background as far as media coverage was concerned.

The media highlighted the similarities between the two leaders; both family men and fathers of three, active sporting participants, and both presenting a clean-cut "nice guy" image.⁸ Some commentators argued that in terms of policy the leaders also offered rather similar ideas⁹, although this was strongly denied by both men and their parties. Water and climate change were arguably two of the biggest issues of the campaign, and the major parties presented quite different policy responses as part of their election platforms. The Liberals proposed the building of a desalination plant and a new dam on the Maribyrnong River to address water shortages, both of which were opposed by the Labor Party. Regarding climate change, Labor promised to legislate targets to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, and to increase the amount of energy consumed from cleaner sources. They also proposed a \$14 million energy efficiency rebate scheme, solar panel installation on 500 schools and community buildings, and a registration fee cut for hybrid cars. While supportive of cuts to greenhouse gas emissions, the Liberals did not produce targets, and said they would scrap the government's renewable energy target scheme. They also promised a \$670 million dollar investment in 'cleaner coal' technology.¹⁰ For their part, the Greens' policies included the cessation of logging in water catchments, a target of a 20 per cent reduction in greenhouse gases by 2015, targets for renewable energy production, and the closure of Hazlewood power plant.¹¹

Public transport was another focal issue, particularly after Ted Baillieu announced the Liberals' intention of providing free public transport for students, and to abandon zone three fares. Labor also promised to abolish zone three, and to reduce V/Line fares.¹² On education, the physical state of Victoria's public schools gained attention from both major parties. Labor announced a plan to 'rebuild or modernise' a significant number of schools, as well as funding for 20 new schools to be built in growing areas, two new selective entry schools and specialist sports and science schools.¹³ The Liberals promised \$200 million in school maintenance funding and

⁷ J. Freeguard (2006) 'Camera shy? Yes, Minister', *Herald Sun*, 24 November, p.41.

⁸ For example, see T. Colebatch (2006) 'Two nice blokes have almost taken the passion out of politics', *The Age*, 15 November, p.17.

⁹ For example, see A. Bolt (2006) 'Election hit for six', *Herald Sun*, 24 November, p.25.

¹⁰ L. Minchin (2006) 'Different ways for parties to be seen being green', *The Age*, 22 November, p.12.

¹¹ Australian Greens Victoria (2006) *The Switkowski report is a red herring say the Greens – bring on real action on climate, right now*, media release, 23 November.

¹² A. Gardiner (2006) 'Public transport wars', *Herald Sun*, 27 October, p.5.

¹³ D. Rood (2006) 'Schools of thought', *The Age*, 23 November, p.13.

announced plans to build five new technical schools and four academically selective schools. They also promised a grant of \$730 for parents of four-year-olds to assist with kindergarten expenses; this was widely supported, with Labor pledging a grant of the same amount for low-income parents. While the Liberals continued their long-held policy of transferring the responsibility for kindergartens to the Department of Education, Labor maintained its position that kindergartens should come under the jurisdiction of the Department of Human Services. Professor Richard Teese of the University of Melbourne commented that 'Both parties have produced significant initiatives that need to be applauded, Labor's capital works program and the Liberals' preschool funding among them'.¹⁴

Mental health gained new prominence as an issue during this election campaign, arguably due to the increasing attention afforded anti-depression organisations and rural mental health issues. Labor's promise to appoint a Minister for Mental Health was supported by the Opposition. Gambling policy also received notable attention; start-up party People Power called for the removal of 27,500 poker machines (all those outside Crown Casino) by 2012, while the Greens said they would remove 20,000 machines by the same date. The Liberals said that by 2012 they would reduce poker machines by 5,500 if elected.¹⁵ While Labor and the Nationals released policies to attempt to deal with problem gambling, they did not specifically pledge any reduction in gaming machine numbers.

Regarding land tax, the Liberals endeavoured to capitalise on discontent about current rates by promising \$285 million in land tax cuts. They also pledged to cut stamp duty by up to \$3,000 for houses up to \$600,000, with first home buyers eligible for the First Home Bonus in addition to these stamp duty cuts. A further promise was for the indexation of stamp duty rates. Labor promised a stamp duty rate cut of 1 per cent for properties under \$400,000, and a flat \$2,850 saving for properties selling for between \$400,000 and \$500,000. In their respective justice policy statements, both major parties promised to recruit more police personnel; Labor promised 350 extra police officers, 25 forensic investigators and 25 specialist crime fighters. The Liberals promised an extra 800 police officers to be deployed in certain areas, and minimum sentencing for rape, arson causing death, certain child sex abuse charges, kidnapping and murder.¹⁶ Labor promised \$10 million in funding for new weapons such as taser stun guns and semi-automatic handguns.

2.1 The Labor Party

As in 1999, the ALP launched its campaign in the Premier's home town of Ballarat. It campaigned with the message that although much had been achieved since 1999, Labor still had many programs to implement. There was a noticeable appeal to working families, including strong attacks on the federal government's new industrial relations laws. Utilising the advantages of incumbency, Labor also appealed to voters to trust them for another term, rather than risk a new Liberal government, which they presented as a return to the Jeff Kennett era. This was exemplified in advertisements showing the Liberal leader under the heading 'Don't let Baillieu take us back'. Labor emphasised its traditional strength of education; the Premier maintained that

¹⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁵ J. Dowling (2006) 'Action plan as gaming takes toll on children', *The Age*, 10 September, p.8.

¹⁶ M. Murphy et. al (2006) 'New lethal weapons for police', *The Age*, 15 November, p.1.

education was still Labor's first priority, and stated that \$1.9 billion would be invested to 'upgrade 500 more schools over its next four-year term, with the rest rebuilt or modernised by 2016'.¹⁷ Addressing climate change, Labor promised that Victoria would remain nuclear free, in addition to introducing targets which would see greenhouse gas emissions cut by 60 per cent by 2050. They also vowed to ensure that by 2020, 20 per cent of Victoria's energy would come from low-emission sources such as gas, solar, wind and cleaner coal.¹⁸ A focus on a record of fiscal responsibility was also evident, to convince voters of Labor's ability to manage the state's finances.

Particularly in the inner city, it was obvious that Labor was concerned about a strong Green vote, and the potential loss of traditionally safe seats. In the electorate of Melbourne, the Premier campaigned alongside sitting member Bronwyn Pike, and the federal Shadow Environment Minister, former Midnight Oil frontman and Australian Conservation Foundation president Peter Garrett, was present to lend additional environmental credibility to the ALP campaign. When it was announced that the Liberals would preference the Greens in four key metropolitan seats in return for the Greens issuing split tickets in 22 seats, one reporter wrote that 'open warfare has erupted between preference partners Labor and the Greens'.¹⁹ Labor accused the Greens of doing deals with the Liberals, and issued advertisements showing the Greens logo with Ted Baillieu's picture in the centre, implying collusion between the two parties. The Greens denied that they had 'sold out' to the Liberals, and requested that the ads be withdrawn due to a breach of trademark. Labor also ran various negative advertisements against the Liberals, attacking the Opposition leader about his share portfolio, and linking him to public service cuts and school closures which occurred during Kennett's terms as Premier from 1992 to 1999. One advertisement alleged that Ted Baillieu personally gained from the school closures due to his involvement in the real estate firm Baillieu Knight Frank.

Most visible amongst the Government's detractors during the campaign were rural and regional voters and interest groups, protesting against the proposed toxic waste dump in the electorate of Mildura, the ban on alpine grazing and the decommissioning of Lake Mokoan, amongst other issues. These voters voiced anger at being ignored by what they claimed to be a city-centric government; interestingly, it was rural and regional voters such as these who played a central role in removing the former Kennett government. However, one journalist noted that although not totally supportive of Steve Bracks, many rural residents did not regard him with the same level of anger that they continued to hold for Mr. Kennett.²⁰

2.2 The Liberal Party

The new Liberal leader Ted Baillieu gained momentum during the campaign, as efforts were made to raise his profile in the electorate. Newspolls presented in *The Australian* showed the percentage of voters satisfied with Baillieu's performance to be steadily increasing, from 32 per cent just after taking the position of Opposition Leader, to 46 per cent in the days before the election. His media-friendly campaign events—for example the presentation of the Liberal's coastal protection policy,

¹⁷ F. Tomazin (2006) 'You can trust us, says Bracks', *The Age*, 14 November, p.1.

¹⁸ R. Wallace (2006) 'Target set for 20pc clean fuel by 2020', *The Australian*, 14 November, p.4.

¹⁹ E. Whinnett (2006) 'Gloves off over deals', *Herald Sun*, 22 November, p.29.

²⁰ K. Nguyen (2006) 'Kennett long gone but not forgiven', *The Age*, 21 November, p.7.

delivered by Baillieu after emerging from a morning swim—presented the Liberal leader as likeable and personable, and was a contrast to the Premier’s more formal manner. *The Age’s* political editor Paul Austin noted that such was the effectiveness of Baillieu’s campaigning, that ‘Labor has virtually given up the hopes it harboured...of actually winning some marginal Liberal-held seats...their strategy now is about “saving the furniture”, that is, limiting their losses’.²¹ Baillieu’s enthusiastic campaigning helped raise his party’s morale, but the increase in his own approval rating did not translate into a sufficient rise in the Liberal Party’s overall rating to effect a change of government.

One of the key themes of the Liberal campaign was that Labor had squandered its opportunities over the last seven years. Particularly in regard to the water shortage the Liberals argued that Labor had been caught napping; that ‘Labor has fiddled while our water supplies have drained’.²² Television and radio advertisements were used to publicise the Liberal Party’s policies on water, and they ‘sought to exploit what they believe is Labor’s vulnerability on the water crisis’.²³ The Opposition also encouraged voters to question Labor’s honesty, using the broken Scoresby freeway “no-tolls” pledge to spread the message that ‘You can’t trust Labor’.

An unusual event that gained much media attention during the campaign was the news that Ted Baillieu’s mother-in-law, Mrs Jubb, had placed a placard in her front garden supporting the Labor member in her area (Bentleigh). Of more significance, however, was the further breakdown in the Liberal’s relationship with their ex-coalition partners, the Nationals. A Nationals source was quoted in the *Herald Sun* as saying that ‘The hatred between the Liberals and the Nationals is palpable’,²⁴ and both parties ran advertising campaigns against each other in contested rural seats. The parties refused to enter into any speculative discussions about a governing coalition, despite the relatively unlikely event of the Liberal Party gaining enough seats to govern in its own right. The Liberals were keen to increase their support among rural voters; at a rally outside Parliament House attended by over 200 riders on horseback and over 100 tractor drivers in their vehicles, Ted Baillieu stated his party’s intention to reinstate grazing rights in the Victorian high country, and to ‘waive the fixed fees for irrigators for un-allocated water entitlements’.²⁵

The Liberal campaign suffered a set-back in the final days before the election when an error was revealed in the costings of their election promises. Spending was over-estimated by \$285 million due to the double counting of the free public transport for students pledge, which, according to Treasurer John Brumby, was a ‘massive error’²⁶ and demonstrated a lack of financial credibility on the part of the Opposition. The *Herald Sun’s* Ellen Whinnet wrote that the blunder could cost the Liberals votes, and that ‘Treasurer Brumby’s scare campaign against the Liberals’ election costings

²¹ P. Austin (2006) ‘Baillieu’s daunting challenge’, *The Age*, 23 November, p.19.

²² P. Austin (2006) ‘Plenty of promises, but will Premier-in-waiting deliver?’, *The Age*, 13 November, p.6.

²³ P. Austin (2006) ‘Baillieu poll surge gives hope to Libs’, *The Age*, 20 November, p.1.

²⁴ R. Wallace & E. Hannan (2006) “‘Hatred” between Libs and Nats’, *The Australian*, 22 November, p.4.

²⁵ S. Wotherspoon & J. Freegard (2006) ‘Angry farmers make a stand’, *Herald Sun*, 21 November, p.4.

²⁶ T. Colebatch (2006) ‘Liberals commit a \$285 million error in costings’, *The Age*, 24 November, p.10.

appears to have worked, with Labor taking a strong lead over the Liberals as the party best placed to manage the economy'.²⁷

Despite retiring officially from politics after the Liberal Party's 1999 election loss, ex-Premier Jeff Kennett's presence was still notable during this campaign. Paul Austin observed in *The Age* that this was the 'seventh successive state election in which Kennett has been a central or at least controversial character'²⁸, and suggested that Kennett's presence had the potential to alienate voters who turned so dramatically from the Liberals in 1999.

2.3 The Nationals

The metropolitan media presented a pessimistic view of the Nationals' chances at this election. More attention was given to predictions of seat losses rather than potential gains, with some commentators speculating that a loss of party status and associated entitlements (earned only if a party holds 11 or more seats) was likely. For his part, Nationals leader Peter Ryan appeared undisturbed by such aspersions, stating that 'This is the same sort of mantra we have heard and seen for 50 years-plus...We are still here and we will be here after November 25...So let the naysayers do their usual thing'.²⁹ He noted that he started campaigning 600 days before the beginning of the official campaign.

The Nationals emphasised their policies to combat water shortages during the campaign. They promised to reintroduce \$20,000 cash grants for drought-affected farmers, and to investigate opportunities to construct new dams. In clear contrast to the government, they pledged to restore alpine grazing, and to ensure a toxic waste dump (if deemed necessary at all) be positioned within 100 kilometres of Melbourne.³⁰ Strong anti-government sentiment was certainly very apparent in relation to the dump, and the Nationals sought to capitalise on this resentment.

Peter Ryan voiced his anger during the campaign about the preference deals of the major parties, clearly concerned about the potential loss of seats if Labor preferred the Liberals ahead of the Nationals in key National seats. He described the situation as "'Survivor: Spring St'", where alliances apparently long-held and secure are broken at a whim'.³¹ Referring to those making the preference deals, Ryan sarcastically commented that 'I really have a deep affection for them, these faceless, nameless individuals sitting there doing the work of the mandarins in darkened rooms in front of flickering screens. It's all a set of numbers to them, and if that's what our democracy is reduced to it's a sad state of affairs'.³² The Nationals actively campaigned against the Liberals in rural Victoria, particularly in the seats of Shepparton and Rodney which were deemed to be most at risk. The Nationals also targeted the Greens, with Mr Ryan stating that 'We are very concerned about the

²⁷ E. Whinnet (2006) 'Poll boost for Bracks', *Herald Sun*, 24 November, p.1.

²⁸ P. Austin (2006), 'With a friend like this...', *The Age*, 2 November, p.15.

²⁹ S. Rintoul (2006) 'Nats angry at Lib betrayal', *The Australian*, 20 November, p.4.

³⁰ P. Sellars (2006) 'In thirst for power, water, drought rule', *Weekly Times*, 22 November, p.22.

³¹ M. Jenkins & N. Lenaghan (2006) 'Ryan vows Nats will survive despite major parties' "betrayal"', *aap Australian General News*, 15 November.

³² S. Rintoul (2006) op. cit.

Greens and their policies and the influence that their presence would have in the parliament'.³³

2.4 The Greens

Expectations leading into the campaign were high for the Greens; after achieving an upper house vote of 10.87 per cent in 2002, it was widely expected that they would do at least as well in 2006, and would enter parliament for the first time. Representation in the Council was deemed most likely, but they were also considered a strong chance in the inner city Legislative Assembly districts of Melbourne, Richmond, Brunswick and Northcote, where they polled particularly strongly in 2002. Thus the policies and personalities of the Greens gained much media attention, and there was wide speculation about the effects the Greens could have on the next parliament. Due to this anticipated success, the Greens were perceived as a threat by the other parties, and had to defend themselves from attacks from all sides: Labor accused the Greens of “selling out” and trading preferences with the Liberals; Family First campaigned against the Greens’ “anti-family” and “pro-drugs” policies; while Nationals leader Peter Ryan said that it would be ‘the lesser of two evils’³⁴ if Labor retained control of both houses of parliament, rather than the Greens gaining the balance of power in the upper house. Indeed, an *Age* journalist reported that ‘No candidates have attracted more flak in this campaign than the Greens’.³⁵

An interesting development was the revelations in *The Age* that the Exclusive Brethren, an evangelical religious sect, were behind some large-scale newspaper advertisements warning readers against voting Green. The advertisements, though not specifically mentioning any parties by name, were ‘aimed clearly at the Greens’³⁶ and warned that ‘The future of Victoria is at stake’ on election day. The sect, whose members are not allowed to vote, has placed similar advertisements during previous state, federal and international elections, and has ‘been accused of spending thousands of dollars during election campaigns on advertisements designed to undermine Labor and the Greens’.³⁷

Unsurprisingly, environmental concerns were top of the Green agenda; climate change was a central theme of the campaign, with promises to cut greenhouse gas emissions by 20 per cent by 2015. The party also vowed to decommission Hazelwood power station and stop harbour channel-deepening in Port Phillip Bay. Promises to evaluate medically supervised drug injecting spaces were attacked by conservative parties, as well as the Exclusive Brethren. Various Green candidates nominated democratic concerns in parliament as a priority; a ban on “Dorothy Dixers”, a restructure of the parliamentary committee system, and a revision of standing orders

³³ *ibid.*

³⁴ *ibid.*

³⁵ C. Egan (2006) ‘Knives out as minors look to become more major’, *The Sunday Age*, 19 November, p.16.

³⁶ M. Bachelard & K. Nguyen (2006) ‘Exclusive Brethren sect targets Greens’, *The Age*, 24 November, p.1.

³⁷ See E. Hannan (2006) ‘Brethren behind ad attack on Greens’, *The Australian*, 24 November, p.6. Reports also emerged that Brethren members had met with the Nationals’ Peter Ryan, who stated that he had neither sought nor received offers of assistance or donations. See B. Francis (2006) ‘Labor held hostage on abortion’, *Herald Sun*, 21 November, p.18.

so that ‘more scrutiny, transparency, accountability and debate of bills, accounts and estimates’³⁸ would be achieved.

2.5 Other minor parties

Family First, which gained prominence after Steve Fielding’s surprise election to the Senate in 2004, contested a Victorian state election for the first time in 2006. Appearing well-organised and with significant financial support, they ran candidates in every lower house district and upper house region. With a policy platform focused on supporting families, Family First promised petrol price relief, a reduction in the number of poker machines, removal of stamp duty for first home buyers, and to oppose any move to decriminalise abortion. **People Power**, formed in 2000, gained significant media attention considering their relatively small size and chance of winning a seat. This was possibly due to the candidacy of personalities such as *Crikey* founder Stephen Mayne, social commentator Vern Hughes and ex-Labor MP Denise Allen. People Power’s main aim was to represent carers, the disabled and the mentally ill, and campaigned heavily on planning and gaming issues. **Country Alliance**, formed in 2005 with the support of Independent MPs Craig Ingram and Russell Savage, sought to appeal to rural voters dissatisfied with the performance of the Nationals. It described itself as a ‘non-party party’³⁹, was critical of the National Party for not doing more for rural Victoria, and was even more critical of the Greens. It fielded six candidates: two in each of the three rural upper house regions. **The DLP** ran candidates in all eight upper house regions, but received almost no media attention.

2.6 The leaders’ debate

A debate between Steve Bracks and Ted Baillieu was held on Friday 3 November, and was broadcast live on ABC television. The Premier used the forum to elevate the matter of the federal government’s industrial relations policy ‘to the forefront of his re-election campaign’⁴⁰, as well as to highlight issues such as water, health, the environment and education, stating that his party was ‘focused on what matters to Victorians and Victorian families’.⁴¹ Bracks also sought to attack the Liberal leader’s links with the former Kennett government, while various questions were asked about potential conflicts of interest that may arise if Baillieu became Premier due to his substantial shareholdings.

Ted Baillieu rejected these criticisms, responding that he had been open and transparent about his financial interests, and would deal with issues in cabinet on a case-by-case basis. He did not, however, shy away from his connection with Jeff Kennett, stating that Kennett ‘is a friend and a very, very fine Victorian, and I support him speaking out’.⁴² Baillieu quizzed Bracks on his decision to break his “no-tolls” promise in regard to the Scoresby freeway, and accused the Premier of ‘running a mediocre government, which had “changed the culture” of Victoria for the worse

³⁸ J. Chandler (2006) ‘The Green agenda’, *The Age*, 10 November, p.8.

³⁹ Country Alliance (2005) ‘Archived news’, viewed 13 February 2007, <<http://www.countryalliance.org.au/newsarchive2005.htm>>.

⁴⁰ F. Tomazin & P. Ker (2006) ‘Claim, counterclaim – but no winner’, *The Age*, 4 November, p.5.

⁴¹ A. Gardiner & M. Warner (2006) ‘Leaders land share of blows’, *Herald Sun*, 4 November, p.5.

⁴² *ibid.*

through excessive advertising, declining services and a lack of accountability'.⁴³ He highlighted education, health, climate change and transport as some of the main issues of the election.

While one commentator described the contest as a 'dull, nil-all draw'⁴⁴, others variously described it as 'feisty', 'heated' and 'two leaders talking tough'⁴⁵, although most conceded the result was fairly even, with both men displaying strengths and weaknesses. The debate was watched by 291,000 viewers or nine per cent of the state's voting population; while this figure is higher than the usual Friday night ABC *Stateline* audience of around 200,000, it was out-rated on the night by programs on the commercial channels.

2.7 What the polls said

Opinion polls conducted throughout 2006 consistently indicated an ALP victory, although differed on the precise margin. Newspoll (presented in *The Australian*) showed Labor's primary vote hovering between 43 and 46 per cent, while ACNielsen/Age Polls predicted a result for Labor of between 41 and 43 per cent. The table below shows the results of four polls conducted in the final days before the election; the final row shows the actual result.

Table 2a: Primary voting intentions as predicted by major polling organisations

Polling organisation, date, source	ALP	Liberal/ Nats.	Greens	Family First	Others
Newspoll 22-23 Nov, <i>The Australian</i>	45	37	9	n/a	9
ACNielsen/Age Poll 22-23 Nov, <i>The Age</i>	42	41	11	2	4
Galaxy Research Poll 21-22 Nov, <i>The Herald Sun</i>	42	39	12	4	3
Morgan Poll 21-23 Nov, <i>Nine Network</i>	42.5	40.5	12.5	3	1.5
Actual result	43.06	39.61	10.04	4.29	3.01

As can be seen, all four polling organisations could lay claim to a high level of accuracy, well within the sampling error. In terms of the two-party preferred vote, Newspoll predicted the ALP would win 56 per cent while the Liberals/Nationals would win 44 per cent; ACNielsen/Age Poll predicted ALP 53-Lib/Nats 47; a Morgan Poll commissioned by the Nine Network predicted 53-47, while the *Herald Sun's* Galaxy Research poll predicted 55-45. In this instance, the Galaxy Research Poll was closest to the actual result of 54.2-45.8.⁴⁶

Regarding the personal performance of the leaders of the major parties, it was apparent that the momentum and popularity Mr Baillieu generated was being reflected

⁴³ F. Tomazin & P. Ker (2006), op.cit.

⁴⁴ C. Tinkler (2006) 'Bracks "no" to second debate', *Sunday Herald Sun*, 5 November, p.40.

⁴⁵ S. Mann (2006) 'Same shade of charcoal grey but Nice Guys slug it out in spiky draw', *The Age*, 4 November, p.5.

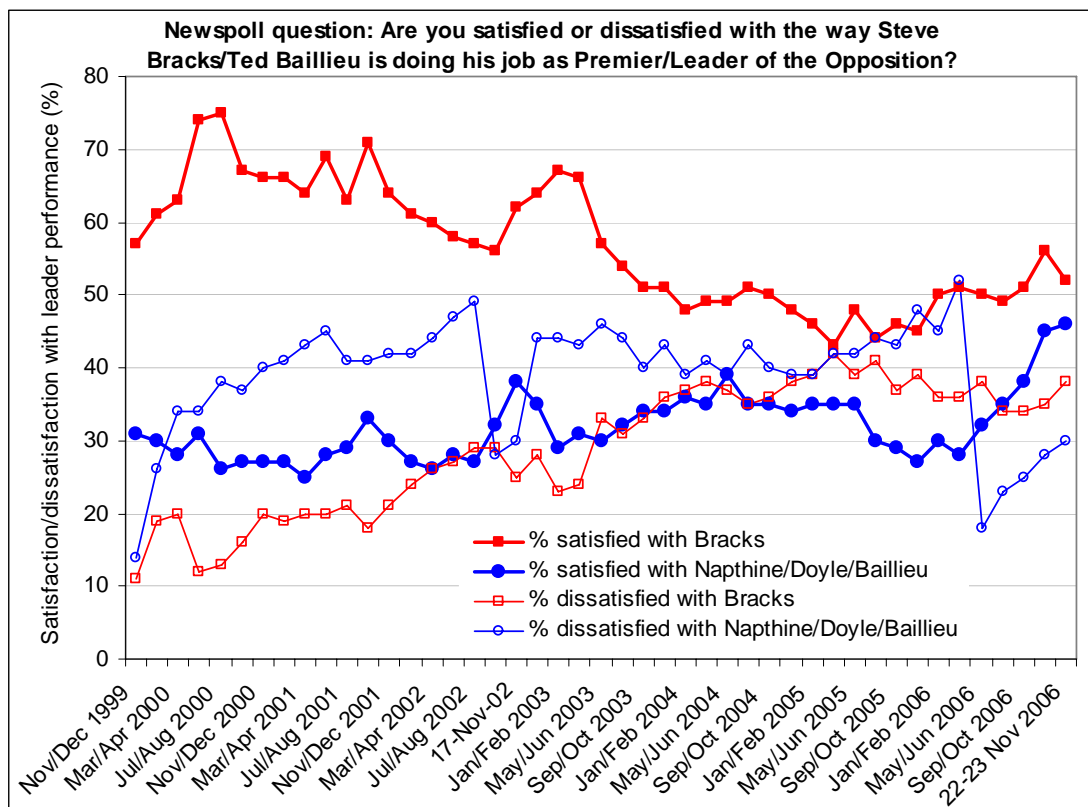
⁴⁶ Two-party preferred vote as calculated by Malcolm Mackerras.

in the polls. According to Newspoll, satisfaction with Baillieu’s performance as Opposition leader increased in the months leading up to November, as did perceptions that he would make the better Premier; in May/June only 24 per cent of respondents selected Baillieu as better premier, as compared to 30 per cent in November. ACNielsen/Age Polls also showed improved perceptions of the Opposition leader’s performance, and indicated that a growing number of voters considered him the preferred Premier.

Despite this, Steve Bracks’ popularity remained relatively stable. According to Newspoll, in January/February of 2006, 51 per cent of survey respondents were satisfied with his performance as Premier. In late November, his approval stood at 52 per cent. AC Nielsen/Age Poll registered approval at 59 per cent of respondents in the same month. In the final polls before the election, 53 per cent of Newspoll survey respondents and 57 per cent of ACNielsen/Age Poll respondents considered Bracks the better Premier.

The following chart presents Newspoll opinion poll data on the public’s perception of the performance of the Premier and the leader of the Opposition, since Bracks took office in 1999. It shows that a general trend of declining satisfaction with the Premier was reversed in mid-to-late 2005, when satisfaction began to increase again. Liberal leaders over the same period have obviously had mixed fortunes; it is apparent however that voters became progressively more satisfied with Baillieu’s performance. Certainly his coming to office in May 2006 halted a trend of growing dissatisfaction with the Liberal leadership.

Chart 3: Satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the Premier and Leader of the Opposition, November 1999 – November 2006



The polls indicated that while Baillieu was viewed increasingly favourably by the electorate, it was not at the expense of Bracks' positive image, and was not enough to convince the electorate that a change of government was warranted.

2.8 Preference negotiations

Media fascination with inter-party preference deals in the Legislative Council tended to overshadow the equally important arrangements for the Assembly. The difference in the lower house was that the minor parties would generally be preference givers and the major parties preference receivers—but not in all cases. In rural Victoria the allocation of Labor, Liberal and National preferences had the capacity to determine outcomes as did the Liberal Party's decision to preference the Greens in the Labor held seats of Melbourne, Brunswick, Richmond and Northcote. Parties and candidates who wished to distribute how-to-vote cards within a 400 metre radius of a polling place had until 17 November to register their cards with the Victorian Electoral Commission.

While the Nationals declared early that it would place the Greens last on its how-to-vote cards⁴⁷, many true and false rumours circulated as to what the other parties intended to do with their second preferences. Most attention centred on the Greens as the opinion polls consistently rated them the most popular minor party with the most preferences to distribute. In the end the Greens preferred Labor in the marginal seats that counted, but, in a gesture of gratitude for gaining Liberal preferences in four inner-city seats, issued a split ticket in 22 seats. Despite their public differences, the Liberal and National Parties exchanged preferences, and in key three cornered contests Labor favoured the Nationals—with the exception of Rodney. The new Family First party preferred the Liberals ahead of Labor, but in some seats directed their preferences through other right-of-centre minor parties such as the DLP and the Christian Democratic Party.

⁴⁷ D. Hughes (2006) 'Nationals stick it to the Greens', *Australian Financial Review*, 11 August, p.11.

PART B: THE RESULT

3. Outcome in the Legislative Assembly

3.1 Who won: where and why

In political science terms the 2006 Victorian state election was a “maintaining” election in which the result did not deviate significantly from the previous election. Given the magnitude of Labor’s victory in 2002 this constituted a significant achievement by the Bracks government.⁴⁸ One journalist noted that for Labor, ‘this election was [the] ultimate vindication. Victorians like what Labor has done’.⁴⁹ Labor’s primary vote fell by 4.9 per cent but it sustained only a relatively small 3.6 per cent swing on the two-party preferred count—less than half the 7.6 per cent swing needed to lose government. Table 3a below shows the overall party results for the Legislative Assembly by percentage of first preferences achieved, seats won, and the percentage swing for or against each party.

Table 3a: Overall Legislative Assembly result by party

Party	% share of first preference vote	Seats won	Swing
ALP	43.06	55	-4.89
Liberal Party	34.44	23	+0.53
Australian Greens	10.04	0	+0.31
The Nationals	5.17	9	+0.87
Family First	4.29	0	+4.29
People Power	0.51	0	+0.51
Other	2.5	1	-1.61
Total	100	88	-

The ALP received over 1.27 million first preference votes across Victoria, approximately a quarter of a million more votes than the next most popular party, the Liberal Party, which achieved over 1.02 million first preferences. These two parties continue to dominate Victorian politics, with almost eight in ten voters giving their first preference to either major party. To the left of the ALP, the Greens were the next most successful party in terms of total first preferences received, with just under 300,000 Victorians lodging a first preference for the party. The Nationals, with over 150,000 first preferences, and Family First, with over 125,000, also did well in this election. It is interesting to note that the combined tally of first preference votes for the Nationals and Family First is almost equivalent to that of the Greens. The Nationals’ higher vote was reflected in the gain of two seats.

Labor’s victory was built on a strong metropolitan and provincial city performance. In the metropolitan area, the Labor Party’s highest primary votes were in the western, northern and south-eastern suburbs. With the eight seats also won in eastern

⁴⁸ B. Costar & J. Campbell (2003) ‘Realigning Victoria: The State Election of 30 November 2002’, *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 38, iss. 2, pp.313-323.

⁴⁹ J. Ferguson (2006) ‘Disaster, but Ted’s safe’, *Herald Sun* (online), viewed 26 February 2007, <<http://www.news.com.au/heraldsun/story/0,,20823921-2862,00.html>>.

Melbourne, the ALP won a total of 44 out of 62 seats in metropolitan Melbourne. In the provincial city districts, Labor was also highly successful, winning all eight seats. By contrast the Liberal Party polled best in the eastern suburbs of metropolitan Melbourne, winning eleven seats, followed by the south-eastern suburbs, winning seven seats. The Liberals' primary vote rose by 0.5 per cent.

The ALP lost five of the seven seats it previously held with margins of less than 3.0 per cent and two others held by apparently safe margins of 4.9 per cent and 6.9 per cent. Table 3b below shows the government seats lost, the swings required for the seats to change hands, the swings actually achieved, and the new majority for each electorate.

Table 3b: Seats lost by Labor at the 2006 election

Seat	Swing required by non-ALP party (%)	Swing achieved by non-ALP party (%)	Won by	New majority (%)
Evelyn	0.4	3.1	Liberal	52.81
Hastings	0.9	1.8	Liberal	50.99
Kilsyth	2.1	2.4	Liberal	50.27
Ferntree Gully	2.3	2.3	Liberal	50.04
Bayswater	2.8	5.6	Liberal	52.83
Morwell	4.9	7.0	National	52.12
Narracan	6.9	9.5	Liberal	52.80

Only the seat of Narracan recorded a swing in excess of what the Liberal Party (with the Nationals) needed statewide to win a majority in the Assembly—though Morwell came close. What occurred on 25 November was that the Opposition won five very marginal Labor seats with modest swings; these seats are now equally marginal Liberal seats. Sitting Labor members Tammy Lobato and Maxine Morand resisted the general swing in the eastern suburbs and, aided by strong Green preference flows, successively defended wafer thin margins in Gembrook (1.3%) and Mount Waverley (2.3%).⁵⁰ The five Labor losses had been won from the Liberals by the ALP at the 2002 landslide election—as were Gembrook and Mount Waverley.

The unexpected losses of Morwell and Narracan require explanation. They are contiguous electorates located in Gippsland's Latrobe Valley: Morwell had been a Labor seat since 1970 and Narracan was one of the non-metropolitan ALP victories in 1999. The former has experienced major demographic change as a consequence of the downsizing of the State Electricity Commission and the town of Morwell now has a smaller population than the more traditionally conservative Traralgon. The media also reported internecine factional strife within the local ALP branches erupting just before the election and resulting in the resignation of members, one of whom nominated as an Independent and directed preferences to the National Party.⁵¹ Narracan had been Labor for only two terms (1999 to 2006) and its loss can be accounted for by the general fall in support for the government in rural areas, as well as the issue of water. Sitting member Ian Maxfield claimed that the 'Liberal and National parties ran an

⁵⁰ N. Economou (2006) 'The landslide revisited? The 2006 Victorian State Election', *Discussion Paper*, 38/6, Democratic Audit of Australia, Canberra, p 7.

⁵¹ P. Austin & F. Tomazin (2006) 'ALP power outage in Latrobe Valley', *The Age*, 21 November, p.7.

incredibly effective scare campaign by claiming that we were sending sewage to Gippsland and taking fresh water into Melbourne'.⁵² Additionally, Mr Maxfield's chairmanship of the Alpine Grazing Taskforce, which recommended the cessation of cattle grazing in the Alpine National Park, made him a target for hostile rural interest groups.

Overall, the pattern of the swing indicated the lack of a general desire on the part of the electorate for a change of government; while the Liberals and Nationals received strong swings in many of their own seats—indeed no sitting Liberal or National member experienced a swing against them—this wasn't replicated in enough of Labor's marginal seats. As noted by Tim Colebatch in *The Age*, the Liberals got 'the wrong votes in the wrong seats'.⁵³ In their own seats, the Liberal Party achieved an average two-party preferred swing of just over five per cent (ranging between 1.14 per cent and 9.22 per cent), compared to its overall state-wide swing of 3.6 per cent. The Liberals' primary vote was still relatively poor; they gained 34.4 per cent of the vote, only half of one per cent up on their 2002 result, which was a record low. They now hold 23 seats in the Legislative Assembly, 22 seats short of a majority in their own right, or 13 seats short if a coalition agreement was arranged with the Nationals. In either case, winning government at the next election in 2010 is still a sizeable task for the current Opposition.

3.2 How the minor parties fared

The Nationals

The Nationals, led by Peter Ryan, went to the 2006 election holding seven seats in the Legislative Assembly. Pre-election media speculation as to their likely performance was not encouraging with one journalist reporting that 'party hard-heads concede they cannot expect to pick up extra seats...'.⁵⁴ But while the party's representation in the Legislative Council was cut from four to two (largely as a consequence of the new STV electoral system) it increased its lower house numbers by two, and its primary vote in the Assembly climbed from 4.3 per cent in 2002 to 5.2 per cent. The Nationals won Morwell from the ALP and Mildura from Independent Russell Savage. Voters turned away from Savage in protest against the government's proposed toxic waste dump in Nowingi, and Savage's role in helping Labor form government in 1999. The seven sitting National MPs performed strongly and their average primary vote rose by nine per cent. However, only one seat (Murray Valley) was won without the need for preferences and the seat of Rodney was put in doubt by the decision of the ALP to direct preferences away from new candidate and former Victorian Farmers Federation president Paul Weller. But a very high 48 per cent leakage of Labor preferences gave him the seat. The only disappointment for the party was veteran member of the Legislative Council, Bill Baxter's, failure in a bid to win the lower house seat of Benambra.

The Greens

The Greens contested every lower house seat at this election, and polled 10.04 per cent of the lower house vote. While some commentators reflected that this was a

⁵² R. Switzer (2006) 'The tide turns in Latrobe as water washes away Labor votes', *The Age*, 27 November, p.10.

⁵³ T. Colebatch (2006) 'Libs' lament: the wrong votes in the wrong seats', *The Age*, 18 December, p.6.

⁵⁴ M. Murphy (2005) 'Party on the edge looks for a silver lining', *The Age*, 28 November, p.17.

disappointing outcome, and only 0.31 per cent higher than their 2002 election result, it is impressive when considered in context; it is the first time a third party in Victoria has gained over ten per cent of the vote since the DLP in 1970. High pre-election expectations may have dampened what was otherwise a good result; three Green candidates were elected to the Legislative Council (further discussed in section 4).

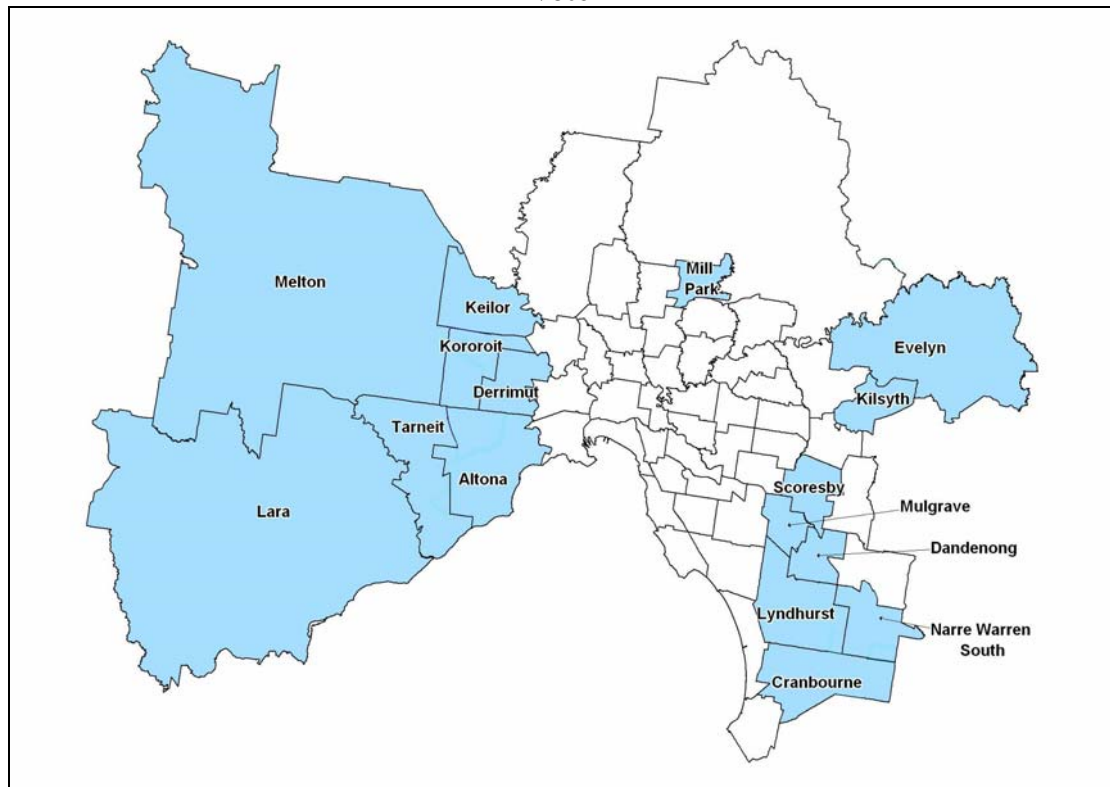
Close contests were predicted in the four lower house inner-city seats of Brunswick, Northcote, Melbourne and Richmond. Results show that the Greens did indeed record their highest proportions of first preference votes in these seats, gaining 29.7, 27.4, 27.4 and 24.7 per cent of the vote respectively. The seat of Melbourne proved to be very tight; defeated in 2002 by a slim margin, Richard Di Natale again contested the seat for the Greens, and required a 2.3 per cent swing to defeat Labor's Health Minister Bronwyn Pike. The result hung in the balance for a number of days after the election—Ms Pike was eventually victorious, with a swing against her of only 0.46 per cent. Melbourne is now Labor's fifth most marginal seat. The Greens benefited from Liberal preferences in this seat, but 25 per cent of Liberal voters preferred Ms Pike to Dr Di Natale, which secured her the seat.

The contests in Northcote, Richmond and Brunswick were not so close, suggesting perhaps that the controversial Labor campaign to convince the electorate that the Greens and the Liberals were colluding damaged the Greens, and convinced left-leaning voters to stay with Labor. The Greens did, however, increase their share of the first preference vote in Brunswick and Northcote on the 2002 result, but not in Richmond, which was one of only eight seats in which a swing to the government occurred. The Greens also polled well in the affluent metropolitan seats of Prahran, Albert Park, Hawthorn, Kew and Caulfield. Unsurprisingly, the Greens' worst results were in rural and regional Victoria—in Lowan, Swan Hill, Rodney and Mildura, four of the nine seats now held by National MPs.

Family First

The 88 Family First lower house candidates polled an impressive 4.3 per cent of the primary vote, much of which was at the expense of Labor. In the 16 districts in which Family First polled more than six per cent of the vote only one, Scoresby, was not held by the ALP before the poll. More specifically, as Map 1 illustrates, the pro-family, moral conservatism of the party had particular appeal to voters living in the outer western and south-eastern suburbs. These areas constitute a new mortgage belt where voters tend to be younger, more likely to have been born in south and east Asia or Europe, express greater commitment to a religion and have lower tertiary qualifications than the state average. Conversely, Family First failed to enthrone the more cosmopolitan inner suburban voters with the party having its worst results in seats such as Albert Park, Prahran and Richmond. Family First was also weak in National Party held seats where it had trouble distinguishing itself from the established party's own morally conservative policies on such issues as abortion.

Map 1: Districts in which Family First gained over 6 per cent of first preference vote



Family First's best performance was in the outer western suburban seat of Kororoit where it campaigned strongly against moves to decriminalise abortion and won 13.01 per cent of the vote. Data from the 2001 census reveal Kororoit to be an electorate which has a high proportion of young couples with children, a very high (49 per cent) proportion of people born overseas, high unemployment, a large number of Catholics, Buddhists and Muslims and very few people claiming no religion, a large number of people without formal qualifications and low rates of tertiary education.⁵⁵ The ALP primary vote in Kororoit fell by 7.13 percentage points in 2006, with the remainder of Family First support coming from electors who voted for independents in 2002. In the absence of opinion poll data, it may be speculated that Family First had particular appeal for erstwhile Labor voters at the middle level of the socio-economic scale who were attracted to its pro-family agenda. For these voters, religiosity seems a motivating factor; they were perhaps uncomfortable with the socially progressive wing of the ALP, but not prepared to switch to the Liberal Party.

The others

People Power, a newcomer in 2006, was plagued with internal disputes both before and after the election and polled only 0.51 per cent in the Assembly and 1.02 per cent in the Council. Country Alliance contested only the three provincial regions in the upper house and polled 0.45 per cent of the vote.

⁵⁵ See B. Lesman (2004) 'Victoria State Electorate Rankings 2001 Census', *Research Paper No. 2*, Melbourne, Parliamentary Library.

3.3 A second preference election?

At the 2006 Victorian State election 39 Assembly seats were won on the first count without the need to distribute preferences: Labor won 25, the Liberals 13, and the Nationals one. The ALP gained another 23 seats with the help of Green preferences and seven as a consequence of preference leakages from other parties.⁵⁶ The Liberal Party won three seats on Family First preferences, two on Nationals preferences, one on preferences from an Independent and four on leakages of Green preferences.⁵⁷ The Nationals secured four seats on Liberal preferences, one on Labor preferences and three on Green leakages. The sole successful Independent was elected on Labor preferences. While all parties helped their friends (and some enemies) to win seats, it was the Greens that determined 61 per cent of the 49 seats won on preferences.

While the ALP was dependent for its Assembly majority on second preferences, in all but one seat the party's candidates polled in excess of 40 per cent of the primary vote and needed only a little help to get over the line. The exception was Prahran where Labor gained only 36.72 per cent of the primary vote, but won the seat with 80 per cent of the Green candidate's share of the primary vote (which was a high 20 per cent). The lowest primary vote polled by a winning candidate was the National Party's Russell Northe in Morwell with 27.59 per cent. While 2006 appears at first glance to be an election decided by preferences, in only five cases did the candidate who led on the primary count not win the seat: Labor came from behind in Gembrook, Prahran, Forest Hill and Mount Waverley, as did the Nationals in Morwell.

3.4 Results by geographic areas in Victoria

Another and interesting way of analysing electorate results is to examine groups or clusters of Legislative Assembly districts that have been collated either by geographic contiguity or 'like' characteristics. Table 3c below divides Victoria into six such electorate groupings: rural and regional; provincial cities; and four metropolitan groups. That Labor's (and of course the other major parties') electoral support is not uniform across the state is evident from the data below. Table 3c compares the 2002 and 2006 election results for the ALP (expressed as a two-party preferred vote) across the various geographic areas of Victoria.⁵⁸ Please note that these areas are not official electoral regions. For further information on the composition of each area please see Appendix 1 on page 49.

⁵⁶ 'Preference leakage' occurs when voters do not follow the preference ranking recommended by their party of first choice. For example, there was a 30% leakage of Liberal preferences to Labor in the seat of Northcote.

⁵⁷ Interestingly of the four seats won on Green preferences none was among the 22 in which the Greens issued a split how-to-vote card.

⁵⁸ To calculate each area's two-party preferred vote for the ALP, the two-party preferred results in each area's districts were tallied, as were the total formal votes cast. The sum of the two-party preferred vote divided by the total formal vote reveals the two-party preferred vote for the area as a whole.

Table 3c: ALP two-party preferred vote by area (%)

Area	2006	2002	Swing to/from ALP (%)	ALP seat loss	Total seats in area	Total ALP seats
Rural/regional	35.48	41.18	-5.0	2	18	3
Provincial cities	57.60	60.76	-3.16	0	8	8
West metropolitan	69.43	71.81	-2.38	0	10	10
North metropolitan	63.12	71.72	-8.60	0	12	12
South-east metropolitan	57.88	59.36	-1.48	1	21	14
East metropolitan	47.93	51.20	-3.27	4	19	8

In 2006, Labor lost most votes in two very different areas of the state: in rural Victoria (down 5.0 per cent) where the loss of Narracan and Morwell leaves the party with only three representatives in the Assembly from that area; and in the northern suburbs of Melbourne where, despite shedding 8.6 per cent of its 2002 two-party preferred vote, the ALP retains all 12 seats in that area. The relatively poor performance of the ALP in rural areas is contrasted with a continuing strength in the provincial cities where it lost few votes and no seats to hold all eight seats. Despite some good performances by Family First, the western suburbs stayed loyal to Labor which retained all ten seats in the area.

Traditionally, elections have been won and lost in Victoria in the southern and eastern suburbs of Melbourne.⁵⁹ The south-eastern suburbs, partly because of their greater socio-economic and ethnic diversity, usually return a larger number of Labor members than the more uniformly middle class eastern suburbs; and so it was in 2006. With a loss of only 1.48 per cent of the two-party preferred vote overall, Labor lost only the very marginal seat of Hastings in the south-eastern suburbs and with 14 seats won holds twice as many as the Liberal Party in that area. By contrast, in the eastern suburbs, Labor's two-party preferred vote dropped 3.27 per cent, with the loss of four seats. The Liberal Party gained four seats in the eastern suburbs, which has traditionally had a strong Liberal presence, and now holds 11 of the 19 seats in the area. In stark contrast to past periods of Liberal dominance in Victoria, the party has, over the last two elections, shed its rural and provincial constituency and now holds only five of the 26 seats located outside the metropolis. The rural and regional area (exclusive of the provincial cities) is thus now represented by nine Nationals, five Liberals, three ALP members, and one Independent.

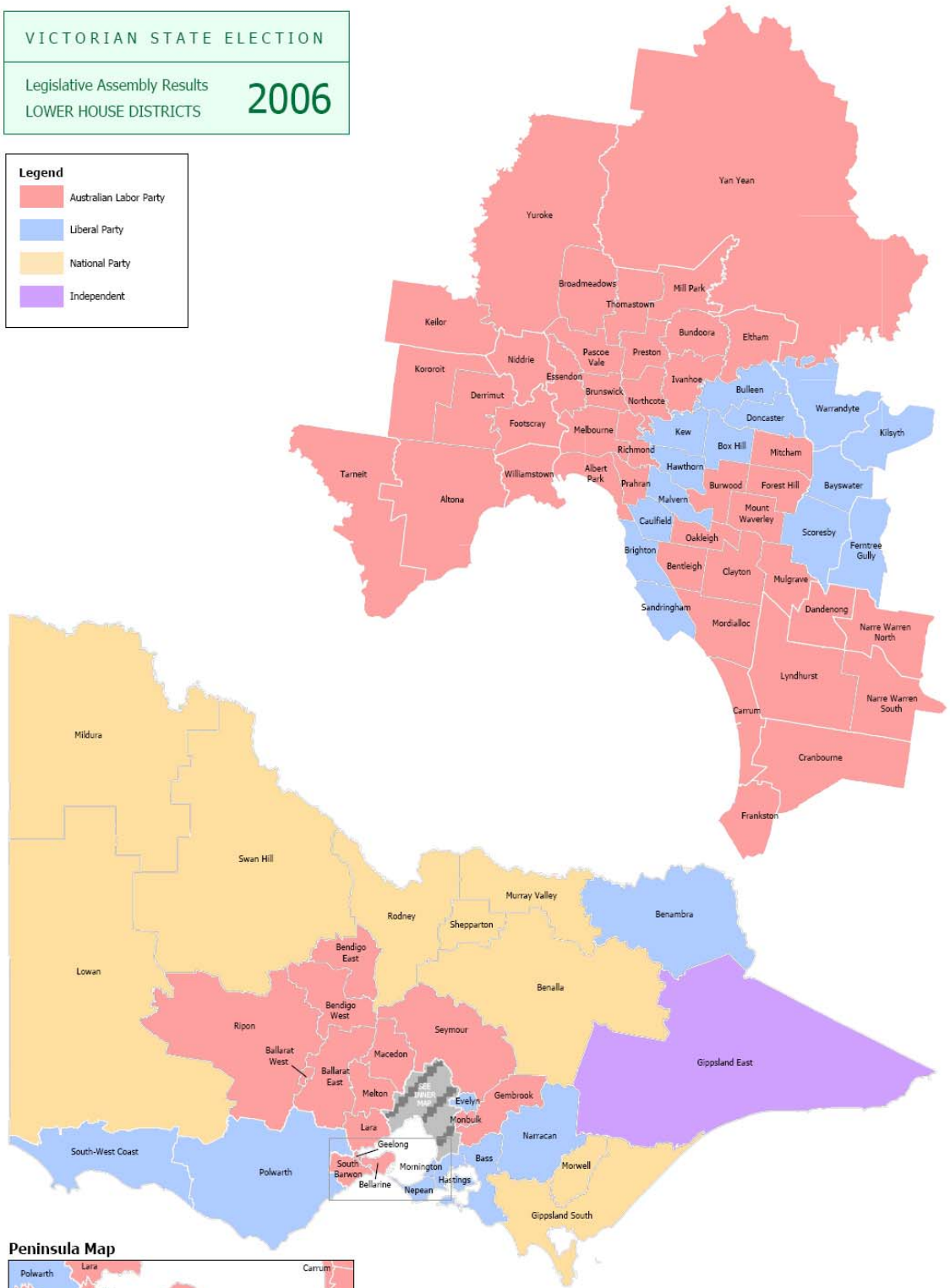
The map on the following page shows all the Legislative Assembly districts by party representation, as produced by the Victorian Electoral Commission.

⁵⁹ N. Economou & B. Costar (1999) 'The electoral contest and coalition dominance' in B. Costar & N. Economou (eds) *The Kennett Revolution: Victorian Politics in the 1990s*, Sydney, UNSW Press, p.124.

VICTORIAN STATE ELECTION
 Legislative Assembly Results
 LOWER HOUSE DISTRICTS 2006

Legend

- Australian Labor Party
- Liberal Party
- National Party
- Independent



Map prepared by the Victorian Electoral Commission
 Vicmap spatial data provided by Department of Sustainability and Environment
 Parks digital data used with the permission of Parks Victoria
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4. Voting for the new Legislative Council

4.1 Summary of the result

The 2006 election was the first election to be conducted under the changes to the Legislative Council, and the new proportional representation system, introduced in 2003. A total of 3,110,172 votes were cast for the Legislative Council's eight new regions, which equates to 92.73 per cent of total voters enrolled. There was a total of 133,243 informal votes (4.28 per cent of the total) and thus just under three million formal votes were lodged for the upper house. The total formal votes varied across the regions, with the highest number of formal votes (394,478) cast in Western Victoria Region, creating a quota for that region of 65,747 votes. The lowest number of formal votes (360,149) was cast in Northern Metropolitan, providing a quota of 60,025 votes for election to that region.

The ALP outpolled the other parties on a state-wide basis, winning 41.45 per cent of first preferences across the state, with the Liberal Party achieving the second highest result at 34.55 per cent of first preferences. The ALP's vote translated into the election of at least two members for each region, with successful third candidates in Northern Metropolitan, Western Metropolitan and South Eastern Metropolitan, for a total of nineteen members in the new upper house. The highest percentage of ALP first preferences (58.69 per cent) was cast in Western Metropolitan, while the ALP's lowest percentage of first preferences was gained in Northern Victoria (at 30.11 per cent). Table 4a below shows the composition of the new upper house by region.

Table 4a: Legislative Council composition by party and region

Region	ALP	Liberal	Greens	Nationals	DLP
Eastern Metropolitan	2	3	-	-	-
Eastern Victoria	2	2	-	1	-
Northern Metropolitan	3	1	1	-	-
Northern Victoria	2	2	-	1	-
South Eastern Metropolitan	3	2	-	-	-
Southern Metropolitan	2	2	1	-	-
Western Metropolitan	3	1	1	-	-
Western Victoria	2	2	-	-	1
Total	19	15	3	2	1

The Liberal Party achieved a minimum of two members in six regions, with a third successful candidate in Eastern Metropolitan, while in Western Metropolitan and Northern Metropolitan it gained one member for each, for a total of fifteen members in the upper house. The Liberal Party's highest percentage of first preferences was achieved in Southern Metropolitan (46.22 per cent), while the party's lowest percentage of first preferences occurred in Northern Metropolitan (23.22 per cent).

The Greens achieved a total of 10.58 per cent of first preferences state-wide, with successful candidates in three regions, Northern Metropolitan, Western Metropolitan, and Southern Metropolitan. The largest Green vote was in Northern Metropolitan, where the combined first preferences of Greens candidates equalled 17.07 per cent. The Nationals, with 4.43 per cent of first preferences, had successful candidates in two regions, Eastern Victoria and Northern Victoria. It should be noted that the Nationals did not stand candidates in the metropolitan regions. The Nationals achieved a quota on first preferences alone in Northern Victoria (with 21.2 per cent). The DLP achieved 1.97 per cent of first preferences state-wide, and were successful in having one member elected in Western Victoria.

4.2 The effect of proportional representation (PR)

One of the key features of PR voting systems—and a major argument put forward by their proponents—is their potential capacity to reflect the share of votes achieved by parties and candidates at an election in the composition of the membership of the chamber. In theory, a PR multi-member electorate system will produce an elected body that represents a wider diversity of political interests than other voting systems, with the level of diversity achieved at least partly dependant on the size of the quota necessary for election (in Victoria the quota is set at the relatively high 16.66 per cent).⁶⁰

Table 4b below shows the correspondence between first preference shares achieved by parties and both the numbers and the proportion of the membership gained in the Legislative Council.

Table 4b: Party results by percentage of first preference vote, number of successful candidates and proportion of Legislative Council membership

Party	First preference vote (%)	Number of successful candidates	Seats in Legislative Council (%)
ALP	41.45	19	47.5
Liberal	34.55	15	37.5
Greens	10.58	3	7.5
Nationals	4.43	2	5.0
DLP	1.97	1	2.5
Family First	3.85	0	0
People Power	1.02	0	0
Democrats	0.83	0	0
Other	1.32	0	0
Total	100	40	100

The results from the 2006 election have created a chamber with representatives from five parties, whereas the previous Council was comprised of three parties. The Greens are represented for the first time in Victoria's Parliament, while the DLP has re-appeared after an absence of almost 50 years.⁶¹ Thus the new upper house has a

⁶⁰ See G. Gardiner & B. Costar (2003) 'Legislative Council Reform', *Research Paper No. 2*, Melbourne, Parliamentary Library.

⁶¹ The last DLP Members of the Victorian Parliament were in 1958. On the ALP split and creation of the DLP see B. Costar, P. Love & P. Strangio (eds) (2005) *The Great Labor Schism: a retrospective*,

greater degree of political diversity than the chamber had under the previous preferential voting system in the 55th Parliament.

On the question of the relationship between the share of first preferences achieved and the proportion of membership gained, Table 4b also shows that in broad terms the new upper house reflects voter intentions. While a STV PR system can sometimes throw up anomalies, such as election from a very small base of first preferences (i.e. the election of the DLP candidate in Western Victoria), the system here has produced a Council reflecting the first preferences of the vast majority of voters, and in that sense is a success. Some key features are as follows: the government received less than a majority of first preferences and no longer has a majority of members in the chamber. However, due to the distribution of the ALP vote across the regions, the ALP achieved a higher proportion of members in the Council (47.5 per cent) than its first preference percentage share (41.45 per cent). The Liberal Party's 37.5 per cent share of the chamber's membership is also ahead of its 34.55 per cent of first preferences across Victoria, while the Nationals membership is consistent with their first preference result (bearing in mind that the Nationals contested only three regions).

The Greens, receiving 10.58 per cent of first preferences and 7.5 per cent of the membership, are relatively under-represented. The Greens lead candidates in Northern Metropolitan and Southern Metropolitan regions came close to achieving quotas in their own right. However, all three successful Greens candidates relied to a greater or lesser degree on preference flows from their own and other parties. The fortunes of the smaller parties were dependent on second and further preferences entirely, with the DLP gaining one place with only two per cent of first preferences, while Family First with just under four per cent missed out. The DLP gain is reminiscent of the Family First success at the 2004 federal election, when Senate candidate Steve Fielding was elected with less than two per cent of the first preference vote.

Single Transferable Vote (STV) and preferences

The Single Transferable Vote (STV) system allows for the ballots of both successful and unsuccessful candidates to be distributed, according to preferences (and at various values), to ongoing candidates.⁶² For all the above the line voters, the group voting tickets (lodged by the parties with the VEC) determine how ballots will be distributed by the preferences indicated.⁶³ Significant features at the 2006 election were:

- The Greens preferenced the ALP ahead of both the Liberal Party and the Nationals in all eight regions, and consistently placed Family First last;
- The ALP preferenced the Greens ahead of the Liberals and the Nationals in all regions, but placed the DLP ahead of the Greens in four regions, including Western Victoria;

Melbourne, Scribe. For comment see Editorial (2006) 'Dead Party Walking: the DLP Staggers to Its Feet,' *The Age*, 14 December, p.20.

⁶² For a description of the Victorian PR STV counting system see G. Gardiner (2006) 'Election 2006: The Proportional Representation Counting System for the Legislative Council', *D-Brief*, No. 5, Melbourne, Parliamentary Library.

⁶³ Although it is important to note that as a count progresses, ongoing candidates can gain votes from excluded candidates, which can be subsequently distributed to other ongoing candidates, according to the preferences indicated on those ballots.

- The Liberal Party preferred Family First, followed by the DLP, ahead of other parties in the metropolitan regions, while placing the Nationals first in non-metropolitan regions (then Family First and the DLP) and the Greens last;
- The Nationals preferred the Liberal Party ahead of all others, followed by Family First, with the Greens placed last and the DLP ahead of the ALP;
- Family First consistently preferred either the DLP (or the Fred Nile group) ahead of other parties, placed the Liberal Party and the Nationals ahead of the ALP, and placed the Greens last.

4.3 How the parties fared

The Labor Party

The ALP's first preference share dropped by just over six per cent compared with the result in 2002 (from 47.49 to 41.45 per cent). As previously mentioned, the ALP return on its vote was high, with 19 members elected—47.5 per cent of the Council's membership.

Labor's best performances were in Western Metropolitan (58.69 per cent of first preferences), South East Metropolitan (49.78 per cent) and Northern Metropolitan (48.95 per cent). Each of these regions elected three ALP members. In the non-metropolitan regions the ALP succeeded in having two members elected in each region, but the overall Labor vote was lower in these regions than in the metropolitan ones—again reflecting a waning of support for Labor in rural Victoria. In Northern Victoria the ALP gained 30.11 per cent of first preference votes, in Eastern Victoria 34.89 per cent, and in Western Victoria 42.02 per cent. Overall the ALP gained six members in the non-metropolitan regions, and thirteen members in the metropolitan regions.

In summary, the ALP had eight members elected on first preferences, seven members elected on surplus distributions from their own party, and four members elected on a combination of surplus distributions and preference flows.

The Liberal Party

The Liberal Party's vote was virtually unchanged from the result in 2002, rising marginally from 34.51 per cent of first preferences to 34.55 per cent in 2006. After the 2002 election the Liberals held 15 seats in the upper house, and have in 2006 secured the same number; a number which therefore represents a higher proportion of the Council's reduced membership of 40.⁶⁴ The Liberal Party's strongest votes occurred in Southern Metropolitan (46.22 per cent), Eastern Metropolitan (44.84 per cent), and Eastern Victoria (39.22 per cent).

In the non-metropolitan regions overall, the Liberal Party secured a total of six members, equal with the overall result for the non-metropolitan regions achieved by the government. The three metropolitan regions in Melbourne's east and south (Eastern Metropolitan, Southern Metropolitan and South Eastern Metropolitan) were the focus of the Liberals' highest metropolitan votes and have produced seven members. The lowest share of first preferences recorded for the Liberals was in Northern Metropolitan (23.22 per cent) and Western Metropolitan (24.47 per cent),

⁶⁴ In the full preferential voting system used for the Legislative Council in 2002, the Liberal Party won only three of the 22 province seats up for election.

areas where the Liberal vote is traditionally low. One member was elected to each of these regions, for a total of nine metropolitan Liberal members.

In summary, the Liberal Party had eight members elected on first preference votes, a further four on their party surplus distributions, while three candidates were elected on a combination of surplus votes and preference flows.

The Nationals

Contrary to some predictions prior to the election,⁶⁵ the Nationals vote for the upper house increased in 2006, with 131,946 electors giving the party their first preference. The Nationals' share of first preferences was 4.43 per cent, a slight rise on the figure achieved in 2002 (4.37). The Nationals stood candidates in only the three non-metropolitan regions, with the highest vote recorded in Northern Victoria, where over one in five voters gave the Nationals their first preference. Damian Drum was elected on the first count with 76,862 first preferences. In Eastern Victoria Peter Hall secured 32,317 first preferences, 8.52 per cent of the total. He was subsequently elected as the fifth successful candidate for the region on a flow of preferences from Country Alliance (approximately 2,000 votes), the Liberal Party (over 21,000), and finally Family First (over 15,000).

The Nationals did least well in Western Victoria, achieving a 5.55 per cent share of the first preference vote. While the Nationals representation in the House drops overall from four to two, the outcome for the Nationals in this smaller-size Council does reflect their vote state-wide.

The Greens

As the first new party to gain representation in the Victorian Parliament in decades, the election of the three Greens candidates was a significant event in Victorian political history. Over 300,000 voters gave their first preferences to the Greens state-wide, making them the third most popular party in the election for the upper house. The Greens share of the first preference vote (10.58 per cent) was slightly down on the figure achieved for the 2002 election for the Council (10.87). The Greens highest percentage of combined first preferences for all candidates was achieved in Northern Metropolitan (17.07 per cent), while their lowest percentage of first preference vote occurred in South Eastern Metropolitan (7.23 per cent). The Greens also had a very high vote with combined first preferences in Southern Metropolitan, at 15.7 per cent. While the Greens polled best in metropolitan Melbourne, their vote in the non-metropolitan regions was also substantial, achieving 9.16 per cent of first preferences in Eastern Victoria, 8.62 per cent in Western Victoria, and 7.28 per cent in Northern Victoria.

Greg Barber was elected in Northern Metropolitan, having received 16.48 per cent of first preferences, just 665 votes below a quota—he gained a quota at the 73rd 'count' due to a flow of a small number of ALP and People Power preferences and his own party's preferences.⁶⁶ In Western Metropolitan Colleen Hartland, who gained 8.93 per

⁶⁵ See for example, T. Colebatch (2006) 'Preference shifts to sideline Nationals', *The Age*, 16 November, p.10.

⁶⁶ The VEC number each successive computerised 'count' of surplus or preference distributions of candidates' ballots - at each value received - as one count. The first count is the first preference votes received by all candidates.

cent of first preferences, was elected as the region's fifth member at the 122nd count, after receiving over 28,000 preferences from the last excluded ALP candidate. Sue Pennicuik received 55,505 first preferences in Southern Metropolitan (15.34 per cent), 4,500 votes short of a quota, and was subsequently elected through preferences from her own and other parties, including over 5,000 Democrat preferences at the last count.

The Greens candidate for Western Victoria was one of the two remaining candidates at the count's final distribution of preferences, but the DLP candidate was elected to the fifth place with ALP preferences.

The DLP

One of the 2006 election's greatest surprises was the election in Western Victoria of the DLP's Peter Kavanagh. The DLP achieved a total of 2.66 per cent of the first preference vote for its five candidates. At the head of his party list, Peter Kavanagh secured 2.57 per cent of first preference votes. From his base of 10,145 votes, Kavanagh was the recipient of a stream of preferences during the count, particularly during the latter stages of the exclusion of candidates, and ended with a total of 88,027 votes, thus securing a quota and the fifth place.

With both the ALP and the Liberal Party securing two quotas each in the early stages of the count, the fifth place was decided through a lengthy process of successively excluding candidates with the lowest total votes. One hundred and sixty-eight counts were required to determine the outcome. After the 163rd count only three candidates remained—the Greens' Marcus Ward on 35,282 votes, the DLP's Peter Kavanagh on 57,764, and the ALP's Elaine Carbines on 34,879. Because Elaine Carbines had the fewest votes of the three she was excluded next, and her preferences went largely to Kavanagh, thus securing his election.

However, the platform for his success had been established earlier, as preferences flowed to Kavanagh from parties' final excluded candidates: first People Power (over 2,500 votes); then CA (over 3,000); followed by Family First (over 14,500); and, the Nationals (over 28,500). The result for the fifth place in Western Victoria shows the capacity of STV systems to occasionally elect successful candidates from a low base of first preferences, particularly where a party attracts preferences from across the political spectrum. Another significant feature of this region's vote was the high below the line vote for the ALP's Elaine Carbines, who received 2,878 first preference votes in her own right (0.73 per cent of the total).

4.4 The new house

In 2002 the ALP won 17 of the 22 places up for election in the Legislative Council under the previous full preferential system. Had the 2006 election been held under the same system (with the other 22 places up for election) it is more than likely that the ALP would have been returned with a majority in the upper house. The Victorian ALP has therefore inaugurated what few parties are prepared to risk when in government—a changed electoral system which reduces the chances of retaining power.

Some critics have expressed concerns that the balance of power in the Council will now be held by the minor parties, and that their agendas may be foisted on the

parliament.⁶⁷ This ignores the fact that, in legislative terms, the government will have the support of the Liberal Party for many of the bills that are put forward, and in those instances where the government lacks Liberal support, it can seek support from either the Nationals or the Greens to create a majority. In addition, in order for a bill to be defeated outright, it will require the combined support of the Liberals, the Nationals, the Greens and the DLP. Thus, while the government no longer has a majority in the chamber it does retain the position of the strongest party in the Legislative Council, with a mandate to govern from the Legislative Assembly.⁶⁸ The powers of the Council have also been reduced under the new constitutional arrangements—supply cannot be blocked, and legislation that does become subject to dispute between the two Houses can be referred to a committee of both Houses for resolution.⁶⁹

Under the STV system, the electorate has thus delivered a Council with a membership more diverse than the last parliament, and which largely reflects first preference vote share. The Council is now a unique balance of power and political interests, suggesting that negotiation will be as necessary as robust exchange in achieving outcomes.

A map follows on the next page, showing the regions and how they are represented in the 56th parliament, again courtesy of the VEC.

⁶⁷ See L. Cannold (2006) 'To vote in a bloc is to give your vote away', *The Age*, 16 December, p.7.

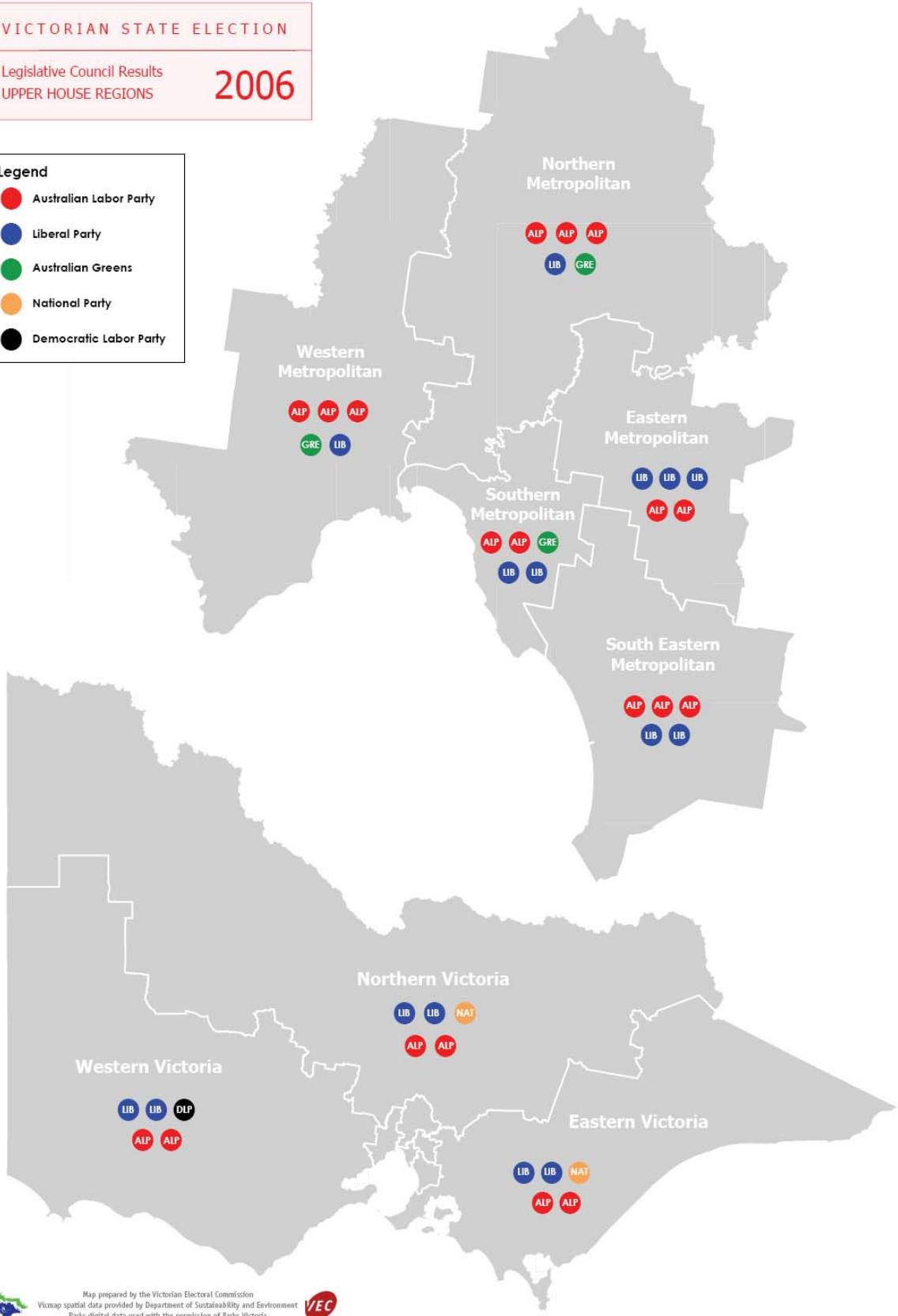
⁶⁸ For commentary see P. Austin (2006) 'Bracks won, and that's it', *The Age*, 14 December, p.21.

⁶⁹ Sections 62 and 65 of the *Constitution Act 1975* were both substituted with new sections in 2003 which remove the ability of the Council to block supply. Division 9A of the Act establishes a dispute resolution process for disputed bills between the houses and creates a new committee of parliament, the 'Dispute Resolution Committee', with seven Assembly and five Council members, to negotiate the resolution of disputed bills. If the Committee cannot reach agreement on a resolution, the bill becomes a 'Deadlocked Bill', which may then be the trigger for an election, or alternatively, can be held over until after the following election.

VICTORIAN STATE ELECTION
 Legislative Council Results
 UPPER HOUSE REGIONS 2006

Legend

- Australian Labor Party
- Liberal Party
- Australian Greens
- National Party
- Democratic Labor Party



Map prepared by the Victorian Electoral Commission
 Vicmap spatial data provided by Department of Sustainability and Environment
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5. Further results

5.1 Women MPs

The previous parliament, the 55th, saw a large increase in both the number and proportion of female members. There were 40 women MPs in the last parliament, just under one third of all representatives. For the first time women were elected to the positions of Speaker of the Legislative Assembly and President of the Legislative Council.

The 2006 election saw the number of women MPs drop by two, from 40 to 38, but the proportion of female MPs remains virtually the same, at just under one third of the total (due to the fact that the total number of MPs has dropped from 132 to 128). There are now 26 female members in the Assembly and 12 in the Council. Of the 37 new MPs, 12 (32 per cent) are women. Ms. Jenny Lindell has been elected to the position of Speaker of the Assembly. There are four women in the 20 member Bracks ministry; Jacinta Allan (Skills and Education Services, Employment, Women's Affairs), Lynne Kosky (Public Transport, the Arts), Lisa Neville (Mental Health, Children, Aged Care), and Bronwyn Pike (Health). The 22 member Liberal shadow ministry contains five women; Louise Asher (Deputy Leader, Water, Environment and Climate Change), Andrea Coote (Community Services, Aboriginal Affairs, Children), Wendy Lovell (Tourism, Women's Affairs, Consumer Affairs), Helen Shardey (Health) and Mary Wooldridge (Mental Health, Drug Abuse, Aged Care). Jeanette Powell is the Nationals spokesperson for Local Government, Planning, Women's Affairs, Multicultural Affairs, and the Arts. The Greens enter parliament with two of their three successful candidates being women, Sue Pennicuik and Colleen Hartland.

5.2 New and departing MPs

There was a significant turnover of MPs at the 2006 election through retirement, loss of pre-selection or seat, or unsuccessful candidacy to the upper house. Twenty-six members retired at the election, while a further 15 were unsuccessful in their re-election bid, for a total of 41 members not returning. Thirteen members who stood for election to the Assembly were defeated, while a further two members failed to win upper house positions.

Due to the reduction in size of the upper house, there was a total of 37 new members who entered the parliament at this election. Three of these members—Bernie Finn, Christine Fyffe and Inga Peulich (all Liberal)—are returning members from parliaments prior to the 55th.

The 37 new MPs represent 29 per cent of the total membership of the parliament. Amongst the departing group of MPs were two long serving members; William Baxter (Nationals), who was first elected to parliament in 1973, and Robert Cooper (Liberal Party), who was elected in 1985.

5.3 Voter turnout

On 25 November 2006, 3,109,907 Victorians voted in the 88 Legislative Assembly districts. This represented a participation rate of 92.7 per cent of enrolled voters, down only 0.5 per cent from 2002. However, there has been a 2.4 per cent decline in turnout since 1992. (Voter turnout—the number or percentage of enrolled voters who actually voted—is not to be confused with formal versus informal voting, where the former represents the valid votes actually lodged).

In an interesting comparison, Table 5a reports a drop in turnout also for the Victorian House of Representatives federal divisions since 1993, but only by 1.2 per cent—half of that for the state Assembly. As can be seen, federal and state turnouts were in closer step in the early 1990s but began to diverge in the mid-1990s. The final column in the table shows that Victorians turn out to vote in House of Representatives elections in consistently higher numbers than they do to vote for the Legislative Assembly. In-depth comparative analysis across all Australian states and territories is required to discover whether the reported variation is a national or a Victorian phenomenon.⁷⁰

Table 5a: Voter turnout at Federal and State elections in Victoria, 1992-2006

State Election	Turnout (%)	Federal Election (Vic)	Turnout (%)	Percentage point difference in voter turnout: State v Fed
2006	92.7	2004	95.4	-2.7
2002	93.2	2001	95.6	-2.4
1999	93.2	1998	95.9	-2.7
1996	94.1	1996	96.5	-2.4
1992	95.1	1993	96.6	-1.5

As we can see, voter turnout in Victoria for state elections is steadily declining across the period, falling from 95.1 per cent of enrolled voters in 1992 to 92.7 per cent in 2006, an average of approximately half of one per cent per election.⁷¹

5.4 Number of candidates contesting the election

As demonstrated in Table 5b below, the days of two party contests appear to be over in Victoria, with a trend for more and more parties and candidates to contest Assembly districts. The table shows how many districts had two candidate, three candidate, and over three-candidate contests, in the 1999, 2002 and 2006 state elections. In 2006, 73 per cent of seats had five or more candidates whereas in 1999 only 24 per cent of seats did so. It is interesting to note that in 1999, there were 25 districts with just two candidates on the ballot paper, while in 2006 there were none.

⁷⁰ See comments by Victorian Electoral Commissioner, Steve Tully, in P. Ker (2007) 'Poll body eyes electronic ballot', *The Age*, 7 February, p.13.

⁷¹ With the informal count at over 4.5 per cent of all votes cast, the percentage of enrolled voters either not voting or not voting effectively has thus risen to over ten per cent of the total.

**Table 5b: Number of candidates contesting Legislative Assembly districts
1999-2006**

Election year	Number of candidates						
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
2006	0	0	23	35	19	10	1
2002	0	23	36	20	5	3	1
1999*	25	26	16	10	7	3	0

*In 1999 one district had 16 candidates

An increasing rate of political participation may reflect a healthy democracy, but one undesirable consequence of numerous candidates is an increase in the informal vote—especially in areas with high concentrations of voters whose first language is not English.⁷² At the 1999 election, when there were 321 Assembly candidates, the informal vote was 3.02 per cent, but in 2006 when there were 459 candidates, the informal vote was 4.56 per cent of the total—an increase in the informal vote of 50 per cent.

From the above we can see that the most common field of candidates in the 2006 election for a state electoral district was five candidates (35), followed next by four candidates (23), and then six candidates (19). These three fields accounted for 77 of the 88 districts.

⁷² See G. Dario (2005) 'Analysis of Informal Voting During the 2004 House Of Representatives Election', *AEC Research Paper Number 7*, Canberra, Australian Electoral Commission, pp.7&17.

6. Conclusion

Despite losing seven Legislative Assembly seats, political commentators agreed that the 2006 election was good for the Labor Party, while it was disappointing for the Liberal Party. The government retained a comfortable lower house majority, its vote remained strong in key areas, and it sustained only a relatively moderate swing against it of 3.6 per cent on the two-party preferred count. *The Age*'s Paul Austin, in assessing the election's outcomes, concluded that 'the big story of the 2006 Victorian election is that the Labor Party is the big winner again...'.⁷³ The ALP did, however, lose control of the upper house, and must now rely on either the Liberal Party or votes from the minor parties in the Council to see its legislation passed. By the next election in 2010, Labor will have been in power for 11 years—its longest continuous period in office since the party's inception in Victoria.

In contrast, the Liberal Party's primary vote rose by only 0.5 per cent, an insufficient amount for it to challenge for government. The Liberals did succeed in winning seats in the eastern suburbs of Melbourne, had good swings in many of its own seats which turned some marginal seats into safer ones, and may consider that it has a chance of a stronger performance in 2010, when the swing required to gain office on a two-party preferred basis will be less than that required in 2006.

Media attention focused on the failure of the Liberal Party to improve on its historically low 2002 primary vote. One journalist wrote that 'the election result has been an unmitigated disaster for the Victorian Liberal Party...[its] primary vote was so low...that it was hanging around the depths of the 2002 rout'.⁷⁴ It would appear that some socially conservative voters (who voted for the ALP in 2002 and were disinclined to do so again) were not prepared to re-direct their votes to the Liberal Party, but preferred the Family First party. More research will be required to understand the Family First phenomenon.

At the same time, it is difficult to exaggerate the task faced by the Liberal Party and its relatively new leader in 2006 in attempting to dislodge a government generally considered to be financially responsible, led by a popular leader, and enjoying a record majority of lower house seats. Incumbency is a very potent factor in current Australian politics, especially at state and territory level, where the last time a Liberal or National Party won an election was in the Australian Capital Territory in 1998.

For the Greens, the 2006 election was a watershed for the party in Victoria; they are the first newcomer party to enter the state parliament in over 50 years. While not securing a seat in the lower house, the Greens performed well in the upper house, gaining three members. Their vote across the state maintained the levels achieved in 2002, and was an increase on their Victorian vote in the 2004 federal election. The Nationals defied the expectations of the media, and recorded an increased vote with two additional seats secured in the Assembly, a result which ensured they did not lose party status in the parliament. While their membership of the Council dropped by two, they did achieve a level of representation there in line with their primary vote. The DLP surprised political pundits and others by gaining one place in the Council, under

⁷³ P. Austin (2006) 'Bracks won, and that's it', *The Age*, 17 December, p.21.

⁷⁴ J. Ferguson (2006) 'Disaster, but Ted's safe', op. cit.

the new proportional representation STV voting system. For proponents of proportional representation voting, that system was also one of the election's winners, producing a chamber that is more politically diverse than previously.

7. Tables of results

Figures included in the following tables have been sourced from the Victorian Electoral Commission website, <www.vec.com.au>, and the VEC's *Report to Parliament on the 2006 Victorian State Election*. This section was updated in August 2007 to present the final results as provided in the report.

Table 7a: Overall Legislative Assembly result by party

Party	First preference votes	% of first preference vote	Seats won	+/- in number of seats	Swing (%)
ALP	1,278,046	43.06	55	-7	-4.89
Liberal	1,022,110	34.44	23	+6	+0.53
Australian Greens	297,931	10.04	0	-	+0.31
The Nationals	153,299	5.17	9	+2	+0.87
Family First	127,266	4.29	0	-	+4.29
People Power	15,226	0.51	0	-	+0.51
CEC	5,187	0.17	0	-	-0.16
Socialist Alliance	1,102	0.04	0	-	-0.07
Other	67,826	2.29	1	-1	-1.38

Table 7b: Legislative Assembly result by seat: first preference vote (number)

District	First preference votes (#)						Seat won by
	ALP	Lib.	Nat.	Greens	Family First	Others	
Albert Park	14,787	12,479	-	6,871	390	1,498	ALP
Altona	22,332	8,804	-	3,101	2,609	-	ALP
Ballarat East	14,292	11,183	-	3,915	1,690	2,199	ALP
Ballarat West	17,292	13,934	-	3,631	1,847	-	ALP
Bass	12,517	16,584	1,275	3,169	1,613	611	LIB
Bayswater	11,563	13,162	-	2,526	1,285	3,493	LIB
Bellarine	18,014	13,821	-	3,564	1,751	-	ALP
Benalla	8,094	7,396	13,533	2,282	819	-	NAT
Benambra	10,358	12,135	5,680	2,109	842	296	LIB
Bendigo East	16,038	11,809	2,193	2,464	1,486	224	ALP
Bendigo West	17,120	10,310	2,227	3,877	1,796	-	ALP
Bentleigh	15,811	13,347	-	3,428	916	144	ALP
Box Hill	11,165	16,872	-	4,809	908	339	LIB
Brighton	8,473	18,067	-	4,372	592	1,398	LIB
Broadmeadows	20,600	3,928	-	2,010	1,444	2,472	ALP
Brunswick	15,891	5,800	-	9,890	557	1,150	ALP
Bulleen	10,526	16,518	-	2,719	1,579	-	LIB
Bundoora	16,868	9,544	-	3,529	1,550	303	ALP
Burwood	14,565	14,272	-	4,358	1,408	-	ALP
Carrum	16,846	13,392	-	3,128	1,259	529	ALP
Caulfield	9,343	17,253	-	4,878	485	-	LIB
Clayton	18,496	7,064	-	2,798	1,006	377	ALP
Cranbourne	19,719	11,818	-	2,042	2,206	-	ALP
Dandenong	17,126	7,287	-	2,420	2,426	-	ALP
Derrimut	19,103	5,697	-	2,407	2,240	663	ALP
Doncaster	10,423	16,127	-	2,360	1,367	1,628	LIB
Eltham	15,541	13,712	-	4,689	1,048	-	ALP
Essendon	16,383	10,939	-	3,995	997	539	ALP
Evelyn	13,032	15,586	-	2,382	2,513	483	LIB
Ferntree Gully	15,395	16,165	-	2,603	1,673	769	LIB
Footscray	16,471	5,244	-	3,799	734	5,132	ALP
Forest Hill	14,002	14,757	-	2,874	1,648	-	ALP
Frankston	13,703	12,849	-	3,146	1,249	576	ALP
Geelong	17,069	12,317	-	3,169	1,684	603	ALP
Gembrook	13,666	13,994	1,375	3,838	1,309	660	ALP
Gippsland East	4,047	7,566	6,530	1,709	1,137	13,739	IND
Gippsland South	7,413	6,100	13,818	2,221	1,357	2,416	NAT
Hastings	14,625	16,111	816	2,540	1,748	351	LIB
Hawthorn	8,647	18,860	-	5,467	667	-	LIB
Ivanhoe	13,772	10,481	-	4,776	737	3,186	ALP
Keilor	23,674	10,081	-	3,427	3,321	-	ALP
Kew	8,801	17,269	-	5,170	628	267	LIB
Kilsyth	13,460	15,098	-	2,982	2,332	742	LIB
Kororoit	19,978	5,177	-	2,346	4,218	702	ALP
Lara	20,860	9,139	-	2,344	2,894	-	ALP

Lowan	7,803	7,798	16,624	1,483	1,168	-	NAT
Lyndhurst	20,681	7,189	-	1,397	2,035	375	ALP
Macedon	17,667	12,190	-	3,139	1,014	4,929	ALP
Malvern	8,555	17,927	-	3,959	484	590	LIB
Melbourne	14,149	7,009	-	8,704	496	1,392	ALP
Melton	18,442	9,430	-	2,177	2,242	1,585	ALP
Mildura	2,120	3,686	12,808	678	1,140	11,407	NAT
Mill Park	21,288	7,637	-	2,071	2,571	741	ALP
Mitcham	13,305	13,085	-	3,843	1,501	1,426	ALP
Monbulk	13,263	12,212	-	5,278	1,359	547	ALP
Mordialloc	16,026	14,405	-	3,544	1,371	-	ALP
Mornington	9,379	18,561	-	3,370	1,083	890	LIB
Morwell	13,347	4,608	9,077	1,668	1,264	2,938	NAT
Mount Waverley	13,858	14,711	-	2,657	1,147	772	ALP
Mulgrave	17,491	8,502	-	1,909	1,839	-	ALP
Murray Valley	7,224	5,795	16,781	1,794	1,368	-	NAT
Narracan	13,956	14,720	2,065	2,506	1,366	409	LIB
Narre Warren Nth	17,412	11,197	-	2,312	1,990	374	ALP
Narre Warren Sth	21,853	13,993	-	2,659	2,870	-	ALP
Nepean	10,315	17,658	-	3,502	872	-	LIB
Niddrie	17,034	9,972	-	2,893	1,789	-	ALP
Northcote	17,508	5,092	-	9,131	1,065	511	ALP
Oakleigh	15,232	10,238	-	4,142	947	-	ALP
Pascoe Vale	19,733	7,679	-	4,003	1,104	229	ALP
Polwarth	10,665	19,598	1,276	3,520	1,561	-	LIB
Prahran	11,518	13,136	-	6,315	402	-	ALP
Preston	19,809	6,539	-	4,400	1,141	281	ALP
Richmond	14,855	6,365	-	7,900	443	2,448	ALP
Ripon	15,461	11,650	2,811	1,970	1,149	-	ALP
Rodney	5,778	10,135	12,799	1,019	1,079	1,058	NAT
Sandringham	9,676	17,342	-	4,197	700	1,037	LIB
Scoresby	11,181	18,333	-	2,246	2,338	417	LIB
Seymour	15,987	13,237	-	3,213	1,148	858	ALP
Shepparton	6,174	8,427	15,743	1,519	640	-	NAT
South Barwon	17,187	16,103	-	3,537	1,821	464	ALP
South-West Coast	14,172	16,754	1,566	1,991	1,257	1,241	LIB
Swan Hill	5,582	7,541	14,302	1,189	1,004	534	NAT
Tarneit	19,565	10,094	-	2,336	2,339	2,302	ALP
Thomastown	23,058	4,605	-	2,044	1,444	-	ALP
Warrandyte	10,519	18,309	-	5,169	2,042	-	LIB
Williamstown	20,010	6,706	-	4,008	1,443	264	ALP
Yan Yean	17,751	12,963	-	3,586	1,295	1,833	ALP
Yuroke	23,531	8,909	-	2,814	1,970	-	ALP

Table 7c: Legislative Assembly result by seat: first preference vote (per cent)

District	First preference votes (%)						Seat won by
	ALP	Lib.	Nat.	Green	Family First	Others	
Albert Park	41.05	34.64	-	19.07	1.08	4.16	ALP
Altona	60.61	23.89	-	8.42	7.08	-	ALP
Ballarat East	42.95	33.60	-	11.76	5.08	6.61	ALP
Ballarat West	47.11	37.96	-	9.89	5.03	-	ALP
Bass	34.99	46.36	3.56	8.86	4.51	1.71	LIB
Bayswater	36.10	41.09	-	7.89	4.01	10.91	LIB
Bellarine	48.49	37.20	-	9.59	4.71	-	ALP
Benalla	25.20	23.02	42.13	7.10	2.55	-	NAT
Benambra	32.97	38.62	18.08	6.71	2.68	0.94	LIB
Bendigo East	46.88	34.52	6.41	7.20	4.34	0.65	ALP
Bendigo West	48.46	29.18	6.30	10.97	5.08	-	ALP
Bentleigh	46.99	39.67	-	10.19	2.72	0.43	ALP
Box Hill	32.75	49.49	-	14.11	2.66	0.99	LIB
Brighton	25.75	54.91	-	13.29	1.80	4.25	LIB
Broadmeadows	67.64	12.90	-	6.60	4.74	8.12	ALP
Brunswick	47.74	17.42	-	29.71	1.67	3.46	ALP
Bulleen	33.58	52.70	-	8.68	5.04	-	LIB
Bundoora	53.05	30.02	-	11.10	4.88	0.95	ALP
Burwood	42.09	41.24	-	12.59	4.07	-	ALP
Carrum	47.92	38.10	-	8.90	3.58	1.50	ALP
Caulfield	29.23	53.98	-	15.26	1.52	-	LIB
Clayton	62.19	23.75	-	9.41	3.38	1.27	ALP
Cranbourne	55.10	33.03	-	5.71	6.16	-	ALP
Dandenong	58.53	24.91	-	8.27	8.29	-	ALP
Derrimut	63.44	18.92	-	7.99	7.44	2.20	ALP
Doncaster	32.67	50.55	-	7.40	4.28	5.10	LIB
Eltham	44.42	39.19	-	13.40	3.00	-	ALP
Essendon	49.87	33.30	-	12.16	3.03	1.64	ALP
Evelyn	38.33	45.85	-	7.01	7.39	1.42	LIB
Ferntree Gully	42.06	44.17	-	7.11	4.57	2.10	LIB
Footscray	52.49	16.71	-	12.11	2.34	16.36	ALP
Forest Hill	42.07	44.34	-	8.64	4.95	-	ALP
Frankston	43.47	40.76	-	9.98	3.96	1.83	ALP
Geelong	48.99	35.35	-	9.10	4.83	1.73	ALP
Gembrook	39.22	40.16	3.95	11.02	3.76	1.89	ALP
Gippsland East	11.65	21.79	18.80	4.92	3.27	39.56	IND
Gippsland South	22.24	18.30	41.46	6.66	4.07	7.25	NAT
Hastings	40.41	44.52	2.25	7.02	4.83	0.97	LIB
Hawthorn	25.70	56.06	-	16.25	1.98	-	LIB
Ivanhoe	41.79	31.81	-	14.49	2.24	9.67	ALP
Keilor	58.45	24.89	-	8.46	8.20	-	ALP
Kew	27.39	53.74	-	16.09	1.95	0.83	LIB
Kilsyth	38.89	43.62	-	8.62	6.74	2.14	LIB
Kororoit	61.62	15.97	-	7.24	13.01	2.17	ALP
Lara	59.20	25.94	-	6.65	8.21	-	ALP

Lowan	22.37	22.37	47.67	4.25	3.35	-	NAT
Lyndhurst	65.29	22.69	-	4.41	6.42	1.18	ALP
Macedon	45.37	31.31	-	8.06	2.60	12.66	ALP
Malvern	27.15	56.88	-	12.56	1.54	1.87	LIB
Melbourne	44.56	22.08	-	27.41	1.56	4.39	ALP
Melton	54.44	27.84	-	6.43	6.62	4.68	ALP
Mildura	6.66	11.58	40.23	2.13	3.58	35.83	NAT
Mill Park	62.05	22.26	-	6.04	7.49	2.16	ALP
Mitcham	40.12	39.46	-	11.59	4.53	4.30	ALP
Monbulk	40.61	37.39	-	16.16	4.16	1.67	ALP
Mordialloc	45.34	40.75	-	10.03	3.88	-	ALP
Mornington	28.18	55.77	-	10.13	3.25	2.67	LIB
Morwell	40.57	14.01	27.59	5.07	3.84	8.93	NAT
Mount Waverley	41.81	44.38	-	8.02	3.46	2.33	ALP
Mulgrave	58.81	28.59	-	6.42	6.18	-	ALP
Murray Valley	21.92	17.58	50.91	5.44	4.15	-	NAT
Narracan	39.85	42.03	5.90	7.16	3.90	1.16	LIB
Narre Warren Nth	52.31	33.64	-	6.95	5.98	1.12	ALP
Narre Warren Sth	52.82	33.82	-	6.43	6.94	-	ALP
Nepean	31.89	54.59	-	10.83	2.70	-	LIB
Niddrie	53.76	31.47	-	9.13	5.65	-	ALP
Northcote	52.57	15.29	-	27.41	3.20	1.53	ALP
Oakleigh	49.84	33.50	-	13.55	3.10	-	ALP
Pascoe Vale	60.26	23.45	-	12.22	3.37	0.70	ALP
Polwarth	29.12	53.52	3.48	9.61	4.26	-	LIB
Prahran	36.72	41.87	-	20.13	1.28	-	ALP
Preston	61.58	20.33	-	13.68	3.55	0.87	ALP
Richmond	46.41	19.88	-	24.68	1.38	7.65	ALP
Ripon	46.79	35.26	8.51	5.96	3.48	-	ALP
Rodney	18.13	31.80	40.16	3.20	3.39	3.32	NAT
Sandringham	29.36	52.63	-	12.74	2.12	3.15	LIB
Scoresby	32.39	53.12	-	6.51	6.77	1.21	LIB
Seymour	46.42	38.43	-	9.33	3.33	2.49	ALP
Shepparton	19.00	25.93	48.44	4.67	1.97	-	NAT
South Barwon	43.94	41.17	-	9.04	4.66	1.19	ALP
South-West Coast	38.32	45.30	4.23	5.38	3.40	3.36	LIB
Swan Hill	18.51	25.01	47.43	3.94	3.33	1.77	NAT
Tarneit	53.40	27.55	-	6.38	6.38	6.28	ALP
Thomastown	74.02	14.78	-	6.56	4.64	-	ALP
Warrandyte	29.19	50.80	-	14.34	5.67	-	LIB
Williamstown	61.70	20.68	-	12.36	4.45	0.81	ALP
Yan Yean	47.43	34.63	-	9.58	3.46	4.90	ALP
Yuroke	63.21	23.93	-	7.56	5.29	-	ALP

Table 7d: Legislative Assembly result by seat: two party preferred vote and swing to/from ALP

District	Two party preferred vote (#)		Two party preferred vote (%)		Swing to/ from ALP (%)	Status of seat
	ALP	Other	ALP	Other		
Albert Park	21,502	14,523	59.69	40.31	-3.8	ALP retain
Altona	25,869	10,974	70.21	29.79	-4.5	ALP retain
Ballarat East	18,850	14,429	56.64	43.36	-1.0	ALP retain
Ballarat West	20,751	15,953	56.54	43.46	-2.5	ALP retain
Bass	15,926	19,882	44.48	55.52	-4.9	LIB retain
Bayswater	15,088	16,941	47.11	52.89	-5.6	LIB gain
Bellarine	21,528	15,622	57.95	42.05	-0.3	ALP retain
Benalla	10,437	21,687 ^a	32.49	67.51 ^a	-15.5	NAT retain
Benambra	13,288	18,132	42.29	57.71	-3.7	LIB retain
Bendigo East	19,009	15,309	55.39	44.61	-7.6	ALP retain
Bendigo West	21,447	13,965	60.56	39.44	-5.4	ALP retain
Bentleigh	18,950	14,696	56.32	43.68	+1.6	ALP retain
Box Hill	15,267	18,827	44.78	55.22	-4.1	LIB retain
Brighton	12,853	20,041	39.07	60.93	-3.5	LIB retain
Broadmeadows	24,878	5,500	81.89	18.11	+1.1	ALP retain
Brunswick	17,853	15,435 ^b	53.65	46.35 ^b	-5.64	ALP retain
Bulleen	12,935	18,182	41.57	58.43	-5.8	LIB retain
Bundoora	20,701	11,086	65.12	34.88	-2.5	ALP retain
Burwood	18,594	16,009	53.74	46.26	-1.4	ALP retain
Carrum	19,935	15,219	56.71	43.29	-5.5	ALP retain
Caulfield	13,526	18,400	42.37	57.63	-5.4	LIB retain
Clayton	20,884	8,836	70.27	29.73	-3.6	ALP retain
Cranbourne	21,927	13,851	61.29	38.71	+0.5	ALP retain
Dandenong	20,077	9,162	68.67	31.33	-1.6	ALP retain
Derrimut	22,365	7,735	74.30	25.70	-3.0	ALP retain
Doncaster	13,359	18,541	41.88	58.12	-7.4	LIB retain
Eltham	19,764	15,226	56.48	43.52	+1.7	ALP retain
Essendon	20,276	12,586	61.70	38.30	-4.2	ALP retain
Evelyn	16,053	17,943	47.22	52.78	-3.1	LIB gain
Ferntree Gully	18,315	18,342	49.96	50.04	-2.3	LIB gain
Footscray	23,428	7,948	74.67	25.33	-0.2	ALP retain
Forest Hill	16,896	16,385	50.77	49.23	-5.0	ALP retain
Frankston	16,775	14,748	53.22	46.78	-2.6	ALP retain
Geelong	20,213	14,441	58.33	41.67	+0.2	ALP retain
Gembrook	17,670	17,172	50.71	49.29	-0.9	ALP retain
Gippsland East	20,354 ^c	14,458 ^a	58.47 ^c	41.53 ^a	-4.48 [^]	IND retain
Gippsland South	11,393	21,932 ^a	34.19	65.81 ^a	-5.0	NAT retain
Hastings	17,737	18,454	49.01	50.99	-1.8	LIB gain
Hawthorn	12,694	20,941	37.74	62.26	-6.4	LIB retain
Ivanhoe	19,918	13,034	60.45	39.55	-2.0	ALP retain
Keilor	28,107	12,385	69.41	30.59	+1.4	ALP retain
Kew	12,990	19,131	40.44	59.56	-3.6	LIB retain
Kilsyth	17,183	17,428	49.65	50.35	-2.4	LIB gain
Kororoit	24,482	7,920	75.56	24.44	-1.5	ALP retain
Lara	22,268	10,514	67.93	32.07	-4.4	ALP retain

Lowan	9,748	25,169 ^a	27.92	72.08 ^a	-5.0	NAT retain
Lyndhurst	22,642	9,034	71.48	28.52	-3.6	ALP retain
Macedon	22,649	16,290	58.17	41.83	-1.1	ALP retain
Malvern	12,180	19,313	38.68	61.32	-1.1	LIB retain
Melbourne	16,512	15,238 ^b	51.88	48.12 ^b	-0.46	ALP retain
Melton	21,513	12,345	63.54	36.46	-1.8	ALP retain
Mildura	13,985 ^c	17,854 ^a	44.20 ^c	55.80 ^a	-24.25 [^]	NAT gain
Mill Park	24,276	10,018	70.79	29.21	-6.0	ALP retain
Mitcham	17,234	15,926	51.97	48.03	-5.7	ALP retain
Monbulk	18,511	14,148	56.68	43.32	-1.6	ALP retain
Mordialloc	18,926	16,420	53.54	46.46	-1.0	ALP retain
Mornington	12,695	20,582	38.15	61.85	-10.0	LIB retain
Morwell	15,729	17,173 ^a	47.88	52.12 ^a	-7.0	NAT gain
Mount Waverley	16,675	16,470	50.31	49.69	-2.0	ALP retain
Mulgrave	18,280	9,515	65.77	34.23	-0.5	ALP retain
Murray Valley	9,302	23,637 ^a	28.24	71.76 ^a	-7.9	NAT retain
Narracan	16,582	18,440	47.35	52.65	-9.5	LIB gain
Narre Warren Nth	19,716	13,569	59.23	40.77	-0.5	ALP retain
Narre Warren Sth	25,965	16,641	60.94	39.06	-1.7	ALP retain
Nepean	13,138	19,203	40.62	59.38	-9.2	LIB retain
Niddrie	19,396	12,288	61.22	38.78	-5.4	ALP retain
Northcote	19,484	13,813 ^b	58.52	41.48 ^b	+0.62	ALP retain
Oakleigh	19,031	11,481	62.37	37.63	-2.8	ALP retain
Pascoe Vale	23,828	8,912	72.78	27.22	-1.4	ALP retain
Polwarth	14,394	22,220	39.31	60.69	-1.2	LIB retain
Prahran	16,800	14,571	53.55	46.45	-0.9	ALP retain
Preston	24,222	7,944	75.30	24.70	-0.5	ALP retain
Richmond	17,170	14,841 ^b	54.88	45.12 ^b	+1.79	ALP retain
Ripon	17,964	15,090	54.35	45.65	-3.1	ALP retain
Rodney	17,334 ^a	14,534	54.20 ^a	45.80	-12.22*	NAT retain
Sandringham	13,615	19,332	41.32	58.68	-5.7	LIB retain
Scoresby	13,400	21,110	38.83	61.17	-7.9	LIB retain
Seymour	19,517	14,926	56.66	43.34	-2.8	ALP retain
Shepparton	21,677 ^a	10,838	66.67 ^a	33.33	+3.45*	NAT retain
South Barwon	20,446	18,666	52.28	47.72	-2.7	ALP retain
Sth-West Coast	17,018	19,982	45.99	54.01	-3.3	LIB retain
Swan Hill	8,029	22,152 ^a	26.60	73.40 ^a	-9.3	NAT retain
Tarneit	22,879	13,747	62.47	37.53	-4.9	ALP retain
Thomastown	25,152	5,872	81.07	18.93	-0.7	ALP retain
Warrandyte	14,767	21,244	41.01	58.99	-2.6	LIB retain
Williamstown	24,066	8,346	74.25	25.75	-1.5	ALP retain
Yan Yean	21,675	15,753	57.91	42.09	-1.6	ALP retain
Yuroke	26,126	11,095	70.19	29.81	-2.7	ALP retain

Please note: 'Other' refers to a Liberal candidate (unmarked), Nationals candidate (marked with an ^a), Green candidate (marked with a ^b) or independent candidate (marked with a ^c). The table is arranged as such because an ALP candidate ran in each district, and more often than not was one of the top two candidates. In four districts this was not the case: Gippsland East (Independent v National), Mildura (Independent v National), Rodney (National v Liberal) and Shepparton (National v Liberal). In these instances, swings to/from the National candidate are indicated with an asterisk (*), while swings to/from the independent candidate are indicated thus (^).

Table 7e: Overall Legislative Council result by party

Party	First preference vote (#)	First preference vote (%)	Seats won	+/- in number of seats
ALP	1,234,082	41.45	19	-5
CDP	5,819	0.20	0	0
Country Alliance	13,329	0.45	0	0
DLP	58,722	1.97	1	+1
Democrats	24,673	0.83	0	0
Family First	114,739	3.85	0	0
Liberal	1,028,421	34.55	15	+1
Nationals	131,946	4.43	2	-2
People Power	30,433	1.02	0	0
Socialist Alliance	1,130	0.04	0	0
Greens	314,847	10.58	3	+3
Other	18,788	0.63	0	-2

Please note: The number of seats in the Legislative Council has changed from 44 to 40. The two Independents at the end of the 55th parliament, one Independent and one Independent Liberal, began their terms as members of the Labor and Liberal parties respectively.

Table 7f: Legislative Council result by region

Region	First preference votes	% of first preference vote	Candidates elected in order
Eastern Metropolitan	166,760	44.36	Richard Dalla-Riva (Liberal)
	133,785	35.59	Shaun Leane (ALP)
	687	00.18	Bruce Atkinson (Liberal)
	224	00.06	Brian Tee (ALP)
	402	00.11	Jan Kronberg (Liberal)
Eastern Victoria	147,713	38.95	Philip Davis (Liberal)
	131,334	34.63	Matt Viney (ALP)
	388	00.10	Edward O'Donohue (Liberal)
	191	00.05	Johan Scheffer (ALP)
	32,317	08.52	Peter Hall (The Nationals)
Northern Metropolitan	172,158	47.80	Theo Theophanous (ALP)
	82,911	23.02	Matthew Guy (Liberal)
	1,436	00.40	Jenny Mikakos (ALP)
	59,360	16.48	Greg Barber (The Greens)
	1,321	00.37	Nazih Elasmr (ALP)
Northern Victoria	108,960	29.82	Candy Broad (ALP)
	105,899	28.98	Wendy Lovell (Liberal)
	76,862	21.04	Damian Drum (The Nationals)
	227	00.06	Donna Petrovich (Liberal)
	403	00.11	Kaye Darveniza (ALP)
South Eastern Metropolitan	179,814	49.19	Gavin Jennings (ALP)
	121,756	33.31	Gordon Rich-Phillips (Liberal)
	590	00.16	Adem Somyurek (ALP)
	404	00.11	Inga Peulich (Liberal)
	422	00.12	Bob Smith (ALP)
Southern Metropolitan	163,857	45.29	David Davis (Liberal)
	110,877	30.65	John Lenders (ALP)
	577	00.16	Andrea Coote (Liberal)
	55,505	15.34	Sue Pennicuik (The Greens)
	664	00.18	Evan Thornley (ALP)
Western Metropolitan	217,188	58.01	Justin Madden (ALP)
	90,785	24.25	Bernie Finn (Liberal)
	659	00.18	Khalil Eideh (ALP)
	432	00.12	Martin Pakula (ALP)
	33,429	08.93	Colleen Hartland (The Greens)
Western Victoria	161,723	41.00	Jaala Pulford (ALP)
	137,746	34.92	John Vogels (Liberal)
	221	00.06	Gayle Tierney (ALP)
	611	00.15	David Koch (Liberal)
	10,145	02.57	Peter Kavanagh (DLP)

Table 7g: Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council voting statistics

Election	House	Enrolled	Turnout (#)	Turnout (%)	Formal (#)	Formal (%)	Informal (#)	Informal (%)
2006	LA	3,353,845	3,109,907	92.73	2,967,993	95.44	141,914	4.56
	LC		3,110,172	92.73	2,976,929	95.72	133,243	4.28
2002	LA	3,228,466	3,007,342	93.15	2,904,551	96.58	102,791	3.42
	LC		3,006,200	93.12	2,895,778	96.33	110,422	3.67
1999	LA	3,159,215	2,918,546	92.38	2,830,271	96.98	88,275	3.02
	LC		2,918,410	92.38	2,820,010	96.63	98,400	3.37
1996	LA	3,000,076	2,822,531	94.08	2,757,567	97.70	64,964	2.30
	LC		2,826,467	94.21	2,753,667	97.42	72,800	2.58
1992	LA	2,855,471	2,716,297	95.13	2,612,896	96.19	103,401	3.81
	LC		2,718,936	95.22	2,607,309	95.89	111,627	4.11

8. Appendices

Appendix 1: Legislative Assembly districts grouped into each geographic ‘area’ as discussed in Part 3.4

Rural and regional	Mildura, Swan Hill, Lowan, South-West Coast, Polwarth, Ripon, Rodney, Shepparton, Murray Valley, Benambra, Benalla, Gippsland East, Gippsland South, Morwell, Narracan, Macedon, Seymour, Bass <i>(18 districts: Labor holds 3, Liberals 5, Nationals 9, Independent 1)</i>
Provincial cities	Bendigo East, Bendigo West, Ballarat West, Ballarat East, Geelong, South Barwon, Bellarine, Lara <i>(8 districts: Labor holds 8)</i>
West Metropolitan	Tarneit, Altona, Kororoit, Keilor, Yuroke, Niddrie, Footscray, Williamstown, Melton, Derrimut <i>(10 districts: Labor holds 10)</i>
North Metropolitan	Broadmeadows, Pascoe Vale, Brunswick, Melbourne, Thomastown, Preston, Northcote, Mill Park, Bundoora, Ivanhoe, Richmond, Essendon <i>(12 districts: Labor holds 12)</i>
South-East Metropolitan	Albert Park, Prahran, Caulfield, Malvern, Oakleigh, Bentleigh, Brighton, Clayton, Sandringham, Mordialloc, Mulgrave, Carrum, Dandenong, Narre Warren North, Narre Warren South, Nepean, Lyndhurst, Frankston, Cranbourne, Mornington, Hastings <i>(21 districts: Labor 14, Liberal 7)</i>
East Metropolitan	Eltham, Bulleen, Doncaster, Kew, Hawthorn, Box Hill, Burwood, Mount Waverley, Mitcham, Forest Hill, Warrandyte, Bayswater, Scoresby, Evelyn, Kilsyth, Monbulk, Ferntree Gully, Yan Yean, Gembrook <i>(19 districts: Labor 8, Liberal 11)</i>

These areas are geographical groupings of electorates, or collections of ‘like’ electorates (such as the provincial cities and rural/regional Victoria). It is useful to group electorates as such in order to compare voting patterns over time. Please note that they do not resemble Legislative Council regions.

Appendix 2: Victorian election results 1982 – 2006

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL																
Party	Total formal vote share (%)								Seats won*							
	1982	1985	1988	1992	1996	1999	2002	2006	1982	1985	1988	1992	1996	1999	2002	2006
Liberal	39.21	41.30	43.50	43.37	44.00	39.70	35.51	34.55	8	9	10	14	14	11	3	15
Labor	49.56	47.00	48.10	39.03	40.05	42.23	47.49	41.45	12	10	9	5	5	8	17	19
Greens	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.87	10.58	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Nationals	5.50	6.70	7.50	8.65	6.06	7.28	4.37	4.43	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	2
Family First	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.85	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Democrats	5.02	3.80	0	0.31	5.70	6.79	1.79	0.83	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Independents/Others	0.17	1.20	0.89	4.31	3.20	1.77	0.97	4.31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

* Prior to 2006 the Council comprised 44 members half of whom retired at each election

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY																
Party	Total formal vote share (%)								Seats won							
	1982	1985	1988	1992	1996	1999	2002	2006	1982	1985	1988	1992	1996	1999	2002	2006
Liberal	38.32	41.90	40.50	44.00	44.00	42.22	33.91	34.40	24	31	33	52	49	36	17	23
Labor	50.02	50.00	46.50	38.67	43.10	45.57	47.95	43.00	49	47	46	27	29	42	62	55
Greens	-	-	-	-	-	-	9.73	10.04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nationals	4.97	7.30	7.80	7.75	6.70	4.80	4.30	5.10	8	10	9	9	9	7	7	9
Family First	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Democrats	5.46	0.00	1.00	0.18	0.00	0.28	0.14	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Independents/Others	0.89	0.80	2.70	9.40	6.20	6.91	3.97	2.91	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	1

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