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The 2010 Victorian State Election

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An analysis of the Victorian state election which took place on 27 November 2010. This paper provides an overview of the election campaign, major policies, opinion polls data, the outcome of the election in both houses, and voter turnout. It also includes voting figures for each Assembly District and Council Region.

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. The views expressed in this paper are those of the authors.

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List of Abbreviations

ALP/Labor	Australian Labor Party – Victorian Branch
CA	Country Alliance
Christian Party	Christian Democratic Party (Fred Nile Group)
DLP	Democratic Labor Party of Australia
Family First	Family First Victoria Inc.
Greens	The Australian Greens – Victoria
Liberal	Liberal Party of Australia – Victorian Division
Nationals	National Party of Australia – Victoria
Sex Party	Australian Sex Party – Victoria
Socialist Alliance	Socialist Alliance (Victoria)
VEC	Victorian Electoral Commission

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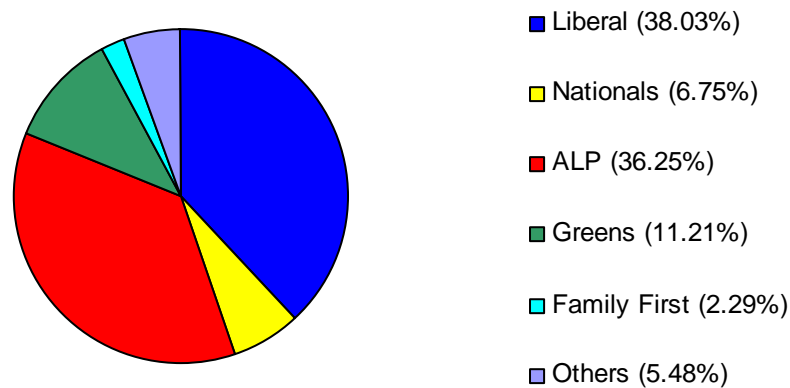
Notes

The authors declare that they are solely responsible for the material that appears in this paper. Figures included in this publication were derived from the Victorian Electoral Commission website, www.vec.vic.gov.au, and were correct at the time of writing. Recheck counts by the VEC may result in fractional changes to the results. Readers should also note that a comprehensive listing of all party policies is not within the scope of this paper. Every effort has been made to include those policies which were given prominence in the campaign.

Victorian State Election 2010: Overview of Results

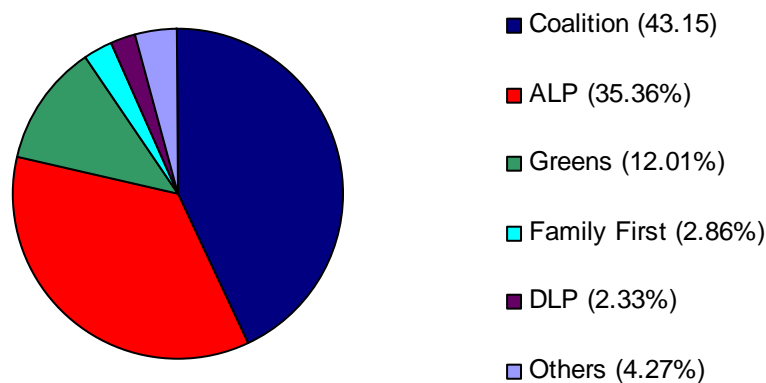
The following charts and tables show the proportion of first preference votes received by each party, and the composition of the Parliament's two chambers following the 2010 state election:

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



<i>Party</i>	<i>Coalition</i>	<i>Liberal</i>	<i>Nationals</i>	<i>ALP</i>
<i>Seats</i>	45	35	10	43

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



<i>Party</i>	<i>Coalition</i>	<i>(Liberal</i>	<i>Nationals)</i>	<i>ALP</i>	<i>Greens</i>
<i>Members</i>	21	18	3	16	3

Please note, the Liberal and Nationals first preference results have been combined in the pie chart above because of the Joint Party Ticket in non-metropolitan regions in the Legislative Council.

The 2010 Victorian State Election

Introduction

The 2010 Victorian state election was a watershed election for the state, producing only the fifth change of government in over 50 years. The narrow election of the Coalition under leader Ted Baillieu was not indicated by public polling prior to the election campaign. Indeed, most political pundits were predicting the return of the Labor government under John Brumby for a record fourth term, albeit with a reduced majority. However, as the election campaign unfolded, it became apparent that a significant swing in voter sentiment was occurring, and on the eve of the election the majority of polls pointed to a Coalition victory. Two days after the election, Mr Brumby conceded defeat, and on 2 December 2010 Mr Baillieu was sworn in as the new Premier.¹

The demise of any government in a period of economic growth is unusual. However, the Bracks/Brumby government had been in power for over 11 years, the longest serving Labor administration in the history of Victoria. With a rapidly rising state population, it also faced significant challenges in later years in terms of service delivery to the public, particularly in relation to public transport. Other issues which confronted the government were in the areas of health, public safety, water policy and cost of living pressures. Labor's campaign focused on its record as economic managers, its leadership experience and ability to continue to deliver more growth for the state. The Coalition ran on a platform of 'fixing the problems' and this message clearly resonated with voters, particularly in the east and south-east of metropolitan Melbourne, where Labor lost 10 seats.

There were two significant changes to Victorian politics during the 56th Parliament. The first was the retirement from politics of three-time election winner, Steve Bracks, the former Labor Premier, for family reasons in 2007.² The second was the formation in 2008 of a Coalition comprised of the Liberal Party and the Nationals, under Ted Baillieu and Peter Ryan.³

¹ T. Hunter (2010) 'Brumby concedes defeat in Victorian election', *The Age*, 29 November 2010, viewed 24 March 2011, <<http://www.theage.com.au/victoria/state-election-2010/brumby-concedes-defeat-in-victorian-election-20101129-18dnl.html>>; R. Sheales (2010) 'Baillieu sworn in as Premier', *ABC News*, 2 December 2010, viewed 24 March 2011, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2010/12/02/3082540.htm>>. The last Legislative Assembly district to be determined was the seat of Bentleigh, which was formally declared for the Liberal Party on 9 December 2010, see C. Best (2010) 'Premier coy on two-house majority', *The Age*, 9 December 2010, viewed 24 March 2011, <<http://news.theage.com.au/breaking-news-national/premier-coy-on-twohouse-majority-20101209-18r3j.html>>.

² Mr Brumby was subsequently elected Leader unopposed by the ALP caucus and became Victoria's new Premier.

³ The new Coalition agreed that there would be no 'three-cornered contests' in seats currently held by the respective parties and that the Coalition would run a joint ticket across the Eastern, Northern and Western Victoria upper house regions. See The Nationals (2008) *Liberal Party and The Nationals agree to form Coalition in Victoria*, Media Release, 13 February.

The key results of the election were as follows:

- The election of the Coalition led by Ted Baillieu, ending 11 years of Labor government, with the Coalition winning 45 seats in the Legislative Assembly to the Labor Party's 43;
- Labor lost 12 seats in the Legislative Assembly with a swing away from it of 6.8 per cent;
- The Liberal Party, with an overall swing towards it of 3.6 per cent, gained 12 seats in the Legislative Assembly;
- The Nationals unseated independent Craig Ingram in East Gippsland,⁴ and increased their representation in the Legislative Council by one, for a total of 13 Members in the new Parliament;
- The Greens increased their share of first preference votes in both houses, retained their three Members in the Council, but did not gain any extra seats in either house;
- The Coalition gained a majority in the upper house with 21 Members;
- The DLP lost its single representative in the Legislative Council.

This paper examines the 2010 Victorian state election, providing description and analysis of the results for the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council. Part A of the paper provides an overview of the election campaign, including key issues and policies announced by the major parties during the campaign, the leaders' debate, preference deals, some campaign controversies, and polls data in the lead up to, and during the campaign. This section also includes coverage of the Greens' campaign pledges and a brief overview of other minor parties and independents.

Part B of the paper examines the outcomes of the election in both houses, indicating where the major parties gained and/or lost seats, how minor parties fared, and some discussion of contributing effects. For the Assembly, statistics are presented on: the overall result by primary vote percentage share by party, with seats won or lost, and the overall swing for or against; individual seats lost by Labor and the swings recorded in each seat; and total candidate numbers for each party, with the primary vote number total.

Part B also presents statistics for the Legislative Council, including: the composition of each region by party and number of Members; percentage of first preference votes for each region by party; and party results by percentage of first preference and proportion of Council membership. Part B also contains a short section on women MPs, new and departing MPs, voter turnout, and the number of candidates contesting the election.

The paper also provides 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.

⁴ Mr Ingram was the last of the three independents who had originally supported the minority Bracks government in 1999.

PART A: THE CAMPAIGN

1. The Campaign: Key Issues, Policies and Strategies

Media commentary in the early part of the Victorian election campaign was influenced by the result of the 2010 federal election, which saw the election of a hung Parliament, the first Greens MP elected to the House of Representatives in a general election,⁵ and the balance of power held by a number of independents.⁶ There was significant media speculation about the possibility of a hung Parliament in Victoria, how many seats might be won by the Greens in the lower house, and what preference 'deals' would transpire between the major parties and the Greens. After the Coalition declared, at the mid-point of the campaign, that they would be preferencing Labor ahead of the Greens, the possibility of the Greens taking the Legislative Assembly seats of Melbourne, Richmond, Brunswick or Northcote from the ALP diminished significantly, as did speculation that the Greens might hold the balance of power.

Notwithstanding this early and ubiquitous speculation about the Greens, the focus of televised and print media throughout the campaign was squarely aimed at the Premier, John Brumby and the Leader of the Opposition, Ted Baillieu. While numerous Ministers and shadow spokespersons debated each other on a variety of media outlets (such as radio programs, the ABC *Stateline* television program and the *Herald Sun* online debates) both daily television news and mainstream print media tended to concentrate on the party leaders.⁷

Both leaders came to this election having failed at previous attempts: John Brumby lost the election as Leader of the Opposition against Jeff Kennett in 1996 (and was replaced by Steve Bracks prior to the 1999 election), and Ted Baillieu lost the 2006 election against then Premier Steve Bracks. Another point of similarity which emerged in media stories on the leaders, was the fact that both of them were in the same class at Melbourne Grammar school in 1970, and had both been keen sports players.⁸

⁵ The Greens MP Adam Bandt declared his support for Federal Labor on 1 September 2010, see AAP (2010) 'Greens' Adam Bandt signs on with Labor', *Herald Sun*, viewed 25 November 2010, <<http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/breaking-news/greens-adam-bandt-signs-on-with-labor/story-e6frf7jx-1225912681650>>. Bandt relied on Liberal Party preferences to win the seat of Melbourne in the federal election. P. Austin & D. Rood (2010) 'Libs' preference bombshell', *The Age*, 15 November, p. 1; D. Rood (2010) 'Greens cling to lower house hopes', *The Age*, 16 November, p. 5.

⁶ K. Bedford (2010) 'Interview with Paul Austin, State Political Reporter for *The Age*', ABC 774 Drive, Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), 2 November.

⁷ See J. Cafagna (2010) 'Budget debate: John Lenders and Kim Wells', *Stateline*, Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), 12 November; J. Faine (2010) 'Debate on Planning with Justin Madden and Mathew Guy', *774 Mornings The Conversation Hour*, Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), 10 November; T. Mitchell (2010) 'Greens and Nationals go head to head on heraldsun.com.au lunchtime Q and A series for Victoria decides 2010', *Herald Sun*, 23 November 2010, viewed 28 February 2011, <<http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/special-reports/greens-and-nationals-go-head-to-head-on-heraldsuncomau-lunchtime-qa-series-for-victoria-decides-2010/story-fn5kmqv2-1225959320590>>.

⁸ G. Tippet (2010) 'John and Ted's school days', *The Sunday Age*, 21 November, p. 21.

During the campaign, both of the leaders were styled and presented by their respective camps as personable, conservative, family men. Mr Brumby, who has in the past been perceived by some sections of the media as aloof,⁹ was presented as an approachable, family-oriented person. Mr Baillieu, who was something of an unknown entity at the previous election, was presented as a conservative and energetic leader.¹⁰

There were several issues which dominated reportage during the election campaign including hospitals, public transport, law and order, water issues, stamp duty, extended clearways and cattle grazing in the Alpine National Park. The Labor Party's 'education for life' policy also gained media attention. Some of this media attention was initiated by parties releasing major policies, while some was as a result of incidents, such as public transport failures over the duration of the campaign, and public demonstrations by various stakeholder groups.

Early in the campaign Labor pledged \$1.5 billion on health including the recruitment of 2,800 nurses and doctors over the next two years, \$618 million to treat an extra 315,000 emergency patients, \$344 million for elective surgery, \$340 million for specialist services, \$36 million for dental care for 70,000 extra patients and \$12 million for an iPad for every doctor in a public hospital.¹¹ The Coalition released health related pledges throughout the campaign in both metropolitan and regional areas, but commenced with a promise to spend \$165 million to rebuild the Eye and Ear Hospital in Melbourne and spend an extra \$800 million over the next four years to provide 800 hospital beds. In Melbourne's eastern suburbs, the Coalition promised to fund 100 more hospital beds at Box Hill Hospital and unveiled a \$108.55 million mental health program. In rural health, it pledged an additional \$70 million to the regional health service, bringing to more than \$800 million the total funding committed by the Coalition in rural and regional areas, including investments in new infrastructure, ambulance services, doctors, nurses and other health professionals.¹²

⁹ See D. Hinch (2010) 'Interview with Heidi Murphy, State Political Reporter', *3AW Drive*, 10 November; M. Rout (2010) 'Voters trust Baillieu more than Brumby', *The Australian*, 15 November, p. 1.

¹⁰ E. Hannan & R. Wallace (2006) 'Polls catalogued campaign's collapse', *The Australian*, 27 November 2006, viewed 6 January 2011, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/nation/polls-catalogued-campaigns-collapse/story-e6frg6nf-111112590047>>.

¹¹ S. McMahon (2010) 'John Brumby launches \$1.5 billion health policy promise', *Herald Sun*, 8 November 2010, viewed 24 February 2011, <<http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/victoria/john-brumby-launches-15-billion-health-policy-promise/story-e6frf7kx-1225949389247>>; AAP (2010) 'Record investment: Brumby's 1.5 bn health pledge', *The Age*, 8 November 2010, viewed 24 February 2011, <<http://www.theage.com.au/victoria/state-election-2010/record-investment-brumbys-15bn-health-pledge-20101108-17jto.html>>; S. McMahon & M Johnston (2010) '\$1.5b for doctors, nurses and beds' *Herald Sun*, 9 November 2010, viewed 12 April 2011, <<http://www.heraldsun.com.au/ipad/b-for-doctors-nurses-and-beds/story-fn6bfkm6-1225949691031>>.

¹² M. Johnston (2010) 'Ted Baillieu promises 800 more hospital beds under \$800 million hospital plan', *Herald Sun*, 11 November 2010, viewed 24 February 2011, <<http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/special-reports/crime-and-stamp-duty-the-hot-topics-at-herald-sun-peoples-forum/story-fn5kmqy2-1225951831975>>; Leader of the Victorian Liberal Nationals Coalitions (2010) *Coalition Builds for the Future with \$165M Eye and Ear Hospital Rebuild*, Media Release, 9 November; Leader of the Victorian Liberal Nationals Coalitions (2010) *Coalition Will Add 100 Extra Beds to Box Hill Hospital Rebuild*, Media Release, 16 November; Leader of the Victorian Liberal Nationals Coalitions (2010) *Coalition's \$108.55 Million Plan to Fix Mental Health Neglect*, Media Release, 16 November; J. J. Massola & R. Puddy (2010) 'Victorian Opposition leader Ted Baillieu makes rural health pitch', *The Australian*, 8 November 2010, viewed 12 April 2011,

Throughout the campaign, the issue of train cancellations and the roll-out of the myki public transport ticketing system persisted in attracting news coverage.¹³ Described in some media sources as the 'centrepiece' of the Coalition's launch was its \$1.55 billion transport policy, which pledged the creation of an independent Public Transport Authority to oversee train, tram and bus agencies and spending of more than \$900 million on upgrades, new stations and 40 new trains.¹⁴ The transport plan also included planning for rail links to Tullamarine and Avalon airports, Doncaster, and passenger trains between Geelong, Ballarat and Bendigo on a cross-country rail route via Meredith, Maryborough and Castlemaine and new stations at Southland Shopping Centre and Grovedale.¹⁵

The Coalition also garnered media attention with its transport safety policy, pledging 940 protective services officers to staff railway stations at every metropolitan station and at major regional centres after 6pm until the last train.¹⁶

Labor initially promised to fund an extra 100 police to patrol the rail network, and followed with an announcement of 180 additional Metro staff for train stations. Further safety measures pledged included the creation of a new Metro safety control centre, actively monitoring metropolitan train stations at all times through CCTV cameras. Labor transport pledges of \$723.4 million included \$354 million in regional Victoria of which \$135 million would be allocated for 20 new V-line carriages. Labor also promised to invest \$6.3 million on the W-class tram fleet for the City Circle route.¹⁷

The Wonthaggi desalination plant project also provided the basis for some negative news coverage for the government, when there were allegations that some executives were spying on workers. Media discussion then turned to concerns about cost overruns and surveillance of public protestors.¹⁸ The Coalition stated that if they won government they would be obligated to continue with the project. In regard to the north-south pipeline, however, the Coalition promised to only deploy it for critical human needs.

Labor attracted media attention with its life-skills education program for year 9 students; a two week training camp teaching life skills for all year 9 students in state

<<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/victorian-opposition-leader-ted-baillieu-makes-rural-health-pitch/story-fn59niix-1225949396782>>.

¹³ M. Jenkins (2010) 'Fresh delays add to public transport woes', *AAP Newswire*, 22 November; S. McMahon & P. Mickelborough (2010) 'Polls close in on Brumby', *Herald Sun*, 13 November, p. 13.

¹⁴ M. Rout & P. Akerman (2010) 'Leader's \$1.5bn plan to transport Coalition to power', *The Australian*, 15 November 2010, viewed 12 April 2011, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/leaders-15bn-plan-to-transport-coalition-to-power/story-fn59niix-1225953467507>>.

¹⁵ P. Akerman (2010) 'Transport plan the centrepiece of Ted Baillieu's Victorian Liberal Party Launch', *The Australian*, 14 November 2010, viewed 15 December 2010, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/victorian-election-2010/transport-plan-the-centrepiece-of-ted-baillieus-victorian-liberal-party-launch/story-fn6wlyrv-1225953361862>>.

¹⁶ Leader of the Victorian Liberal Nationals Coalitions (2009) *Baillieu to Stop Crime in its Tracks with New Transport Security Force*, Media Release, 8 November.

¹⁷ ABC Radio (2010) 'More train staff to tackle safety concerns', *774 ABC Melbourne*, Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), 10 November.

¹⁸ See Editorial (2010) 'Desal tap just keeps dripping', *Herald Sun*, 19 November, p. 40; E. Hannan & H. Thomas (2010) 'Construction giant stands down managers as workers plan nationwide action fury over spy scandal', *The Australian*, 19 November, p. 1.

schools which was often referred to in the media as a 'boot camp'.¹⁹ Its \$1.7 billion school building package also drew major news coverage. The building program encompassed building 20 new schools in the state's growth areas and rebuilding, renovating or extending 50 secondary schools and 40 primary schools in metropolitan and rural areas of Victoria. At the same time as Labor's school building package made the headlines, Mr Baillieu pledged that the Coalition would deliver \$240 million to Catholic and independent schools.²⁰

Media attention was also garnered by some protest groups. There were reports of demonstrations by groups demanding closure of the Hazelwood power station, by those opposed to Labor's extended clearway times, and by mountain cattlemen demanding the return of cattle grazing in Victoria's high country. Labor promised the phased closure of Hazelwood, while the Coalition promised to end extended clearway times and allow the return of cattle grazing to the Alpine National Park.²¹

The issue of stamp duty also received media coverage. Labor pledged \$115 million over four years to abolish stamp duty on newly built first homes in rural and regional Victoria. It also pledged \$38 million in concessions to pensioners. The Coalition pledged \$750 million to halve stamp duty over four years on homes valued at up to \$600,000, with a 20 per cent cut from July 1 2011 and a further 10 per cent each following year of a Coalition government's term.²²

1.1 The Leaders' Debates

Over the course of the campaign there were two major debates between the party leaders. The first was a conventional televised debate on ABC TV with a panel of three journalists, in conjunction with a moderator, while the second was a community forum at the Burvale Hotel in Melbourne's outer-east, in which members of the audience asked the leaders questions directly. The latter debate was notable for its informal style, with the leaders removing suit jackets. Very little of the content of the second debate was reported.

In the major televised debate Mr Brumby identified the economy as the principal issue facing the electorate.²³ He stated that the key issue in the election campaign was who would keep the jobs coming for Victoria. Focussing his points of discussion on economic issues, he asked a series of rhetorical questions, viz: who would keep the budget in surplus, who would keep Victoria's AAA credit rating, who would deliver on major building programs, who would keep the economy strong and who would deliver the new jobs that are important to meet the aspirations of young Victorians.

¹⁹ J. Campbell (2010) 'Down to the wire', *Sunday Herald Sun*, 21 November, p. 1.

²⁰ Herald Sun (2010) 'Brumby in \$1.7 b schools pledge: Baillieu in 240 m offer', *Herald Sun*, 18 November, viewed 3 December 2010, <<http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/john-brumby-in-17b-schools-pledge-baillieu-in-240m-offer/story-e6frf7jo-1225955671836>>.

²¹ A. Savage (2010) 'Protestors at Parliament House story', *ABC TV News*, 14 November; L. Turner (2010) 'Mountain cattlemen story', *GTV 9 News*, 26 November; A. Heasley (2010) 'As many police as protestors at Hazelwood', *The Age*, 11 October 2010, viewed 12 April 2011, <<http://www.theage.com.au/victoria/as-many-police-as-protesters-at-hazelwood-20101010-16e0d.html>>. Extended 'clearway times' refers to parking policy for some suburban shopping strips.

²² D. Rood (2010) 'Libs preferred on stamp duty policy', *The Age*, 22 November, p. 4.

²³ For the debate see ABC News (2010) 'Victorian Leaders' Debate', *ABC News*, 5 November 2010, viewed 3 December 2010, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/video/2010/11/05/3058837.htm>>.

He also talked about investing in education and health and tackling violence and climate change. Mr Brumby completed his participation in the debate by reiterating the jobs issue and presenting his government and himself as providing the best leadership which was stable, strong and experienced for the times ahead.

In his contribution to the debate Mr Baillieu focussed on the problems that he described as requiring 'fixing' in Victoria. He began by listing the significant problems as identified by the Coalition, including: the record level of violent crime, crumbling country roads, a lack of trust in the planning system, neglect of children in state protection, long and secret hospital waiting lists, families struggling with soaring household bills for water and power, and endless waste and mismanagement forcing up government fees and charges. He stated that people wanted a change for the better. He listed key areas that the Coalition would address, including: more police on the streets, a zero tolerance approach to crime and violence, tougher sentencing, a safer and more reliable transport system, fixing country roads, restoring confidence and certainty in planning, changing the management of hospitals, ensuring schools have the resources they need, growing the state with infrastructure and services, and putting an end to secrecy and incompetence.

In the early part of the debate, the panel and the moderator put several questions to the leaders concerning the Greens, including potential preference deals, and Mr Brumby was asked whether the Labor party would be willing to form a minority government with the Greens. Both leaders deflected the thrust of these questions, each of them insisting that the key issue was whether the other side intended to preference the Greens.

Other questions put to the leaders covered areas of policy, including: political advertising, question time, scrutiny of government advisors, adoption by gay couples, child protection, street violence, the desalination plant, the economy, limits on poker machines and the Black Saturday bushfires. Although some media reports gave Mr Baillieu a narrow victory, in neither of the debates did the subsequent media reportage declare either of the leaders as the standout performer, nor were the leaders faulted for any major blunders. Indeed, for the duration of the campaign, both leaders were seen to run competent campaigns, with significant policy discussion and largely free of incident.

1.2 Campaign Controversies

Every election campaign has its share of controversial issues and incidents, which can emerge unexpectedly. While the Victorian state election was marked by a relatively high level of civility between the leaders, a number of controversial incidents were reported by the media, mostly in the lead up to, and in the early phases of the campaign. In October allegations emerged in *The Age* newspaper that the Labor Party was running a so called 'dirt unit' out of the Premier's Office.²⁴ The government categorically refuted the accusations that they had such a unit, and claimed that they were legitimately engaged in scrutinising the Opposition. At the end of October the *Herald Sun Sunday* newspaper carried a report claiming that Greens' candidate for the

²⁴ See R. Millar (2010) 'Labor unit digs up dirt', *The Age*, 5 October 2010, viewed 24 February 2011, <<http://www.theage.com.au/victoria/labor-unit-digs-up-dirt-20101004-164at.html>>.

seat of Melbourne, barrister Brian Walters, had represented a coal mine company.²⁵ The following day *The Age* newspaper carried a report which alleged that the ALP was running a 'smear' campaign against Mr Walters, based on his representation of a coal mining company and an alleged Nazi war criminal.²⁶ The government repeatedly denied that it had any involvement in either the *Herald Sun Sunday* story, or the latter case reported in *The Age*, while prominent members of the legal profession came out in defence of Mr Walters.²⁷

Later in the campaign, Labor was accused of running negative advertisements against the Leader of the Opposition. After threatening to sue the Labor Party over a TV advertisement, Mr Baillieu lodged a writ for defamation in the Supreme Court.²⁸ The advertisement was a return to the theme of a similar ad run in the previous election, and related to Mr Baillieu's involvement in the real estate firm Baillieu Knight Frank. Mr Baillieu refuted the allegations contained in the advertisements, while the ALP maintained that they were legitimate.²⁹

In an otherwise peacefully conducted campaign, a week before the election the media reported that a candidate standing for the Sex Party, Martin Leahy, was assaulted while attending a rally in support of gay marriage.³⁰

1.3 Preference Decisions and Deals

The Liberals' decision to preference Labor ahead of the Greens in every electorate was regarded as a decisive moment in the campaign, and frequently described in the media as a 'bombshell'.³¹

The tenor of much subsequent media coverage was divided, with some commentators arguing that the move would rebound negatively on the Liberals, with Labor virtually certain of retaining its under threat inner city seats. Others regarded it as a positive turning point for Mr Baillieu, demonstrating decisiveness and leadership.³² As the polls taken just prior to the election showed a late surge to the Coalition, the latter interpretation gained precedence; the decision was framed in the media as a principled one, which had appealed to the party faithful and Coalition partners the Nationals, and

²⁵ P. Rolfe & J. Campbell (2010) 'Green Defended Brown Coal Company In Court 'Dirty Work'', *Herald Sun Sunday*, 31 October, p. 1.

²⁶ See R. Millar & R. Epstein (2010) 'Outcry at Greens smear', *The Age*, 1 November, p. 1; R. Millar & D. Rood (2010) 'Labor's first day distraction', *The Age*, 2 November, p. 4.

²⁷ See R. Millar & R. Epstein (2010) op. cit.; R. Millar & D. Rood (2010) op. cit.

²⁸ D. Rood (2010) 'Baillieu sues ALP for defamation over ad', *The Age*, 23 November 2010, viewed 24 February 2011, <<http://www.theage.com.au/victoria/state-election-2010/baillieu-sues-alp-for-defamation-over-ad-20101122-18464.html>>.

²⁹ P. Akerman (2010) 'Baillieu sues over Labor's 'smear'', *The Australian*, 23 November, p. 6.

³⁰ Big Pond News (2010) 'Vic election sex party attack', 22 November 2010, viewed 22 March 2011, <http://bigpondnews.com/articles/Politics/2010/11/22/Vic_election_sex_party_candidate_attack_541917.html>.

³¹ Crikey (2010) 'The Libs drop a preferences bombshell', 15 November 2010, viewed 22 March 2011, <<http://www.crikey.com.au/2010/11/15/the-libs-drop-a-preferences-bombshell/>>.

³² M. Rout (2010) 'Voters have been given a clear choice, says Opposition leader Baillieu defends preference deal: Victoria decides November 27', *The Australian*, 16 November, p. 7; Crikey (2010) 'The Libs drop a preferences bombshell', op. cit.

had invigorated the Coalition campaign.³³ However, from the moment it was announced nearly all commentators regarded the Liberals' decision as a disaster for the Greens, 'virtually destroying' the party's chances of winning any lower house seats.³⁴

The media also reported that Labor and the Greens were negotiating a preference deal under which Labor would preference the Greens ahead of the Coalition in all upper house regions, and place the Greens second in 79 of the 88 lower house seats. In return the Greens were reported as agreeing to preference Labor in 13 of the 15 most marginal lower house seats.³⁵

Labor had secured preferences from the Country Alliance and the Australian Sex Party in some lower house electorates in exchange for Labor's preferences to those parties ahead of the Greens in specific upper house regions: Country Alliance in Northern Victoria region and Eastern Victoria region and the Sex Party in Northern Metropolitan region.³⁶ Labor also gave preferences to the Greens ahead of the DLP at this election, making it extremely unlikely that the DLP's upper house MLC, Peter Kavanagh, would retain his seat in Western Victoria region. Although the Greens stated that the two major parties had conspired against them, some media commentary described the Greens preference dealings with the major parties as a failure.³⁷

Notwithstanding the late surge in the polls to the Coalition, many political pundits quoted in the media maintained their predictions of a Labor victory with a reduced majority.³⁸ Both of the major Melbourne daily newspapers, the *Herald Sun* and *The Age*, carried editorials which were in favour of the return of the Brumby Labor government.³⁹

³³ J. Ferguson (2010) 'Baillieu's Green tactics earn the Libs some brownie points', *Herald Sun*, 20 November, p. 74.

³⁴ See P. Austin & D. Rood (2010) 'Libs' preference bombshell', op. cit.; P. Austin (2010) 'The Green tide turns', *The Age*, 18 November 2010, viewed 22 March 2011, <<http://www.theage.com.au/opinion/politics/the-green-tide-turns-20101117-17xi2.html>>.

³⁵ D. Rood (2010) 'Greens cling to lower house hopes', op. cit.; P. Austin & D. Rood (2010) 'Libs' preference bombshell', op. cit.

³⁶ A. Crook (2010) 'Country Alliance and Labor strike up an unlikely friendship', *Crikey*, 16 November 2010, viewed 22 March 2011, <<http://www.crikey.com.au/2010/11/16/country-alliance-and-labor-strike-up-an-unlikely-friendship/>>; A. Gardiner (2010) 'Flirt to swing votes', *Herald Sun*, 15 November, p. 4; Country Alliance (2010) *Country Alliance preferred by Major Parties*, Media Release, 17 November.

³⁷ M. Rout & J. Massola (2010) 'Deal founders on Greens' arrogance', *The Australian*, 20 November, p. 12.

³⁸ C. Best, E. Scott & J. Turnbull (2010) 'Victoria poised for election cliffhanger', *The Australian*, 26 November 2010, viewed 12 April 2011, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/breaking-news/victoria-poised-for-election-cliffhanger/story-fn3dxity-1225961644586>>.

³⁹ Editorial (2010) 'A tight contest between clones', *Herald Sun*, 26 November 2010, viewed 22 March 2011, <<http://www.heraldsun.com.au/opinion/editorials/a-tight-contest-between-clones/story-e6frfhqo-1225961181470>>; Editorial (2010) 'Leaders have delivered a choice between clear alternatives', *The Age*, 26 November 2010, viewed 22 March 2011, <<http://www.theage.com.au/opinion/editorial/leaders-have-delivered-a-choice-between-clear-alternatives-20101125-1891e.html>>.

1.4 The Labor Party

In the Labor campaign, Labor appealed to voters on the basis of its economic record, with variations on the theme slogan of ‘the times ahead’, including ‘strong leadership for the times ahead’ and ‘keeping the jobs coming for the times ahead’. The Premier appeared in many of the Labor advertisements, looking directly at the camera, in some instances referencing his family, and presenting an approachable and informal demeanour to the public. Throughout the campaign, Mr Brumby iterated that Labor’s focus was keeping the jobs coming for Victoria, announcing that 300,000 jobs would be created in Victoria over 5 years.⁴⁰ Education, health and climate change were also major policy areas for Labor, as were policies for rural and regional Victoria.

Notably, Mr Brumby launched the campaign in Bendigo. Mr Brumby had connections with Bendigo; he had taught there as a secondary school teacher, and he represented the federal seat of Bendigo in the 1980s, but the signal message was the significance of Labor’s estimation of its rural and regional seats. Throughout the campaign Labor paid a great deal of attention to its regional seats, being aware that it was imperative that it hold all of its regional city seats in Bendigo, Ballarat and Geelong to retain government.

Labor also paid significant attention to the inner Melbourne lower house seats of Melbourne, Brunswick, Richmond and Northcote, which were perceived to be under threat from the Greens. Even after the Coalition declared that it would preference Labor ahead of the Greens, thereby thwarting the likelihood of a Greens success, Labor maintained its leafleting campaign.

The centrepiece of the campaign launch in Bendigo was Labor’s promise to recruit 400 new teachers and spend \$208 million on its life-skills education program for year 9 students, a two week training camp teaching life skills for all year 9 students in state schools.⁴¹ Other components of Labor’s education package included: spending \$100 million for more than 10,000 kindergarten places, \$10 million for play groups, \$48.3 million for children with a disability, an increase of \$194.7 million for independent schools, \$194 million for trade training places and \$1.7 billion over four years on rebuilding, extending and renovating schools across Victoria.⁴²

The Labor health policy of \$1.5 billion for the hospital system included: \$619 million towards emergency departments; \$305 million for dialysis, chemotherapy, radiotherapy and intensive care; \$36 million for dental care; \$33 million for specialist

⁴⁰ M. Jenkins (2010) ‘300,000 jobs if re-elected, says Labor’, *The Age*, 5 November 2010, viewed 12 April 2011, <<http://news.theage.com.au/breaking-news-national/300000-jobs-if-reelected-says-labor-20101105-17gme.html>>.

⁴¹ D. Rood (2010) ‘Labor gambles on school camps’, *The Age*, 17 November 2010, viewed 12 April 2011, <<http://www.theage.com.au/victoria/state-election-2010/labor-gambles-on-school-camps-20101116-17vvr.html>>.

⁴² Please note, party policies are far too copious to cite in detail here - only the main policy highlights that garnered media attention during the campaign have been included. Victorian Labor Party (2010) *Education: helping all students reach their potential*, Labor policy document, Election 2010, viewed 8 December 2010, <<http://www.alpvictoria.com.au/policies/education--helping-all-students/>>; P. Austin (2010) ‘Brumby’s \$100 million kinders pledge’, *The Age*, 16 November 2010, viewed 12 April 2011, <<http://www.theage.com.au/victoria/state-election-2010/brumbys-100m-kinders-pledge-20101115-17ufz.html>>.

training of GPs; and a promise of 2,800 nurses, doctors and health workers over two years and approximately \$350 million for elective surgery.⁴³ Its policy on the environment pledged to make Victoria the solar capital of Australia and, as mentioned, to bring forward the staged closure of Hazelwood power station.⁴⁴

The Labor Party's major policy blueprint for country Victoria was a pledge to fund \$630.7 million to generate new opportunities for regional and rural Victoria. Highlights of the blueprint were: a \$260 million boost to the Regional Infrastructure Development Fund (RIDF); a \$103 million tertiary education package; a \$50 million package of support to assist small towns; and \$58.9 million to plan better regions.⁴⁵

In the area of stamp duty, the Labor Party pledged \$115 million over four years to abolish stamp duty on newly built first homes in rural and regional Victoria. Its policy also advocated raising the concession threshold on stamp duty to \$750,000 for 'empty nest' pensioners wishing to downsize their homes.⁴⁶

1.5 The Liberal Nationals Coalition

The Coalition's slogan was aimed at the record of the Labor Party being in power for the last 11 years, with the election slogan of 'Fix the problems, Build the future'. Mr Baillieu was prominent in Coalition advertising and in campaign events, and was presented as a measured, alternative Premier. The Nationals leader, Mr Ryan, played significant roles in the campaign: As Shadow Minister for Police and Emergency Services, he debated police and law and order issues, and as Shadow Minister for Regional and Rural Development, he carried responsibility for much of the campaigning in regional Victoria.

The focus of the campaign was public transport, law and order issues, water and health. The Coalition were clearly aiming to keep the public's focus on perceived areas of controversy for the government, such as the myki ticketing system, overcrowded trains and alcohol fuelled violence, the north-south pipeline and the desalination plant. Coalition policies differentiated themselves from Labor policies in these areas.⁴⁷

The transport policy was labelled in the press as the 'centrepiece' of the Coalition's campaign launch at the Melbourne Convention Centre. The \$1.55 billion policy included the creation of an independent Public Transport Authority to integrate the multiple train, tram and bus agencies, 40 new trains for the Melbourne suburban network, with 33 to be delivered in the second term; and the creation and planning of new railway stations.⁴⁸ The Coalition's transport safety policy promised 940 Victoria Police Protective Services Officers on every metropolitan and major regional stations

⁴³ S. McMahon (2010) 'John Brumby launches \$1.5 billion health policy promise', op. cit.

⁴⁴ J. Brumby (2010) 'The pitch: John Brumby', *The Age*, 8 November, p. 12.

⁴⁵ Regional Development Victoria (2010) *Ready for tomorrow: a Blueprint for Regional Victoria*, Melbourne, Regional Development Victoria, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁶ D. Rood (2010) 'Libs preferred on stamp duty policy', op. cit.

⁴⁷ Although, as mentioned, the Coalition did say that it would be obligated to continue with the desalination project, see p. 5 above.

⁴⁸ M. Rout & P. Akerman (2010) 'Leader's \$1.5bn plan to transport Coalition to power', op. cit.

after 6pm, and additional Victoria Police officers to patrol train, tram and bus networks.⁴⁹

In the area of law and order the Coalition promised to: spend \$344 million over four years to fund an additional 1,600 police; establish a new anti-corruption watchdog; abolish suspended sentences; end home detention; introduce tough new anti-hoon laws; ban violent drunks from licensed premises; ban the sale of knives to minors and shake up liquor licensing laws; outlaw criminal bikie gangs, and strengthen Neighbourhood Watch.⁵⁰ The Coalition's water policy included promises to only use the north-south pipeline for critical human needs (and even then only when there is sufficient water in the Goulburn system) and to support stormwater capture and recycling initiatives.⁵¹

In the area of health, the Coalition pledged: 1,000 new beds in metropolitan and country areas of Victoria; an additional 1,600 doctors, nurses and allied health professionals in Victorian hospitals by 2011; to treat 190,000 extra patients in the first term of office; and expand the Clayton campus of the Monash Medical Centre to improve medical care for the expanding south-east Melbourne regions and invest in rebuilding the Warrnambool hospital.⁵² Over the course of the election campaign, the Coalition made a number of pledges in the area of education. These included \$239.5 million to Catholic and independent schools; \$24.3 million for 100 extra science and maths teachers; \$96 million for concession places for students studying diplomas and advanced diplomas; \$34 million for an extra 150 primary welfare officers and \$20 million for a new Torquay Secondary College.⁵³

One of several policies in which the Coalition clearly differentiated themselves from the Labor party was that of the environment. The Coalition rejected closure of the Hazelwood power station because of potential job losses. It also promised to implement planning regulations excluding wind turbines from designated tourist areas and within two kilometres of a home, unless agreement had been reached between the home owner and the wind farm developer.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Leader of the Victorian Liberal Nationals Coalition (2010) *Baillieu To Stop Crime in its Tracks with New Transport Security Force*, Media Release, 8 November; P. Akerman (2010) 'Transport plan the centrepiece of Ted Baillieu's Victorian Liberal Party Launch', op. cit.

⁵⁰ Leader of the Victorian Liberal Nationals Coalition and Leader of the Nationals (2010) *Coalition announces 1,600 additional police to make our streets safe again*, Media Release, 6 April.

⁵¹ The Nationals (2010) *The Victorian Liberal Nationals Coalition Plan for Water Policy*, Coalition policy document, Election 2010, viewed 20 December 2010, <<http://www.vicnats.com/policies/>>.

⁵² For details of the Coalition's health policies see Victorian Liberal Party (2011) 'Victorian Coalition Policies', *Liberal Victoria*, viewed 11 April 2011,

<<http://vic.liberal.org.au/News/Policies/tabid/189/Default.aspx>>; Please note that there were 39 policies in the health area listed on the Nationals election policy website see The Nationals (2011) 'Policies', The Nationals, viewed 23 December 2010, <<http://www.vicnats.com/policies/>>.

⁵³ See AAP (2010) 'The Coalition's election promises', *The Age*, 30 November 2010, viewed 20 December 2010, <<http://www.theage.com.au/victoria/state-election-2010/the-coalitions-election-promises-20101129-18dph.html>>. Coalition policies on education prior to the election campaign included a 2008 pledge to boost the pay of Victorian teachers. See The Nationals (2010) *Coalition To Make Victorian Teachers Highest-Paid In Australia*, Coalition policy document, Election 2010, viewed 5 January 2011, <<http://www.vicnats.com/policies/>>.

⁵⁴ A. Morton (2010) 'The Coalition has explaining to do on climate change', *Herald Sun*, 30 November, p. 5; Shadow Planning Minister (2010) *Wind Farm Fairness and Certainty Under a Baillieu Government*, Media Release, 13 May.

As mentioned above, a major policy difference between the parties was in the area of stamp duty. In addition to the pledges already listed, the Coalition pledged that, as an incentive to young farmers, farmers under the age of 35 would be exempt from paying stamp duty on the first \$300,000 worth of agricultural land purchased.⁵⁵

In regional and rural affairs, the Coalition had previously announced in May 2010 the establishment of a \$1 billion Regional Growth Fund to deliver funding to regional Victoria over eight years.⁵⁶ During the campaign the Coalition promised a range of measures for regional Victoria, which included: a \$100 million fund called the *Putting Locals First Fund*, targeted to fill gaps in provision of services and facilities in the regions;⁵⁷ investing \$100 million over four years to extend natural gas across regional Victoria;⁵⁸ a \$160 million fund for ailing rural bridges and roads;⁵⁹ and, a \$100 million local government infrastructure account, under the Regional Growth Fund, to supplement government expenditure for regional and rural councils.⁶⁰ The leader of the Nationals, Mr Ryan, was prominent in the announcement of Coalition policies for rural and regional Victoria. Mr Ryan finished the campaign with a 30 hour ‘blitz’ of 30 regional towns across the state.⁶¹

1.6 The Greens

The Greens held high hopes for the Victorian election, having secured the House of Representatives’ seat of Melbourne in the 2010 federal election. The Greens claimed that one in seven Victorians had voted Green in the federal election, and that they were ‘poised to win our first lower house seats in the Victorian Parliament, and double the Greens representation in the Victorian upper house’.⁶²

The Greens’ campaign centred on the issues of public transport, water, education, and health. They presented themselves as a party of vision and solutions, and claimed that a vote for them was a powerful vote that could effect change.⁶³ Their main campaign slogan, ‘My values haven’t changed, my vote has’, which appeared in TV ads and posters, presented the Greens as a party of values that are either not held, or no longer held, by the major parties. The Greens remained at the centre of intense media speculation in the first half of the campaign concerning preference deals with the major parties, and their potential to be ‘kingmakers’ in the new Parliament by winning

⁵⁵ D. Rood (2010) ‘Libs preferred on stamp duty policy’, op. cit.; The Nationals (2010) *Coalition Gives Young Farmers A Head Start With Stamp Duty Exemptions*, Coalition policy document, Election 2010, viewed 5 January 2011, <<http://www.vicnats.com/policies/>>.

⁵⁶ The Nationals (2010) *Vic Liberals & Nationals Launch \$1 Billion Regional Growth Fund*, Media Release, 29 May.

⁵⁷ Victorian Liberal Nationals Coalition (2010) *Coalition’s \$100 Million Fund To Put Locals First In Rural And Regional Vic*, Media Release, 23 November.

⁵⁸ Victorian Liberal Nationals Coalition (2010) *\$100M Natural Gas Fund To Unlock Potential Of Regional Victoria*, Media Release, 12 November.

⁵⁹ Victorian Liberal Nationals Coalition (2010) *\$160M For Ailing Rural Roads And Bridges*, Media Release, 29 October.

⁶⁰ Victorian Liberal Nationals Coalition (2010) *Coalition Announces \$100 Million Local Govt Infrastructure Account*, Media Release, 21 October.

⁶¹ The Nationals (2010) *Peter Ryan to blitz 30 towns in 30 hours*, Media Release, 25 November.

⁶² See The Greens Blog (2010) *Why Vote Green?* Victoria – The Greens, viewed 11 March 2011, <<http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/22306/20101206-1442/vic.greens.org.au/index.html>>.

⁶³ *ibid.*

up to four inner-city seats.⁶⁴ In the leaders' debate, the subject of potential preference deals with the Greens dominated discussion in the early stages.⁶⁵ For their part, the Greens did not rule out negotiating with either side of politics in the event of a hung Parliament.⁶⁶ In this phase of the campaign the Greens were the target of pressure from the caretaker government, which held fears for the Legislative Assembly seats of Melbourne, Richmond, Brunswick and Northcote. Labor claimed that taxpayers would pay more than \$20 billion over four years for Greens policies.⁶⁷

However, as stated earlier, at the mid-point of the campaign the media focus on the Greens was dramatically altered by the Liberals' announcement that it would be placing the Greens last on its how to vote cards. The ABC's election analyst, Antony Green, said the decision would make it difficult for the Greens to win any lower house seat.⁶⁸ Aside from the three sitting Greens in the upper house, the candidate with the highest profile during the campaign was Brian Walters, standing for the seat of Melbourne. Attention on Mr Walters stemmed from both media reports of government attacks on his integrity, and his perceived strong chance of taking the seat from Minister Bronwyn Pike.⁶⁹

In the area of transport the Greens' pledges included: to work towards the creation of an independent Public Transport Authority to replace existing departments and agencies; a minimum urban public transport service frequency of 10 minutes in peak hour, and 20 minutes in off-peak; establishing rail links to Melbourne airport, Rowville and Doncaster; extending the No. 48 tram from Balwyn North to Doncaster at an estimated cost of \$68 million; to build a new train station on the Lilydale line, and a second track between Mooroolbark and Lilydale stations at an estimated cost of \$54 million; addressing urgent problems, such as myki and a plan for future growth; and making the system safer by staffing all stations from first to last trains.⁷⁰

On climate change the Greens set a target of net zero emissions no later than 2050, with a minimum 40 per cent reduction on 1990 levels by 2020. Regulations would be enacted to prevent the building of new coal fired power stations.⁷¹ On water the Greens' commitments included the elimination of all sewage outfalls to the ocean; banning native forest logging in water catchments; a business study for treating water at the Eastern Treatment plant to drinking standard; establishing flow regimes for rivers that are sustainable; and reforming the water allocation framework.⁷²

⁶⁴ See Editorial (2010) 'Hypocrisy of Greens who gain from coal', *Herald Sun Sunday*, 31 October, p. 85.

⁶⁵ J. Ferguson (2010) 'Greens Wrangle Thwarts Triumph', *Herald Sun*, 6 November, p. 11.

⁶⁶ F. Tomazin (2010) 'Greens split on need to have all promises costed', *The Age*, 8 November, p. 4.

⁶⁷ P. Rolfe (2010) 'Greens told to cough up costings', *Herald Sun Sunday*, 7 November, p. 25.

⁶⁸ ABC TV (2010) 'TV News - 7.00 PM', *ABC TV*, 15 November.

⁶⁹ See J. Singer (2010) 'ALP attack on Greens out of line', *Herald Sun*, 4 November, p. 33.

⁷⁰ Australian Greens Victoria (2010) 'Transport Policy', viewed 11 March 2011, <<http://vic.greens.org.au/policies>>; Victorian Greens (2010) *Greens Announce New Train Station on Lilydale Line*, Media Release, 3 November.

⁷¹ Australian Greens Victoria (2010) 'Climate Policy', viewed 11 March 2011, <<http://vic.greens.org.au/policies>>.

⁷² Australian Greens Victoria (2010) 'Water Policy', viewed 11 March 2011, <<http://vic.greens.org.au/policies>>.

The Greens' pledges in health included: the provision of a government funded public dental health service, based on need; the provision of an integrated government funded community-based mental health service; better integration of police emergency response with psychiatric services; and increased emphasis on health promotion and illness prevention.⁷³ In education the Greens' promises included: to work towards the phasing out of all fees and charges in the public education system at all levels; provide two years free pre-school education to all children; and reduce class sizes.⁷⁴

In the area of planning the Greens said that they would turn local planning guidelines (ResCode) into enforceable rules consistently applied to all buildings, and create a permanent green belt around Melbourne's Urban Growth Boundary.⁷⁵ In housing the Greens said that social housing stock would be brought up to at least 5 per cent of the total by 2014,⁷⁶ while their gambling policy included a pledge to limit electronic gaming machine density in Local Government Areas.⁷⁷ The Greens also pledged their support for same-sex marriage.⁷⁸

1.7 Other Minor Parties and Independents

The conservative family values party, Family First, produced a 32 page policy and position statement for the election, covering many areas of public policy, including opposition to abortion and euthanasia.⁷⁹ The party did not receive significant media attention during the campaign. Family First fielded 69 candidates for the lower house.

The regional party Country Alliance presented a number of policies for the election, including opposition to the sale of major assets, limiting poker machines to existing venues, and support for access to, and recreational use of, public lands.⁸⁰ During the campaign the Alliance called for more funds for hospitals in Gippsland, attacked the Greens, who they regarded as anti-farm and insensitive to country people, and adopted a 'non-partisan approach' to preference negotiations.⁸¹ The Alliance fielded 29 candidates for the lower house and received a moderate level of mainstream media attention for a minor party.

⁷³ Australian Greens Victoria (2010) 'Health Policy', viewed 11 March 2011, <<http://vic.greens.org.au/policies>>.

⁷⁴ Australian Greens Victoria (2010) 'Education Policy', viewed 11 March 2011, <<http://vic.greens.org.au/policies>>.

⁷⁵ Australian Greens Victoria (2010) 'Land Use Planning Policy', viewed 11 March 2011, <<http://vic.greens.org.au/policies>>.

⁷⁶ Australian Greens Victoria (2010) 'Policies: Housing', viewed 11 March 2011, <<http://vic.greens.org.au/policies>>.

⁷⁷ Australian Greens Victoria (2010) 'Gambling Policy', viewed 11 March 2011, <<http://vic.greens.org.au/policies>>.

⁷⁸ Australian Greens Victoria (2010) 'Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Policy', viewed 11 March 2011, <<http://vic.greens.org.au/policies>>.

⁷⁹ Family First (2010) *Policy and Position Statement Victoria State Election 2010*, Family First (VIC), viewed 16 March 2011, <<http://www.vic.familyfirst.org.au/>>.

⁸⁰ Country Alliance (2010) 'Policies - Putting Regional Victoria First', viewed 16 March 2011, <<http://www.countryalliance.org/policies.htm>>.

⁸¹ Country Alliance (2010) *Gippsland hospitals in need of funding*, Media Release, 22 November; Country Alliance (2010) *Voters, don't be fooled*, Media Release, 8 November; Country Alliance (2010) *Country Alliance preferred by Major Parties*, Media Release, 17 November.

The libertarian party, the Australian Sex Party, stood 17 candidates for the lower house, and campaigned with policies centred on freedom of choice. The Sex Party's policies included: protecting live music venues from burdensome red tape; decriminalisation of all drugs for personal use; creation of a statutory right to privacy; and allowing same-sex couples to adopt.⁸² The Party's President, Fiona Patten, a candidate for the upper house, is the CEO of the adult industry group, the EROS Association.

The Democratic Labor Party (DLP) fielded 36 candidates for the lower house. In the 56th Parliament the DLP held one seat in the upper house – Peter Kavanagh in Western Victoria region. Despite having a Member of Parliament, the DLP received very little media attention during the campaign. The Party's policies included opposition to abortion, same-sex marriage and the privatisation of water.⁸³ One news report suggested that the DLP was advocating that public transport be free.⁸⁴

The last of the three independents elected in 1999, Craig Ingram, MLA for East Gippsland, campaigned on his record, experience and local leadership.⁸⁵ During the campaign, the media reported that the Nationals were making a huge effort to win back the rural seat for the Coalition, and on the eve of the election Mr Ingram conceded that it would be a tough battle to retain his seat.⁸⁶ A total of 87 independent candidates stood for election for both houses at this election.

1.8 What the Polls Said

Opinion polls conducted throughout 2010 indicated an ALP victory, with the exception of the final poll released by each of the four main polling groups, which indicated a late swing to the Coalition. Newspoll's final reading put the Coalition in front on the two-party preferred vote at 51.1 to 48.9, which was the first time since early 2005 that the ALP did not lead the Newspoll polls. Two weeks earlier (9-11 November) the Newspoll readings gave the ALP a lead of 51 to 49. At the same time in the previous year the ALP led 57 to 43 in the two-party preferred vote and even led 60 to 40 in early 2009.⁸⁷

⁸² The Australian Sex Party (2010) 'The Australian Sex Party Victorian Policies', viewed 16 March 2011, <<http://www.sexparty.org.au/index.php/policies/victorian-policies>>.

⁸³ DLP (2010) 'Policies', Democratic Labor Party, viewed 16 March 2011, <<http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/45085/20101126-0015/www.dlp.org.au/policies.html>>.

⁸⁴ M. Toy (2010) 'Free Transport Tops DLP Vows', *Herald Sun Sunday*, 14 November, p. 22.

⁸⁵ Craig Ingram (2010) 'Craig Ingram delivers real leadership', viewed 16 March 2011, <http://www.craigingram.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=795:craig-ingram-delivers-real-leadership&catid=34:media-releases&Itemid=110>.

⁸⁶ E. Gannon (2010) 'Power Play Causing A Rural Divide', *Herald Sun*, 17 November, p. 37.

⁸⁷ See Newspoll (2010) 'Victorian Election – Final', *Newspoll* and *The Australian*, 29 November 2010, viewed 23 February 2011,

<http://www.newspoll.com.au/image_uploads/101133%20VIC%20Election%20-%20Final.pdf>;

Newspoll (2010) 'Bimonthly reading of Victorian voting intentions and leaders' ratings', *Newspoll* and *The Australian*, 28 October 2010, viewed 17 February 2011,

<http://www.newspoll.com.au/image_uploads/101006%20VIC%20Voting%20Intention%20&%20Leaders%20Ratings%20Sep%20-%20Oct.pdf>; and, Newspoll (2009) 'Bimonthly reading of Victorian voting intentions and leaders' ratings', *Newspoll* and *The Australian*, 6 March 2009, viewed 17 February 2011, <http://www.newspoll.com.au/image_uploads/0208%20VIC%2006-03-09.pdf>.

Likewise, The Age/Nielsen poll also showed Labor leading with 53 per cent to 47 after distribution of preferences on 30 October 2010. The final Nielsen poll of the campaign had the Coalition leading 52 to 48 and the final Morgan poll also had the Coalition leading 51 to 49.

Table 1a, below, shows the results of two-party preferred polling undertaken by four polls in the final days before the election with the final row showing the actual election result.

Table 1a: Two-Party Preferred as predicted by major polling organisations

Polling organisation, date, source	ALP	Liberal/Nationals Coalition
Newspoll, 23-25 Nov, <i>The Australian</i> ⁸⁸	48.9	51.1
Age/Nielsen, 24-25 Nov, <i>The Age</i> ⁸⁹	48	52
Roy Morgan, 22-25 Nov ⁹⁰	49	51
Galaxy, 23-24 Nov, <i>Herald Sun</i> ⁹¹	50	50
Actual result ⁹²	48.4	51.6

This late swing is also reflected in the graph below, which illustrates Newspoll's readings of two-party preferred voting intentions from 2004 to their final poll before the 2010 election.

As mentioned above, Newspoll's final poll was the first time the Coalition led in the polls since the brief period in November/December 2004 and January/February 2005 in which the Coalition led 51 to 49.⁹³

⁸⁸ The Newspoll poll was conducted on Tuesday 23rd to Thursday 25th of November from a sample of 1451, more than the usual sample size of around 1000. See M. Rout (2010) 'Hung parliament looms as Baillieu gets his nose in front on election eve', *The Australian*, 27 November, pp. 1, 4.

⁸⁹ Two-party preferred voting in regional and rural Victoria placed the ALP at 41 per cent compared with the Coalition's 59 per cent. The Age/Nielsen Poll is conducted by telephone and interviewed 1533 voters surveyed. Maximum margin of sampling error is approximately 1.7 per cent. See P. Austin (2010) 'Late surge to Liberals', *The Age*, 27 November, pp. 1, 4.

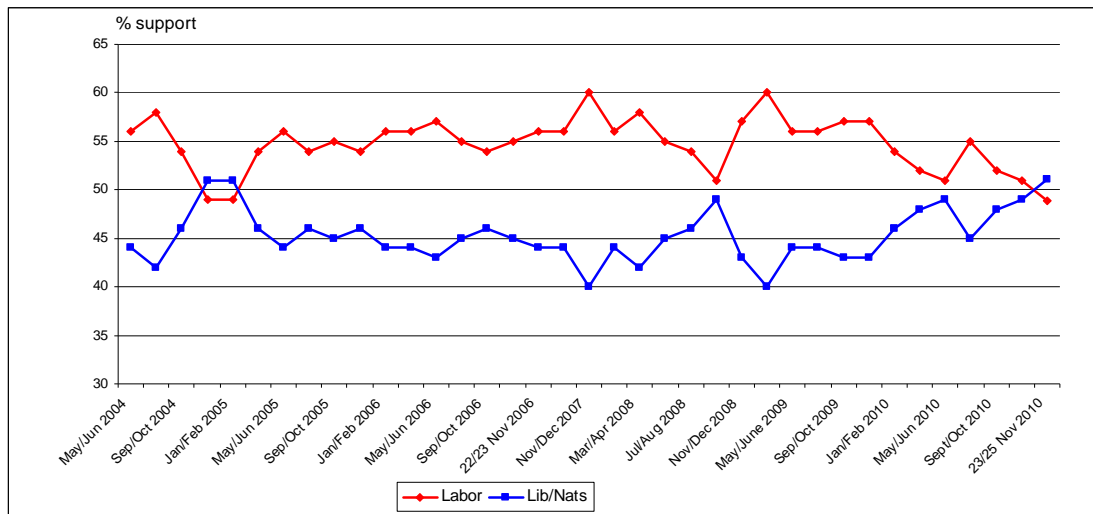
⁹⁰ 990 voters. Roy Morgan Research (2010) 'Baillieu set to win a close Victorian Election with late surge', *Finding No. 4607*, 26 November, Roy Morgan Research.

⁹¹ Galaxy Poll of 800 voters statewide. Maximum margin of error plus or minus 3.5 per cent. See S. McMahon (2010) 'Poll says it's Labor – by a whisker', *Herald Sun*, 26 November, p. 4.

⁹² Since 1985, the Victorian Electoral Commission and its predecessor the State Electoral Office has prepared two-party-preferred vote statistics. See P. Brent (2010) 'What happened in Victoria?', *The Australian*, 6 December 2010, viewed 24 March 2011,

<http://blogs.theaustralian.news.com.au/mumble/index.php/theaustralian/comments/what_happened_in_victoria/>; Victorian Electoral Commission (2007) *Report to Parliament on the 2006 Victorian State Election*, July, Melbourne, VEC, chapter 8.

⁹³ In the months prior to the election, Newspoll conducted their bimonthly readings of Victorian voting intentions and leaders' ratings. However, with the exception of a few polls such as The Age/Nielsen poll in February 2010 and a Morgan Poll released in June 2010, the main polling activity in 2010 was not conducted until eight weeks prior to the Victorian election.

Graph 1a: Two-party Preferred Vote, Newspoll⁹⁴

Source: Newspoll (2004-2010)

The following table shows the results of primary voting intentions as predicted by four polls taken in the final days before the election with the second last row showing the actual election result. The last row shows the 2006 election result for comparison.

Table 1b: Primary voting intentions as predicted by major polling organisations

Polling organisation, date, source	ALP	Liberal/Nationals Coalition	Greens	Other
Newspoll 23-25 Nov, <i>The Australian</i> ⁹⁵	33	45	15	7
Age/Nielsen 24-25 Nov, <i>The Age</i> ⁹⁶	34	45	14	6
Roy Morgan 22-25 Nov ⁹⁷	35.5	44.5	13	7
Galaxy 23-24 Nov, <i>Herald Sun</i> ⁹⁸	36	44	14	6
Actual result for 2010 Victorian Election	36.3	44.8	11.2	7.7
2006 Election Result	43.06	39.61	10.04	7.3

While the final polls indicated that the Green vote would be high, earlier polls suggested that the Greens may receive an even higher percentage of primary votes. For example, Newspoll's last bimonthly poll before the election, the

⁹⁴ Graph 1a is derived, firstly, from data produced by Newspoll's bimonthly readings of Victorian voting intentions and leaders' ratings, for the period May/June 2004 to September/October 2010, see Newspoll (2010) 'Opinion Polls', *Newspoll and The Australian*, viewed 23 February 2011, <http://www.newspoll.com.au/index.pl?action=adv_search>; and, secondly, from Newspoll (2010) 'Victorian Election – Final', op. cit.

⁹⁵ See Rout (2010) 'Hung parliament looms', op. cit.

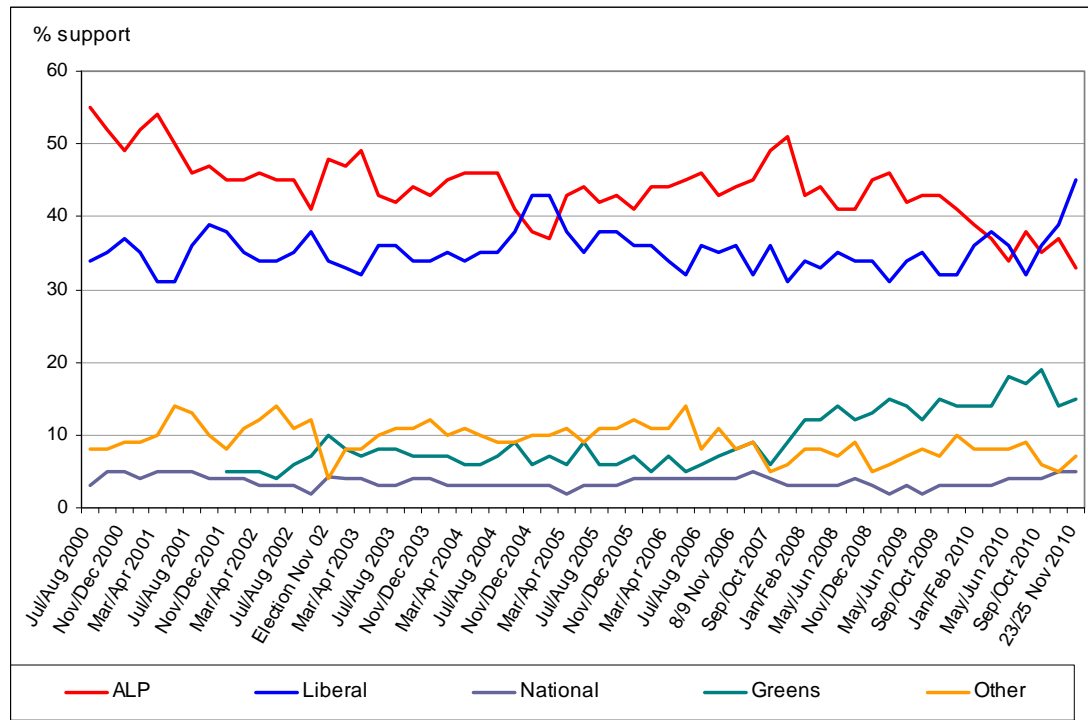
⁹⁶ See P. Austin (2010) 'Late surge to Liberals', op. cit.

⁹⁷ Roy Morgan Research (2010) 'Baillieu set to win a close Victorian Election', op. cit.

⁹⁸ See S. McMahon (2010) 'Poll says it's Labor', op. cit.

September/October 2010 poll, suggested that the Green vote could be as high as 19 per cent if an election was held on the day that the opinion poll was taken.⁹⁹ The following graph provides visual illustration of the trend in primary voting intentions as measured by Newspoll.

Graph 1b: Primary Voting Intentions, Newspoll¹⁰⁰



Source: Newspoll (2000-2010)

In terms of who respondents considered would make the better Premier, in the November/December 2009 poll Mr Brumby received 54 per cent of the 'better' Premier vote, Mr Baillieu received 26 per cent and 20 per cent remained uncommitted. One year later in the poll of 23-25 November 2010 Mr Brumby received 48 per cent, Mr Baillieu 38 per cent and uncommitted respondents represented 14 per cent.

As the table below demonstrates, the percentage of uncommitted respondents decreased from 20 per cent in September/October 2010 to 14 per cent in both 9-11 November 2010 and 23-25 November 2010.

The polls also indicate that while Mr Brumby was still considered by respondents to make the better Premier in all the polls taken in the year leading up to the election, Mr Baillieu had significantly improved his ratings.

⁹⁹ Newspoll (2010) 'Bimonthly reading of Victorian voting intentions and leaders' ratings', op. cit.

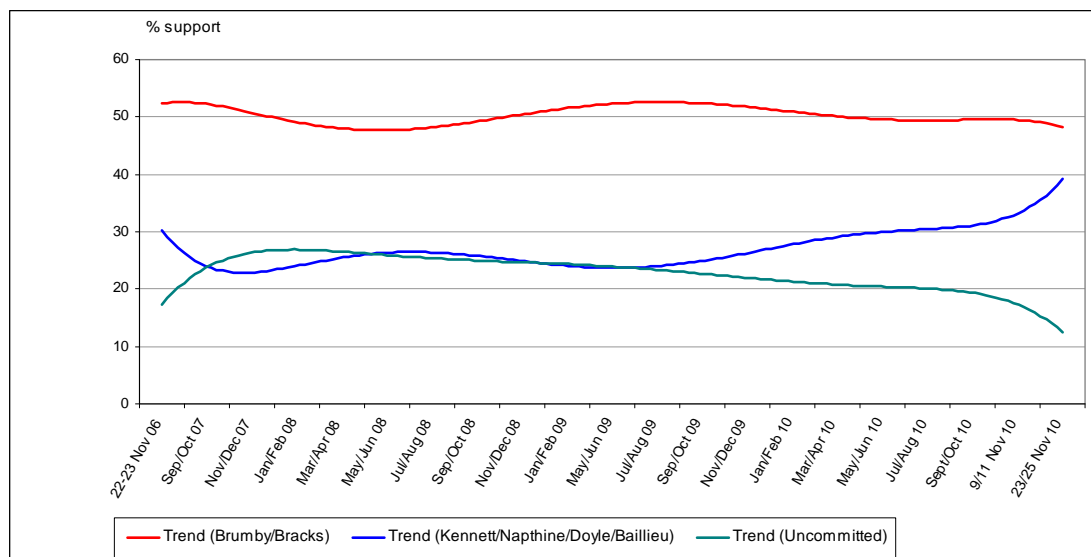
¹⁰⁰ Graph 1b is derived, firstly, from data produced by Newspoll's bimonthly readings of Victorian voting intentions and leaders' ratings, for the period July/August 2000 to September/October 2010, see Newspoll (2010) 'Opinion Polls', *Newspoll and The Australian*, viewed 23 February 2011, <http://www.newspoll.com.au/index.pl?action=adv_search>; and, secondly, from Newspoll (2010) 'Victorian Election – Final', op. cit.

Table 1c: Newspoll results on better Premier¹⁰¹

	Mr Brumby	Mr Baillieu	Uncommitted
Nov-Dec 2009	54	26	20
Jan-Feb 2010	51	29	20
Mar-Apr 2010	49	29	22
May-Jun 2010	47	31	22
Jul-Aug 2010	52	27	21
Sep-Oct 2010	49	31	20
9-11 Nov 2010	50	36	14
23-25 Nov 2010	48	38	14

Source: Newspoll and The Australian (2009-2010)

The following graph provides an illustrative version of the above data.

Graph 1c: Better Premier, Newspoll¹⁰²

Source: Newspoll (2006-2010)

In addition to better Premier, Newspoll also asks questions to gauge the level of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with both the Premier and the Leader of the Opposition. Voters were asked: are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Mr John Brumby/Mr Ted Baillieu is doing his job as Premier/Leader of Opposition?

¹⁰¹ See Newspoll (2010) 'Victorian Election – Final', op. cit.; Newspoll (2010) 'Bimonthly reading of Victorian voting intentions and leaders' ratings', op. cit.

¹⁰² Graph 1c is derived from data produced by Newspoll's bimonthly readings of Victorian voting intentions and leaders' ratings, for the period September/October 2007 to September/October 2010, see Newspoll (2010) 'Opinion Polls', *Newspoll and The Australian*, viewed 23 February 2011, <http://www.newspoll.com.au/index.pl?action=adv_search>; Newspoll (2010) 'Victorian Election – Final', op. cit; and, Newspoll (2006) 'Victorian Final Election Poll', *Newspoll and The Australian*, viewed 23 February 2011, <http://www.newspoll.com.au/image_uploads/1121%20vic%20-%20final.pdf>.

As the table below demonstrates, the ‘uncommitted’ response remained relatively stable for Mr Brumby, however his approval ratings decreased and disapproval ratings increased as the election drew closer.

The percentage of voters satisfied with the performance of the Leader of the Opposition remained relatively stable in 2010 beginning at 41 per cent in the January/February 2010 polls, dipping to 39 per cent in the two polls from July/October 2010 but rising to 44 per cent in the final poll (23-25 November). Unlike the ‘uncommitted’ result for the Premier, the rate of those who stated that they were uncommitted in their opinion of the Leader of the Opposition decreased more rapidly in the month prior to the election, falling from 19 per cent in the September/October poll to 12 per cent in the final poll.

Table 1d: Results from Newspoll’s question regarding satisfaction/dissatisfaction with Premier and Leader of the Opposition¹⁰³

	Mr Brumby		
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncommitted
Nov-Dec 2009	51	38	11
Jan-Feb 2010	45	41	14
Mar-Apr 2010	43	45	12
May-Jun 2010	45	45	10
Jul-Aug 2010	48	41	11
Sep-Oct 2010	45	42	13
9-11 Nov 2010	42	48	10
23-25 Nov 2010	38	52	10
	Mr Baillieu		
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncommitted
Nov-Dec 2009	40	41	19
Jan-Feb 2010	41	39	20
Mar-Apr 2010	41	41	18
May-Jun 2010	43	39	18
Jul-Aug 2010	39	41	20
Sep-Oct 2010	39	42	19
9-11 Nov 2010	40	46	14
23-25 Nov 2010	44	44	12

Source: Newspoll and The Australian (2009-2010)

Overall, the main polling groups did have a high level of accuracy and were all within the sampling margin of error. The Nielsen, Newspoll and Morgan polls all gave the lead to the Coalition with results of 52 to 48, 51.1 to 48.9 and 51 to 49 respectively. Galaxy’s result was 50-50, however all the polling groups were within 1.6 per cent of the actual result.

¹⁰³ See Newspoll (2010) ‘Victorian Election – Final’, op. cit.; Newspoll (2010) ‘Bimonthly reading of Victorian voting intentions and leaders’ ratings’, op. cit.

PART B: THE RESULT

2. Outcome in the Legislative Assembly

2.1 Who Won: Summary of the Result

The 2010 election saw a change of government after more than a decade of the ALP Bracks/Brumby government. The ALP's primary vote fell by 6.8 per cent. The Coalition gained 13 seats to win a total of 45 seats out of the 88 seats in the Legislative Assembly, allowing Mr Baillieu to become Victoria's 46th premier. Labor lost 12 seats and the sole independent, Craig Ingram, lost his seat. Despite receiving 11.2 per cent of the primary vote, the Greens were unable to gain any seats in the Legislative Assembly. As such no independent or minor party candidates won election to the lower house.

Table 2a below shows the overall party results for the Legislative Assembly.

Table 2a: Overall Legislative Assembly result by party

Party	% share of first preference vote	Seats won	Swing
ALP	36.25	43	-6.8
Liberal Party	38.03	35	+3.6
The Nationals	6.75	10	+1.6
Australian Greens	11.21	0	+1.2
Others	7.77	0	+0.5
Total	100	88	-

As can be seen by Table 2a, the ALP received 36.25 per cent of the first preference votes, which was nearly 1.15 million votes. The Liberals received 38.03 per cent (1,203,654) and the Nationals received 6.75 per cent (213,492) giving the Liberal/National Coalition a total of 44.78 per cent of first preference votes (1,417,146). The Greens received 11.21 per cent (354,697). On 21 December 2010 Mr Ken Smith was elected as Speaker of the Legislative Assembly.

The Liberal Party

The Liberals gained the seats of Bentleigh, Seymour, Carrum, Mordialloc, Frankston, Mitcham, Forest Hill, South Barwon, Prahran, Burwood, Gembrook and Mount Waverley. This demonstrated a clear swing away from Labor, mainly in Melbourne's east and south-eastern suburbs. Bentleigh, Forest Hill, South Barwon, Gembrook, Mount Waverley, Prahran, Frankston and Mordialloc were all seats which were gained by Labor in 2002. Mitcham was gained by Labor in the 1997 by-election, Seymour and Carrum in 1999, and Burwood was gained by Labor at a December 1999 by-election (and was the seat held by former Liberal Premier Jeff Kennett from 1976-1999).

The following table shows the seats that were lost by Labor, and gained by the Liberal Party, and includes the swing which was required in order for Labor to have lost that

seat. It also shows the actual swing which was achieved at the election and the new majority obtained by the Liberals.

Table 2b: Seats lost by Labor at the 2010 election

Seat	Swing required by non-ALP party (%)	Swing achieved by non-ALP party (%)	Won by	New majority (%)
Bentleigh	6.3	7.07	Liberal	50.75
Burwood	3.7	9.60	Liberal	55.86
Carrum	6.7	8.75	Liberal	52.04
Forest Hill	0.8	3.94	Liberal	53.17
Frankston	3.2	5.29	Liberal	52.07
Gembrook	0.7	7.46	Liberal	56.75
Mitcham	2.0	4.74	Liberal	52.77
Mordialloc	3.5	5.61	Liberal	52.07
Mount Waverley	0.3	7.76	Liberal	57.45
Prahran	3.6	7.83	Liberal	54.28
Seymour	6.7	7.89	Liberal	51.23
South Barwon	2.3	6.22	Liberal	53.94

Many seats that were retained by Labor recorded swings of 10 per cent or more to the Liberals, such as Broadmeadows (10.9 per cent), Kilsyth (10 per cent), Williamstown (12.4 per cent), Thomastown (10.9 per cent) and Evelyn (10.7 per cent).

In seats which were retained by the Liberals, the Liberal first preference vote was particularly strong in the following districts: Mr Baillieu's district of Hawthorn (60.89 per cent), Doncaster (62.73 per cent), Kew (60.09 per cent), Malvern (65.29 per cent), Box Hill (58.31 per cent), Brighton (62.51 per cent), Bulleen (59.52 per cent), Caulfield (57.75 per cent), Ferntree Gully (55.54 per cent), Morningson (61.44 per cent), Narracan (56.67 per cent), Nepean (59.74 per cent), Polwarth (55.31 per cent), Sandringham (60.90 per cent), Bass (56.46 per cent), Benambra (55.86 per cent), Evelyn (56.77 per cent) and Warrandyte (58.53 per cent).

The Nationals

The Nationals also saw a rise in first preference votes in the Legislative Assembly from 4.30 per cent in 2002 to 5.17 per cent in 2006 to 6.75 per cent in 2010. The Nationals polled particularly well in the following districts: Swan Hill with 75.04 per cent of first preference votes, Peter Ryan's district of Gippsland South with 63.82 per cent, Benalla with 63.28 per cent, Lowan with 67.42 per cent, Morwell with 56.11 per cent, Murray Valley with 53.83 per cent and Rodney with 62.71 per cent. Shepparton was also retained with 52.93 per cent of first preference votes. Unlike the 2006 election, no Liberal candidates stood for election in Mildura, Morwell and Shepparton owing to the Coalition agreement that there would be no 'three cornered contests' in seats currently held by either Coalition parties.

The Nationals retained all of their seats, including the two they had gained at the 2006 election: Morwell (gained from Labor) and Mildura (gained from independent Russell Savage). The Nationals also gained Gippsland East from independent Craig Ingram with a massive swing of over 20.0 per cent, which was the largest swing in Victoria.

The Coalition agreement regarding three cornered contests meant that a total of 94 Liberal and National candidates sought election in 88 electorates (79 Liberal candidates and 15 National candidates). The Nationals did not contest any Liberal held electorates but there were three cornered contests with both Liberal and National candidates in the independent held district of Gippsland East and in the Labor-held districts of Bendigo East, Bendigo West, Gembrook, Ripon and Seymour.¹⁰⁴ The Nationals achieved significant swings in their seats, enhancing their status as the party representing 'country' Victorians.

The Labor Party

Labor lost the majority of its seats in the eastern and south-eastern suburbs, including in the areas along the Frankston train line, such as Prahran, Mordialloc, Carrum and Frankston.¹⁰⁵ Labor received a high percentage of first preference votes in Mr Brumby's electorate of Broadmeadows (62.29 per cent), Thomastown (61.29 per cent), Mill Park (60.89 per cent), Kororoit (55.82 per cent), Lyndhurst (55.47 per cent), Yuroke (55.22 per cent), Clayton (54.34 per cent) and Pascoe Vale (53.73 per cent). Nonetheless, each of these districts saw a significant drop in first preference votes, such as Thomastown which dropped 12.73 per cent and Lyndhurst which dropped 9.82 per cent since the 2006 election.

In several electorates, the successful candidates did not receive the highest number of first preference votes, but following the allocation of preferences, gained the greater percentage and were able to be elected. Such electorates included Albert Park, Ballarat East, Ballarat West, Bellarine, Eltham, Ivanhoe, Essendon, Geelong, Macedon and Monbulk. In Eltham, Labor incumbent Steve Herbert retained his seat with 50.82 per cent of the vote after the distribution of mainly Greens preferences. Mr Herbert gained 38.57 per cent of first preference votes, while the Liberal candidate gained 44.87 per cent of first preference votes.

The seat of Ivanhoe, which was vacated prior to the election by Craig Langdon,¹⁰⁶ was retained by Labor with 51.67 per cent of the vote after the distribution of preferences. Labor received 35.36 per cent of first preference votes against the Liberal candidate's 41.98 per cent of first preference votes. In the seat of Essendon, Justin Madden was elected with 52.42 per cent of the vote after the distribution of preferences. Mr Madden obtained 36.50 per cent of first preference votes in contrast to the Liberal candidate's 36.83 per cent. The Labor incumbent for Geelong, Mr Trezise, won the seat with 52.14 per cent after the distribution of preferences, having secured 41.17 per cent of first preferences, while the Liberal candidate achieved 43.01 per cent of first preference votes.

¹⁰⁴ See A. Green (2010) 'Summary of Nominations for the 2010 Victorian Election', ABC Elections, 13 November 2010, viewed 23 February 2011, <<http://blogs.abc.net.au/antonygreen/2010/11/summary-of-nominations-for-the-2010-victorian-election.html>>.

¹⁰⁵ A. Carey (2010) 'Time for change, says Frankston commuters', *The Age*, 30 November 2010, viewed 24 March 2011, <<http://www.theage.com.au/victoria/state-election-2010/time-for-change-say-frankston-line-commuters-20101129-18dxo.html>>.

¹⁰⁶ Mr Langdon vacated the seat of Ivanhoe in late August 2010 after losing Labor's endorsement, which caused speculation over whether there would be a by-election prior to the election. See ABC News (2010) 'Speaker decides against Ivanhoe by-election', *ABC News*, 14 September 2010, viewed 24 March 2011, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2010/09/14/3011460.htm>>.

The seat of Seymour, which was held by Labor since 1999, includes the areas of Kinglake and Marysville which were communities that were badly affected by the Black Saturday fires. Both the north-south pipeline and tensions around the reconstruction of fire devastated communities played a role in the election campaign for the seat of Seymour.¹⁰⁷ Labor MP Ben Hardman won the seat in 1999 with a narrow margin, was re-elected in 2002 with a margin of 9.5 per cent, but lost in 2010 with a swing of 7.9 per cent (6.7 per cent was needed for the seat to change hands). Though Mr Hardman received 35.14 per cent of the primary count and the successful Liberal candidate received 35.63 per cent of the primary count, following preferences Ms McLeish was elected with 51.23 per cent of the vote, giving the Liberals a margin of 1.23 per cent.

Districts that were particularly close following the distribution of preferences included Labor losses, Bentleigh and Frankston, and Labor wins, Cranbourne, Eltham, Macedon and Monbulk. In Bentleigh district Liberal candidate Elizabeth Miller succeeded incumbent Labor MP Rob Hudson with 50.75 per cent of the vote following preference distribution. No Labor seats changed hands in the north metropolitan and west metropolitan areas of Melbourne. Labor also retained its provincial cities seats, with the exception of South Barwon, which was lost to the Liberal Party.

2.2 How the Minor Parties Fared

The Greens

The Greens contested every lower house seat and polled 11.21 per cent of the lower house primary vote, which was an increase of 1.17 per cent on 2006. As noted above, this was less than the figure that opinion polling groups, such as Newspoll, had predicted would be obtained by the Greens throughout their 2010 polling. As discussed, the outcome of the federal election had raised hopes for the Greens in Victoria, particularly in relation to their chances of gaining up to four inner city seats from Labor. However, the Liberal Party's declaration on preferences on 15 November 2010 diminished the minor party's chances of winning any of the seats of Melbourne, Northcote, Brunswick or Richmond, and thus reduced the prospect of a hung Parliament and the Greens having the balance of power in Victoria.¹⁰⁸

As was predicted, the Greens polled well in inner-city areas, especially Melbourne (31.92 per cent), Northcote (30.85 per cent), Brunswick (30.24 per cent) and Richmond (28.44 per cent). Other Melbourne suburbs where the Greens polled well were Preston (21.35 per cent), Footscray (20.78 per cent), Prahran (19.79 per cent), Albert Park (18.14 per cent), Hawthorn (17.03 per cent), Ivanhoe (18.18 per cent), Williamstown (20.75 per cent) and Derrimut (16.88 per cent).

¹⁰⁷ See ABC News (2010) 'Victoria Votes 2010: Seymour', 8 December 2010, viewed 22 February 2011, <<http://www.abc.net.au/elections/vic/2010/guide/seym.htm>>. See also M. Schulz (2010) 'Victorian election 2010 results show Labor could lose 13 seats', *Sunday Herald Sun*, 28 November 2010, viewed 24 March 2011, <<http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/special-reports/victorian-election-2010-results-show-labor-could-lose-13-seats/story-fn5kmqy2-1225962204943>>. P. Akerman (2010) 'Labor's high-profile losers', *The Australian*, 29 November 2010, viewed 24 March 2011, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/victorian-election-2010/labors-high-profile-losers/story-fn6wlyrv-1225962386076>>.

¹⁰⁸ P. Austin & D. Rood (2010) 'Libs' preference bombshell', op. cit.

The Green vote was lower in rural areas such as Mildura (1.73 per cent), Rodney (4.12 per cent), Swan Hill (4.51 per cent), Murray Valley (4.69 per cent), Morwell (4.81 per cent), Shepparton (4.90 per cent), Gippsland East (5.25 per cent), Lowan (5.59 per cent), Ripon (6.19 per cent) and Bendigo East (6.26 per cent).

Family First

Family First had 69 candidates in the 2010 election, down from 88 candidates in 2006. The 69 candidates received 72,354 first preference votes which was 2.29 per cent of total votes, down from 4.29 per cent in 2006, representing a swing against Family First of 2.0 per cent.

In the 2006 election, Family First polled more than six per cent of the vote in 16 districts and even won 13.01 per cent of the primary vote in the seat of Kororoit, where it had campaigned strongly against moves to decriminalise abortion (which was decriminalised in October 2008). However, in 2010 not one district received more than six per cent of the vote. The districts which did receive the highest results in the poll for Family First were largely rural and outer suburban areas, such as: Derrimut (5.84 per cent), Rodney (5.72 per cent), Mill Park (5.29 per cent), Tarneit (5.09 per cent), Thomastown (5.03 per cent), Lyndhurst (4.88 per cent), Lowan (4.85 per cent), Dandenong (4.52 per cent), Keilor (5.71 per cent), Lara (6.00 per cent) and Swan Hill (4.14 per cent).

Independents

No independent or minor party candidate won a seat in the Legislative Assembly. Independent Craig Ingram, who was elected in September 1999, lost the seat of Gippsland East which was gained by the Nationals candidate Tim Bull with a swing of over 20 per cent after a strong campaign by the Nationals to gain back the seat which 'used to be a Nationals stronghold'.¹⁰⁹ Craig Ingram was one of the three independents who helped Steve Bracks form a minority government in 1999. Russell Savage and Susan Davies, the other two independents, lost their seats in 2006 and 2002 respectively.

The 1992 election was the last election at which no independent or minor party candidate gained a seat in the Legislative Assembly. Mr Ingram cited the federal election aftermath with the federal independents' decision to support a minority Labor government as the main contributor to damaging his re-election prospects and that some of the votes against him were 'a vote against Labor'.¹¹⁰

Nonetheless, independent candidates, particularly in rural areas, managed to receive an impressive percentage of first preference votes. For example, independent candidates in Mildura performed particularly well with two well known local independents each receiving more than 14 per cent of first preference voting, one of whom received more than the Labor candidate.

¹⁰⁹ D. Gray (2010) 'Bully' brings curtain down on Ingram era', *The Age*, 29 November 2010, viewed 24 March 2011, <<http://www.theage.com.au/victoria/state-election-2010/bully-brings-curtain-down-on-ingram-era-20101128-18ceg.html>>. See also P. Brent (2010) 'The fate of independents?', *The Australian*, 28 November 2010, viewed 24 March 2011, <http://blogs.theaustralian.news.com.au/mumble/index.php/theaustralian/comments/the_independents_fate/>.

¹¹⁰ D. Gray (2010) op. cit.

The Other Minor Parties

The Australian Sex Party had contested the Victorian election for the first time in this election and had 17 candidates and they received 17,252 primary votes which comprised 0.55 per cent of the total primary votes. The Sex Party received their highest votes in the following areas: Brunswick (3.89 per cent), Albert Park (3.53 per cent), Prahran (3.18 per cent), Northcote (3.10 per cent), Bayswater (3.77 per cent), Ferntree Gully (3.76 per cent) and Kilsyth (3.13 per cent).

Country Alliance, which was founded in 2004, had 29 candidates standing for the Assembly, despite not having any candidates contest lower house seats in 2006. In Shepparton, the Country Alliance received 20.52 per cent of the primary vote and in Rodney they received 11.30 per cent. Country Alliance also received 7.39 per cent in Gippsland South, 7.82 per cent in Murray Valley and 4.29 per cent in Narracan.

2.3 Primary Vote Performance of the Parties

The following table shows the primary vote performance of the parties, (and independent candidates collectively), by number and percentage share, and also includes the number of candidates who contested the election for each party and the swing achieved by each party.

Table 2c: Primary Vote Performance of Parties – Legislative Assembly

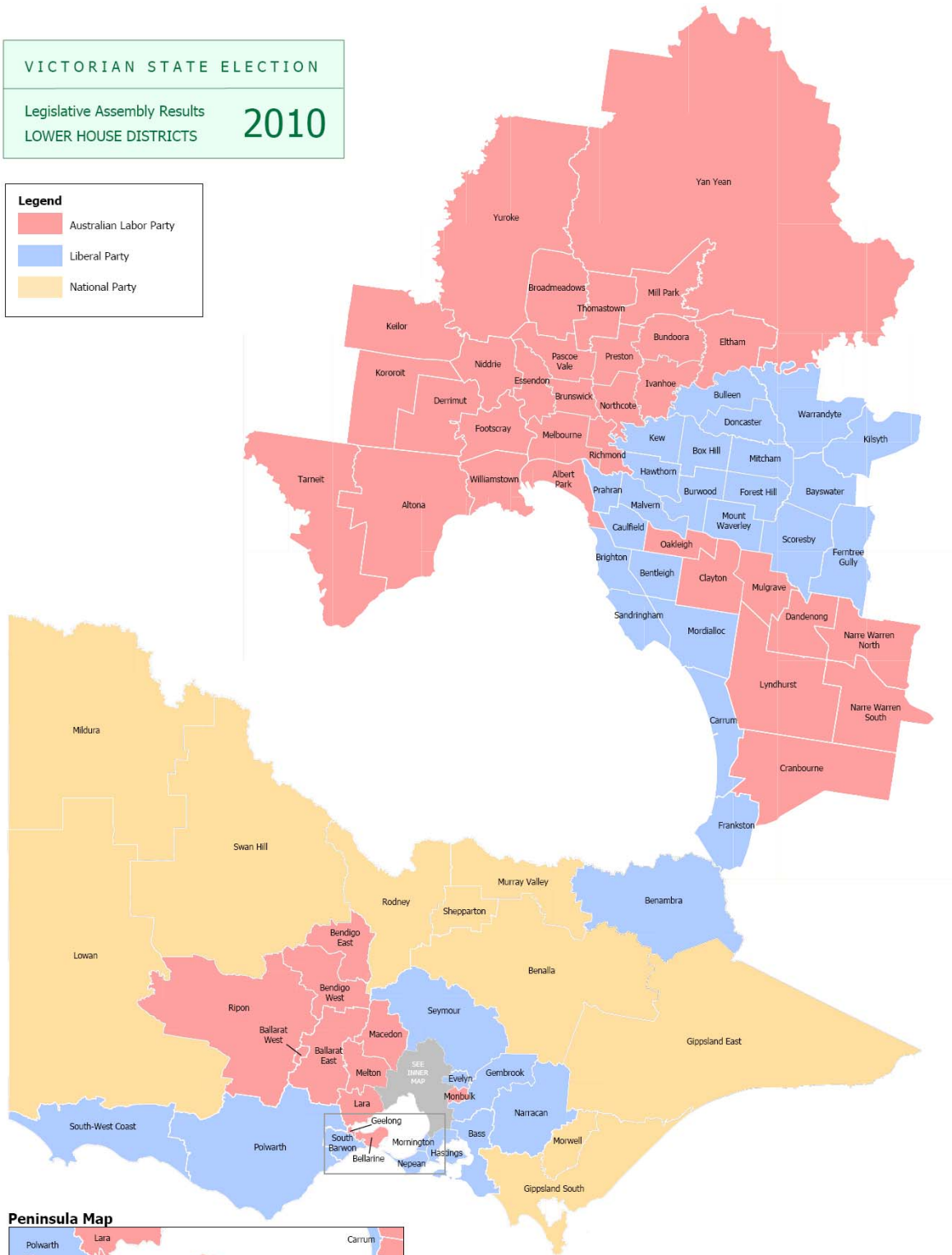
Party	Candidates	Swing	Primary Votes	%
Liberal	79	+3.6	1,203,654	38.03
Labor	88	-6.8	1,147,348	36.25
Greens	88	+1.2	354,697	11.21
The Nationals	15	+1.6	213,492	6.75
Independent candidates	75	+0.3	82,395	2.60
Family First	69	-2.0	72,354	2.29
Country Alliance	29	+1.4	42,938	1.36
Democratic Labor Party	36	+0.9	28,176	0.89
Australian Sex Party	17	+0.5	17,252	0.55
Socialist Alliance	4	0.0	1,787	0.06
Christian Party	2	0.0	636	0.02

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

VICTORIAN STATE ELECTION
Legislative Assembly Results
LOWER HOUSE DISTRICTS 2010

Legend

- Australian Labor Party
- Liberal Party
- National Party



Map prepared by the Victorian Electoral Commission
Vicmap spatial data provided by Department of Sustainability and Environment
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3. Outcome in the Legislative Council

3.1 Summary of the Result

The 2010 election was the second election to be conducted under the changes to the Legislative Council and changes to the voting system which were introduced in 2003.¹¹¹ A total of 3,328,861 votes were cast for the Legislative Council's eight regions, which constituted 92.93 per cent of total voters enrolled. The total of informal votes was 112,475, which was 3.38 per cent of the total votes counted and was a 0.90 per cent decrease from the 2006 election.

The highest number of formal votes (425,594) was cast in Western Victoria region, which had the highest quota of 70,933 votes for election to that region. The region with the lowest number of formal votes was Southern Metropolitan region (381,369), which also had the lowest quota with 63,562 votes required for election to that region.

The 2006 election resulted in five parties being represented in the Council: the ALP, the Liberals, the Greens, the Nationals and the DLP. With the Liberals and Nationals forming a coalition and the DLP Member unable to retain his seat, the Council in the 57th Parliament is composed of the following parties: the ALP, the Liberals, the Nationals and the Greens. Table 3a below shows the composition of the Council by region with the ALP losing three Members (from 19 to 16), the Liberals gaining three Members (from 15 to 18), the Nationals gaining one Member (from two to three), the Greens retaining their three Members and the DLP losing its only elected Member. The make up of the Council in the 57th Parliament is different to the previous Parliament with the new government having control of the chamber.

Table 3a: Legislative Council composition by party and region

Region	ALP	Liberal	Nationals	Greens
Eastern Metropolitan	2	3	-	-
Eastern Victoria	2	2	1	-
Northern Metropolitan	2	2	-	1
Northern Victoria	2	2	1	-
South Eastern Metropolitan	3	2	-	-
Southern Metropolitan	1	3	-	1
Western Metropolitan	2	2	-	1
Western Victoria	2	2	1	-
Total	16	21 (18 Lib + 3 NP)		3

¹¹¹ Readers interested in the changes to the voting system in the Council and the proportional representation system may refer to C. Macdonald, G. Gardiner & B. Costar (2007) 'The 2006 Victorian State Election', *Research Paper*, No. 1, Parliamentary Library, Melbourne, Parliament of Victoria; G. Gardiner (2006) 'Election 2006: The Proportional Representation Counting System for the Legislative Council', *D-Brief*, No. 5, Parliamentary Library, Melbourne, Parliament of Victoria.

3.2 How the Parties Fared

The Liberal Party

The Liberals received the highest number of first preferences across Victoria with 43.04 per cent of first preference votes, translating into the election of 18 members in the upper house and at least two members for each region, with a third member in both Eastern Metropolitan and Southern Metropolitan. The Liberal Party gained three seats at the expense of the ALP: one in the Northern Metropolitan region, one in Southern Metropolitan region and one in the Western Metropolitan region. The Liberals have 45 per cent of the Council's membership, but as a Coalition, the Liberal/Nationals have a combined representation of 52.5 per cent of the Council's membership, that is, 21 Members out of a total of 40. The results for the Liberals for the Legislative Council regions are as follows:

- In the Eastern Metropolitan region, Richard Dalla-Riva was first elected, Bruce Atkinson was third elected and Jan Kronberg was fourth elected.
- In the Eastern Victoria region, Philip Davis was first elected and Edward O'Donohue was fourth elected.
- In the Northern Metropolitan region, Matthew Guy was second elected and Craig Ondarchie was fifth elected.
- In the Northern Victoria region, Wendy Lovell was first elected and Donna Petrovich was fifth elected.
- In the South Eastern Metropolitan region, Gordon Rich-Phillips was second elected and Inga Peulich was fourth elected.
- In the Southern Metropolitan region, David Davis was first elected, Andrea Coote was third elected and Georgie Crozier was fourth elected.
- In the Western Metropolitan region, Bernie Finn was second elected and Andrew Elsbury was fourth elected.
- In the Western Victoria region, David Koch was first elected and Simon Ramsay was third elected.

As Table 3b shows, the highest percentage of Liberal first preferences were cast in Eastern Metropolitan region (51.68 per cent) and Southern Metropolitan (51.57 per cent). Eastern Victoria region received 52.83 per cent as a joint ticket. The Liberal's lowest percentage of first preference votes came from the Northern Metropolitan region (27.14 per cent) and Western Metropolitan region (29.62 per cent).

Table 3b: First preference vote for each Legislative Council region

Region	ALP	Liberal	Nationals	Greens
Eastern Metropolitan	30.46	51.68	-	11.46
Eastern Victoria	28.37	52.83*		10.43
Northern Metropolitan	41.94	27.14	-	19.20
Northern Victoria	27.13	48.99*		8.01
South Eastern Metropolitan	43.41	40.94	-	8.75
Southern Metropolitan	25.28	51.57	-	16.33
Western Metropolitan	46.86	29.62	-	12.00
Western Victoria	38.25	43.34*		10.23

*Liberal/National first preferences have been combined since the Coalition ran a group ticket for these regions.

On 21 December 2010 Mr Bruce Atkinson was elected as President of the Legislative Council.

The Nationals

As mentioned earlier, in February 2008, Mr Baillieu and Mr Ryan announced that the Liberal Party and the Nationals had agreed to form a Coalition in Victoria. The agreement improved the prospects of both the Liberals and the Nationals increasing their representation in both houses. It stated that there would be no 'three-cornered contests' in seats currently held by the respective parties and that the Coalition 'will run joint Legislative Council tickets across the Eastern, Northern and Western Victoria regions'.¹¹² However, the joint ticket obscured the level of first preference support for the Nationals. With the bulk of voters voting above the line, the Nationals first preferences would be incorporated into the Liberal vote as a vote for the Coalition. Hence, the VEC shows the Nationals state-wide result as just 0.11 per cent of first preference votes (3,580 votes).¹¹³ It is therefore difficult to compare the Nationals result at the 2010 election for the Council with earlier elections, in terms of first preference voting, since their percentage of first preferences votes does not accurately reflect their performance.

The Nationals increased their number of Members in the Council from two to three by gaining one seat from the DLP in the Western Victoria region. In the Eastern Victoria region, Peter Hall was third elected. In the Northern Victoria region, Damian Drum was third elected. In the Western Victoria region, David O'Brien was fifth elected. The Nationals did not stand candidates in the metropolitan regions.

The Labor Party

The Labor Party held 19 seats in the 56th Parliament but lost three seats at the 2010 election, one in the Northern Metropolitan region, one in the Western Metropolitan region and one in the Southern Metropolitan region. In the last Parliament, the ALP had at least two Members for each region and three in Northern Metropolitan, Western Metropolitan and South Eastern Metropolitan. Following the 2010 election, the ALP has three in the South Eastern Metropolitan, one in the Southern Metropolitan and two in each of the other regions. The ALP received 35.36 per cent of first preference votes state-wide. The ALP's first preference share dropped by over six per cent compared with the 2006 result (from 41.45 to 35.36 per cent), which was a drop of over 12 per cent from the 2002 result. The ALP had 16 Members elected, three less than the last Parliament, giving the ALP 40 per cent of the Council's membership.

Labor's strongest performances were in Western Metropolitan region (46.86 per cent), South Eastern Metropolitan (43.41 per cent) and Northern Metropolitan (41.94 per cent). Support for Labor was especially low in Southern Metropolitan region (25.28

¹¹² The Nationals (2008) *Liberal Party and The Nationals agree to form Coalition in Victoria*, Media Release, 13 February.

¹¹³ This figure represents the total of below the line first preference votes. See Victorian Electoral Commission (2010) 'How to vote cards and group voting tickets', VEC, viewed 4 March 2011, <<http://www.vec.vic.gov.au/stand/stand-howtovotecards.html>>.

per cent) and low in rural Victoria with the ALP gaining 27.13 per cent in Northern Victoria and 28.37 per cent in Eastern Victoria. The results for the ALP for the Legislative Council regions are as follows:

- In the Eastern Metropolitan region, Shaun Leane was second elected and Brian Tee was fifth elected.
- In the Eastern Victoria region, Matt Viney was second elected and Johan Scheffer was fifth elected.
- In the Northern Metropolitan region, Jenny Mikakos was first elected and Nazih Elasmara was fourth elected.
- In the Northern Victoria region, Candy Broad was second elected and Kaye Darveniza was fourth elected.
- In the South Eastern Metropolitan region, Gavin Jennings was first elected, Adam Somyurek was third elected and Lee Tarlamis was fifth elected.
- In the Southern Metropolitan region, John Lenders was second elected.
- In the Western Metropolitan region, Martin Pakula was first elected and Khalil Eideh was third elected.
- In the Western Victoria region, Jaala Pulford was second elected and Gayle Tierney was fourth elected.

The Greens

The Greens vote in the Legislative Council was higher than the Greens vote in the Legislative Assembly, with the Greens receiving 12.01 per cent of first preference votes and retaining three Members in three regions: Northern Metropolitan, Western Metropolitan and Southern Metropolitan. The Greens vote was highest in the Northern Metropolitan region (19.20 per cent) which saw Greg Barber elected as third representative for that region. In Southern Metropolitan region the Green vote was 16.33 per cent, which saw Sue Pennicuik elected as fifth representative for that region. The Greens were the third most popular party and their 12.01 per cent of first preference votes numbered 386,172. They were able to retain all three seats that they had won at the 2006 election, despite some doubts during the initial counting that Colleen Hartland would retain her seat in the Western Metropolitan region. The percentage of votes achieved at the 2010 election was higher than at the 2006 election which saw the Greens gaining 10.58 per cent of first preference votes in the Council. However, the 12.01 per cent achieved by the Greens in the Council in 2010 was below that which was predicted in many opinion polls, which had suggested they may receive around 15 per cent of first preference votes.

The Greens received their highest percentage of combined first preference votes for all candidates in the Northern Metropolitan region with the Greens vote totalling 19.20 per cent of first preference votes. Greens candidate Greg Barber received 18.51 per cent (72,922 votes) enabling him to be third elected to that region solely on first preference votes. In the Southern Metropolitan region, the Greens received a combined total of 16.33 per cent of first preference votes for all candidates. Greens candidate Sue Pennicuik did not receive enough first preference votes to make the quota required to gain election to that region, but received a flow on from other Greens candidates and from the Australian Sex Party, which allowed Ms Pennicuik to be fifth elected for that region. Flow on preferences also enabled Colleen Hartland to reach the quota and be fifth elected for the Western Metropolitan region despite Ms Hartland being 21,165 votes short of the quota for that region (70,452). In that region,

all Greens candidates received a combined total of 12 per cent of first preference votes with Ms Hartland receiving 11.66 per cent of first preferences. In December 2010 Greg Barber was made leader of the Victorian Greens. Prior to this, the Greens did not elect a leader. The Greens have 7.5 per cent of the Council's membership.

The DLP

In the 2006 election the DLP re-appeared in Victorian state politics after an absence of almost 50 years; the DLP controversially won a seat on just 2.66 per cent of the first preference vote.¹¹⁴ However, in the 2010 election, with 2.14 per cent of first preference votes, the DLP incumbent Peter Kavanagh was unable to retain the seat he had gained as the fifth elected in Western Victoria region in 2006.

The Other Parties

Other parties that contested the election included Family First (which received 2.86 per cent of first preference votes, down from 3.85 per cent at the 2006 election), the Australian Sex Party (1.91 per cent), the Country Alliance (1.65 per cent) and the Christian Party (0.38 per cent). As at the 2006 election, Family First gained the largest percentage of first preference votes (2.86 per cent) out of the other parties, but did not receive enough votes from flow on preferences to obtain a place.

Table 3c below shows the percentage of first preference votes achieved by each party and how this translates to the number of successful candidates and the proportion of seats obtained in the Council. **NB.** Readers should note that the bulk of the Nationals' first preference vote is subsumed by Liberal first preferences, due to the Coalition joint ticket.

Table 3c: 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 (%)
Liberal	43.04	18	45.0
ALP	35.36	16	40.0
Greens	12.01	3	7.5
The Nationals	0.11	3	7.5
Christian Party	0.38	0	0
Country Alliance	1.65	0	0
DLP	2.33	0	0
Sex Party	1.91	0	0
Family First	2.86	0	0
Others	0.33	0	0
Total	100	40	100

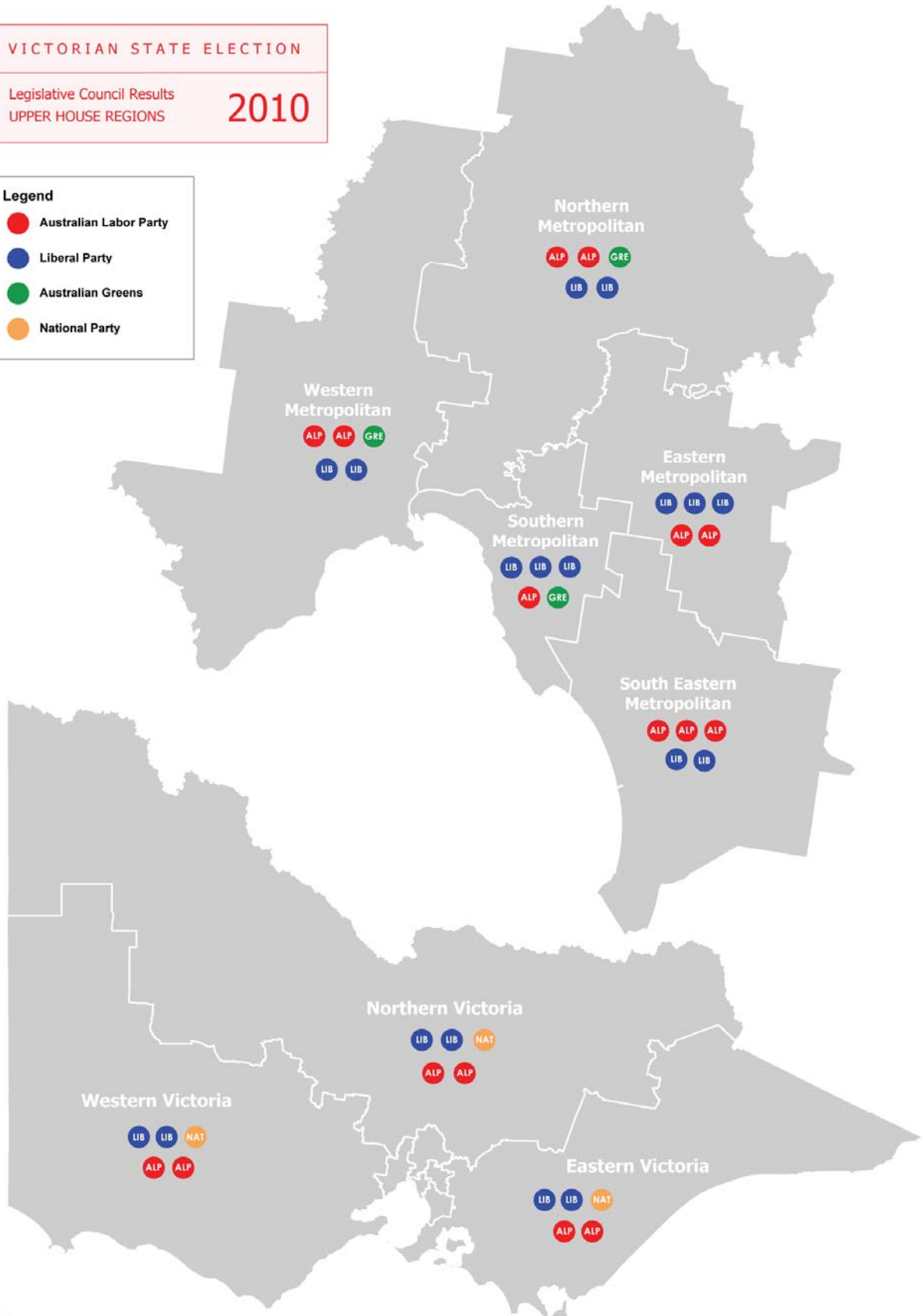
The map on the following page shows the Legislative Council regions and how they are represented in the 57th Parliament, as produced by the Victorian Electoral Commission.

¹¹⁴ The DLP candidate benefited from ALP preferences, see C. Macdonald, G. Gardiner & B. Costar (2007) *op. cit.*; G. Gardiner (2006) *op. cit.*


VICTORIAN STATE ELECTION
Legislative Council Results
UPPER HOUSE REGIONS
2010

Legend

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



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

4.1 Women MPs

The 2010 election led to an increase in the number of women MPs in the Victorian Parliament. In the 57th Parliament there are 29 women in the Legislative Assembly and 13 in the Legislative Council, a total of 42 women MPs, which is an increase of four from the 56th Parliament and represents just under one third of the total of MPs. Of the 28 new MPs, 11 are women, which represents 39 per cent of new MPs overall.

There are four women in the 22 member Baillieu ministry: Louise Asher (Deputy Leader of the Liberal Party, Minister for Innovation, Services and Small Business, and for Tourism and Major Events), Wendy Lovell (Housing, and Children and Early Childhood Development), Jeanette Powell (Local Government, Aboriginal Affairs) and Mary Wooldridge (Mental Health, Women's Affairs, and Community Services).

There are eight women in the 23 member ALP Shadow Ministry: Jacinta Allan (Manager of Opposition Business, Regional and Rural Development, Bushfire Response, and Roads), Candy Broad (Shadow Cabinet Secretary), Lily D'Ambrosio (Consumer Protection, Energy, Cost of Living, Suburbs), Danielle Green (Emergency Services, Disability Services, Health Promotion, Volunteers), Jill Hennessy (Corrections, Crime Prevention, Anti Corruption Commission, Women), Jenny Mikakos (Seniors and Ageing, Assisting the Leader on Children and Young Adults, and Youth Justice), Lisa Neville (Environment and Climate Change, and the Arts) and Fiona Richardson (Public Transport).

As in the 56th Parliament, two of the three Greens Members are women; Sue Pennicuik and Colleen Hartland.

4.2 New and Departing MPs

As mentioned above, the 57th Parliament saw 28 new MPs enter Parliament with 22 in the Assembly and six in the Council. This was a smaller turnover than the 2006 election, which saw 41 members not returning and 37 new MPs, which represented 29 per cent of the total membership of the Parliament.¹¹⁵ The new MPs in 2010 constitute just less than 22 per cent of the total membership of the Parliament.

Ten MPs retired, 13 Members were not returned to the seats they held in the Assembly and six Members were not returned to the Council, including Bob Smith, the President of the Council in the 56th Parliament, who switched from Southern Metropolitan region to contest Western Metropolitan region. Justin Madden, who was an MLC for the Western Metropolitan region, contested the Legislative Assembly seat of Essendon in the 2010 election, which had been held by retiring MP Judy Maddigan.

The ten Members who retired at the 2010 election represented a smaller number than at the 2006 election when 26 Members retired.

¹¹⁵ As a result of the change to the number of Members in the Legislative Council from 44 to 40.

The ten Members who retired were:

- Peter Batchelor (Thomastown (ALP), elected at a March 1990 by-election)¹¹⁶
- Bob Cameron (Bendigo West (ALP), elected in 1996)¹¹⁷
- Carlo Carli (Brunswick (ALP), elected at a May 1994 by-election for Coburg)¹¹⁸
- Ken Jasper (Murray Valley (Nat), elected in 1976)¹¹⁹
- Craig Langdon (Ivanhoe (ALP), elected in 1996)
- Judy Maddigan (Essendon (ALP), elected in 1996)¹²⁰
- Karen Overington (Ballarat West (ALP), elected in 1999)
- George Seitz (Keilor (ALP), elected at a July 1982 by-election)¹²¹
- Helen Shardey (Caulfield (Lib), elected in 1996), and
- John Vogels (Western Victoria region (Lib), elected in 1999)¹²²

On 21 December 2010, the first sitting day of the 57th Parliament, former Premier Mr Brumby announced his resignation. The Broadmeadows district by-election was held on 19 February 2011 and Mr Frank McGuire was elected with 53.43 per cent of first preference votes. Voter turnout was relatively low at 78.45 per cent of enrolled voters and informal votes constituted 9.50 per cent of the total votes registered.¹²³ Mr McGuire becomes the 29th new Member of the 57th Parliament.

4.3 Voter Turnout

On 27 November 2010, 3,329,865 Victorians voted in the 88 Legislative Assembly districts, which represented a participation rate of 92.96 per cent of enrolled voters. There were 3,582,232 voters enrolled as at the close of the roll, therefore 7.04 per cent of enrolled voters did not vote either on election day or in pre-polling. In the Legislative Council there were 3,328,861 votes counted, which represented a participation rate of 92.93 per cent, slightly below the rate of the Assembly. There were early fears that heavy rainfall on the day of the election would keep voters from the polling booths, however the election turnout was a fraction higher than in 2006. In addition, a record number of voters voted prior to election day.¹²⁴

Table 4a below shows recent voter turnout rates at both state and federal elections held in Victoria. As the table illustrates, turnout increased by 0.26 per cent compared

¹¹⁶ Mr Batchelor was, throughout the Bracks/Brumby period of government, a senior Minister in a range of portfolios, including Transport, and Energy and Resources, a member of Cabinet, and Manager of government business in the Assembly.

¹¹⁷ Mr Cameron held a number of portfolios, including that of Minister for Police and Minister for Corrections.

¹¹⁸ Mr Carli was first elected at a 1994 by-election for the seat of Coburg, which was abolished in the 2002 election, after which Mr Carli held the seat of Brunswick.

¹¹⁹ Mr Jasper was 'father of the house' in the 56th Parliament, and served as an MLA for 34 years.

¹²⁰ Ms Maddigan was the Speaker for the Legislative Assembly for the 55th Parliament.

¹²¹ Mr Seitz was first elected MLA for Deer Park, and switched to Keilor in 1985.

¹²² Mr Vogels was first elected to the seat of Warrnambool in the Legislative Assembly in 1999. At the 2002 election he stood for the Western Province in the Legislative Council and represented that region until the 2006 election, after which he represented the Western Victoria region.

¹²³ R. Willingham & R. Millar (2011) 'Date set for byelection in Broadmeadows', *The Age*, 20 January 2010, viewed 24 March 2011, <<http://www.theage.com.au/victoria/date-set-for-byelection-in-broadmeadows-20110119-19wog.html>>.

¹²⁴ AAP (2010) 'Official fears rain's affect on voter turnout', *The Age*, 28 November 2010, viewed 24 March 2011, <<http://www.theage.com.au/victoria/official-fears-rains-affect-on-voter-turnout-20101127-18bc9.html>>.

to 2006. The table also shows that voter participation rates have remained relatively stable since 1999 with fluctuations of just 0.5 per cent.

Table 4a: Voter turnout at Federal and State elections in Victoria, 1996-2010

State Election	Turnout (%)	Federal Election (Vic)	Turnout (%)	Percentage point difference in voter turnout: State v Fed
2010	92.96	2010	93.5	-0.54
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

The reported number of postal votes received by 6.00pm on Friday 26 November was 218,723. The VEC noted that interstate and overseas postal votes, which are postmarked the day of the election or earlier, can arrive up to nine days after the election. Early voting at voting centres constituted a further 549,785, giving a total of 768,508 votes, which were not cast on polling day. This figure was more than double the number of early votes lodged in 2006, and represents a noteworthy shift in voter behaviour.¹²⁵ Furthermore, since the 2010 federal election 20,000 more Victorians were on the electoral roll.¹²⁶

While the close of rolls for the Victorian election occurred at 8.00pm on 9 November, recent legislative changes which were made to the *Electoral Act 2002* via the *Electoral Amendment (Electoral Participation) Act 2010*, allowed voters to enrol and vote on the spot at any early voting centre or election day voting centre.¹²⁷ Such votes are provisional votes and are included in the count once the identification details are checked and verified with the relevant agency.

By-elections

Prior to the 2010 state election, there had been four by-elections since the 2006 state election: Williamstown district (15 September 2007), Albert Park district (15 September 2007), Kororoit district (28 June 2008) and Altona district (13 February 2010). Voter participation in by-elections was low, with Albert Park recording a participation rate of 70.67 per cent, the lowest by-election participation rate in 30 years.¹²⁸ The participation rate for Albert Park was still below the average in the 2010 election, at 87.72 per cent. Voter turnout in the Williamstown by-election was also low at 84.93 per cent. The Altona by-election had a voter turnout rate of 86.02 per cent, down from 93.69 per cent in the 2006 state election and 92.92 per cent in the

¹²⁵ Victorian Electoral Commission (2010) *Early Voting Record Set*, Media Release, 26 November.

¹²⁶ Victorian Electoral Commission (2010) *Victorian State Election – Facts and Figures*, Media Release, 26 November.

¹²⁷ Voters who enrol and vote on the spot can do so if they have a driver licence or an electricity bill or rates notice that has their current address on it to declare that they are eligible. See Victorian Electoral Commission (2010) *Victorians Can Still Enrol for State Election*, Media Release, 24 November; C. Ross (2010) 'Electoral Amendment (Electoral Participation) Bill 2010', *Research Brief*, No. 11, Parliamentary Library, Melbourne, Parliament of Victoria.

¹²⁸ Victorian Electoral Commission (2007) *Report on the Albert Park District and Williamstown District by-elections held on 15 September 2007*, Melbourne, Victorian Electoral Commission, December, p. 6.

2010 state election.¹²⁹ In the Kororoit by-election, the participation rate was at 83.20 per cent.¹³⁰

Informal Voting

The rate of informal voting was 4.96 per cent for the Assembly and 3.38 per cent for the Council. Informal voting refers to any ballot paper which is not completed in accordance with the parameters set by the *Electoral Act 2002* (Vic), such as if a ballot paper has not been initialled by an election official or if the ballot paper has no vote marked on it, if the elector's vote is not clear or if it has more than one vote marked on it. Table 4b below shows that the percentage of informal votes has risen.

Table 4b: Percentage of Informal votes in the Legislative Assembly

Election year	Percentage of informal votes (%)
2010	5.0
2006	4.6
2002	3.4
1999	3.0
1996	2.3
1992	3.8

4.4 Number of Candidates Contesting the Election

At the 2010 Victorian election there was a record number of candidates with 711 candidates contesting the election, which was four more than the 2006 election, 234 more than the 2002 election and 305 more than the 1999 election. This included 624 endorsed candidates of registered political parties. Table 4c below demonstrates how many Legislative Assembly districts had two candidates, three candidates, four candidates and so forth in the election period 1999-2010. In 2010, the electorate with the most candidates was Gembrook with ten candidates, and the two electorates with the least candidates were Preston and Williamstown, with only three candidates.

Table 4c: Number of candidates contesting Legislative Assembly districts 1999-2010

Election Year	Number of candidates						
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
2010 [^]	0	2	17	26	19	14	5
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 2010 four districts had nine candidates and one district had ten candidates.

^{*} In 1999 one district had 19 candidates.

¹²⁹ Victorian Electoral Commission (2010) *Report on the Altona District by-election held on 13 February 2010*, Melbourne, Victorian Electoral Commission, May, p. 15.

¹³⁰ Victorian Electoral Commission (2009) *Report on the Kororoit District by-election held on 28 June 2008*, Melbourne, Victorian Electoral Commission, January, p. 5.

Out of the 711 candidates contesting the election, there were 502 candidates for the 88 seats in the Legislative Assembly and 209 candidates for the 8 Legislative Council regions. This meant that there was an average of 5.7 candidates standing for election per Legislative Assembly district, which was 0.5 candidates more than 2006 and 2.1 more than 1999.

The following table shows the *total* number of candidates standing for both the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council. The column on the right shows the average number of candidates per Legislative Assembly district.

Table 4d: Number of candidates at State elections since 1992

Election year	Total number of candidates (both LA and LC)	Average number of candidates per district in the <i>Legislative Assembly</i>
2010	711	5.7
2006	707	5.2
2002	477	4.2
1999	406	3.6
1996	421	3.5
1992	444	4.1

In the Legislative Council regions, there was an average of 26.1 candidates per region in 2010, compared to 34.3 in 2006 which was an average of 5.2 candidates per vacancy, a similar figure to the Legislative Assembly. The Council data has not been represented in the above table due to the difficulties in comparing results from different voting systems. However, in 2002 there were 97 candidates nominating for 22 vacancies in the electoral provinces (each with two members on a rotating basis), which was an average of 4.4 candidates per vacancy.¹³¹

As mentioned, the Labor Party and the Greens had candidates in every seat or region in both the Assembly and the Council. The Coalition agreement between the Liberals and Nationals reduced the number of ‘three-cornered contests’ from 14 to six, with the Liberals having 12 less candidates and the Nationals having 11 less candidates than at the 2006 election.

With reduced numbers of Liberal, National and Family First candidates than the previous election, the greatest increase in numbers of candidates came from the minor parties and independent candidates. Furthermore, many minor parties that had not previously sought election in the Legislative Assembly contested seats in 2010, such as the Country Alliance which had 29 candidates. The Australian Sex Party, which had 25 candidates, contested 17 seats in the Assembly and had 8 candidates contesting four regions in the Council.

Table 4e shows the number of candidates contesting Legislative Assembly districts and Legislative Council regions by party.

¹³¹ Victorian Electoral Commission (2003) *Report to Parliament on the 2002 Victorian State Election*, May, Melbourne, VEC. See also A. Green (2010) ‘Summary of Nominations for the 2010 Victorian Election’, op. cit.

Table 4e: Number of candidates contesting Legislative Assembly districts by party

Party	Candidates in Assembly Districts	Candidates in Council Regions
Liberal	79	34
Labor	88	40
Greens	88	40
The Nationals	15	6
Independent candidates	75	12
Family First	69	22
Country Alliance	29	8
Democratic Labor Party	36	31
Australian Sex Party	17	8
Socialist Alliance	4	0
Christian Party	2	8
Total	502	209
	711	

There were a total of 87 independent candidates, which was an increase of 24 from 2006. While there was an increase in the total number of candidates, the number of candidates contesting Legislative Council regions decreased from 248 in 2006 to 209 in 2010. This was partly due to the formation of joint Liberal/National tickets, a decline in Family First candidates and the absence of two parties in the 2010 election, People Power and the Australian Democrats.

5. Tables and Results

The following data was derived from the Victorian Electoral Commission website.

Table 5a: Overall Legislative Assembly result by party

Party	First preference votes	% of first preference vote	Seats won	+/- in number of seats	Swing (%)
ALP	1,147,348	36.25	43	-12	-6.81
Liberal	1,203,654	38.03	35	12	3.59
Australian Greens	354,697	11.21	-	-	1.17
The Nationals	213,492	6.75	10	1	1.58
Family First	72,354	2.29	0	-	-2.00
Country Alliance	42,938	1.36	0	-	1.36
DLP	28,176	0.89	0	-	0.89
Sex Party	17,252	0.55	0	-	0.55
Socialist Alliance	1,787	0.06	0	-	0.02
Christian Party	636	0.02	0	-	0.02
Other	82,395	2.60	0	-1	0.31

Table 5b: Legislative Assembly result by seat: first preference vote (number)

District	First preference votes (no.)						Seat won by
	ALP	Lib.	Nat.	Greens	Family First	Others	
Albert Park	12,012	15,234	-	7,218	303	5,023	ALP
Altona	22,954	14,944	-	4,516	1,582	991	ALP
Ballarat East	14,076	15,758	-	5,363	1,109	-	ALP
Ballarat West	16,446	17,230	-	3,876	1,284	681	ALP
Bass	12,962	25,098	-	4,845	-	1,546	LIB
Bayswater	10,138	17,597	-	2,873	973	1,712	LIB
Bellarine	16,324	17,140	-	3,123	944	2,280	ALP
Benalla	6,124	-	21,072	2,756	-	3,350	NAT
Benambra	7,537	18,424	-	3,658	1125	2,241	LIB
Bendigo East	16,079	12,864	2,196	2,295	447	2,786	ALP
Bendigo West	14,431	7,343	7,965	3,999	671	2,273	ALP
Bentleigh	13,643	16,296	-	3,545	364	824	LIB
Box Hill	8,978	20,415	-	4,952	666	-	LIB
Brighton	6,661	21,375	-	5,465	353	343	LIB
Broadmeadows	19,125	7,761	-	2,304	-	1,515	ALP
Brunswick	13,129	6,209	-	11,023	-	6,085	ALP
Bulleen	8,533	18,849	-	2,712	1,030	542	LIB
Bundoora	14,967	11,859	-	3,285	915	1,471	ALP
Burwood	11,732	17,500	-	4,146	536	1,296	LIB
Carrum	14,430	17,539	-	3,593	939	1,320	LIB
Caulfield	7,729	19,018	-	5,307	490	390	LIB
Clayton	15,843	8,833	-	2,782	723	976	ALP
Cranbourne	17,803	16,565	-	3,475	1,410	2,651	ALP
Dandenong	14,934	8,658	-	2,591	1,337	2,037	ALP
Derrimut	17,076	7,971	-	5,783	2,001	1,436	ALP
Doncaster	8,500	20,417	-	2,616	1,015	-	LIB
Eltham	13,792	16,047	-	4,747	619	557	ALP
Essendon	12,867	12,983	-	5,816	-	3,587	ALP
Evelyn	10,677	20,612	-	2,799	1,245	972	LIB
Ferntree Gully	11,768	22,020	-	2,850	957	2,052	LIB
Footscray	14,611	8,703	-	7,126	-	3,854	ALP
Forest Hill	12,796	16,043	-	2,501	632	1,025	LIB
Frankston	11,603	14,899	-	2,673	467	2,202	LIB
Geelong	14,809	15,472	-	4,131	688	874	ALP
Gembrook	12,638	18,427	904	3,689	1,032	1,757	LIB
Gippsland East	2,821	5,368	16,987	1,976	-	10,500	NAT
Gippsland South	6,647	-	22,479	3,495	-	2,602	NAT
Hastings	12,262	21,656	-	3,073	775	2,263	LIB
Hawthorn	7,218	21,036	-	5,883	409	-	LIB
Ivanhoe	12,140	14,413	-	6,240	-	1,536	ALP

Keilor	22,943	14,367	-	3,625	2,627	2,468	ALP
Kew	7,750	19,878	-	4,879	576	-	LIB
Kilsyth	11,172	19,348	-	2,913	1,165	2,010	LIB
Kororoit	19,891	8,912	-	3,513	1,432	1,888	ALP
Lara	20,778	11,366	-	3,401	2,324	889	ALP
Lowan	7,783	-	23,702	1,966	1,704	-	NAT
Lyndhurst	19,820	9,946	-	2,191	1,744	2,032	ALP
Macedon	17,282	18,141	-	3,613	1,049	2,785	ALP
Malvern	6,584	22,160	-	4,807	390	-	LIB
Melbourne	13,116	10,281	-	11,735	-	1,635	ALP
Melton	18,520	11,615	-	3,247	1,431	2,647	ALP
Mildura	4,943	-	15,170	563	999	10,837	NAT
Mill Park	21,861	9,537	-	2,605	1,901	-	ALP
Mitcham	11,669	15,717	-	4,024	758	1,595	LIB
Monbulk	12,318	14,506	-	5,244	610	1,410	ALP
Mordialloc	13,778	17,223	-	3,443	552	1,757	LIB
Mornington	9,119	22,238	-	3,823	-	1,017	LIB
Morwell	9,752	-	19,200	1,645	-	3,619	NAT
Mount Waverley	11,420	17,126	-	2,548	815	1,449	LIB
Mulgrave	15,392	11,166	-	2,173	1,041	596	ALP
Murray Valley	7,065	-	18,357	1,598	1,073	6,007	NAT
Narracan	11,161	21,636	-	2,967	-	2,415	LIB
Narre Warren Nth	15,043	14,743	-	2,443	1,222	1,926	ALP
Narre Warren Sth	22,007	17,402	-	3,244	1,645	1,594	ALP
Nepean	9,333	20,700	-	4,176	-	439	LIB
Niddrie	14,435	11,000	-	2,451	1,263	2,448	ALP
Northcote	15,917	6,863	-	10,927	-	1,715	ALP
Oakleigh	12,888	12,616	-	4,719	423	811	ALP
Pascoe Vale	18,795	9,823	-	5,683	-	679	ALP
Polwarth	10,432	21,245	-	3,235	1,211	2,286	LIB
Prahran	9,384	16,197	-	6,685	198	1,312	LIB
Preston	17,400	8,593	-	7,058	-	-	ALP
Richmond	13,328	8,154	-	10,174	-	4,117	ALP
Ripon	14,169	11,596	3,850	2,084	776	1,211	ALP
Rodney	5,290	-	20,524	1,348	1,872	3,697	NAT
Sandringham	7,313	20,704	-	5,430	548	-	LIB
Scoresby	10,388	20,745	-	2,821	1,178	-	LIB
Seymour	12,813	12,992	1391	3,230	711	5,325	LIB
Shepparton	5,245	-	17,609	1,631	769	8,016	NAT
South Barwon	15,759	20,133	-	4,208	810	2,927	LIB
South-West Coast	9,658	19,316	-	3,228	1,081	5,913	LIB
Swan Hill	4,802	-	22,086	1,326	1,219	-	NAT
Tarneit	20,521	13,458	-	3,716	2,128	1,988	ALP
Thomastown	19,190	7,591	-	2,952	1,576	-	ALP
Warrandyte	9,920	22,150	-	4,221	1,106	446	LIB

Williamstown	15,859	11,023	-	7,040	-	-	ALP
Yan Yean	20,990	19,612	-	4,916	1,684	1,728	ALP
Yuroke	23,537	13,259	-	4,128	1,702	-	ALP

Table 5c: Legislative Assembly result by seat: first preference vote (per cent)

District	First preference votes (%)						Seat won by
	ALP	Lib.	Nat.	Greens	Family First	Others	
Albert Park	30.19	38.29	-	18.14	0.76	12.63	ALP
Altona	51.02	33.22	-	10.04	3.52	2.20	ALP
Ballarat East	38.77	43.40	-	14.77	3.05	-	ALP
Ballarat West	41.62	43.60	-	9.81	3.25	1.72	ALP
Bass	29.16	56.46	-	10.90	-	3.48	LIB
Bayswater	30.45	52.85	-	8.63	2.92	5.14	LIB
Bellarine	41.00	43.05	-	7.84	2.37	5.73	ALP
Benalla	18.39	-	63.28	8.28	-	10.06	NAT
Benambra	22.85	55.86	-	11.09	3.41	6.79	LIB
Bendigo East	43.85	35.08	5.99	6.26	1.22	7.60	ALP
Bendigo West	39.34	20.02	21.71	10.90	1.83	6.19	ALP
Bentleigh	39.35	47.00	-	10.22	1.05	2.38	LIB
Box Hill	25.64	58.31	-	14.14	1.90	-	LIB
Brighton	19.48	62.51	-	15.98	1.03	1.00	LIB
Broadmeadows	62.29	25.28	-	7.50	-	4.93	ALP
Brunswick	36.02	17.04	-	30.24	-	16.69	ALP
Bulleen	26.95	59.52	-	8.56	3.25	1.71	LIB
Bundoora	46.06	36.49	-	10.11	2.82	4.53	ALP
Burwood	33.32	49.70	-	11.78	1.52	3.68	LIB
Carrum	38.15	46.37	-	9.50	2.48	3.49	LIB
Caulfield	23.47	57.75	-	16.11	1.49	1.18	LIB
Clayton	54.34	30.29	-	9.54	2.48	3.35	ALP
Cranbourne	42.49	39.53	-	8.29	3.36	6.33	ALP
Dandenong	50.53	29.29	-	8.77	4.52	6.89	ALP
Derrimut	49.83	23.26	-	16.88	5.84	4.19	ALP
Doncaster	26.12	62.73	-	8.04	3.12	-	LIB
Eltham	38.57	44.87	-	13.27	1.73	1.56	ALP
Essendon	36.50	36.83	-	16.50	-	10.18	ALP
Evelyn	29.41	56.77	-	7.71	3.43	2.68	LIB
Ferntree Gully	29.68	55.54	-	7.19	2.41	5.17	LIB
Footscray	42.61	25.38	-	20.78	-	11.24	ALP
Forest Hill	38.78	48.62	-	7.58	1.92	3.11	LIB
Frankston	36.44	46.79	-	8.39	1.47	6.91	LIB
Geelong	41.17	43.01	-	11.48	1.91	2.43	ALP

Gembrook	32.87	47.93	2.35	9.60	2.68	4.58	LIB
Gippsland East	7.49	14.26	45.12	5.25	-	27.89	NAT
Gippsland South	18.87	-	63.82	9.92	-	7.39	NAT
Hastings	30.63	54.10	-	7.68	1.94	5.64	LIB
Hawthorn	20.89	60.89	-	17.03	1.18	-	LIB
Ivanhoe	35.36	41.98	-	18.18	-	4.47	ALP
Keilor	49.84	31.21	-	7.88	5.71	5.36	ALP
Kew	23.43	60.09	-	14.75	1.74	-	LIB
Kilsyth	30.52	52.85	-	7.96	3.18	5.49	LIB
Kororoit	55.82	25.01	-	9.86	4.02	5.30	ALP
Lara	53.61	29.33	-	8.77	6.00	2.29	ALP
Lowan	22.14	-	67.42	5.59	4.85	-	NAT
Lyndhurst	55.47	27.83	-	6.13	4.88	5.68	ALP
Macedon	40.31	42.32	-	8.43	2.45	6.49	ALP
Malvern	19.40	65.29	-	14.16	1.15	-	LIB
Melbourne	35.67	27.96	-	31.92	-	4.46	ALP
Melton	49.44	31.01	-	8.67	3.82	7.06	ALP
Mildura	15.20	-	46.66	1.73	3.07	33.33	NAT
Mill Park	60.89	26.56	-	7.26	5.29	-	ALP
Mitcham	34.56	46.55	-	11.92	2.25	4.72	LIB
Monbulk	36.14	42.55	-	15.38	1.79	4.13	ALP
Mordialloc	37.49	46.86	-	9.37	1.50	4.78	LIB
Mornington	25.19	61.44	-	10.56	-	2.81	LIB
Morwell	28.50	-	56.11	4.81	-	10.58	NAT
Mount Waverley	34.23	51.34	-	7.64	2.44	4.34	LIB
Mulgrave	50.68	36.77	-	7.16	3.43	1.96	ALP
Murray Valley	20.72	-	53.83	4.69	3.15	17.61	NAT
Narracan	29.23	56.67	-	7.77	-	6.33	LIB
Narre Warren Nth	42.52	41.67	-	6.91	3.45	5.44	ALP
Narre Warren Sth	47.95	37.92	-	7.07	3.58	3.47	ALP
Nepean	26.94	59.74	-	12.05	-	1.27	LIB
Niddrie	45.68	34.81	-	7.76	4.00	7.74	ALP
Northcote	44.94	19.37	-	30.85	-	4.84	ALP
Oakleigh	40.97	40.11	-	15.00	1.34	2.58	ALP
Pascoe Vale	53.73	28.08	-	16.25	-	1.94	ALP
Polwarth	27.16	55.31	-	8.42	3.15	5.95	LIB
Prahran	27.78	47.95	-	19.79	0.59	3.89	LIB
Preston	52.65	26.00	-	21.35	-	-	ALP
Richmond	37.26	22.79	-	28.44	-	11.51	ALP
Ripon	42.06	34.42	11.43	6.19	2.30	3.59	ALP
Rodney	16.16	-	62.71	4.12	5.72	11.30	NAT
Sandringham	21.51	60.90	-	15.97	1.61	-	LIB
Scoresby	29.57	59.05	-	8.03	3.35	-	LIB
Seymour	35.14	35.63	3.81	8.86	1.95	14.60	LIB
Shepparton	15.76	-	52.93	4.90	2.31	24.10	NAT

South Barwon	35.95	45.93	-	9.60	1.85	6.68	LIB
South-West Coast	24.64	49.28	-	8.24	2.76	15.09	LIB
Swan Hill	16.32	-	75.04	4.51	4.14	-	NAT
Tarneit	49.08	32.19	-	8.89	5.09	4.75	ALP
Thomastown	61.29	24.25	-	9.43	5.03	-	ALP
Warrandyte	26.21	58.53	-	11.15	2.92	1.18	LIB
Williamstown	46.75	32.50	-	20.75	-	-	ALP
Yan Yean	42.90	40.08	-	10.05	3.44	3.53	ALP
Yuroke	55.22	31.11	-	9.68	3.99	-	ALP

Table 5d: Legislative Assembly result by seat: two party preferred/two candidate preferred vote and swing to/from ALP

District	Two party preferred vote (no.)		Two party preferred vote (%)		Swing to/ from ALP (%)	Status of seat
	ALP	Other	ALP	Other		
Albert Park	20,713	19,077	52.06	47.94	-7.63	ALP retain
Altona	27,886	17,117	61.96	38.04	-8.25	ALP retain
Ballarat East	18,702	17,604	51.51	48.49	-5.13	ALP retain
Ballarat West	20,175	19,342	51.05	48.95	-5.49	ALP retain
Bass	16,622	27,804	37.42	62.58	-7.06	LIB retain
Bayswater	13,134	20,178	39.43	60.57	-7.68	LIB retain
Bellarine	20,449	19,362	51.37	48.63	-6.58	ALP retain
Benalla	8,978	24354 ^N	26.94	73.06 ^N	-5.55	NAT retain
Benambra	11,045	21,909	33.52	66.48	-8.77	LIB retain
Bendigo East	19,797	16,989	53.82	46.18	-1.57	ALP retain
Bendigo West	19,417	17,265	52.93	47.07	-7.63	ALP retain
Bentleigh	17,075	17,597	49.25	50.75	-7.07	LIB gain
Box Hill	12,677	22,346	36.20	63.80	-8.58	LIB retain
Brighton	11,089	23,091	32.44	67.56	-6.63	LIB retain
Broadmeadows	21,811	8,919	70.98	29.02	-10.91	ALP retain
Brunswick	19,411	17,033 ^G	53.26	46.74 ^G	-0.37	ALP retain
Bulleen	11,199	20,509	35.32	64.68	-6.25	LIB retain
Bundoora	18,706	13,791	57.56	42.44	-7.56	ALP retain
Burwood	15,574	19,710	44.14	55.86	-9.60	LIB gain
Carrum	18,140	19,681	47.96	52.04	-8.75	LIB gain
Caulfield	12,672	20,267	38.47	61.53	-3.90	LIB retain
Clayton	19,071	10,129	65.31	34.69	-4.96	ALP retain
Cranbourne	21,727	20,177	51.85	48.15	-9.44	ALP retain
Dandenong	18,887	10,686	63.87	36.13	-4.80	ALP retain
Derrimut	22,123	12,254	64.35	35.65	-9.95	ALP retain
Doncaster	10,549	22,020	32.39	67.61	-9.49	LIB retain
Eltham	18,173	17,589	50.82	49.18	-5.66	ALP retain

Essendon	18,476	16,770	52.42	47.58	-9.28	ALP retain
Evelyn	13,286	23,095	36.52	63.48	-10.70	LIB retain
Ferntree Gully	15,070	24,591	38.00	62.00	-11.96	LIB retain
Footscray	22,714	11,580	66.23	33.77	-8.44	ALP retain
Forest Hill	15,458	17,550	46.83	53.17	-3.94	LIB gain
Frankston	15,263	16,581	47.93	52.07	-5.29	LIB gain
Geelong	18,757	17,217	52.14	47.86	-6.19	ALP retain
Gembrook	16,707	21,926	43.25	56.75	-7.46	LIB gain
Gippsland East	14,304 ⁱ	23,348 ^N	37.99 ⁱ	62.01 ^N	20.48*	NAT gain
Gippsland South	9,655	25,573 ^N	27.41	72.59 ^N	-6.78	NAT retain
Hastings	15,728	24,379	39.22	60.78	-9.79	LIB retain
Hawthorn	11,493	23,060	33.26	66.74	-4.48	LIB retain
Ivanhoe	17,739	16,590	51.67	48.33	-8.78	ALP retain
Keilor	27,788	18,269	60.33	39.67	-9.08	ALP retain
Kew	11,512	21,560	34.81	65.19	-5.63	LIB retain
Kilsyth	14,503	22,122	39.60	60.40	-10.05	LIB retain
Kororoit	24,453	11,203	68.58	31.42	-6.98	ALP retain
Lara	25,299	13,387	65.40	34.60	-2.53	ALP retain
Lowan	9,812	25337 ^N	27.92	72.08 ^N	0.00	NAT retain
Lyndhurst	22,912	12,941	63.91	36.09	-7.57	ALP retain
Macedon	21,975	20,895	51.26	48.74	-6.91	ALP retain
Malvern	10,023	23,881	29.56	70.44	-9.12	LIB retain
Melbourne	20,653	16,114 ^G	56.17	43.83 ^G	4.16	ALP retain
Melton	23,525	13,947	62.78	37.22	-0.76	ALP retain
Mildura	13312 ⁱ	19310 ^N	40.81 ⁱ	59.19 ^N	3.11*	NAT retain
Mill Park	24,966	10,982	69.45	30.55	-1.34	ALP retain
Mitcham	15,946	17,817	47.23	52.77	-4.74	LIB gain
Monbulk	17,684	16,404	51.88	48.12	-4.80	ALP retain
Mordialloc	17,616	19,137	47.93	52.07	-5.61	LIB gain
Mornington	12,305	23,915	33.97	66.03	-4.18	LIB retain
Morwell	11,572	22726 ^N	33.74	66.26 ^N	-14.14	NAT retain
Mount Waverley	14,204	19,177	42.55	57.45	-7.76	LIB gain
Mulgrave	17,779	12,623	58.48	41.52	-7.29	ALP retain
Murray Valley	10,587	23604 ^N	30.96	69.04 ^N	2.72	NAT retain
Narracan	14,353	23,814	37.61	62.39	-9.74	LIB retain
Narre Warren Nth	18,739	16,638	52.97	47.03	-6.26	ALP retain
Narre Warren Sth	26,109	19,910	56.74	43.26	-4.20	ALP retain
Nepean	12,370	22,288	35.69	64.31	-4.93	LIB retain
Niddrie	18,105	13,687	56.95	43.05	-4.27	ALP retain
Northcote	21,456	13,902 ^G	60.68	39.32 ^G	2.16	ALP retain
Oakleigh	17,210	14,247	54.71	45.29	-7.66	ALP retain

Pascoe Vale	23,738	11,272	67.80	32.20	-4.98	ALP retain
Polwarth	14,127	24,351	36.71	63.29	-2.60	LIB retain
Prahran	15,443	18,333	45.72	54.28	-7.83	LIB gain
Preston	23,250	9,783	70.38	29.62	-4.92	ALP retain
Richmond	20,114	15,652 ^G	56.24	43.76 ^G	2.60	ALP retain
Ripon	17,755	15,931	52.71	47.29	-1.64	ALP retain
Rodney	7809	24,947 ^N	23.84	76.16 ^N	-1.35	NAT retain
Sandringham	11,584	22,417	34.07	65.93	-7.25	LIB retain
Scoresby	12,598	22,529	35.86	64.14	-2.97	LIB retain
Seymour	17,782	18,680	48.77	51.23	-7.89	LIB gain
Shepparton	8027	25,376 ^N	24.03	75.97 ^N	-1.32	NAT retain
South Barwon	20,218	23,675	46.06	53.94	-6.22	LIB gain
Sth-West Coast	14,926	24,252	38.10	61.90	-7.89	LIB retain
Swan Hill	6,081	23343 ^N	20.67	79.33 ^N	-5.93	NAT retain
Tarneit	25,553	16,248	61.13	38.87	-1.34	ALP retain
Thomastown	22,025	9,356	70.19	29.81	-10.88	ALP retain
Warrandyte	13,675	24,176	36.13	63.87	-4.88	LIB retain
Williamstown	20,969	12,953	61.82	38.18	-12.43	ALP retain
Yan Yean	26,472	22,458	54.10	45.90	-3.81	ALP retain
Yuroke	27,841	14,802	65.29	34.71	-4.90	ALP retain

Please note: 'Other' refers to a Liberal candidate (unmarked), Nationals candidate (marked with an ^N), Greens candidate (marked with a ^G) or independent candidate (marked with an ^I). This is because an ALP candidate ran in each district and was one of the top two candidates in all but two seats (Gippsland East (Independent v Nationals) and Mildura (Independent v Nationals)). In these seats, swings to the Nationals are marked with an asterisk (*).

The term 'two party preferred' (TPP) refers to a distribution of preferences between the two major parties - the ALP and the Coalition (Liberal/Nationals parties). 'Two candidate preferred' (TCP) refers to a distribution of preferences between the two candidates who are expected to come first and second in the election. In seats where the Greens or independent candidates were one of the two top candidates, the two candidate preferred results are provided (Brunswick, Melbourne, Northcote, Richmond (Greens); Gippsland East, Mildura (independent)).¹³²

¹³² See Australian Electoral Commission (2011) 'Election results: frequently asked questions', viewed 16 February 2011, <http://www.aec.gov.au/FAQs/election_results.htm>.

Table 5e: Overall Legislative Council result by party

Party	First preference vote (no.)	First preference vote (%)	Seats won	+/- in number of seats
ALP	1,137,461	35.36	16	-3
Christian Party	12,322	0.38	0	0
Country Alliance	53,149	1.65	0	0
DLP	75,080	2.33	0	-1
Family First	91,982	2.86	0	0
Greens	386,172	12.01	3	0
Liberal	1,384,452	43.04	18	3
Nationals	3,580	0.11	3	1
Sex Party	61,542	1.91	0	0
Others	10,646	0.33	0	0

Table 5f: Legislative Council result by region

Region	First preference votes	% of first preference vote	Candidates elected in order
Eastern Metropolitan	199,652	51.24	Richard Dalla-Riva (Liberal)
	117,706	30.21	Shaun Leane (ALP)
	607	0.16	Bruce Atkinson (Liberal)
	454	0.12	Jan Kronberg (Liberal)
	167	0.04	Brian Tee (ALP)
Eastern Victoria	217,164	52.15	Philip Davis (Liberal)
	117,436	28.2	Matt Viney (ALP)
	1,298	0.31	Peter Hall (The Nationals)
	903	0.22	Edward O'Donohue (Liberal)
	195	0.05	Johan Scheffer (ALP)
Northern Metropolitan	163,902	41.6	Jenny Mikakos (ALP)
	106,023	26.91	Matthew Guy (Liberal)
	72,922	18.51	Greg Barber (The Greens)
	470	0.12	Nazih Elasmr (ALP)
	245	0.06	Craig Ondarchie (Liberal)
Northern Victoria	188,787	48.45	Wendy Lovell (Liberal)
	104,839	26.9	Candy Broad (ALP)
	1,175	0.3	Damian Drum (The Nationals)
	361	0.09	Kaye Darveniza (ALP)
	371	0.1	Donna Petrovich (Liberal)
South Eastern Metropolitan	170,666	43	Gavin Jennings (ALP)
	160,990	40.56	Gordon Rich-Phillips (Liberal)
	500	0.13	Adem Somyurek (ALP)

	572	0.14	Inga Peulich (Liberal)
	453	0.11	Lee Tarlamis (ALP)
Southern Metropolitan	194,763	51.07	David Davis (Liberal)
	95,228	24.97	John Lenders (ALP)
	694	0.18	Andrea Coote (Liberal)
	414	0.11	Georgie Crozier (Liberal)
	60,614	15.89	Sue Pennicuik (The Greens)
Western Metropolitan	195,489	46.25	Martin Pakula (ALP)
	123,700	29.26	Bernie Finn (Liberal)
	679	0.16	Khalil Eideh (ALP)
	386	0.09	Andrew Elsbury (Liberal)
	49,287	11.66	Colleen Hartland (The Greens)
Western Victoria	183151	43.03	David Koch (Liberal)
	161,694	37.99	Jaala Pulford (ALP)
	330	0.08	Simon Ramsay (Liberals)
	538	0.13	Gayle Tierney (ALP)
	412	0.1	David O'Brien (Nationals)

Table 5g: Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council voting statistics

Election	House	Enrolled	Turnout (no.)	Turnout (%)	Formal (no.)	Formal (%)	Informal (no.)	Informal (%)
2010	LA	3,582,232	3,329,865	92.96	3,164,729	95.04	165,136	4.96
	LC		3,328,861	92.93	3,216,386	96.62	112,475	3.38
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	3,228,456	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

6. Appendix 1: Victorian election results 1985 – 2010

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL																
Party	Total formal vote share (%)								Seats won*							
	1985	1988	1992	1996	1999	2002	2006	2010	1985	1988	1992	1996	1999	2002	2006	2010
Liberal	41.30	43.50	43.37	44.00	39.70	34.51	34.55	43.04	9	10	14	14	11	3	15	18
Labor	47.00	48.10	39.03	40.05	42.23	47.49	41.45	35.36	10	9	5	5	8	17	19	16
Greens	-	-	-	-	2.23	10.87	10.58	12.01	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Nationals	6.70	7.50	8.65	6.06	7.28	4.37	4.43	0.11#	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	3
Family First	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.85	2.86	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Democrats	3.80	0	0.31	5.70	6.79	1.79	0.83	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Independents/Others	1.20	0.89	4.31	3.20	1.77	0.97	4.31	6.60	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0

* Prior to 2006 the Council comprised 44 members half of whom retired at each election # Note: The Nationals low vote share for 2010 is due to Coalition ticket

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY																
Party	Total formal vote share (%)								Seats won							
	1985	1988	1992	1996	1999	2002	2006	2010	1985	1988	1992	1996	1999	2002	2006	2010
Liberal	41.90	40.50	44.00	44.00	42.22	33.91	34.44	38.03	31	33	52	49	36	17	23	35
Labor	50.00	46.50	38.67	43.10	45.57	47.95	43.06	36.25	47	46	27	29	42	62	55	43
Greens	-	-	-	-	1.15	9.73	10.04	11.21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nationals	7.30	7.80	7.75	6.70	4.80	4.30	5.17	6.75	10	9	9	9	7	7	9	10
Family First	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.29	2.29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Democrats	0.00	1.00	0.18	0.00	0.28	0.14	0.00	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Independents/Others	0.80	2.70	9.40	6.20	5.98	3.97	3.01	5.48	0	0	0	1	3	2	1	0

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