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The State of the Nation & Victoria after the Federal Election by Michele Levine, Gary Morgan & Julian McCrann Presented by Gary Morgan, Executive Chairman, Roy Morgan Research CEDA, Friday October 1, 2010

A lot has happened since I was asked to speak at CEDA about the Victorian State Election later in the year on November 27, 2010.

Nobody expected such a controversial Federal Election on August 21, 2010 with a 'hung' Parliament.

We have a newly elected Federal Government, one which is still in campaign mode and the very real possibility of another election just around the corner if the unlikely marriage of Labor the Greens and two conservative Independents doesn't work.

But today we have a Prime Minister who is a woman, who doesn't believe in God, and who lives in a defacto relationship. Things have changed.

In early August, in a Special Morgan Poll we asked electors which issues worried them about a Prime Minister. The findings are highly relevant for all future Federal and State elections.

More Australian electors were concerned about¹ 'having a Prime Minister who has conservative values in relation to such things as abortion and stem cell research' (43%) than 'having a Prime Minister who doesn't believe in God' (22%); 'a Prime Minister who is not married, living in a de facto relationship' (15%); 'a Catholic Prime Minister' (9%); or 'having a woman as a Prime Minister' (6%).

A simple addition of worries showed Prime Minister Julia Gillard – a woman who doesn't believe in God, and lives in a de facto relationship – scored 43 on the worry scale while Tony Abbott as a Catholic with conservative values scored 52.

<u>Detailed analysis by gender</u>² shows that women were more worried than men about:

- a Prime Minister with conservative values (49% vs. 38%);
- a Prime Minister who doesn't believe in God (25% vs. 20%), and
- an unmarried Prime Minister living in a de facto relationship (17% vs. 12%).

More men than women are worried about:

- a Catholic Prime Minister (11% men vs. 7% women), and
- a woman as Prime Minister (8% men vs. 3% women).

 ¹ Available on Roy Morgan website: <u>http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/2010/4551</u>
 ² Ibid: <u>http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/2010/4551</u>

⁴⁰¹ Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria 3000, G.P.O. Box 2282U, Melbourne, Victoria 3001, Australia Tel: (03) 9629 6888 Fax: (03) 9629 1250 (03) 9622 8387 Email: <u>melbourne@roymorgan.com.au</u> Website: <u>www.roymorgan.com</u> Offices also in: Sydney, Brisbane, Adelaide, Perth, London, Auckland, Indonesia and USA

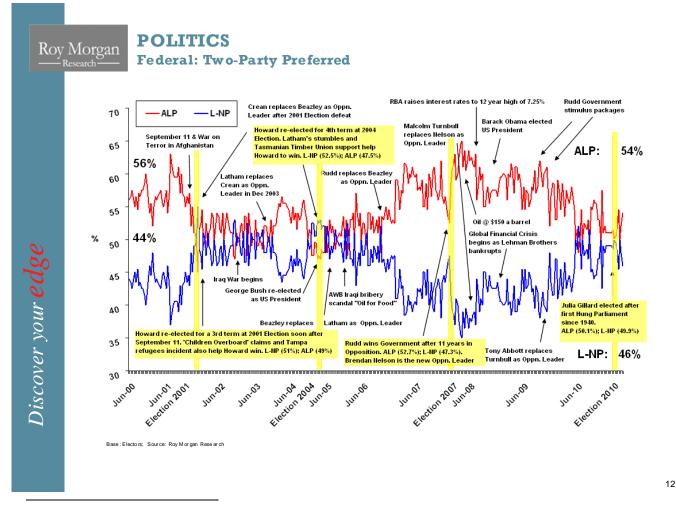
These are just some of the issues that played out in the recent Federal election – and the beginning of an explanation of why the ALP was finally returned despite:

- A change of leader just weeks earlier that left Julia Gillard entering the campaign having to deal with an enormous backlash over Kevin Rudd's demise³ and an alienated Queensland electorate;
- Poor standings of State Governments in Queensland and NSW;
- A Mining Tax that decimated ALP support⁴ in the mining States especially WA; and
- A poor record of implementing the GFC stimulus package e.g. pink batts and the schools program.

Well the ALP was returned, as we know, with just enough seats to govern with the help of the Greens and the Independents.

Today support for the new ALP Government⁵ is 54% to the Coalition at 46% on a Two Party preferred basis. If an election were held today the ALP would be returned according to the first Morgan Poll taken after Julia Gillard was sworn in as Prime Minister of Australia.

It is important to remember that. The Kevin Rudd factor is over. Kevin Rudd is travelling overseas and Julia Gillard is running the country – perhaps nothing has really changed – just the job titles.



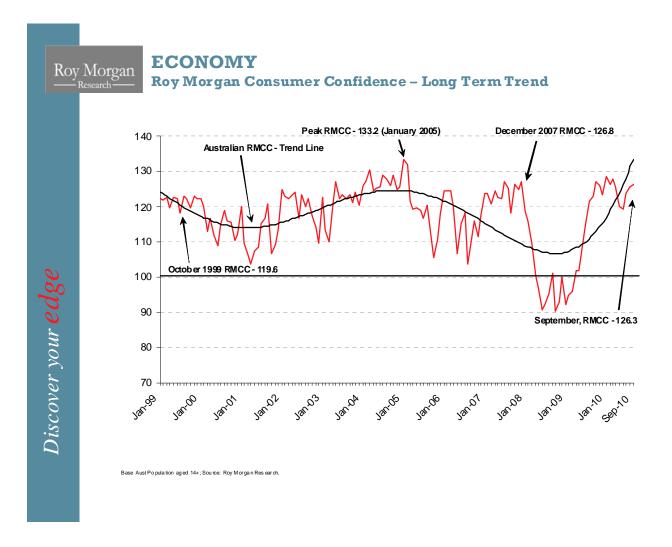
Available on Roy Morgan website: http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/2010/4537

⁴ Available on Roy Morgan website: <u>http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/2010/4504</u>

⁵ Available on Roy Morgan website: <u>http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/2010/4584</u>

On a primary vote – ALP support is 35.5%, (down 2.5% since the election on August 21, 2010), but support for the Greens is up 3.2% to 15%. L-NP support is 42.5% – 7% higher than ALP primary support, but still down 1.1% since the election) and Independents and others are 7% (up 0.4%).

Consumer Confidence is high at 126.3⁶.



Today I'd like to give you a brief status report on the **State of the Nation**; where we are today, how things have changed over the last decade, briefly touch on the last Federal Election and then talk a little about Victoria and what might happen next.

Five years ago in 2005^7 the biggest issue facing the World and Australia was terrorism/security. By mid 2008⁸ the big issue was environment, climate change, water. Then we had the GFC – Global Financial Crisis and economic issues became crucial. In May 2009⁹: 30% of Australians considered the economy the biggest problem.

⁶ Available on Roy Morgan website: <u>http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/2010/1171</u>

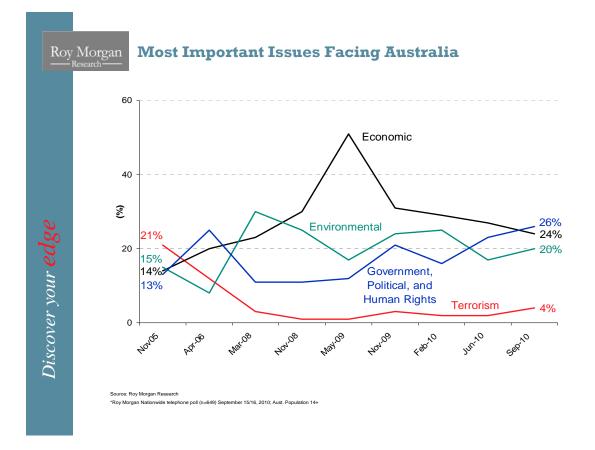
⁷ Available on Roy Morgan website: <u>http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/2005/3923</u>

⁸ Available on Roy Morgan website: <u>http://www.roymorgan.com/resources/pdf/papers/20080505.pdf</u>

⁹ Available on Roy Morgan website: <u>http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/2009/4382</u>

<u>Today</u>¹⁰: we see economy is still a big issue 24% consider it the most important issue facing Australia, ahead of environmental concerns at 20% (up 3%).

But there is a strong emerging issue, a softer issue or group of issues – we have called it "Government, politics and human rights". It includes such concerns as "Leadership in Government, by politicians and in important policy areas like Immigration and Asylum seekers." Now 26% (up 3%) of Australians consider these kinds of issues to be the most important for Australia – just ahead of the economy (24%) and the environment (20%). (See Appendix 1)



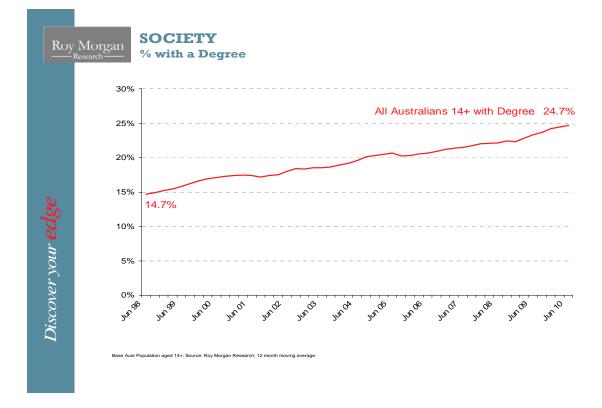
So are these things relevant for the Victorian State election? 'Yes' - although there are other issues, namely six major concerns which will become more relevant as we get closer to the election, namely:

- 1. **Crime, Law and Order** including corruption in the police and other areas of State Government administration such as the Windsor Hotel planning permit,
- 2. Drugs and alcohol abuse including the effects on safety and crime and our young people
- 3. **Public transport** which of course relates to environmental issues as well as our concern about adequate infrastructure for our growing population
- 4. Hospitals/Health
- 5. Education
- 6. **Water** where the focus of the debate will move from a desperate call to deal with drought to concerns about inadequate foresight and planning in relation to the salinity plant.

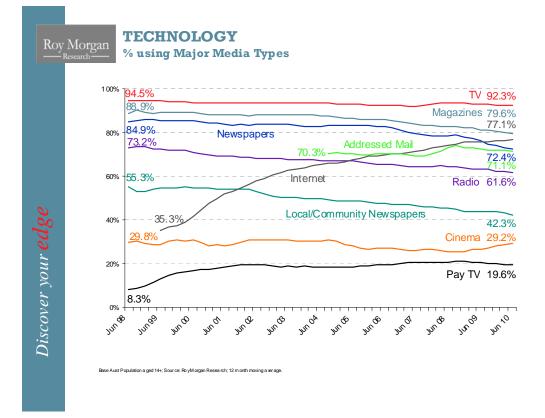
¹⁰ Available on Roy Morgan website: <u>http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/2010/4583</u>

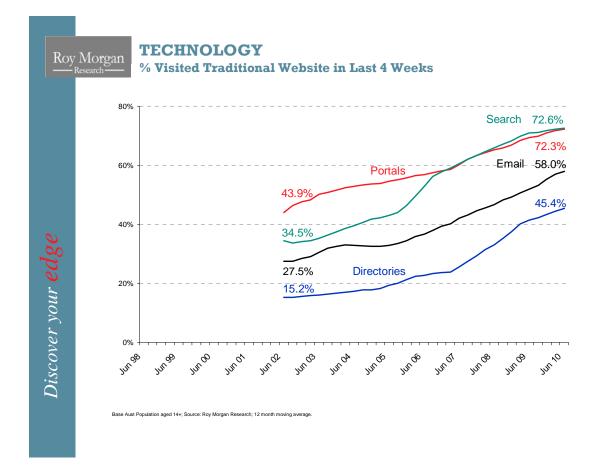
It is also crucial to consider the bigger picture – the big longer term trends – like the women's movement,

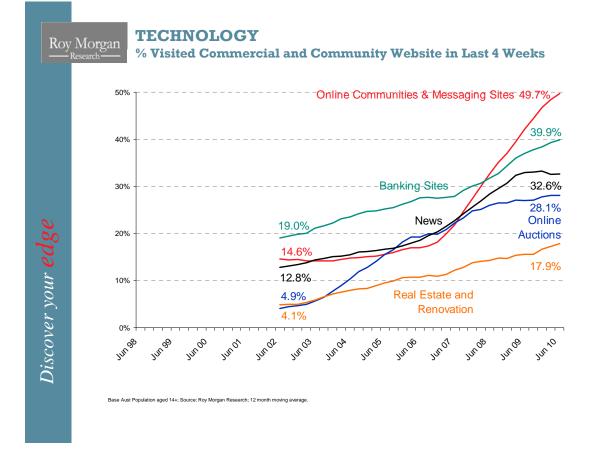
- women are more engaged in everything (we no longer have half the population not engaged), therefore in the workforce part-time and as contractors;
- everyone is better educated more aware

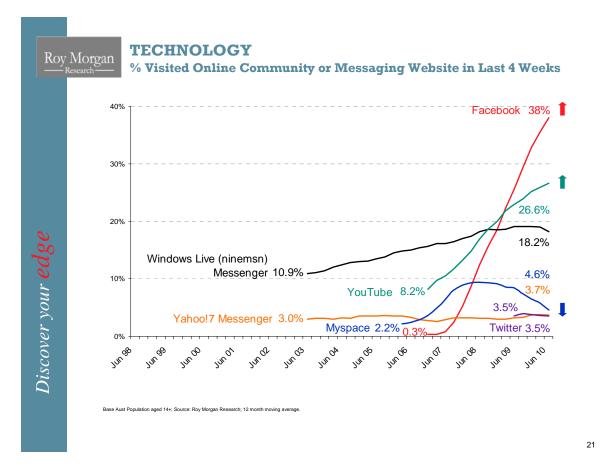


• more information/more access, faster, so population responds faster to everything

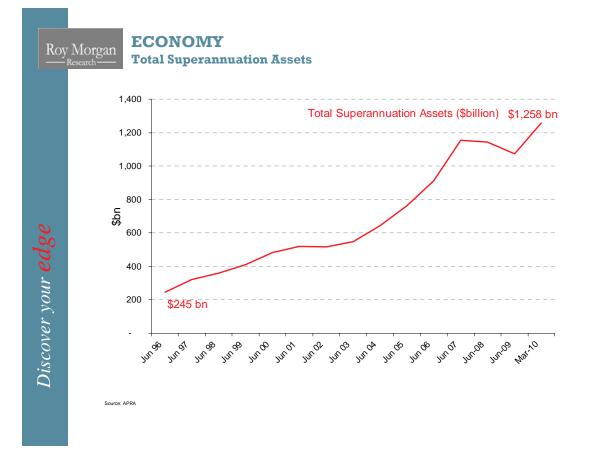




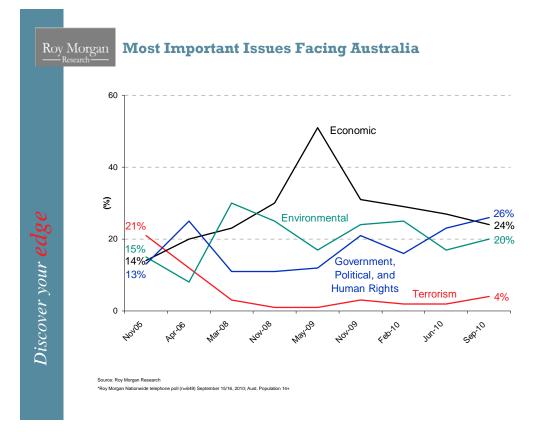




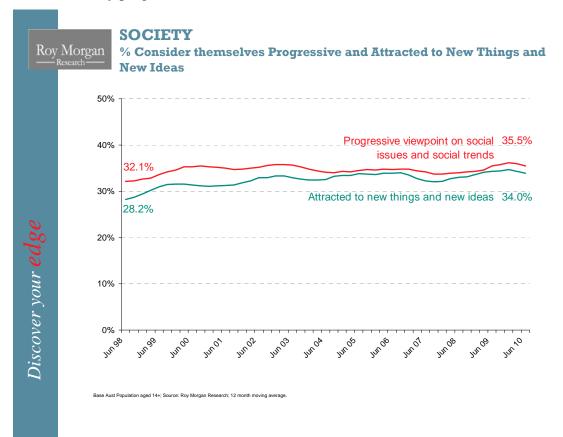
• more financially engaged population – increased super, increased exposure to sharemarket/debt



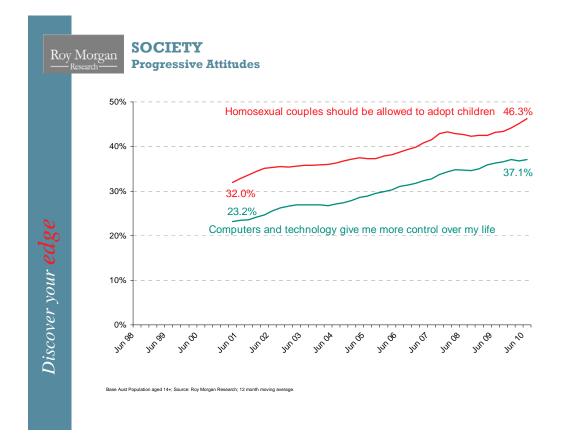
more globally savvy/aware



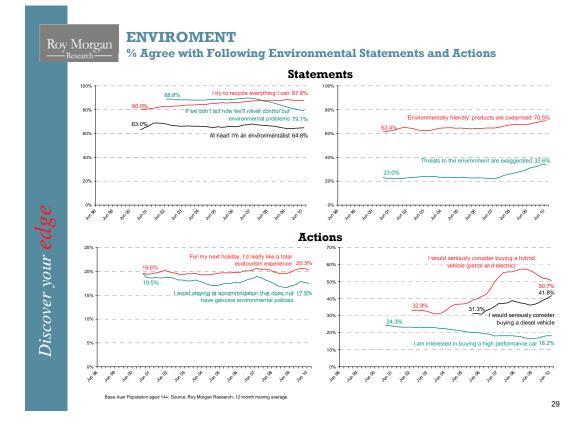
• more socially progressive



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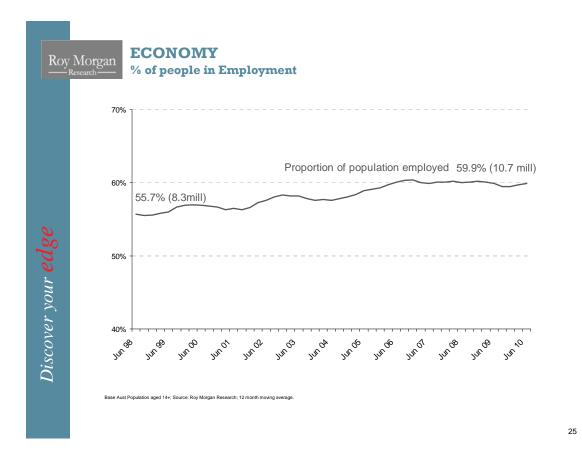


• more environmentally tuned in and demanding – until the GFC



• more politically predisposed to Labor

• more people employed



These big trends are important because they help us orientate ourselves – put the current frenetic activity into perspective and give some clues as to where we might be going.

The real trick is to understand what is here to stay and what is a fad.

- The women's movement \checkmark
- Technology speed of change \checkmark
- Increased education \checkmark
- Progressiveness There is some indication that our willingness to take risks and to try new and different things has begun to wane since the GFC, however there is no sign of a move toward more conservative moral values.
- Environmental concern <u>There is a question mark here</u>.

The trends over more than a decade have shown an increased awareness and concern about the environment, and an increased willingness to do what we can as individuals to help. However in the last few years two things have happened:

- the GFC heightened concern over things financial and economic (we really do seem to be able to worry about only one thing at a time); and
- with an increasing number of global warming sceptics the Emissions Trading Scheme debate and the Carbon Tax debate are dividing the population many now say it needs to be confirmed by scientific information.

The issue of the environment has moved beyond "a motherhood" conversation into an economic one – When do we need to act? Where will the costs lie? Who will pay?

The Federal Election and the Campaign

The last election gave people a real choice

- Gender woman or a man for PM
- Religion- a deeply religious PM or a PM who doesn't believe in God
- Values socially progressive or socially conservative
- Policies mining tax, industrial relations, economically progressive or conservative.

The campaigning was very **personal**, **negative** and **hijacked by irrelevancies** like how Julia Gillard came to office and whether Kevin Rudd would come back and play ball or spoil.

The issues were different in different parts of the country – the media was more involved than ever and there were more polls than ever.

Roy Morgan predicted a Hung Parliament on August 14¹¹, a week before the election, (actually the day before that when we were filming for Insiders). We correctly predicted a Green controlled Senate¹² on August 10 and that the Greens would win their first House of Representatives seat¹³ on August 20, and <u>accurately estimated</u> the final % vote¹⁴ count for each Party to within less than 1% error.

Well we, the people, got what we voted for – a Hung Parliament followed by weeks of internal negotiations and finally a strange uncomfortable alliance of Labor, Green and Conservative Independents in the House of Representatives and a Green controlled Senate from **July next year**.

Many are saying the people wanted the Independents elected as a check on the major parties.

The evidence does not support that – the evidence does show a clear move to the Greens and a move against Labor – the Age on Tuesday September 21 (a month after the Federal Election) showed an interesting analysis – Post Mortem. Clearly Labor lost to the Greens and to those who didn't vote. Amongst all eligible electors Labor went down 6.1%, the Greens picked up 3.3% and 3% more didn't vote or voted informally.

Note the vote for Independents did NOT increase.

The role of Independents was the luck (or otherwise) of the way the seats fell – there was no increase in support – no call for Independents to take a larger place in the Governing process – it was a statistical and geographical artefact.

¹¹ Available on Roy Morgan website: <u>http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/2010/4558</u>

¹² Available on Roy Morgan website: <u>http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/2010/4554</u>

¹³ Available on Roy Morgan website: <u>http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/2010/4567</u>

¹⁴ Available on Roy Morgan website: <u>http://www.roymorgan.com/news/polls/2010/4572</u>

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VOTED COALITION	38.3	38.4	+0.1
VOTED GREEN	7.1	10.4	+3.3
VOTED OTHERS	6.1	5.8	-0.3
VOTED INFORMAL	3.7	5.2	+1.5
DID NOT VOTE	5.2	6.8	+1.6
NO FORMAL VOTE	9.0	12.0	+3.0

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER :

So what now? Will we have a 'Government of Convenience' with Julia Gillard managing disparate interests of Labor – itself divided into the old style conservative trade union supporting Labor voters and the affluent socially progressive new Labor supporter – and the Greens and the conservative rural Independents?

Will conservatives create another Federal election on the Carbon Tax? Because the new Green controlled Senate is not formed until July next year, there is a window of opportunity for the Conservatives to bring forward the Carbon Tax Bill and have it opposed in the Senate twice creating a Double Dissolution and thus another chance to go to the polls?

So will we have a 'Government of Convenience' or will there be another election before July 2011? Nobody knows.

We do know that the Hung Parliament has given <u>Julia Gillard the 'wriggle room' she needs to wriggle out</u> of any inconvenient promises or to reshape policies¹⁵.

We do know that we are now very close to a situation where big companies like BHP Billiton are more powerful than the Governments of the countries that they operate in - as seen by the mining tax deal with the three big mining companies – BHP Billiton, Rio Tinto and Xstrata Australia.

So what is the role the Victorian Government?

It is likely that whatever happens Federally there will be little attention paid to the issues of importance to Victoria:

• State issues

¹⁵ 'The Realities of a Hung Parliament' – On Roy Morgan website: <u>www.roymorgan.com/resources/pdf/papers/20100901.pdf</u>

- Local issues
- Small business

Results from the last Morgan Poll in Victoria conducted in June showed the <u>L-NP just ahead at 50.5%</u> to <u>ALP 49.5%</u> - a cliff hanger. But much can change in eight weeks.

The ALP with its well oiled political machine that operates locally, regionally, State-wide and Federally and with more local members than the L-NP is inherently in a better position.

However the opportunity exists for the L-NP to really understand and communicate with the electorate-

At a State level on key State issues, on an electorate by electorate level on issues that matter to the local area, and especially to small business. The data is available every issue every electorate and all it needs is the will to listen and engage with the people.

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56 Forest Hill

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Thomastown	1 S/A	LP	31.10%	38.50%	21.90%	39.61%	32.59%	53.18%	55.44%	37.00%	30.70%	30.14%	18.73%	44.90%	30.35%	46.95%	44.16%	50.23%	50.70%	22.21%	33.199
Northcote	1 S/A	LP	30.30%	37.60%	17.40%	43.71%	44.64%	69.09%	58.53%	48.40%	21.20%	35.92%	10.88%	51.32%	35.48%	43.81%	61.79%	53.98%	43.35%	15.71%	38.98%
Brunswick	1 S/A		27.90%	46.90%	13.90%	-	51.29%		57.86%			33.54%			40.07%	51.71%			43.93%	33.55%	
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Preston	1 5/4		25.30%	47.50%	36.10%		47.20%		55.30%			38.88%			39.27%	50.87%			41.91%	48.89%	
0 Richmond	1 S/A		25.20%	48.70%	17.30%	-	42.43%		50.70%			51.44%				42.27%			53.97%		
1 Footscray	1 S/A		24.70%	42.90%	22.70%		41.33%		64.57%			43.52%			34.17%	45.48%			49.84%		
2 Derrimut	1 S/A		24.30%	54.90%	18.60%	-	37.33%		48.51%			37.49%			29.54%	45.41%			39.67%		
3 Williamstown	1 5//		24.30%	41.90%	27.90%		43.39%		56.84%			31.08%			38.33%	54.21%			49.43%	22.97%	
4 Pascoe Vale	1 5//		24.30%	40.70%	32.10%		36.02%		43.68%			30.46%			37.67%	37.84%			36.37%		
5 Lyndhurst	1 S/A		21.50%	57.00%	18.30%		39.16%		53.00%			19.33%				55.57%			44.02%		
6 Melbourne	1 S/A		21.30%	42.30%	17.10%		44.06%		69.35%			44.50%				53.77%			60.08%		
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8 Clayton	1 S/A		20.30%	36.30%	31.10%		27.98%		42.60%			28.73%			27.02%	36.62%			31.68%		
9 Altona	1 S/A		20.20%	47.90%	29.70%		40.99%					32.29%				38.22%			51.80%		
0 Yuroke	1 S/A		20.20%	49.60%	32.80%		44.29%		54.20%			46.13%			30.86%	49.71%			45.45%		
1 Keilor	1 S/A		19.40%	33.10%	29.30%		27.39%		47.29%			31.05%				40.21%			24.81%		
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3 Lara	1 S/A		17.90%	44.40%			38.65%		48.31%			38.09%				42.50%			34.97%		
4 Mulgrave	1 S/A		15.80%	41.90%	34.80%		28.67%		41.40%			33.69%			33.18%	37.15%			32.71%	17.53%	
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26 Melton	1 S/A		13.50%	45.50%	29.30%		37.70%		43.90%			33.56%			23.73%	36.28%			36.64%		
27 Tarneit	1 S/A		12.50%	50.60%	34.60%		38.51%					38.33%				42.75%			35.27%		
8 Oakleigh	1 S/A		12.40%	41.00%	29.60%	36.81%	30.56%	55.54%	46.55%	36.00%		33.25%	25.47%	41.75%	29.21%	40.25%	37.10%	43.50%	43.14%	29.39%	
9 Essendon	1 S/A	LP	11.70%	46.20%	35.20%	41.04%	41.05%	55.17%	46.99%	39.54%	29.13%	40.25%	29.15%	41.92%	32.78%	40.52%	47.47%	54.18%	46.83%	31.36%	35.93%
0 Cranbourne	1 S/A	LP	11.30%	40.90%	34.40%	42.47%	44.12%	53.28%	48.97%	40.15%	36.35%	31.32%	30.38%	51.50%	39.34%	45.55%	49.68%	42.91%	41.15%	31.19%	43.669
1 Niddrie	1 S/A	LP	11.20%	41.90%	36.80%	37.97%	42.56%	44.65%	40.07%	34.30%	27.20%	31.78%	25.24%	44.86%	33.71%	43.33%	39.76%	41.71%	38.13%	33.87%	31.529
2 Narre Warren South	1 S/A	LP	10.90%	39.10%	38.00%	36.63%	37.39%	43.92%	46.99%	37.63%	24.83%	30.53%	19.22%	43.63%	31.32%	39.81%	42.62%	39.45%	31.14%	29.18%	39.88%
3 Bendigo West	1 S//	LP	10.60%	49.70%	35.80%	40.09%	37.58%	50.90%	48.85%	41.48%	31.69%	36.72%	25.16%	47.33%	35.30%	46.25%	43.78%	46.66%	39.90%	22.27%	38.509
4 Ivanhoe	1 S/A	LP	10.40%	50.30%	22.50%	47.61%	44.59%	62.07%	62.48%	57.70%	28.18%	37.69%	23.93%	70.65%	33.58%	49.98%	52.35%	45.99%	61.55%	26.88%	43.339
5 Albert Park	2 FS	ALP	9.70%	29.80%	42.10%	29.13%	25.77%	41.54%	40.22%	36.37%	19.90%	20.59%	14.77%	31.74%	25.35%	29.84%	26.78%	33.79%	43.23%	12.31%	19.999
6 Narre Warren North	2 F S	ALP	9.20%	44.60%	30.00%	39.58%	35.15%	49.13%	49.53%	32.69%	27.49%	30.93%	26.20%	37.69%	33.89%	46.62%	48.64%	43.90%	41.38%	40.08%	43.299
7 Geelong	2 F S	ALP	8.30%	47.40%	25.80%	44.52%	40.50%	59.94%	58.84%	46.82%	25.53%	37.26%	22.32%	56.44%	36.93%	47.92%	56.75%	55.52%	46.55%	26.22%	41.329
B Macedon	2 FS		8.20%	48.10%	30.40%	41.53%	43.00%	52.93%	55.23%	41.18%	26.68%	33.40%	22.97%	51.76%	41.17%	40.89%	48.27%	41.85%	42.06%	28.93%	39.519
9 Bellarine	2 FS		7.90%	40.50%	37.00%		38.75%	49.31%	54.36%			24.95%			32.77%	40.50%			34.36%		
) Yan Yean	2 FS		7.90%	44.30%	34.70%		44.18%					32.78%				46.53%			39.80%		
1 Carrum	2 FS		6.70%	38.10%	44.20%		46.54%		40.22%			32.30%			32.61%	31.46%			43.50%		
2 Monbulk	2 FS		6.70%	32.30%	32.60%	-	31.32%		44.58%			24.44%			31.42%	38.45%			43.53%	19.74%	
3 Seymour	2 FS		6.70%	42.40%			35.31%		54.18%			37.31%			30.93%	33.41%			34.53%	30.54%	
4 Ballarat East	2 FS		6.60%	39.10%	24.70%		46.07%		59.44%			34.18%			42.25%	46,70%			46.43%		
5 Ballarat West	2 FS		6.50%	36.30%	44.90%		46.65%		55.59%			43.84%			43.60%	47.68%			44.95%		
6 Eltham	2 F S		6.50%	33.70%			38.49%		43.30%			43.84%			24.78%	32.96%			37.68%	21.22%	
									43.30%			29.42%	10.53%		24.78%	40.24%			42.16%		
7 Bentleigh	2 FS		6.30%	37.10%	40.00%		34.68%													17.27%	
B Bendigo East	3 M//		5.40%	42.00%	33.20%		38.61%		56.56%			37.49%	19.52%		26.84%	40.02%			43.74%		
9 Ripon	3 M//		4.30%	35.10%	42.70%		40.19%		32.78%			22.82%	15.19%		26.84%	30.72%			30.84%		
0 Burwood	3 M//	ALP	3.70%	38.90%	40.00%		35.37%	52.82%	49.04%	41.67%	14.64%	30.68%	19.71%	46.77%	23.43%	37.94%	36.05%	37.13%	38.46%	23.97%	36.61

40.87%

37.79%

39.39%

39.92%

41.45%

21.69%



APPENDIX 1

Roy Morgan Research Ltd. A.B.N. 91 007 092 944 – Quality System Certified to AS/NZS ISO 9001

Finding No. 4583 Available on Website: <u>www.roymorgan.com</u> On September 21, 2010

Economic Issues (33%) most Important Problem Facing the World

But Government/ Politics/ Immigration, Human Rights (26%) most Important Problem Facing Australia

Of Australians, 33% (up 1% since June 2010) consider Economic issues are the most important problem facing the **World** today, ahead of Environmental issues (29%, down 1%). In **Australia**, Government/ Politics/ Immigration, Human Rights (26%, up 3% since June 2010), Economic Issues (24%, down 4% since June 2010) outweigh Environmental Issues (20%, up 3%) according to a special telephone Roy Morgan survey conducted on September 15/16, 2010.

Australian views on Problems facing the World

As a **World** problem Economic issues (33%, up 1%) have risen only sightly since June 2010, but remain well below the peak of 51% reached in May 2009. In particular many Australians regard Poverty/ The gap between the rich and the poor (13%, up 3%) and the Economy/ Interest rates/ Inflation (12%, down 3%) as the most important economic problems facing the **World**.

Environmental issues (mentioned by 29% of Australians) are the second biggest problem facing the **World**) and down 1% since June 2010. Significantly 19% (up 2% since June 2010) of Australians regard Climate Change/ Global Warming as the most important problem.

Other major problems are Wars and conflicts (7%, down 1%), Other Environmental Issues (6%, down 2%) and over–population (7%, up 3%).

Australian views on Problems facing Australia

The most important problems facing **Australia** today are now Government/ Politics/ Immigration, Human Rights (26%, up 3% since June 2010) – the most frequently mentioned problem in this area was Government, Political system and Political Leadership (11%, up 3%). This is the first time since April 2006 Australians have rated Government/ Politics/ Immigration, Human Rights as a more important problem than Economic issues (24%, down 4%) - of those mentioning Economic issues only a few respondents (less than 1%) mentioned one of the big issues of the recent Federal election campaign – the much discussed Resource Rent Tax (formerly called the Mining 'Super Profits' Tax). The Economy/ Interest Rates and Inflation 11%, (down 1%) is still the largest economic problem facing **Australia** today.

Environment Issues (20%, up 3%) are also an important problem facing **Australia** according to many Australians – the most important Environmental Issues remain Climate change/ Global warming (9%, up 1%) and Water Conservation (5%, up 1%). Other important problems facing **Australia** include Health Issues (7%, up 1%), Refugees and Asylum problems (7%, up 1%), Immigration/ Immigration policy (4%, down 2%) and Unemployment (4%, unchanged).

Michele Levine says:

"This special Roy Morgan survey shows that for the first time since April 2006 Government/ Politics/ Immigration, Human Rights (26%, up 3% since June 2010) are rated ahead of Economic Issues (24%, down 4%) as the most important problem facing **Australia** for most Australians. The fall in Economic Issues is driven by the fall in Australians saying the Resource Tax (now less than 1%, down from 5% in June 2010) is an important problem facing **Australia**. "Driving the rise in Government/ Politics/ Immigration, Human Rights is an increase in Australians saying the Government, Political system and Political leadership (11%, up 3%) is the most important problem facing **Australia**, and the rise in Refugees and Asylum problems (7%, up 1%) is also behind the increase.

"Environmental Issues (20%, up 3%) have also risen as an important problem after the recent Federal election – with increases in Climate change/ Global warming (9%, up 1%) and Water conservation (5%, up 1%).

"In contrast, Australians clearly view Economic Issues (33%, up 1%) as the most important problem facing the **World** just ahead of Environmental Issues (29%, down 1%). Within these two – Climate Change/ Global warming (19%, up 2%), Poverty, the gap between rich and poor (13%, up 3%) and Economy/ Interest rates/ Inflation (12%, down 3%) remain the most important problems facing the World."

n Australia, a cross-section of 649 men and women aged 14 or over were interviewed by telephone on September 15/16, 2010. Respondents were asked: *"Firstly, what do you think is the most important problem facing the World today?"* and *"What do you think is the most important problem facing Australia today?"*

These findings come from a special Roy Morgan survey conducted in Australia on attitudes towards issues facing the **World** and **Australia** in the future.

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The research conducted was both **qualitative** (in that people were asked to use their own words) and **quantitative** (in that the 'open-ended' responses were analysed and 'coded' so that the results could be counted and reported as percentages).

	Most important problem facing the World						Most important problem facing Australia				
	May 2009 %	Nov 2009 %	Feb 2010 %	June 2010 %	Sept 2010 %	May 2009 %	Nov 2009 %	Feb 2010 %	June 2010 %	Sept 2010 %	
Poverty, the gap between rich and poor	8	13	9	10	13	2	4	4	2	2	
Economy / Interest rates/ Inflation	36	9	15	15	12	35	14	14	12	11	
Over-population	2	4	6	4	7	1	3	3	2	3	
Unemployment	4	2	2	1	2	11	8	6	4	4	
Globalisation/Fairer world trade	1	*	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	
Industrial relations reforms	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	
Infrastructure	*	*	-	*	-	1	1	1	2	2	
Total Economic issues (Excluding Resource Tax)	51	29	32	31	33	51	31	29	23	24	
Mining Tax/ Resource Tax	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5	*	
Total Economic issues (Including Resource Tax)	51	29	32	32	33	51	31	29	28	24	
Climate Change / Global warming	12	19	24	17	19	5	13	11	8	9	
Other Environmental issues	7	4	7	8	6	2	3	3	4	4	
Famine	2	4	3	2	4	-	*	-	-	*	
Water conservation	*	2	2	1	1 *	4	5	7	4	5	
Oil Spill in Gulf of Mexico (World only)	-	-	- *	1 *		-	-	-	-	-	
Drought Total Environmental Issues	- 21	29	36	30	- 29	6 17	3 24	3 25	1 17	1 20	
Wars and conflicts	5	12	6	8	29 7	-	1	1	1	1	
Terrorism	2	6	2	4	4	- 1	1	1 *	1	*	
Security, Safety	*	*	1	*	1	*	-	1	1	1	
Relations with other countries	_	-	*	-	-	-	*	*	*	1	
Total Terrorism/Wars/Security/Safety	7	18	9	12	12	1	3	2	2	4	
Social apathy/Family breakdowns/											
Selfishness/Moral decline	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	
Greed, Materialism	3	2	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Educational issues	*	1	*	1	1	2	3	2	1	2	
Crime	-	-	1	1	1	*	*	1	1	1	
Youth issues	1	2	1	1	1	*	2	1	1	1	
Anger/Violence/Aggression	1	1	*	1	1	1	*	2	1	1	
Corruption	*	1	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
Drugs and drug abuse	*	*	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	1	
Total Social Issues	6	7	7	8	9	6	9	10	7	10	
Government, Political system, Political leadership	3	2	1	1	1	6	5	4	8	11	
Religion, Religious fundamentalism	1	3	1	2	2	*	*	*	1	1	
Refugees and Asylum problems	*	3	1	1 *	1	1	7	3	6	7	
Immigration/ Immigration policy	1	1 1	1 *	*	1 *	2 *	6 *	6	6 *	4 *	
Human rights	- 1	*	1	*	*	*	_	- *	*	1	
Intolerance Racism/Racial tensions	*	_	1	1	*	1	-	1	2	1	
Multiculturalism	1	*	*	*	*	*	1	1	1	1	
Aboriginal Issues/ Health/ Rights (Australia only)	-	_	_	-	-	_	-	-	1	*	
Total Government/ Politics/ Immigration/ Human Rights	6	9	5	5	5	12	21	16	23	26	
Health Issues	2	2	3	2	3	2	2	6	6	7	
Energy crisis	*	*	1	1	1	-	1	*	1	1	
Petrol prices	*	*	-	*	*	1	-	*	*	-	
Fossil fuel depletion	*	1	*	1	*	1	*	*	*	-	
Total Energy Crisis/ Fossil Fuel Depletion/Petrol Price	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	*	1	1	
Other	4	2	2	4	2	4	5	6	7	3	
Can't say	3	2	5	4	5	4	5	7	7	6	
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

*Less than 1%.

Most Important Problem facing the World

2010 No. No. <th></th> <th>Sept</th> <th>NSW</th> <th>VIC</th> <th>QLD</th> <th>WA</th> <th>SA</th> <th>TAS#</th>		Sept	NSW	VIC	QLD	WA	SA	TAS#
Poverty, the gap between rich and poor Beonomy / Interest rates' Inflation 13 15 11 10 16 6 13 Over population Over population 7 10 11 17 15 10 - Over population 7 1 4 2 - 3 - 2 - 3 -								
Economy / Interest rates / Influing 12 10 11 17 15 10 12 Over-population 7 6 5 7 12 5 12 Unemployment 2 1 4 2 2 2 2 Globalisation/Fairer world trade 1 1 - - 2 2 2 Industrial relations reforms - - - 2	Deverty the conjustiven rich and near							
Over-population 7 6 5 7 12 5 12 Unemployment 2 1 4 2 - 33 - Industrion/Farrer world trade 1 -								13
Unemployment 2 1 4 2 - 3 - Citobalisation/Pairer world trade 1 1 - - 2 - Infrastructure - - - - 2 - Total Economic issues (Including Resource Tax) 33 33 32 35 43 26 25 Total Economic issues (Including Resource Tax) 33 33 32 35 43 26 25 Citimate Charge (Flobal warming Other Environmental issues 6 7 5 5 4 5 7 5 20 15 20 15 20 15 20 15 20 15 20 15 10 11 10 </td <td>-</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>-</td>	-							-
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AUSTRALIA

*Less than 1%. # Results for sample sizes less than 50 (Tasmania) should be treated with caution.

Most Important Problem facing Australia

	Sept 2010	NSW	VIC	QLD	WA	SA	TAS#
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Government, Political system, Political leadership	11	14	7	15	7	3	15
Refugees and Asylum problems	7	5	6	5	13	11	-
Immigration/ Immigration policy	4	2	6	3	5	5	-
Religion, Religious fundamentalism	1	*	1	2	-	-	-
Intolerance	1	-	1	-	-	2	-
Racism/Racial tensions	1	2	1	1	3	-	-
Multiculturalism	1	1	1	1	1	3	3
Human rights	*	-	1	-	2	-	-
Aboriginal Issues/ Health/ Rights (Australia only)	*	1	-	-	-	-	-
Total Government/ Politics/ Immigration/ Human Rights	26	25	25	27	31	23	19
Economy / Interest rates/ Inflation	11	11	12	9	10	17	14
Unemployment	4	3	3	2	8	9	8
Over-population	3	2	5	3	1	-	8
Poverty, the gap between rich and poor	2	4	2	1	2	1	-
Globalisation/Fairer world trade	2	2	2	3	-	-	-
Infrastructure	2	4	1	3	-	3	-
Industrial relations reforms	*	-	1	-	-	-	-
Total Economic issues (Excluding Resource Tax)	24	25	25	21	20	29	29
Mining Tax/ Resource Tax	*	-	1	-	2	-	-
Total Economic issues (Including Resource Tax)	24	25	26	21	21	29	29
Climate Change / Global warming	9	9	11	7	13	4	16
Water conservation	5	6	5	5	5	9	6
Other Environmental issues	4	5	3	4	1	4	12
Drought	1 *	1	1	1	-	3	-
Famine Total Environmental Issues		-	-	1	2 21	-	-
	20	20	19	18	21	20	33
Social apathy/Family breakdowns/ Selfishness/Moral decline	2	2	2	1	5	-	-
Educational issues	2	2	2	4	3	_	6
Greed, Materialism	1	1	-	-	2	2	-
Crime	1	1	3	-	-	-	-
Youth issues	1	2	3	1	_	-	-
Anger/Violence/Aggression	1	*	1	3	2	2	-
Drugs and drug abuse	1	1	1	1	_	-	6
Corruption	*	*	1	1	-	-	-
Total Social Issues	10	8	12	11	11	5	13
Health Issues	7	10	5	8	7	3	6
Wars and conflicts	1	2	1	1	-	4	-
Security, Safety	1	-	2	2	-	3	-
Relations with other countries	1	1	2	-	-	-	-
Terrorism	*	-	1	1	-	-	-
Total Terrorism/Wars/Security/Safety	4	3	5	4	-	7	-
Energy crisis	1	1	1	2	-	-	-
Petrol prices	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fossil fuel depletion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Energy Crisis/ Fossil Fuel Depletion/Petrol Price	1	1	1	2	-	-	-
Other	3	4	1	4	2	4	-
Can't say	6	4	6	7	6	8	-
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

AUSTRALIA

*Less than 1%.. # Results for sample sizes less than 50 (Tasmania) should be treated with caution.



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APPENDIX 2

Finding No. 4515 Available on Website: <u>www.roymorgan.com</u> On June 25, 2010

The Victorian State Election in 5 months is on a knife-edge

A Victorian State Election would be extremely close if held now. Liberal Party and National Party support is 50.5% just leading the ALP (49.5%) on a Two-Party Preferred basis, a special telephone Morgan Poll taken over the last three weeks finds.

Despite a high disapproval rating (46%, down 1%) for Premier John Brumby's handling of his job as Premier of Victoria, Brumby is still the "Preferred Premier" of a clear number of Victorians (48%, down 2.5%) still well ahead of Opposition Leader Ted Baillieu (33%, up 2.5%).

This special telephone Morgan Poll was conducted June 2-17, 2010 just five months ahead of this year's Victorian State Election – due to be held on November 27, 2010.

If the Victorian State Election had been held now the result would have been too close to call.

Primary support for the ALP was 35 (down 2.5% from February 2010, and down 6.1% from the 2006 Victorian State Election), Liberal Party 38% (down 4% from February 2010, but up 3.6% from the 2006 Election) and National Party 3% (up 0.5%), the Greens 13.5% (up 2%), Family First 3% (up 2%) and Independents/Other 7.5% (up 2%).

Better Victorian Premier (John Brumby v Ted Baillieu)

The special Morgan Poll finds that John Brumby (48%, down 2.5%) remains clearly preferred as the "Better Premier of Victoria" by the Victorian electorate ahead of Opposition Leader Ted Baillieu (33%, up 2.5%) while 19% can't say.

Analysis by gender shows Brumby holds a huge lead amongst female Victorian electors with 52.5% preferring Brumby compared to only 28% that prefer Baillieu. Opinion amongst male electors is more evenly divided with 43% preferring Brumby compared to 38.5% preferring Baillieu.

Job Approval (John Brumby v Ted Baillieu)

The special telephone Morgan Poll also finds that although voters prefer John Brumby to Ted Baillieu as "Better Premier" they do not approve of the way he's handling his job as Premier of Victoria with nearly half, 46% (down 1%) disapproving of Brumby's handling of the job as Premier compared to 41% (up 4%) that approve while 13% (down 3%) can't say.

Opposition Leader Ted Baillieu is viewed similarly though with 37.5% (down 2.5%) of the Victorian electorate approving of his handling of the job of Opposition Leader compared to 41.5% (up 5.5%) that disapprove – but more than a fifth of the electorate (21%, down 3%) are still undecided.

A close analysis of the results again reveals a distinct 'gender gap' between the two Leaders with 45% of female electors approving of John Brumby's handling of his job compared to 41% that disapprove, while only 36.5% of male electors approve of John Brumby compared to a majority, 51.5%, that disapprove.

In contrast, while male electors are evenly split of Ted Baillieu's handing of his job as Opposition Leader with 41% approving and 41% disapproving, a greater proportion of female electors (42%) disapprove of Baillieu's job performance than approve (34.5%).

Think will win the Victorian State Election

More Victorian electors (50%) think the ALP will win this year's Victorian State Election to be held in November than the Liberal & National Parties (33%), while 17% can't say.

A large majority of ALP voters (76%) expect the ALP to win the election compared to 11% who expect the Liberal & National Parties to win.

Opinion amongst Liberal & National Party supporters is clearly in the opposite direction with 54.5% expecting the Liberal & National Parties to win compared to only 32% expecting the ALP to win.

Would like to win the Victorian State Election

Although Victorians believe the ALP will win this year's Victorian State Election, a larger proportion of Victorians (43.5%) would like to see the Liberal & National Parties return to Government compared to 41.5% that would like to see the Brumby Government re-elected and 15% can't say.

Voters are clearly split along party lines with 88% of ALP supporters saying they would like the ALP to win the Victorian State Election compared to 5% preferring the Liberal & National Parties while 92.5% of Liberal & National Party supporters say they would like the Liberal & National Parties to win compared to only 2.5% that would prefer the ALP to win.

Gary Morgan says:

"This special telephone Morgan Poll conducted over the past three weeks in June on Victorian State voting intention finds the Liberal & National Party Opposition (50.5%, unchanged since February 2010) retain a very slim Two-Party Preferred lead over the incumbent ALP Government (49.5%, unchanged).

"However, both major parties have lost primary support over the past four months with support for both the ALP (35%, down 2%) and the Liberal Party (38%, down 4%) drifting away from the major parties to the Greens (13.5%, up 2%), Family First (3%, up 2%) and Independents/ Others (7.5%, up 2%).

"The drift in support to the Greens is of particular concern for the ALP as the inner Melbourne seats of Brunswick (held by the ALP by 3.6% over the Greens), Melbourne (1.9%), Northcote (8.5%) and Richmond (3.6%) are all vulnerable to an increased Green vote.

"Today's Morgan Poll clearly shows Opposition Leader Ted Baillieu faces a different challenge as he attempts to become Victoria's 46th Premier. Baillieu needs to increase his appeal to Victorian female voters. A very clear majority of female electors (52.5%) currently prefer Premier Brumby as the "Better Premier" of Victoria, while less than a third (28%) prefers Baillieu."

These are the main findings of a special telephone Morgan Poll on Victorian voting intention conducted with 430 Victorian electors between June 2 - 17, 2010.

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Primary Voting Intention

			Telephone Mo	organ Poll
	Victorian State Election Nov 30, 2002	Victorian State Election Nov 25, 2006	February 17/18 <u>& 24-28, 2010</u>	June 2/3, 9/10 <u>& 16/17, 2010</u>
	%	%	%	%
ALP	47.9	43.1	37.5	35
Liberal & (National Party)	38.2 (4.3)	39.6 (5.2)	44.5 (2.5)	41 (3)
Greens	9.7	10.0	11.5	13.5
Family First	۸	4.3	1	3
Independents/ Others	4.2	3	5.5	7.5
Total	100	100	100	100

^ The Family First was launched in August 2004.

Two-Party Preferred

			Telephone Mo	organ Poll
	Victorian State Election <u>Nov 30, 2002</u>	Victorian State Election <u>Nov 25, 2006</u>	February 17/18 <u>& 24-28, 2010</u>	June 2/3, 9/10 <u>& 16/17, 2010</u>
	%	%	%	%
ALP	57.8	54.4	49.5	49.5
Liberal & National Parties	42.2	45.6	50.5	50.5
Total	100	100	100	100

Sample sizes less than 50 should be treated with caution.

Think will win the Victorian State Election

Electors were asked: "Regardless of who you would like to win, who do you think will win the Victorian State Election in November?"

	Victorian Electors 18+	A	nalysis by I	Region a	nd State Vot	ing Intenti	ion
	June 2/3, 9/10 <u>& 16/17, 2010</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>ALP</u>	Liberal & National <u>Parties</u>	The <u>Greens</u> #	Others/ <u>Can't say</u> #
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
ALP	50	51	46.5	76	32	48.5	38
Liberal & National Parties	33	32	36.5	11	54.5	39	16.5
Can't say	17	17	17	13	13.5	12.5	45.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sample sizes less than 50 should be treated with caution.

Would like to win the Victorian State Election

Electors were asked: "Regardless of who you think will win, who would you like to win the Victorian State Election in November?"

	Victorian Electors 18+		Analysis b	y Regio	n and State V	Voting Inte	ention
	June 2/3, 9/10 <u>& 16/17, 2010</u>	<u>City</u> <u>Country</u> <u>AL</u>		<u>ALP</u>	Liberal & National <u>Parties</u>	The <u>Greens</u> #	Others/ <u>Can't say</u> #
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
ALP	41.5	44.5	32.5	88	5	60.5	9.5
Liberal & National Parties	43.5	41.5	48	5	92.5	18	15.5
Can't say	15	14	19.5	7	2.5	21.5	75
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sample sizes less than 50 should be treated with caution.

Better Victorian Premier – John Brumby v Ted Baillieu

	Telephone N	Morgan Poll	Analysis by State Voting Intention							
	February 17/18 <u>& 24-28, 2010</u>	June 2/3, 9/10 <u>& 16/17, 2010</u>	<u>ALP</u>	<u>Lib</u>	<u>Nat</u> #	The <u>Greens</u> #	Family <u>First</u> #	Ind / <u>Other</u> #		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
Mr. Brumby	50.5	48	86	17.5	9.5	66	47.5	24		
Mr. Baillieu	30.5	33	5.5	68	75	14	26.5	15		
Brumby lead	<u>20</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>80.5</u>	<u>(50.5)</u>	<u>(65.5)</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>9</u>		
Other / Neither	19	19	8.5	14.5	15.5	20	26	61		
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100		

Sample sizes less than 50 should be treated with caution.

	Telephone N	Aorgan Poll	Analysis by Sex and Age								
	February 17/18 <u>& 24-28, 2010</u>	June 2/3, 9/10 <u>& 16/17, 2010</u>	<u>Men</u>	Women	<u>18-24</u> #	<u>25-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50+</u>			
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%			
Mr. Brumby	50.5	48	43	52.5	59.5	49.5	53.5	40.5			
Mr. Baillieu	30.5	33	38.5	28	21	25.5	28.5	42			
Brumby lead	<u>20</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>4.5</u>	24.5	<u>38.5</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>(1.5)</u>			
Other / Neither	19	19	18.5	19.5	19.5	25	18	17.5			
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100			
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Sample sizes less than 50 should be treated with caution.

Approval of Leaders – John Brumby v Ted Baillieu

Victorian Premier: John Brumby

Respondents were asked: "Do you APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of the way Mr. Brumby is handling his job as Victorian Premier?"

	Telephone N	Analysis by State Voting Intention						
	February 17/18 <u>& 24-28, 2010</u>	June 2/3, 9/10 & 16/17, 2010	ALP	<u>Lib</u>	<u>Nat</u> #	The <u>Greens</u> #	Family <u>First</u> #	Ind / <u>Other</u> #
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Approve	37	41	74.5	19	26.5	34.5	39	23
Disapprove	47	46	11.5	73.5	73.5	56	50	41
Approve - Disapprove	<u>(10)</u>	<u>(5)</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>(54.5)</u>	(47)	(21.5)	<u>(11)</u>	<u>(18)</u>
Can't say	16	13	14	7.5	-	9.5	11	36
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sample sizes less than 50 should be treated with caution.

	Telephone N	Analysis by Sex and Age						
	February 17/18 <u>& 24-28, 2010</u>	June 2/3, 9/10 <u>& 16/17, 2010</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>18-24#</u>	<u>25-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50+</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Approve	37	41	36.5	45	43.5	51	43	34.5
Disapprove	47	46	51.5	41	31.5	32	43	57
Approve - Disapprove	<u>(10)</u>	<u>(5)</u>	(15)	<u>4</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>0</u>	(22.5)
Can't say	16	13	12	14	25	17	14	8.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sample sizes less than 50 should be treated with caution.

Opposition Leader: Ted Baillieu

Respondents were asked: "Do you APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of the way Mr. Baillieu is handling his job as Leader of the Opposition?"

	Telephone N	Analysis by State Voting Intention						
	February 17/18June 2/3, 9/10& 24-28, 2010& 16/17, 2010		ALP	<u>Lib</u>	<u>Nat</u> #	The <u>Greens</u> #	Family <u>First</u> #	Ind / <u>Other</u> #
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Approve	40	37.5	32.5	57	32.5	22.5	9	16
Disapprove	36	41.5	49.5	27	42	62	66	33
Approve - Disapprove	<u>4</u>	<u>(4)</u>	(17)	<u>30</u>	<u>(9.5)</u>	<u>(39.5)</u>	<u>(57)</u>	<u>(17)</u>
Can't say	24	21	18	16	25.5	15.5	25	51
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sample sizes less than 50 should be treated with caution.

	Telephone Morgan Poll			Analysis by Sex and Age					
	February 17/18 <u>& 24-28, 2010</u>	June 2/3, 9/10 <u>& 16/17, 2010</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>18-24</u> #	<u>25-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50+</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Approve	40	37.5	41	34.5	30	30.5	36.5	43	
Disapprove	36	41.5	41	42	27.5	38.5	43	45	
Approve - Disapprove	<u>4</u>	<u>(4)</u>	<u>0</u>	(7.5)	2.5	<u>(8)</u>	<u>(6.5)</u>	<u>(2)</u>	
Can't say	24	21	18	23.5	42.5	31	20.5	12	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

Sample sizes less than 50 should be treated with caution.

Margin of Error:

The margin of error to be allowed for in any estimate depends mainly on the number of interviews on which it is based. The following table gives indications of the likely range within which estimates would be 95% likely to fall, expressed as the number of percentage points above or below the actual estimate. The figures are approximate and for general guidance only, and assume a simple random sample. Allowance for design effects (such as stratification and weighting) should be made as appropriate.

Sample Size	Percentage Estimate							
	<u>40%-60%</u>	<u>25% or 75%</u>	<u>10% or 90%</u>	<u>5% or 95%</u>				
500	±4.5	±3.9	±2.7	±1.9				
1,000	±3.2	±2.7	±1.9	± 1.4				