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Australia's Nation-wide Research Organisation

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Why is the Election Close?

- Presented to -

The Securities Institute of Australia
530 Collins Street
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- Presented by -

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March 12, 1993.

REF:REL:Talk: TV and Radio Comment

The issue is unemployment and the economy, the concern is GST. The ALP was in front after Sunday's debate - was the swing back to the ALP a "knee-jerk reaction" or a permanent swing? Tonight on the Seven Network we will release our final poll - it will be difficult for the ALP to win with 11.1% unemployment. (See Appendix 1). We will also be conducting an election day poll - just to show we can get it right, I hope.

Since the 1980 Federal election the Morgan Poll has conducted many telephone polls on voting intention and compared the results obtained with Morgan Polls conducted at the same time by "face-to-face" interviews using a "secret ballot" (See Appendix 2). Comparison of the results show significant differences.

It became apparent during the recent Queensland and Victorian State elections that telephone polls obtain a bias which is correlated with which party electors "think will win". Obviously if the population is evenly divided on who they "think will win", then there is likely to be no significant bias in a telephone poll result. However, if one party is favoured to win by a significant proportion of the population then the voting intention bias for that party is between 2% and 10%.

Four days before the election, electors believe the L-NP will win the coming Federal election - 45% (2% lower than before the debate won by Mr Keating) think the L-NP will win, 37% (up 5%) the ALP and 18% (down 3%) are undecided. Because of this telephone polls not using the "new" Morgan telephone poll method could be biased to the L-NP as Newspoll (4.3%), AGB (a low 0.8%), and Westpoll (2.8%) were recently in Western Australia. The Morgan Poll under-estimated the L-NP vote by 1.2%.

A week before the election, the Morgan Poll gave the L-NP a lead of 3% over the ALP. Comparing this result to results a week before the last nine Federal elections shows the L-NP in the same position as in 1977 when they won and was only in a better position in 1975, when they won comfortably. The issue is - will the L-NP vote go back to where it was if the memory of the debate fades.

From 1983 only TV and radio comment, but not advertising, has been allowed after midnight of the Wednesday before an election. Before then, TV and radio comment were also banned after the Wednesday before an election. Since September 1992, advertising has been allowed up until 24 hours before election day.

All published polls (including the Morgan Poll) conducted 3 - 4 weeks before the 1977, 1980, 1983, 1984, 1987 and 1990 Federal elections showed the ALP winning (See Appendix 1). In the 1977, 1980, 1983, 1984, 1987 and 1990 elections the last published "face-to-face" Morgan Polls using a "secret ballot" were conducted on the weekend before the election. In all those Morgan Polls, except 1977, the ALP lead was significantly larger than the election result. In 1977 the L-NP lead was significantly smaller than the actual election result.

Special election day polls helped to determine whether or not there was an ALP bias a week before those elections (1977 to 1990) or an actual drop in ALP support in the last week. From 1977 to 1984 those election day polls were conducted by "face-to-face" interviewing using a "secret ballot" with the results being tabulated after the election result was known. The 1987 (election day) and 1990 (election eve) polls were conducted by telephone. As can be seen (See Appendix 3) those election day polls were extremely accurate and confirmed there were swings away from the ALP in the last week of the election campaigns from 1977 through to 1990.

* With a "secret ballot" the respondent is asked to indicate their vote on a ballot paper which they put into a Morgan Poll ballot box. Respondents are told that their answers will be matched back to the questionnaire so answers can be analysed by their demographics.

When electors were asked 3 weeks before the 1990 election who they thought would win, they answered:

ALP	68%
L-NP	21%
Can't say	11%
	<u>100%</u>

Unfortunately, before the 1977, 1980, 1983, 1984 and 1987 elections the Morgan Poll did not ask electors who they thought would win. However, in all those elections, there was widespread publicity 3 - 4 weeks before those elections telling electors the ALP was in front. Because of this a similar result as found in 1990 would have been expected if electors had been asked who they thought would win.

In 1975 there is little doubt that before the election the electorate believed the L-NP would win. A week before the election the Morgan Poll gave the L-NP a massive lead of 14%. The election day poll cut this L-NP lead back to 10%, which was within 0.2% of the actual election result!

In the 1990 Federal election all final telephone polls overestimated the ALP vote - Morgan and Saulwick by a low 0.6%, Newspoll by 2.1% and AGB by 2.6%; and all underestimated the L-NP vote, Morgan by a low 1.2%, AGB by 2.2%, Newspoll 3.7% and Saulwick by a high 4.2% (See Appendix 4).

The final Morgan Poll was the only poll to show that the L-NP would receive a greater percentage share of the vote than the ALP, as actually occurred.

The inaccuracy of telephone polls makes it difficult to know whether there was a "real" swing in the last few days or whether the swing was due to the bias of telephone polls.

To try and solve this problem the Morgan Poll conducted numerous experiments during the recent Queensland, Victorian and Western Australian State election campaigns.

Queensland

In last year's Queensland State election a similar swing against the ALP could be claimed to have occurred. In that election, however, the final ALP vote was down on the 1989 ALP vote. Although Morgan Poll telephone surveys conducted during the last week showed a significant ALP lead, the "secret ballot" survey taken a month before the election showed a result very similar to the election result and the election day poll was extremely accurate (See Appendix 5). This indicates that the Morgan telephone polls probably contained significant ALP bias although the alternative is that there was a swing to the ALP which was reversed in the last days before the election (See Appendix 6). When Queensland electors were asked who they thought would win, 82% said the ALP.

Victoria

In the recent Victorian State election, although there is little doubt that while in the last two weeks of the election campaign the independent and minor party voters switched back to the ALP, the L-NP vote remained unchanged from its level before the election was announced in August. However, in the 2-3 weeks leading up to the election, Morgan telephone polls (and all other telephone polls) showed significantly fewer electors saying they'd vote for the ALP than the "secret ballot" Morgan Polls conducted "door-to-door" on similar dates. On election day, when Victorian electors were also asked who they "thought would win", 79% said the L-NP.

The Morgan Poll conducted by telephone only obtained a result similar to the "secret ballot" poll conducted on election day after the telephone voting intention questioning was changed on the Friday night before the election and on election day. The "door-to-door" election day Morgan Poll using the "secret ballot" was very accurate (See Appendix 7).

Western Australia

For the recent Western Australian election the Morgan Poll asked the "new" question procedure as first used on the Friday night before the Victorian election. The Morgan Poll result for Western Australia was based on only 604 electors and was easily the most accurate of all published polls (See Appendix 8). The L-NP error of other pollsters could be explained by 63% of Western Australian electors on election eve believing the L-NP would win.

Previous experiences

During the 1970's it was believed by pollsters that telephone polls conducted during the last week before an election would detect the swing caused by campaigning during the last week. However, before the Fraser Government's win in 1975 Morgan Poll telephone surveys conducted during the election campaign found large biases toward the L-NP. Those biases were considerably greater than the "phone Vs no phone" bias which showed phone owners more likely to vote L-NP than non-phone owners.

Until the Fraser Government was elected in 1975 the Morgan Poll allowed for this bias by adding the "no answer/can't say" to the ALP. This corrected the L-NP bias in telephone polling and resulted in a very accurate 1975 election forecast.

However, after the 1975 election it became obvious that adding the "no answer/can't say" to ALP would result in a very wrong result. With telephone polls conducted before the 1977 and 1980 elections the "no answer/can't say" was allocated to the L-NP vote, ie. the telephone polls were ALP biased!

When the results were analysed from the 1988 Victorian, 1989 South Australian, 1989 Queensland and 1991 NSW State elections, similar telephone poll biases were found.

In the 1988 Victorian State election the telephone polls (Newspoll, AGB and Saulwick) showed the ALP would win. Because of this it is to be believed most electors would have thought this.

Although the ALP won, all polls overestimated the ALP vote. The range was Morgan, a low 0.4%, AGB 1.4% and Saulwick 1.4% and Newspoll 3.4% (See Appendix 9).

.../4

In the 1989 South Australian State election both the Morgan Poll and Newspoll telephone polls showed a swing to the L-NP in the last week (it is to be believed most electors would have thought this). However, both polls underestimated the ALP vote - Morgan by 1.6% and Newspoll by 2.6% (See Appendix 10).

In the 1989 Queensland State election all polls showed the ALP would win and most electors believed this (57%). However, all polls underestimated the L-NP vote. The range was Newspoll a low 0.3%, Morgan 2.8%, AGB and Saulwick 5.8% and Kenning 6.8% (See Appendix 11).

In the 1991 NSW State election telephone polls by Newspoll and Saulwick published 2 weeks before the election had L-NP leading by 14% and 16% respectively. Publicity about such a lead would have meant electors believed the L-NP would win. A telephone Newspoll was the only poll conducted during the last week. They gave the L-NP an 8% lead which was 2.4% higher than the L-NP's actual vote.

U.K. Election

Problems with polling are not unique to Australia. Most polls in the April 1992 U.K. election were conducted by "face-to-face" interviewing without a "secret ballot" and all underestimated the Conservative vote by about 4-5% (See Appendix 12). During the weeks leading up to the U.K. election all the polls had Labour in front. Because of this it is to be expected that before the election a large majority of the electorate believed Labour would win.

It is interesting to note that in September a U.K. survey company, ICM, used a "secret ballot" method. Their results showed Labour and Conservatives level-pegging on 38% while Liberal Democrats on 19%. This result differed from other U.K. polls at the time -which put Labour ahead (See Appendix 13).

U.S. Election

In the month leading up to the U.S. Presidential election, all polls showed a clear Clinton victory. Because of this it is to be believed that before the election a large majority of Americans thought Clinton would win.

In the U.S. Presidential election all polls were conducted by telephone. Except for the "Battleground" poll* they all underestimated the Perot vote and overestimated the Clinton vote (See Appendix 14).

* The Battleground poll was based on a relatively small sample of 250 "registered" voters over 4 days. Apart from the sample being small the results were not shown separately for "likely voters". Other polls showed "Registered" voters who said they were "not likely" to vote strongly favoured Perot.

APPENDIX 1

Morgan Poll

(Incorporating the Morgan Gallup Poll)

Measuring Public Opinion For Over 50 Years

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**Finding No. 2396. Released exclusively on television
on the Seven Network on March 10, 1993.**

Election is Close

Following Mr. Keating's strong performance in Sunday night's TV debate (as measured by the Perception Monitor of Audience Studies Inc.) the ALP has edged back in front of the coalition on voting intention, and Mr. Keating's personal approval and preferred Prime Minister ratings have also improved, according to a special Morgan Poll conducted for the Seven Network.

Conducted on Monday and Tuesday evening, the poll shows support for the ALP is now 45.5% (up 3% since last Friday/Saturday before the debate) and L-NP support is 45% (down 0.5%). Similar to the run-up to recent State elections the minor party vote is diminishing. Support for Australian Democrats is 4% (down 0.5%), support for the Greens is 1% (down 0.5%) and 4.5% (down 1.5%) support Independent Candidates and Other Parties.

If this level of support for the ALP holds up they will win Saturday's election, as the current two-party preferred vote of 51% ALP to 49% L-NP indicates. However, if Labor's improved standing over the last two nights is simply a "knee-jerk" reaction to Mr. Keating's TV debate performance, the Coalition would be expected to recover support over the next few days. Either way, the election looks set to be very close and decided in a handful of marginal seats.

Approval of Mr. Keating is up 5% to 38%, while 51% (down 8%) of electors disapprove and 11% are undecided.

Dr. Hewson's approval has increased 1% to 47% and his disapproval rating is down 1% to 43%, while 10% remain undecided.

On the question of who would make the better Prime Minister, Mr. Keating (44%, up 5%) leads Dr. Hewson (43%, down 4%) by the narrowest of margins, while 13% can't say or name someone else.

This latest Morgan Poll is from an Australia-wide telephone survey of 1,439 electors on the evenings of Monday/Tuesday March 8/9, 1993. Electors were asked which party would receive their first preference at the election for the House of Representatives on March 13. Of all electors surveyed 6% were undecided or didn't give an answer on voting intention.

The next Morgan Poll will be released on the Seven Network on Friday night. The Morgan Poll will be conducting an election day survey which will be released on television.

Australian Member of the Gallup International Association

FEDERAL VOTING INTENTION - HOUSE OF REPS (%)

	ALP	L-NP	Dem	Greens	Others
Election March 24, 1990	39.4	43.5	11.3	1.3	4.5

MORGAN POLL

February 6/7, 1993	42.5	44	5	3.5	5
February 13/14	40	46	5	3	6
February 20/21	42	43	5	4	6
February 27/28	45	42	4	4	5
March 5/6 (Telephone)	42.5	45.5	4.5	1.5	6
March 8/9 (Telephone)	45.5	45	4	1	4.5

TWO-PARTY PREFERRED

Election March 24, 1990	49.9	50.1
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MORGAN POLL

February 6/7, 1993	50	50
February 13/14	47	53
February 20/21	50	50
February 27/28	53	47
March 5/6 (Telephone)	49	51
March 8/9 (Telephone)	51	49

LEADER RATINGS (%)

KEATING

	Approve			Disapprove			Undecided		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Jan 3-5, 1992 (low)	25	28	22	30	29	31	45	43	47
Nov 28/Dec 5 (high)	41	45	37	49	46	52	10	9	11
February 13/14, 1993	35	38	32	55	55	56	10	7	12
February 20/21	36	40	33	54	52	55	10	8	12
February 27/28	39	42	36	50	51	49	11	7	15
March 5/6 (Telephone)	33	37	30	59	57	61	8	6	9
March 8/9 (Telephone)	38	41	36	51	49	53	11	10	11

HEWSON

	Approve			Disapprove			Undecided		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Jan 3-5, 1992 (high)	62	69	55	23	21	26	15	10	19
Nov 28/Dec 5 (low)	33	34	32	53	56	50	14	10	18
February 13/14, 1993	42	45	38	43	42	44	15	13	18
February 20/21	43	48	37	42	41	44	15	11	19
February 27/28	43	44	42	44	45	44	13	11	14
March 5/6 (Telephone)	46	50	42	44	41	46	10	9	12
March 8/9 (Telephone)	47	47	47	43	44	42	10	9	11

BETTER P.M.

	Keating			Hewson			Other/Can't say		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Jan 11/18, 1992*	35	37	34	49	51	46	16	12	20
February 13/14, 1993	43	46	41	44	44	44	13	10	15
February 20/21	44	47	41	43	44	43	13	9	16
February 27/28	46	47	45	43	45	41	11	8	14
March 5/6 (Telephone)	39	42	36	47	45	49	14	13	15
March 8/9 (Telephone)	44	47	42	43	41	45	13	12	13

* Greatest difference between the two

Morgan Poll Approval Rating Trends

The following tables compare the current figures with the approval ratings of the leaders before the last 9 Federal elections.

Morgan Poll Approval of Labor Leader										
	<u>1972</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1993</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
5 weeks before	43	47	46	30	40	36#	67	55	51	33
4 weeks before	-	51	39	33	40	53	68	56	44	35
3 weeks before	43	51	38	39	45	50	71	56	47	36
2 weeks before	45	53	35	35	49	54	67	58	49	39
1 week before	48	57	36	36	54	58	67	56	48	33
4 days before	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	38
2/3 days before	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47	
Election eve	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	46	
Election day	-	-	36	28	54	55	61	58	-	

Morgan Poll Approval of Liberal Leader										
	<u>1972</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1993</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
5 weeks before	32	33	33	38	38	36	24	34	25	34
4 weeks before	*	29	31	37	39	39	28	37	28	42
3 weeks before	34	30	34	38	37	39	29	31	28	43
2 weeks before	31	31	39	40	39	39	31	40	29	43
1 week before	34	41	40	44	41	36	37	41	29	46
4 days before	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31	47
2/3 days before	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	
Election eve	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	
Election day	-	-	38	43	40	40	51	44	-	

- Not surveyed

Mr. Hayden's approval the week before he was replaced by Mr. Hawke.

Morgan Poll Federal Voting Intention
State Summary mid February - early March

<u>Sample</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>(7236)</u> %	<u>QLD</u> <u>(1229)</u> %	<u>NSW</u> <u>(2451)</u> %	<u>VIC</u> <u>(1716)</u> %	<u>TAS</u> <u>(390)</u> %	<u>SA</u> <u>(778)</u> %	<u>WA</u> <u>(672)</u> %
ALP	43	39	46	44	44	38.5	38
L-NP	44.5	47	40	45.5	47.5	46	49.5
Liberal	40	36	36	42	47.5	45.5	47
National	4.5	11	4	3.5	-	0.5	2.5
Democrats	4.5	5	4	4	2.5	8.5	3
Greens	3	4	3	1.5	5	2	5
Others	5	5	7	5	1	5	4.5
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Note: The ALP now leads the L-NP by 0.5% on overall voting intention.

The Morgan Poll is conducted by the **ONLY**
Australian member of the Gallup International Association.
No other public opinion poll taken in Australia
has this qualification.

Finding No. 2396 is taken from Computer Reports No. 1207
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Table 1:

Morgan Poll Voting Intention Trends

The following table compares the present 0.5% ALP lead with the ALP lead before all elections since 1972.

	Morgan Poll ALP lead over L-NP									
	<u>1972</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1993</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
5 weeks before	5	-1	4	-7	2	11	16	5	3	-1.5
4 weeks before	-	1	-2	5	3	9	14	4	2	-6
3 weeks before	8	1	-6	4	7	9	15	6	3	-1
2 weeks before	8	4	-11	-2	6	10	9	5	5	3
1 week before	8	3	-14	-3	2	11#	11	4	4	-3
4 days before	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-1	0.5
2/3 days before	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-2.5	
Election day poll	-	-	-10	-8	1	6	2	2	-2*	
Election result	+8.1	+3.6	-10.2	-8.5	-1.2	+5.9	+2.6	-0.3	-4.1	

- Not surveyed

* Telephone survey on election eve.

It should be noted that in 1983 a telephone survey conducted by the Morgan Poll the Thursday prior to the election accurately measured the drop in ALP's lead from 11% to 7%. This allowed the Morgan Poll prediction (an ALP lead of 7%) to be the most accurate (within 1.1%; the actual ALP lead was 5.9%).

Table 2:	All Electors			Analysis by Federal Voting Intention					
	Feb 1990	Feb 1992	Feb 1993	ALP	L-NP	Aust. Dem.	Greens	Indep/ Other	Undecided
<u>Most important issues</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Reduce unemployment	17	47	56	54	58	59	39	57	45
Cost of Medicare and health insurance	16	18	21	20	21	30	14	19	12
Do more for needy and aged	16	12	12	15	8	15	7	19	23
More family welfare	14	14	12	15	8	11	15	16	8
Total Government Welfare	40	38	39	44	33	48	36	44	39
Promote industry & business growth	13	25	28	25	32	33	17	20	25
Reduce personal income tax	17	16	12	13	13	5	3	8	19
Reduce tax on superannuation	10	8	8	9	9	7	3	6	13
Reduce sales tax	5	4	4	3	4	2	7	2	9
Stop capital gains tax	4	4	3	3	2	-	2	6	4
Stop fringe benefits tax	2	2	2	2	2	-	-	2	3
Total reduce tax	33	29	24	25	26	12	13	19	27
Reduce the total number of migrants	10	24	16	16	17	8	11	10	20
Reduce the number of Asian migrants	9	7	7	9	7	4	11	2	-
Total reduce number of migrants	18	30	22	22	24	12	19	12	20
Protect the environment	27	20	21	23	14	30	64	30	21
Reduce size & cost of Government	14	18	19	18	20	15	19	17	21
Be tough with unions which have bad strike records	12	11	12	6	20	4	4	8	12
Reduce inflation	17	10	9	9	9	5	11	11	6
Declining living standards	9	8	8	8	7	10	6	17	11
Reduce interest rates	34	11	7	8	6	8	-	12	4
Develop mineral and natural resources	4	9	8	6	10	8	-	3	7
Price of petrol	11	7	6	8	7	3	4	4	-
Restrict multinationals	8	7	6	6	5	17	4	8	5
Nuclear Disarmament	7	4	4	5	2	4	17	4	4
Don't export uranium	3	2	2	2	1	2	20	1	-
Total nuclear disarmament/ don't export uranium	9	5	5	6	3	6	32	4	4
Freeze wages & salaries	3	5	4	3	5	5	6	3	4
Increase wages & salaries	4	3	3	4	2	2	5	6	7
Cost of airfares within Australia	5	3	2	2	2	-	-	-	-
Spend more on defence	3	3	2	1	3	2	7	3	4
Do export uranium	1	1	1	1	2	-	-	1	4
Total gave an answer	98	99	98	97	98	100	97	97	93
Can't say	2	1	2	3	2	-	3	3	7

- Not mentioned

Note: Answers add to more than 100% because electors could give more than one response.

3. All hesitations or concerns in voting for the Labor Party at the coming Federal Election

	Total Electors Feb 1993 %	Federal Voting Intention					
		ALP %	L-NP %	Aust. Dem. %	Greens %	Indep/ Other %	Undecided %
Ability to reduce unemployment	43	44	41	51	27	50	35
Ability to manage economy (eg. inflation, interest rates, foreign debt)	33	23	40	42	32	31	27
Past record, mismanagement	26	14	36	26	32	15	26
Total unemployment, economy, mismanagement	68	61	73	80	62	72	49
Making too many promises	26	28	22	17	21	46	46
Too much union control	23	16	30	13	15	20	27
Paul Keating	18	5	29	14	25	12	12
Dishonesty and corruption in Government	16	17	13	23	13	14	21
Don't trust them, their lack of credibility	14	3	23	12	8	20	21
Social policies (e.g. health, education, welfare)	12	12	12	8	24	13	8
Time for a change	11	5	17	14	8	8	8
Standard of living will fall, cost of living will increase	10	10	11	8	15	12	10
Their taxation policies	9	9	10	2	15	9	12
Industrial relations policies	7	4	10	5	4	8	-
Don't like Labor Party policies	7	1	13	6	4	6	8
Party disunity, in-fighting	7	10	4	8	4	10	-
Don't like the Labor Party	6	1	12	5	-	4	5
The One Nation economic statement	4	3	4	5	-	3	4
Other reasons	4	4	3	4	15	1	-
No hesitations	4	10	*	-	8	-	5
Can't say	2	3	1	3	-	3	8

* Less than 0.5%

- Not mentioned

Note: Reasons add to more than 100% because some electors gave more than one reason.

4) All hesitations or concerns in voting for the Liberal-National Coalition at the coming Federal Election

	Total Electors Feb 1993 %	Federal Voting Intention					
		ALP	L-NP	Aust. Dem.	Greens	Indep/ Other	Undecided
		%	%	%	%	%	%
GST, taxation policies	44	63	27	47	44	48	41
The Fightback economic plan	9	12	6	14	4	5	12
Total GST, Fightback	47	66	31	51	44	52	45
Ability to reduce unemployment	28	26	29	17	29	32	31
Industrial relations policies will follow Kennett's Victorian policies	14	21	8	30	8	11	17
Industrial relations policies	12	16	10	12	7	8	8
Total Industrial Relations Policies	24	32	18	37	11	19	20
Don't look after workers, favor the rich	21	30	11	17	19	33	31
Making too many promises	20	22	17	22	20	21	25
Don't trust them, won't keep their promises once in Government	18	27	8	22	14	30	23
Social policies (e.g. health, education, welfare)	16	18	13	19	19	30	7
Ability to manage economy (eg. inflation, interest rates, foreign debt)	14	14	13	20	14	19	4
Standard of living will fall, cost of living will increase	14	19	10	10	15	22	3
Proposed changes are too drastic	12	14	11	15	8	5	15
John Hewson	10	14	6	13	13	11	4
Inexperience, their ability to govern	10	8	13	9	-	8	16
Party disunity, in-fighting	8	5	9	5	11	12	8
Dishonesty and corruption	8	9	5	8	21	15	18
Don't like L-NP policies	5	12	*	3	8	3	-
Don't like the L-NP	5	10	*	2	4	5	4
Other reasons	4	3	3	7	12	3	-
No hesitations	6	*	12	-	-	2	4
Can't say	2	2	2	3	-	3	8

* Less than 0.5%

- Not mentioned

Note: Reasons add to more than 100% because some electors gave more than one reason.

The Morgan Poll is conducted by the ONLY
Australian member of the Gallup International Association.
No other public opinion poll taken in Australia
has this qualification.

Expect Unemployment to:

		<u>Increase</u>	<u>Fall</u>	<u>No change/ Can't say</u>
		%	%	%
<u>Australia:</u>				
1975		64	21	15
1976		60	19	21
1977		64	20	16
1978		73	10	17
1979		69	10	21
1980		67	11	22
Dec				
	'82	88	5	7
Oct	'83	54	23	23
Nov	'84	44	30	26
Nov	'85	49	27	24
Nov	'86	63	13	24
Dec	'87	59	16	25
Nov	'88	48	22	30
Nov	'89	50	18	32
Nov	'90	81	10	9
Aug	'91	65	17	18
Nov	'91	62	22	16
Jul	'92	54	24	22
Nov	'92	55	22	23
<u>New Zealand:</u>				
Aug	'91	88	6	6
Nov	'91	76	11	13
Nov	'92	52	25	23

* Main Causes of Unemployment:

		<u>Govt.</u>	<u>World</u>	<u>Trade</u>	<u>Not</u>	<u>Employers</u>	<u>Other</u>
		<u>%</u>	<u>economic</u>	<u>Unions</u>	<u>wanting</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>reasons</u>
			<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>to work</u>		<u>%</u>
					<u>%</u>		
<u>Australia:</u>							
1975		33	32	36	48	8	3
1976		27	25	42	30	10	6
1977		32	30	43	36	12	6
1978		41	32	42	36	15	5
1979		40	36	32	30	14	9
1980		36	34	30	29	14	7
Dec	'82	37	52	46	24	13	5
Oct	'83	21	45	36	28	12	8
Nov	'84	16	41	37	30	16	8
Nov	'85	21	38	36	35	14	5
Nov	'86	26	45	38	42	15	2
Dec	'87	20	44	31	47	12	3
Nov	'88	25	31	23	47	15	5
Nov	'89	29	35	22	50	14	2
Nov	'90	47	47	28	27	11	2
Aug	'91	47	49	29	22	10	3
Nov	'91	53	47	26	19	10	2
Jul	'92	53	53	32	21	12	3
Nov	'92	48	53	26	20	12	3
<u>New Zealand:</u>							
Aug	'91	63	47	11	17	13	2
Nov	'91	66	43	9	18	15	3
Nov	'92	59	43	9	17	17	2

* Respondents could give more than one answer.

Whether Government doing enough to stop unemployment rising:

		<u>Not doing Enough</u> %	<u>Doing Enough</u> %	<u>Can't say</u> %
<u>Australia:</u>				
1975		58	35	7
1976		55	35	10
1977		64	27	9
1978		71	20	9
1979		66	24	10
1980		68	22	10
Dec	'82	72	19	9
Oct	'83	49	38	13
Nov	'84	42	43	15
Nov	'85	47	41	12
Nov	'86	56	31	13
Dec	'87	55	33	12
Nov	'88	57	33	10
Nov	'89	59	34	7
Nov	'90	74	19	7
Aug	'91	73	17	10
Nov	'91	78	15	7
Jul	'92	75	18	7
Nov	'92	75	19	6
<u>New Zealand:</u>				
Aug	'91	84	8	8
Nov	'91	84	9	7
Nov	'92	75	14	11

Job Security:

	<u>Present job safe</u> %	<u>Chance of unemployment</u> %	<u>Don't know</u> %
<u>Australia:</u>			
1975	76	21	3
1976	78	17	5
1977	82	15	3
1978	79	19	2
1979	77	20	3
1980	73	23	4
Dec '82	72	25	3
Oct '83	79	18	3
Nov '84	82	17	1
Nov '85	79	18	3
Nov '86	80	17	3
Dec '87	80	18	2
Nov '88	81	18	1
Nov '89	82	17	1
Nov '90	70	28	2
Aug '91	70	28	2
Nov '91	69	27	4
Jul '92	69	29	2
Nov '92	65	32	3
<u>New Zealand:</u>			
Aug '91	54	41	5
Nov '91	60	36	4
Nov '92	66	29	5

Finding a new job if unemployed:

		<u>New job quickly</u> %	<u>May take longer</u> %	<u>Wouldn't look/ Don't know</u> %
<u>Australia:</u>				
1975		57	33	10
1976		57	33	10
1977		55	35	10
1978		50	41	9
1979		54	36	10
1980		50	39	11
Dec	'82	44	46	10
Oct	'83	51	41	8
Nov	'84	61	33	7
Nov	'85	58	34	8
Nov	'86	61	30	9
Dec	'87	65	30	5
Nov	'88	69	26	5
Nov	'89	68	26	6
Nov	'90	49	45	6
Aug	'91	39	53	8
Nov	'91	39	53	8
Jul	'92	38	53	9
Nov	'92	39	54	7
<u>New Zealand:</u>				
Aug	'91	30	58	12
Nov	'91	35	54	11
Nov	'92	39	50	11

MORGAN GALLUP POLL NO. 1172 DATE: JULY 25/26, 1991

THINKING NOW ABOUT AUSTRALIA'S PRODUCTIVITY. TO HELP INCREASE AUSTRALIA'S
PRODUCTIVITY WOULD YOU, YOURSELF, BE PREPARED TO WORK HARDER FOR THE SAME PAY
AND CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT OR NOT?

ANALYSIS BY STATES

	TOTAL	QUEEN- SLAND	NEW SOUTH WALES	VICTO- RIA	TASMA- NIA	SOUTH AUSTR- ALIA	WEST AUSTR- ALIA
INTERVIEWS	718	126	275	171	18	70	58
POPULATION ('000)	7408	1277	2782	1870	166	677	636
HOW %	100.0%	17.2%	37.6%	25.2%	2.2%	9.1%	8.6%
YES, WORK HARDER	5681	1104	2120	1480	114	454	409
	76.7%	86.5%	76.2%	79.1%	68.6%	67.1%	64.3%
NO	1430	146	537	320	35	211	181
	19.3%	11.5%	19.3%	17.1%	21.0%	31.2%	28.5%
CAN'T SAY	297	26	125	71	17	12	46
	4.0%	2.1%	4.5%	3.8%	10.5%	1.7%	7.2%

MORGAN GALLUP POLL NO. 1172 DATE: JULY 25/26, 1991

WOULD YOU BE PREPARED TO WORK LONGER HOURS FOR THE SAME PAY OR NOT?

ANALYSIS BY STATES

	TOTAL	QUEEN- SLAND	NEW SOUTH WALES	VICTO- RIA	TASMA- NIA	SOUTH AUSTR- ALIA	WEST AUSTR- ALIA
INTERVIEWS	718	126	275	171	18	70	58
POPULATION ('000)	7408	1277	2782	1870	166	677	636
ROW %	100.0%	17.2%	37.6%	25.2%	2.2%	9.1%	8.6%
YES, WORK LONGER HOURS	4054 54.7%	755 59.1%	1607 57.8%	1016 54.4%	58 35.0%	325 48.1%	293 46.1%
NO	3010 40.6%	482 37.7%	1069 38.4%	736 39.4%	90 54.5%	326 48.1%	306 48.1%
CAN'T SAY	344 4.6%	41 3.2%	106 3.8%	117 6.3%	17 10.5%	26 3.8%	37 5.8%

Morgan Gallup Poll



APPENDIX 2

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AFRICA
(NORTH, WEST,
CENTRAL AND
MADAGASCAR)

AUSTRIA

BRAZIL

CANADA

COLOMBIA

DENMARK

FINLAND

FRANCE

GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND

GREECE

INDIA

IRAN

ISRAEL

ITALY

JAPAN

KOREA

NETHERLANDS

NORWAY

PHILIPPINES

SPAIN

SWEDEN

SWITZERLAND

UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

URUGUAY AND
PARAGUAY

WEST GERMANY

September 1986

Telephone Polls Are Inaccurate

by Gary Morgan

Managing Director of The Roy Morgan Research Centre Pty Ltd

Last Wednesday (August 27) The Bulletin's Morgan Gallup Poll and The Australian's Newspoll showed significantly different results. The Morgan Gallup Poll showed that the L-NP would easily win an election while Newspoll showed the ALP winning with an increased majority.

The Morgan Gallup Poll in this issue of the Bulletin (Published Sept. 3) shows the ALP vote up since the Budget, although the L-NP would still win if an election had been held. This Morgan Gallup Poll was taken on the same weekend as Newspoll with about the same sample size.

Over the last few months the Australian's Newspoll has often shown results significantly different from Morgan Gallup Poll results conducted at the same time.

To interpret public opinion polls, the following should always be considered:

- * when the survey was conducted;
- * the method of interviewing (The Morgan Gallup Poll uses face-to-face interviews with only 4% undecided. Newspoll uses the telephone interviewing method with 9% undecided);
- * the actual questions;
- * the sample size;
- * where the poll was conducted (The Morgan Gallup Poll is Australia-wide while some polls cover only Capital Cities).

Over the years, telephone polls for State and Federal Government Houses have consistently been biased towards the party in office.

In the U.K., under a non-official agreement between market research companies, it has now been decided to stop publishing telephone polls on voting intention because of inaccuracy and instability.

Telephone pollsters in Australia refer to the previous 1984 election as verification of their accuracy. Although Spectrum (an associate of McNair-Anderson) in 1984 obtained an accurate prediction for the House of Representatives, Spectrum's estimate of the Senate vote was one of the most inaccurate predictions ever published in Australia.

	Senate Election Dec. 84 %	<u>Estimated for Senate</u>	
		<u>Morgan Gallup %</u>	<u>Spectrum %</u>
A.L.P.	42.5	42	35
Liberal/NP	39.8	37	37
Aust. Dem.	7.6	10	14
NDP	6.8	9	11
Others	3.3	2	3

The Spectrum estimates of the 1984 House of Representatives vote and Senate vote were based on answers from telephone interviews with the same sample of respondents. The question for the House of Representatives gave a result which was accurate, while the question for the Senate gave a result which was inaccurate. Obviously this shows the results of telephone surveys are not reliable.

Spectrum's telephone poll result for the House of Representatives was probably accurate for the 1984 House of Representative vote more by "luck" than "design".

Poll followers should be suspicious of political parties quoting polls showing their party in either a favourable or unfavourable light unless the actual percentage results are accompanied by details on the method of interviewing, the actual questions, sample size, where conducted, and which company actually did the interviewing. In the last few months, Rod Cameron of ANOP, has mentioned ALP commissioned polls without giving complete details. Without the details, it is impossible to accurately assess the validity of the results.

The Morgan Gallup Poll was founded in 1941. It is published exclusively in the Bulletin and has the world's best record for accurately predicting elections.

Morgan Gallup Poll



Finding No. 1604 Published
The Bulletin, July 15th, 1987.

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ALP would win election.

ALP now lead by 4%.

If an election had been held last weekend the ALP would have been returned with a slightly increased majority, the Morgan Gallup Poll finds.

Last weekend, July 4/5, the ALP lead was reduced 1% to 4%. Support for the ALP was 48% (down .5%), Liberal Party support was 33.5% (unchanged), National Party support 10.5% (up .5%), Australian Democrats support 7%, and 1% supported other parties.

Last weekend (1 week before the July 11 election) the ALP had a lead of 4% over the L-NP. This is slightly larger than the 2% ALP lead a week before the 1980 election when the L-NP won, but less than the 11% ALP lead a week before the 1983 and 1984 elections.

Over the last week there was little change in the approval ratings. Mr Hawke's approval rating was down 2% to 56%; while Mr Howard's approval rating was up 1% to 41%. Of all electors 60% (down 4%) felt Mr Hawke would be the better Prime Minister, while 28% (up 3%) preferred Mr Howard.

This latest Morgan Gallup Poll was conducted July 4/5, when 4,199 electors were interviewed face-to-face and asked which party would receive their first preference for the House of Representatives. Of electors surveyed only 3.3% were undecided or didn't give a response. This figure of 3.3% is significantly lower than that obtained by other published public opinion polls conducted by telephone or door-to-door.

House of Reprs. Elections

	<u>ALP</u>	<u>L-NP</u>	<u>Aust.</u> <u>Dem.</u>	<u>Others</u>
	%	%	%	%
1969 Gorton	47.0	43.4	-	9.6
1972 Whitlam	49.6	41.5	-	8.9
1974 Whitlam	49.3	45.7	-	5.0
1975 Fraser	42.8	53.0	-	4.2
1977 Fraser	39.6	48.1	9.4	2.9
1980 Fraser	45.1	46.3	6.6	2.0
1983 Hawke	49.5	43.6	5.0	1.9
1984 Hawke - December 1	47.6	45.0	5.4	2.0

AFRICA
NORTH, WEST,
CENTRAL AND
MADAGASCAR

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CANADA

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ISRAEL

ITALY

JAPAN

KOREA

NETHERLANDS

NORWAY

PHILIPPINES

SPAIN

SWEDEN

SWITZERLAND

UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

URUGUAY AND
PARAGUAY

WEST GERMANY

<u>Morgan Gallup Polls</u> <u>after election:</u>		<u>ALP</u> %	<u>L-NP</u> %	<u>Lib</u> %	<u>NP</u> %	<u>Aust</u> <u>Dem</u> %	<u>Others</u> %
1985	January 26/Feb 2	50	41	33	8	6	3
1986	January 25/Feb 1	50	42	35	7	6	2
1986	August 9/16	40	50	40	10	8	2
	September 13/20	42	48	39	9	8	3
	September 27/Oct 4	41	48	40	8	8	2
	October 11/18	43	47	38	9	8	2
	October 25/Nov 1	44	46	36	10	8	2
	November 8/15	44	45	36	9	9	2
	November 22/29	42	48	40	8	8	2
	December 6/13	45	46	37	9	6	3
1987	January 10/17	44	47	37	10	7	2
	January 24/31	46	46	37	9	7	1
	February 7/8	41	49	36	13	8	2
	February 14/15	44	46	33	13	8	2
	February 21/22	47	45	31	14	5	3
	February 28/Mar 1	47	44	30	14	6	3
	March 7/14	45.5	45.5	33	12.5	6	3
	March 21/22	45	46	33.5	12.5	7	2
	Mar 28/Apr 4	43	48	37	11	6	3
	April 11/18	47	46	35	11	6	1
	April 25/May 2	49	43	33	10	6	2
	May 9/16	49	44	33	11	5	2
	May 23/24	48	45	34	11	6	1
	May 30/31	47	45	36	9	6	2
	June 6/7	49	44	35	9	5	2
	June 13/14	48	44	34	10	6	2
	June 20/21	49	43	32	11	7	1
	June 27/28	48.5	43.5	33.5	10	7	1
	July 4/5	48	44	33.5	10.5	7	1

Experimental Australia-wide Telephone Survey now shows similar result

On July 1, 2 and July 4, 5, the Morgan Gallup Poll conducted two experimental Australia-wide telephone surveys. Last weekend's telephone poll showed an ALP vote of 48% (a lead of 3.5%).

As stated on numerous occasions it is believed that telephone surveys often show unrealistic fluctuations. Although these fluctuations sometimes make it difficult to interpret telephone poll results they can be used in conjunction with door-to-door surveys to measure last minute changes. For instance, in 1983 the Morgan Gallup Poll accurately measured (to within 1%) on the Thursday before the election the late swing to the L-NP which resulted in the ALP winning with a 6% margin instead of the 11% measured one week before the election. The present 3.5% ALP lead from the experimental telephone poll is similar to the door-to-door survey conducted by the Morgan Gallup Poll.

The telephone Morgan Gallup Poll of July 4/5 interviewed an Australia-wide cross-section of 1,519 electors through-out all electorates. Only 4.8% of those interviewed were undecided or did not give a response (higher than the 3.3% achieved in the latest Morgan Gallup Poll but lower than that achieved by all other telephone surveys).

The following table shows the results obtained from the four experimental telephone polls.

Experimental Telephone Morgan Gallup Polls				
	June 20/21 %	June 27/28 %	July 1/2 %	July 4/5 %
ALP	49.5	50.5	48.0	48.0
Liberal or National	42.5	41.5	44.0	44.5
Australian Democrat	5	6	6	5.5
Others	3	2	2	2.0
Total	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
ALP lead by telephone interviewing	7%	9%	4%	3.5%

The Morgan Gallup Poll is conducted by the ONLY
Australian member of Gallup International Association
No other public opinion poll taken in Australia has
this qualification.

Finding No. 1604: was taken from Computer Sheets No. 836

APPENDIX 3

Comparing Morgan Polls results with Federal Elections from 1974 to 1990

The Morgan Poll has an unrivalled record of accuracy dating back to 1944. Figures for the last eight Federal elections are below.

In 1987 the Morgan Poll was the most accurate in predicting the election result. The telephone election day poll was released on Channel 2 immediately polling was closed.

In March 1990 the Morgan Poll accurately predicted the Federal election would be close and decided on preferences Australian Democrats and "Others". The Morgan Poll was the only published poll to show that the L-NP would receive greater percentage share of the vote than the ALP.

	ALP %	Aust. Dem %	Lib-NP- %	Others %	Error on ALP %	ALP lead on L-NP		Error on ALP lead %
						<u>Morgan</u> %	<u>Actual</u> %	
Morgan Poll 15/5/74*	49.0	3.0	46.0	2.0	-0.3	+3.0		
1974 election result	49.3	2.3	45.8	2.6			+3.5	-0.5
Morgan Poll 13/12/75**	42.4	1.3	52.5	3.8	-0.4	-10.1		
1975 election result	42.8	0.4	53.0	3.8			-10.2	+0.1
Morgan Poll 10/12/77**	40.2	9.0	48.6	2.2	+0.6	-8.4		
1977 election result	39.6	9.4	48.1	2.9			-8.5	+0.1
Morgan Poll 11/10/80*	46.5	8.5	44.5	0.5	+1.5	+2.0		
Election day Morgan Poll**	46.3	7.1	44.8	1.8	+1.2	+1.5		+2.7
1980 election result	45.1	6.6	46.3	2.0			-1.2	
#Morgan Poll 3/3/83(tel)**	50.0	6.0	43.0	2.0	+0.5	+7.0		
Election day Morgan Poll**	49.6	5.2	43.9	1.3	+0.1	+5.7		-0.2
1983 election result	49.5	5.0	43.6	1.9			+5.9	
Morgan Poll 1/12/84**	46.6	6.9	44.7	1.8	-1.0	+1.9		
1984 election result	47.6	5.4	45.0	2.0			+2.6	-0.7
#Morgan Poll 11/7/87(tel)**	46.0	7.0	44.0	3.0	+0.2	+2.0		
1987 election result	45.8	6.0	45.8	2.4			-	+2.0
#Morgan Poll 23/3/90(tel)*	40.0	14.0	42.0	4.0	+0.6	-2.0		
1990 election result	39.4	11.3	43.5	5.8			-4.1	+2.1
Average error					0.6			1.1

* Week before election

** Two days before election

+ Election eve using telephone

+ + Election day

Telephone

APPENDIX 4

The March 1990 Federal Election - The Morgan Gallup Poll was the most accurate Poll

The Morgan Gallup Poll accurately predicted the Federal election would be close and decided on preferences of Australian Democrats and "Others".

The Morgan Gallup Poll was the only published poll to show that the L-NP would receive a greater percentage share of the vote than the ALP.

The final Morgan Gallup Poll conducted on Friday night, and released by Network Nine, showed an L-NP lead over the ALP of 2%. The actual L-NP lead was 3.8%.

- . Saulwick inaccurately gave the ALP a lead of 1%.
- . AGB:McNair inaccurately gave the ALP a lead of 1%, and
- . Newspoll inaccurately gave the ALP a lead of 2%.

1990 Federal Election

Last published pre-election polls

Date conducted	1984	1987	1990	Morgan		Newspoll		AGB:McNair		Saulwick	
	election	election	election	Gallup Poll		(Australian)		(Mirror/		(SMH/Age)	
	result	result	result	(Nine Network)	23/3/90	20-22/3/90	22/3/90	Melb. Herald)	23/3/90	(SMH/Age)	23/3/90
	%	%	%	%	Diff	%	Diff	%	Diff	%	Diff
ALP	47.6	45.8	39.4	40	+0.6	41.5	+2.1	42	+2.6	40	+0.6
L-NP	44.7	45.8	43.2	42	-1.2	39.5	-3.7	41	-2.2	39	-4.2
Aust. Democrats	5.5	6.0	11.3	14	+2.7	14.0	+2.7	13	+1.7	15	+3.7
Others	2.2	2.4	6.1	4	-2.1	5.0	-1.1	4	-2.1	5	-1.1
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100</u>		<u>100.0</u>		<u>100</u>		<u>99</u>	
Swing from ALP		-1.8	-6.4	-5.8		-4.3		-3.8		-5.8	
ALP lead											
over L-NP	+2.9	-	-3.8	-2		+2		+1		+1	
Average % error on											
each published figure				1.7		2.4		2.2		2.4	

* In the first edition of the Age, Saulwick released: ALP 41%, L-NP 37%, Australian Democrats 17% and Others 5%. The above figures add to 99%!

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**Finding No. 2320. Released exclusively on
television on the Seven Network on September 18, 1992.**

ALP to Win Queensland Election

Two days before the September 19 election, support for the Queensland ALP is 53% (2.7% higher than at the 1989 election), National Party support is 22% (down 1.9%, Liberal Party support is 20% (down 1.9%) and 5% (up 1.1%) support Independent Candidates and Other Parties. On these figures the ALP will win easily tomorrow, the Channel Seven - Morgan Poll finds. The minor party vote is lower than in previous polls because Independent and Other Party Candidates are not standing in 28 of the 89 electorates.

Approval of Mr. Goss is 69% (up 5%), his disapproval is 26% (down 6%) and 5% are undecided.

33% (up 4% to a new high) of electors approve of the job Mr. Borbidge is doing as Leader of the Opposition, 52% (down 2%) disapprove and 15% are undecided.

Approval of the Liberal's Joan Sheldon has dropped 10% since last Thursday to a low 31%, while 56% (up 2%) disapprove and 13% are undecided. This is most likely in reaction to the controversial advertising which the Liberal Party has been running in the final weeks of the campaign.

On the question of better Premier, the trend is similar with preferences for Mrs. Sheldon dropping 8% to 18% against Mr. Goss' 76% (up 8%). 6% of electors named someone else or couldn't say. The Nationals Mr. Borbidge rated 22% (down 3%) against Mr. Goss' 71% (up 3%) while 7% named someone else or couldn't say.

These are the main findings of a special Morgan Poll of 1,077 electors conducted by telephone on the evenings of September 16-17, 1992

The following table compares this latest Morgan Poll with previous polls and State election results.

		<u>ALP</u>	<u>National</u>	<u>Liberal</u>	<u>Others</u>
		%	%	%	%
<u>Election Result:</u>					
November 1980		41.8	27.6	26.9	3.7
October 1983		44.4	38.9	14.5	2.2
November 1986		41.8	39.4	16.4	2.4
December 1989		50.3	23.9	21.9	3.9
<u>Morgan Poll:</u>					
1990	January-February	55	16	22	7
	March-April	52	12.5	26.5	9
	May-June	51	14	26	9
	July-August	49	14	27	10
	September-October	45	16	27	12
	November-December	46	15	27	12
1991	January-February	47	15	27	11
	March-April	46	17.5	26.5	10
	May-June	46	17	26	11
	July-August	44	17	27	12
	September-October	46	18	24	12
	November-December	46	18	24	12
1992	January-February	47.5	18	24	10.5
	March-April	48	18	23	11
	May-June	46	18	22	14
	July-August 25	49	18	22	11
	August 29/Sept 5	53	17	19	11
	September 10 (Telephone)	49	20.5	21.5	9
	September 16-17 (Telephone)	53	22	20	5

Ref:Appendix 5 - QLD Vote

APPENDIX 6

Morgan Poll

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Telephone Polling Fails to Accurately Predict Queensland Election

Although all polls predicted an ALP win, all seriously overestimated the strength of the ALP victory. The final result showed the ALP lead on the L-NP at 4.2%. Newspoll was closest to the result but still predicted an ALP lead of 6%, while Morgan placed it at 11%, AGB: McNair 18% and Quadrant 20%.

Newspoll was the most accurate in predicting the Queensland election with an average error on each party of 0.6%. The Morgan Poll's average error on each party was 2.2%, while Quadrant's average error was 4.4% and AGB: McNair's 5.5%.

Morgan Poll Election Day Survey

On election day, September 19, the Morgan Poll conducted a face-to-face survey with 356 electors. When asking voting intention the Morgan Poll Ballot Box was used. Respondents were asked to mark a ballot paper and put it in a box. The interviewer didn't know how the respondent answered.

The following results were significantly closer to the election outcome than obtained by the Morgan telephone poll conducted on September 16/17, 1992.

	Morgan Election day door-to-door poll		Election Result Sept 19 %
	Including No Answer	Excluding No Answer	
	%	%	
ALP	47	49.5	48.3
L-NP	42	44.2	44.1
Others	5	5.3	7.2
No Answer	5		
	<u>100</u>	<u>100.0</u>	

The following table summarises the 1989 and 1992 Queensland election results together with the last published polls of each polling organisation.

Summary of Published Public Opinion Polls

	Last Published Pre-election Polls									
	1989	1992	Morgan		Newspoll		AGB:McNair		Quadrant	
	election	election	(Seven Network)		(Australian)		(Bulletin)		(Herald-Sun)	
	result	result	16-17/9/92		15-17/9/92		15/9/92		13/9/92	
	%	%	%	Diff	%	Diff	%	Diff	%	Diff
ALP	50.3	48.7	53	+4.3	49	+0.3	52	+3.3	57	+8.3
NATIONAL	24.1	23.7	22	-1.7	23	-0.7	14	-9.7	17	-6.7
LIBERAL	21.1	20.4	20	-0.4	20	-0.4	20	-0.4	20	-0.4
LIB-NAT	45.2	44.1	42	-2.1	43	-1.1	34	-10.1	37	-7.1
OTHERS	4.5	7.2	5	-2.2	8	+0.8	14	+6.8	5	-2.2
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>		<u>99</u>	
Swing from ALP		-1.6	+2.7		-1.3		+1.7		+6.7	
ALP lead over LIB-NAT		+4.6	+11		+6		+18		+20	
Average %error on each published figure		-	2.2		0.6		5.1		4.4	

Rel:Appendix 6 - QLD Accuracy

APPENDIX 7

VICTORIAN ELECTION MORGAN POLL RESULTS

		<u>ALP</u>	<u>L-NP</u>	<u>Indep/ Other</u>	<u>Can't Say</u>
September 23/24 (Telephone)	Results including Can't say (Not published)	32.8	49.7	11.7	5.8
	After allocating Can't say (Published)	35.0	51.0	14.0	
September 19/26 (Door-to-Door)	Including Can't say (used in October 1 release)*	36.2	45.9	15.3	2.6
September 29 (Telephone)	Including Can't say (Not published)	31.4	49.1	13.8	5.7
	After allocating Can't say (Published)	34.0	50.0	16.0	
September 30 (Telephone)	Including Can't say (Not published)	31.2	54.2	10.0	4.6
October 1 (Telephone)	Including Can't say (Not published)	33.6	50.5	12.9	3.0
	After allocating Can't say (Published)*	38.0	48.0	14.0	
October 2 (Telephone)#	Including Can't say (Not published)	38.8	46.7	11.6	2.9
October 3 (Telephone)#	Including Can't say (Not published)	37.2	47.3	10.6	4.9
	After allocating Can't say (Not Published)	39.0	49.5	11.5	
	After allocating Can't say and allowing for believed telephone "bias" (Published)	41.0	48.0	11.0	
October 3 (Door-to-Door)	Including Can't say (Not published)	37.0	49.5	9.1	4.4
	After allocating Can't say (Not published)	38.7	51.7	9.6	
October 3 Election Result		38.4	52.0	9.6	

* The figure was published after tabulation on October 2 of the September 19/26 door-to-door survey using the ballot box. This survey showed the ALP vote was 36.2%, L-NP 45.9%, Other 15.3%, Undecided 2.6%.

Telephone questioning changed on October 2 and October 3.

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The Victorian Election

The final result showed the L-NP lead on the ALP at 13.6%. A Morgan telephone poll of 1,006 electors predicted an L-NP lead of 7%, while AGB: McNair predicted 10%, Newspoll 11.5%, Quadrant 14% and Saulwick 17%.

Newspoll was the most accurate in predicting the Victorian election with an average error on each party of 1.1%. The Morgan Poll's average error on each party was 2.7%, Quadrant's was 1.3%, Saulwick's 2.3% and AGB: McNair's 6.9%.

Morgan Poll Election Day Door-to-Door Survey

On election day, October 3, the Morgan Poll conducted a door-to-door survey of 560 electors using a "secret ballot". The results were extremely close to the election outcome and significantly more accurate than obtained by the Morgan telephone poll conducted on the same day.

	1988 election <u>result</u> %	1992 election <u>result</u> %	Morgan Election day <u>door-to-door poll</u> % Diff	
ALP	46.6	38.4	38.7	+0.3
L-NP	48.3	52.0	51.7	-0.3
Others	5.1	9.6	9.6	-
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	
Swing from ALP		-8.2	-7.9	
ALP lead over L-NP		-13.6	-13.0	
Average % error on each published figure			0.2	

The following table summarises the 1988 and 1992 Victorian election results together with the last published polls of each polling organisation.

Summary of Published Public Opinion Polls

Last Published Pre-election Polls												
	1988 election result	1992 election result	Morgan* (Seven Network) Oct 3		Newspoll (Australian) Sep 29-Oct 1		AGB:McNair (Bulletin) Sep 4-13		Quadrant (Herald-Sun) 30/9/92		Saulwick (Age) Oct 1	
	%	%	%	Diff	%	Diff	%	Diff	%	Diff	%	Diff
ALP	46.6	38.4	41	+2.6	40	+1.6	35	-3.4	39	+0.6	35	-3.4
L-NP	48.3	52.0	48	-4.0	51.5	-0.5	45	-7.0	50	-2.0	53	+1.0
Others	5.1	9.6	11	+1.4	8.5	-1.1	20	+10.4	11	+1.4	12	+2.4
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	
Swing from ALP		-8.2	-5.6		-6.6		-11.6		-7.6		-11.6	
L-NP lead over ALP		+13.6	+7		+11.5		+10		+11		+18	
Average % error on each published figure		-	2.7		1.1		6.9		1.3		2.3	

* The unreleased Morgan Poll conducted door-to-door on election day used a ballot box and showed ALP support at 38.7%, L-NP support 51.7% and Others 9.6% - an average percentage error of only 0.2% on the actual result.

Rel:Appendix 7 (part 2) - Vic Accuracy

Morgan Poll

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Measuring Public Opinion For Over 50 Years

**Finding No. 2385 on Accuracy of
Public Opinion Polls in WA**

Morgan Poll Most Accurate in Predicting WA State Election Result

The Morgan Poll was easily the most accurate of all the published WA pre-election polls. The Morgan Poll's average error on each party was 0.8%, compared with Newspoll's 2.9% in its poll of fourteen marginal seats and 2.3% for AGB:McNair and Westpoll in their Statewide polls.

The two-party preferred result was L-NP 55% to ALP 45%. The Morgan Poll, AGB:McNair and Westpoll all accurately predicted this result.

The Morgan Poll interviewed 604 electors statewide by telephone to obtain this result, compared with telephone interviews of 800 electors by Westpoll, 1,204 by AGB:McNair and 1,815 by Newspoll.

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Summary of Published Public Opinion Polls for February 6, 1993 WA State Election

		Last Published Pre-Election Polls									
Date: Sample:	Election Result Feb 4 1989 %	Election Result Feb 6 1993 %	Morgan Poll (Seven Network) Feb 3/4 (604)		AGB: McNair (Bulletin) Jan 28-30 (1,204)		Westpoll# (West Australian) Feb 3 (800)		Newspoll* (Weekend Australian) Feb 3/4 (1,815)		
			%	Diff	%	Diff	%	Diff	%	Diff	
L-NP	47.4	49.2	48	-1.2	50	+0.8	52	+2.8	51.5	+4.3	
Liberal	42.8	44.1	44	-0.1	47	+2.9	47	+2.9			
National	4.6	5.1	4	-1.1	3	-2.1	5	-0.1			
ALP	42.5	37.4	39	+1.6	39	+1.6	39	+1.6	39.0	-1.4	
Others	10.1	13.4	13	-0.4	11	-2.4	9	-4.4	9.5	-2.9	
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>		<u>100.0</u>		<u>100</u>		
Swing from ALP		-5.1	-3.5		-3.5		-3.5		-6.6		
L-NP lead over ALP		+11.8	+9.0		+11.0		+13		+12.5		
Average % error on each published figure		-	0.8		2.3		2.3		2.9		

* Newspoll results based on telephone interviewing in 14 marginal seats. Differences calculated on actual result in those 14 seats. The swing away from the ALP in those seats was 5.2%, similar to the Statewide swing.

Published Westpoll results for each party added to 92%, with 8% undecided. In the above table the 92% who gave a vote have been re-percentage to 100%.

APPENDIX 9

1988 Victorian State Election

	March 1984 election result %	Oct 1 1988 election result %	Last published pre-election surveys							
			Morgan Gallup Poll		Newspoll		AGB:McNair		Saulwick Age Poll	
			%	Diff.	%	Diff.	%	Diff.	%	Diff.
Labor	50.0	46.6	47.0	+0.4	50	+3.4	48	+1.4	48	+1.4
Liberal	41.9	40.5	41.5	+1.0	*		39	-1.5	*	
National	7.3	7.8	6.5	-1.3	*		6	-1.8	*	
Total L-NP	49.2	48.3	48.0	-0.3	43	-5.3	45	-3.3	44	-4.3
Aust Dem	-	1.1	1.0	-0.1	4	+2.9	5	+3.9	5	+3.9
Others	0.8	4.0	4.0	-	3	-1.0	3	-1.0	3	-1.0
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>		<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	
Swing against Labor		-3.4	-3.0		-		-2.0		-2.0	
Labor lead over L-NP	+0.8	-1.7	-1.0		+7.0		+3.0		+4.0	
Average % error on each published figure			0.6		3.2		1.9		2.7	

* Obviously measured but not released.

In the 1988 NSW State election the Morgan Gallup Poll showed the final swing occurred in the last few days of the election campaign.

In the Victorian State election the swing against the ALP was measured by the Morgan Gallup Poll a week before the election and released in The Bulletin on Wednesday, September 28. There was no change in voting preference during the final week. This means that not only did other polls fail to predict the swing, but they were consistently wrong over the entire week before the election.

APPENDIX 10

The November 1989 South Australian Election

In the 1989 South Australian election the final Morgan Gallup Poll, released on the Nine Network, estimated correctly that the Liberal Party would gain more votes than the Labor Party, but incorrectly predicted that the Liberal Party would win the election.

An examination of the seats shows the Liberal and National party won 23 seats, while the Labor Party won 22 seats and was only returned to Government with the aid of two Independent Labor candidates.

The swing against the South Australian Labor Party was 8.9%. The Morgan Gallup Poll predicted a 10.5% swing against the Labor Party while Newspoll predicted the swing would be 11.5%.

Table 5: The 1989 South Australian State Election

	Dec. 1985 election <u>result</u> %	Nov. 25 1989 election <u>result</u> %	Last published pre-election polls			
			<u>Morgan Gallup Poll</u>		<u>Newspoll Australian</u>	
			%	Diff	%	Diff
Labor*	50.5	41.6	40	-1.6	39	-2.6
Liberal	42.8	44.2	46	+1.8	45	-0.4
National	1.7	1.2	2	+0.8		
Aust. Democrats	4.2	10.3	10	-0.3	12	+1.7
Others	0.8	2.7	2	-0.7	4	+1.3
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	
Swing against Labor		-8.9	-10.5		-11.5	
L-NP lead over Labor	-6.0	+3.8	+8.0		+6.0	
Average % error on each published figure			1.0		1.5	

* Includes 2 Independent Labor candidates

The December 1989 Queensland Election

In the 1989 Queensland election the final Morgan Gallup Poll, released on the Nine Network, estimated correctly that the Labor Party would receive more votes than the National and Liberal Parties combined, and would win the election.

The swing to the Queensland Labor Party was 10.9%. The Morgan Gallup Poll prediction of a 13.6% swing to the Labor Party was the most accurate of the five polls which conducted pre-election surveys.

Newspoll under-estimated the swing to the Labor Party by 2.8%, Saulwick over-estimated the swing by 3.7%, AGB:McNair by 4.7% and Kenning by 6.7%.

Table 6: 1989 Queensland State Election

	Nov. 1986 election result %	Dec. 2 1989 election result* %	Last published pre-election polls									
			Morgan Gallup Poll		Newspoll Australian		AGB:McNair Courier Mail		Saulwick SMH/Age		Kenning Sunday Mail	
			%	Diff	%	Diff	%	Diff	%	Diff	%	Diff
Labor	39.4	50.3	53	+2.7	47.5	-2.8	55	+4.7	54	+3.7	57	+6.7
National	41.8	23.9	23	-0.9	25.5	+1.6	21	-2.9	21	-2.9	20	-3.9
Liberal	16.4	21.9	20	-1.9	20.0	-1.9	19	-2.9	19	-2.9	19	-2.9
Others	2.4	3.9	4	+0.1	7.0	+3.1	5	+1.1	6	+2.1	4	+0.1
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100</u>		<u>100.0</u>		<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	
Swing to Labor		+10.9	+13.6		+8.1		+15.6		+14.6		+17.6	
Labor lead over L-NP	-18.8	+4.5	+10.0		+2.0		+15.0		+14.0		+18.0	
Average % error on each published figure			1.4		2.4		2.9		2.9		3.4	

* Election result as at 14/12/89

+ Re-percentage to exclude 5% undecided

Implications for Media Research, Consumer Research and Public Attitude Surveys

Using public opinion polls to predict election results is the main way of assessing the accuracy of market research companies. In this regard, The Roy Morgan Research Centre's Morgan Gallup Poll has an unrivalled record of accuracy.

The inaccuracy of AGB:McNair, Newspoll and Saulwick Age Poll should make those who commission media research, consumer research and public attitude surveys (which includes the media, companies and government organisations/departments) more careful with whom they contract. It is obviously in the public's interest for some market research companies to immediately take steps to improve their methods.

APPENDIX 12

After the poll is over ...

It made a good story: "Tories defy pollsters and pundits to win overall majority". But why the sanctimonious outrage: "Why did they mislead us so badly? Were they right at any time during the campaign? Why should we ever believe what the pollsters say again?"
Peter Hutton of MORI gives his opinion

On Friday 10 April as the extent of the Conservative victory became apparent, the media were right to look back at the 50 national published polls of the campaign, 39 of which, if converted into seats, would have most likely resulted in a hung parliament, eight of which would have suggested an outright win for Labour and just three of which would have yielded an overall majority for the Conservatives. Even the three exit polls had been presented as predicting hung parliaments. The ICM poll for *SKY/Today/The Sun*, the NOP poll for the BBC and the Harris poll for ITN suggested in their accompanying releases that the Conservatives would get between 298 and 305 seats, Labour would get between 294 and 307 seats and the Liberal Democrats between 18 and 25 seats. Pretty consistent, and pretty wrong.

Or were they?

In the excitement of Friday morning, it was easy to jump to the wrong conclusion. To some extent, the polls are a hostage to their own past success. In the 13 General Elections since the war, up to 1987 the average error per party of the final polls was only 1.4%. Over 60% of these polls estimated the Labour and Conservative share of the vote to within $\pm 2\%$. In the 1970 Election, when most final polls showed Labour ahead of the Conservatives just before Ted Heath swept to victory, the reason given was the late swing after fieldwork had been completed over the weekend before polling day. The lesson learned by the pollsters was to use quota samples and poll up to the day before. This time there is no 'fieldwork finished at the weekend' excuse. Neither can we hide behind the screen of sample error. The four polls published on Election Day – MORI in *The Times*, Gallup in *The Daily Telegraph*, NOP in *The Independent*, and ICM in *The Guardian*, plus the final Harris poll for the Daily Express, released the night before – showed Conservatives with 38–39% of the vote, Labour with 38–42%, and the Liberal Democrats with 17–20%. The probability of all these being wrong if the real share of the vote was as it was on Election Day is around 160,000 to 1. So either we were all wrong together for a whole host of ingenious reasons which lay observers, and a few who ought to know better have propounded or, maybe, just maybe, they weren't wrong after all and did accurately reflect public opinion and voting intention at the time they were taken.

The eve of poll polls showed the Tories at an average 38%, Labour at 40%. But you have to remember that in order to meet newspaper deadlines to publish on polling day, interviewing has to be completed early on Wednesday. One of the five polls, Harris, was conducted Saturday to Tuesday, three on Tuesday and Wednesday, and one, ICM, was conducted exclusively on Wednesday. Given that most people vote after midday, the pollsters would have been asking their voting intention of most of their samples at least 36 hours and, for many, 48 hours or more before they actually voted.

In other words, they could have had a day or two in which to change their minds after being polled; two days during which the mainly Conservative tabloid press pulled no punches in their desperation to get the Conservatives elected, and in which the focus of media attention shifted from the policies, where Labour were relatively strong, to the leaders, where Labour were relatively weak.

Throughout the campaign, Major had consistently scored more highly than Kinnock as the most capable prime minister (MORI/*Sunday Times*), as best able to handle Britain's economic difficulties (Gallup). Moreover, the balance of opinion had consistently been that they and their families would be worse off rather than better off under Labour, (Gallup/*Telegraph*) and two thirds or more of floaters expected Labour to raise the basic rate of income tax (MORI/*On the Record*). When it came to the ballot box, sufficient floating voters re-appraised their voting intention and opted for the Conservatives to deliver John Major back into Downing Street and thereby, they believed, make them materially better off than with Labour.

'The pollsters have nothing at all to be ashamed of for the part they played in the democratic process'

Exit polls

But what about the exit polls?

One should not be misled by the seat projections. The Harris exit poll – and Harris have had an exceptionally good track record in this most difficult of polling exercises – ended up with 41% Conservative, 37% Labour, 18% Lib Dem and 4% other, an average error if only 1% per party. Had this been converted into seats using a national uniform swing – the procedure which has proved the most

accurate in the past – rather than assuming variations of swing across regions and between marginal and non-marginal seats, then their seat projection would have been a 16-seat overall majority for the Conservatives – a highly creditable performance.

That leaves the ICM and NOP exit polls. ICM conducted polls for the *Today* and *Sun* newspapers and had to get their results to their clients for the evening deadline. This meant that they could not continue polling right up until the polls closed at 10pm. Indeed, they had to finish by 4pm to get the data back to their computer in London and analysed – all 25,300 records. This clearly makes the assumption that those voting after 4pm will vote in the same pattern as those voting before 4pm. Surprisingly, in view of the fact that rather over 40% of all votes are cast in the late afternoon and early evening, they had good reason, on the basis of previous exit polls conducted by Harris, to expect that the 4pm data would be good predictors of the final outcome. However, the evidence from the Harris and NOP exit polls suggests that this was not the case in 1992. Rather, the Tories came out in their droves on the evening of April 9, perhaps spurred on by the thought of a Labour victory. On that basis, the ICM sample would have had a skew to Labour.

Eve of poll polls

Company Sponsor	Fieldwork	Date of publ	Con %	Lab %	LD %	Other %	Sample
Harris ITN	4-7 April	8 April	38	40	18	4	2,210
MORI Times	7-8 April	9 April	38	39	20	2	1,731
NOP Independent/BBC	7-8 April	9 April	39	42	17	2	1,746
Gallup Daily Tel.	7-8 April	9 April	38.5	38	20	3.5	2,748
ICM Guard	8 April	9 April	38	38	20	4	2,186
Final result			42.8	35.2	18.3	3.7	

One cannot blame them for their methodology. Deadlines are deadlines and we all have to respond to them. The lesson might be that in a similar situation again it would be wise to continue polling up to 10pm and update the predictions for the later editions, if you can get the client to pay for it.

So that leaves NOP.

The published NOP poll was undertaken in 100 marginals and also detected an increasing Tory turnout as the evening progressed. But we know that in previous elections, the polling in the marginals has not produced the best basis for predicting overall seat changes. There are difficulties in defining marginals - Con/Lab, Con/Lib Dem, Lab/Con, Lab/Lib Dem, Lib Dem/Con, Lib Dem/Lab - and what swing do you take: 5%? 10% and how do you treat the three-way marginals? All this makes it very difficult to know how best to structure your sample and then to convert polling results across the marginals into seats gained and lost. There is no absolutely 'right' answer. It is salutary to reflect on the fact that if just 1,244 conservative voters in the eleven most marginal conservative held constituencies had cast their votes for the second party, the Conservatives would have lost their seats majority. Nevertheless, the NOP survey did pick up the swing to Labour from 1987, albeit exaggerated; its voting was only two percentage points out on the Conservative and Labour votes.

The scenario that the polls were by and large right with a very late swing to the Conservatives is substantially confirmed by the findings of two MORI surveys conducted on the Friday and Saturday following polling day for *The Sunday Times* and BBC's *On the Record*. These went back to around a thousand members of their respective panels of electors who had been interviewed

weekly throughout the campaign, the *Sunday Times* panel among all electors, the *On the Record* panel among floating voters.

These not only confirmed a substantial last-minute swing to the Conservatives but also indicated that a combination of pro-Major/anti-Kinnock, the tax issue and anti-Labour feeling plus a number of other factors combined to produce the very late Tory swing. The MORI/*Sunday Times* Panel also found 8% of voters said they made up their minds in the last 24 hours, while a Gallup poll conducted for *The Daily Telegraph* on the Friday and Saturday after polling day found 14% who decided how they would vote 'during the last few days'. Other evidence from the MORI/*Sunday Times* Panel also suggests that the electorate were far less 'set in their voting patterns than elections since 1979.

Swing

One has to recognise, though, that neither these panels, nor the Gallup post election poll produced quite the degree of swing needed to get to the final voting figure, and even Harris, on an 18,000 sample, were still 2% light on the the polls were consistently underestimating the Tory share throughout, and no doubt the MRS enquiry will be looking at possible reasons for this.

There are a number of plausible explanations. The turnout was relatively high at 77%. Were Conservative voters better at turning out in what was clearly a very close race than Labour and 'soft'

Liberal Democratic voters? Are refusals substantially more likely to be Conservative voters? Did the poll tax evaders fail to register (despite what they told the interviewers) and were they disproportionately Labour? At the time of going to press we are looking at all of these possibilities.

The conclusions? The record of the final pre-Election polls has been so good at anticipating the final outcome - the final MORI polls in the preceding three General elections, for example, were each within 1% of the votes cast for each of the three

main parties - that journalists, other political commentators and lay observers have come to expect that they will always serve as a good 'predictor' of the final outcome. What happened in the 1992 election should remind us that in measuring public opinion we are measuring something which is inherently subject to change, particularly during a close-fought election campaign. The pollsters have nothing at all to be ashamed of for the part they played in the democratic process. As a result, we will no doubt be a little wiser, a little more cautious in our methodologies, and even more careful in the guidance we give to journalists as to how they should interpret the polls.

But I wonder if they'll want to listen.

'In measuring public opinion, we are measuring something which is inherently subject to change'

Exit and post election poll swing

Date of poll	Exit									Post election					
	ICM/ The Sun, Today			Harris/ ITN			NOP*/ BBC			MORI/ Sunday Times Panel			Gallup/ Telegraph		
	8/4	9/4	change	4-7/4	9/4	change	7-8/4	9/4	change	1-3/4	10/4	change	7-8/4	10-11/4	change
Conservative	38	38	0	38	41	+3	39	40	-1	37	40	+3	38.5	40	+1.5
Labour	38	41	+3	40	36	-4	42	36	-6	39	37	-2	38	37	-1
Liberal Democrats	20	18	-2	18	18	0	17	18	+1	21	20	-1	20	19	-1
Other	4	3	-1	4	5	+1	2	5	+3	3	3	0	3.5	4	0.5
Swing to Con.			-1.5			+3.5			+3.5			+2.5			+12.5

*Not published

research

news

ICM discover secret ballot

By Val Stevenson

The annual 'State of the Nation' poll in September 14's Guardian showed both Labour and the Conservatives level-pegging on 38% and the Liberal Democrats on 19%, percentages which differ from other recent polls which have put Labour ahead. The poll was carried out by ICM under their new 'secret ballot' system, whereby electors are asked to indicate on a ballot paper how they intend voting. A Gallup spokesperson quoted in The Independent ruled out a similar approach on grounds of cost, but the same report revealed that MORI was considering it as one of a range of possible methodological changes.

ICM will now use the method routinely for opinion polling and will test it out on any by-election in this parliamentary session. ICM re-contacted respondents to their final poll before the last election and were able to explain that 30% of the variation between poll and result was attributable to a late swing. They also found that a large proportion of those who refused to say who they would support subsequently turned out to have voted Conservative.

The demographic profile of



ICM's Nick Sparrow

'refusers' - who tended to be older and female - is similar to those who were certain to vote but had not decided how. Both are likelier than others to nominate the Conservatives as the party with the best economic policies.

In a split-sample test, ICM questioned half the respondents conventionally and used the secret ballot on the rest; both halves were demographically matched. Although answers to the other questions were almost identical for both halves, the voting intention question differed radically: Conservative voters were up seven per cent and refusers down six per cent among those who had been given ballot papers.

If figures for the final poll before the election were adjusted accordingly, ICM argue, the results would have been much more accurate: the Conservatives

42% (actual result 43%), and Labour 36% (35%).

The ballot papers contained the names of the main parties. Respondents were given a plain envelope in which to place the completed ballot paper, which contained the names of the main parties, and this was attached to the questionnaire. Samples are preserved, as the papers are analysed along with the other questions. Nick Sparrow, MD of ICM, conceded that refusals might rise again, but argued "people will answer about the most sensitive subjects if you allow them to do so in a manner where they don't feel embarrassed."

So why was admitting to voting Tory so embarrassing? Nick Sparrow suggested the sensitivity might result from the breakdown in the old class system. In the 1974 and 1983 elections, voting Labour was seen as a gaffe.

In future, those who refuse to answer even via the ballot paper will be asked which party has the best policies for the economy which, says ICM, is a strong indicator of party preference. When that question was asked in the 'State of the Nation' poll, 35% of the 1,424 adults over 18 rated the Conservatives and 26% Labour.

APPENDIX 14

US 1992 Presidential Election Poll Predictions

Most polls over-estimated Clinton and under-estimated Perot.

		<u>Result</u>	43.3%	37.7%	19.0%	
<u>SURVEY CONDUCTED BY:</u>	<u>DATE(S)</u>	<u>SAMPLE SIZE</u>	<u>CLINTON</u> %	<u>BUSH</u> %	<u>PEROT</u> %	<u>Undecided</u> %
Newsweek	28-29/10/92	1029 "registered voters"+ Excluding "undecided"	43 46.2	35 37.7	15 16.1	7
CBS/NY Times	29-30/10/92	1912 "registered voters"+ Excluding "undecided"	44 45.4	36 37.1	17 17.5	3
ABC	29-31/10/92	1369 "likely voters"* excluding "undecided"	42 43.8	37 38.5	17 17.7	4
Battleground	31/10-1/11/92	250 "registered voters"+ (rolling 4-day sample) Excluding "undecided"	40 42.1	36 37.9	19 20.0	5
CNN/USA Today	31/10-1/11/92	2000+ "registered voters" Excluding "undecided"	43 46.2	34 36.6	16 17.2	7
		1579 "likely voters" Excluding "undecided"	44 46.8	36 38.3	14 14.9	6
Lou Harris	30/10-1/11/92	1975 "likely voters"* Excluding "undecided"	43 44.8	37 38.5	16 16.7	4
NBC/WSJ	1/11/92	1008 "registered voters"+ Excluding "undecided"	44 46.3	36 37.9	15 15.8	5
ABC	28/10-1/11/92	9115 "likely voters"* Excluding "undecided"	44 45.4	37 38.1	16 16.5	3
Washington Post	28/10-1/11/92	722 "likely voters"* Excluding "undecided"	43 45.8	35 37.2	16 17.0	6
CBS/NY Times	1-2/11/92	1731 "registered voters"+ Excluding "undecided"	45 46.4	37 38.1	15 15.5	3
CNN/USA Today	1-2/11/92	1500+ "likely voters"* Excluding "undecided"	44 46.3	37 39.0	14 14.7	5
Lou Harris	2/11/92	1615 "likely voters"* Excluding "undecided"	44 44.4	38 38.4	17 17.2	1
Gallup	1-2/11/92	2019 "registered voters" Excluding "undecided"	43 46.2	34 36.6	16 17.2	7
		1589 "likely voters" As released all "undecided"	44	37	14	5
		were added to Clinton Excluding "undecided"	49 46.3	37 39.0	14 14.7	

BC, Lou Harris Washington Post & CNN/USA Today results did not show the results for "registered

*BS/NY Times, Battleground, & NBC/WSJ did not show the results for "likely voters".