

Queensland Election Exit Poll, November 2017

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Methodology

The following graphs are based on a sample which has been weighted for voting intention based on the results of the Queensland state election held on November 25, as published on the Electoral Commission Queensland website on November 28, 2017. The weighting is done using first preferences only, so any variation between the results on November 28, and those finally published will be so minor as to be undetectable in our sample.

Results should be taken as indicative in that the sample is not properly randomised, but it is unlikely that groups are completely unrepresentative.

The poll was conducted November 25 through to November 27, 2017 using Queensland respondents from our online panel of over 13,000 Australian voters. We asked respondents to only respond after they had voted. We wanted to catch respondents as close as possible to voting, and if possible, before any media accounts had influenced their thinking.

Quantitative analysis was undertaken using Microsoft Excel. Qualitative analysis was undertaken using Leximancer.

For further information contact Graham Young 0411 104 801.

Analysis

There are always more election campaigns available than it is possible to run. For starters there is the negative campaign and the positive campaign.

Then there are almost endless variations on those. There is the small target strategy, looking fetching on both the arm of the negative campaign (say John Howard in 1996), or the positive campaign (Kevin Rudd 2007).

And there is the large target campaign: like Donald Trump's impossibly large target strategy, or John Hewson's impossibly honest GST – and sometimes it even works.

At times campaigns address real issues facing electors, and at other times they are genteel conversations about things that don't matter much at all: as everyone ignores the bear in the corner.

This Queensland election was pretty much in the last category. There was a little negative campaigning, but compared to what we've seen in previous campaigns this was mild. I suspect that both sides feared negative campaigning would rouse the One Nation beast, which would gobble their campaigns up.

The LNP were upbeat in their advertising, until they hit on electricity prices in the last week. Labor ran negative from the beginning, equating Nicholls alternately with Campbell Newman, or Pauline Hanson, but the sound track was subdued.

By and large, neither side addressed a multiplicity of issues that might have made a difference to the state, apart from Adani.

And I'm pretty sure that Adani was not meant to be part of the conversation, but the Greens insisted, probably picking up a seat as a result and creating mayhem for the majors in a slew of others.

Reading the entrails of our exit poll, not a lot changed between the end of the campaign and the beginning, except for a sharp decline in the standing of Tim Nicholls. *Pace* everything else, this must have been the determining factor.

Nicholls started the campaign in touch with Palaszczuk. Her approval rating was -15% in our first poll, and his was -27%. In our second poll she had improved marginally to -9%, but he had declined to -41%.

(For comparison Donald Trump currently has a -19% approval rating on the same basis, according to Gallup).

This was mostly a result of a change in the attitude of LNP voters with a 17 percentage point drop in Nicholl's approval rating from 57% to 40%, and an almost equal increase in his disapproval rating from 12% to 28%. There was also a significant decrease in approval amongst One Nation voters.

While the impact on preferred premier status was nowhere near as great (41% down to 38%), it still meant that Labor's negative campaign had worked.

The weakness in the public perception of Tim Nicholls meant that while Adani should have wedged both him and Labor, it only seemed to wedge him.

Both sides supported Adani, but Palaszczuk's decision to veto the loan somehow let her off the hook with city voters, while keeping her sweet enough with regional ones.

Perhaps if Nicholls had talked to voters about some of the other issues they were interested in he could have done better. Or if Palaszczuk had, she might already have declared victory.

These issues were: jobs, renewable energy and power prices; debt; infrastructure; size and cost of the public service; and unions.

The answers are complex, most with negatives for both sides and with voters being split on what they are.

So jobs can be a product of new mines, or hiring "front line public servants". Electors love renewable energy, at the same time that they hate high power prices, but don't understand the two are linked.

Infrastructure requires capital, but both sides had sworn-off privatisation, and they had the same problem with debt. So repayments had to be incremental, and in the indeterminate future.

There are unions the public doesn't like, such as the CFMEU, but picking a fight with unions might have brought all of them out, and some of them are very cuddly, particularly those to do with health and education.

In the end the only other issue that appears to have made an impact across a broad range of electorates was the possible relationship of a minority government with One Nation.

Our research suggests this didn't change many votes at all, but it certainly lit-up the Greens and Labor bases. Because of his poor standing it was more a problem for Nicholls than Palaszczuk. Many believed her promise she would go into opposition rather than deal, compared to his undertaking to treat with whatever he might be given.

Newman became less of a factor as the election progressed. At the beginning he had 152 mentions out of 341 responses. By the end it was 75 out of 261. But Nicholls couldn't make up the difference.

It's rare that leaders make the difference, but if you don't run hard on issues, personality is all voters have to judge you by.

Tables

Please note that the sample size is small, and these should be regarded as straw polls of a very large virtual focus group of 26 people, rather than definitive measures of sentiment on each of these issues.

Thinking about Queensland how strongly would you agree or disagree that the state is heading in the right direction?

	ALP	GRN	IND	KAP	LNP	PHON	Total
SA	16%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%
Α	56%	18%	8%	20%	0%	4%	23%
N	18%	36%	8%	20%	10%	11%	15%
D	7%	36%	62%	20%	37%	18%	24%
SD	1%	7%	15%	40%	53%	68%	30%
U	1%	0%	8%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total agree	73%	20%	8%	20%	0%	4%	29%
Total							
disagree	8%	44%	77%	60%	90%	86%	54%
Net agree	64%	-24%	-69%	-40%	-90%	-82%	-25%

Thinking about your vote this election, which party, Labor or Liberal National, will you direct your preferences to favour - that is, which would you prefer to form the government.

	ALP	Grn	Ind	KAP	LNP	ON	Grand
ALP	97%	94%	50%	100%	12%	11%	54%
LNP	3%	6%	50%	0%	88%	89%	46%
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Thinking about your opinion in general of the performance of Premier Annastacia Palaszczuk how strongly do you approve or disapprove of it?

Exit survey

	ALP	Grn	Ind	KAP	LNP	ON	Total
SA	25%	0%	0%	20%	0%	0%	9%
Α	59%	36%	15%	20%	4%	7%	28%
N	12%	40%	31%	40%	12%	11%	16%
D	3%	16%	38%	0%	28%	14%	16%
SD	0%	7%	15%	20%	57%	68%	30%
U	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total approve	84%	36%	15%	40%	4%	7%	37%
Total disapprove	3%	24%	54%	20%	84%	82%	46%
Net approve	81%	13%	-38%	20%	-81%	-75%	-9%

n=256

Initial survey

	ALP	Grn	Ind	KAP	LNP	ON	Total
SA	30%	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%	11%
Α	54%	30%	29%	13%	4%	5%	25%
N	8%	38%	0%	50%	10%	10%	13%
D	6%	14%	29%	13%	22%	23%	16%
SD	2%	11%	43%	25%	63%	62%	35%
U	0%	2%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total approve	84%	36%	29%	13%	4%	5%	36%
Total disapprove	8%	25%	71%	38%	85%	85%	51%
Net approve	76%	11%	-43%	-25%	-82%	-80%	-15%

Thinking about your opinion in general of the performance of Opposition Leader Tim Nicholls, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of it?

Exit survey

	ALP	Grn	Ind	KAP	LNP	ON	Total
SA	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%	0%	2%
Α	3%	0%	0%	0%	34%	18%	15%
N	11%	18%	31%	60%	32%	39%	25%
D	33%	40%	31%	20%	26%	25%	30%
SD	52%	42%	38%	20%	2%	18%	28%
U	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total approve	3%	0%	0%	0%	40%	18%	17%
Total disapprove	85%	82%	69%	40%	28%	43%	58%
Net approve	-82%	-82%	-69%	-40%	12%	-25%	-41%

n=255

Initial survey

	ALP	Grn	Ind	KAP	LNP	ON	Total
SA	2%	2%	0%	13%	6%	0%	3%
Α	5%	0%	0%	0%	51%	13%	20%
N	10%	19%	14%	38%	30%	46%	25%
D	30%	21%	71%	25%	10%	23%	23%
SD	54%	57%	14%	25%	2%	11%	28%
U	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	7%	1%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total approve	6%	2%	0%	13%	57%	13%	23%
Total disapprove	84%	78%	86%	50%	12%	34%	51%
Net approve	-78%	-76%	-86%	-38%	45%	-21%	-27%

Who is your preferred Premier?

Exit survey

	ALP	Grn	Ind	KAP	LNP	ON	Total
AP	95%	90%	54%	60%	1%	8%	49%
TN	0%	2%	38%	20%	90%	48%	38%
U	5%	8%	8%	20%	9%	44%	12%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

n=286

Initial survey

	ALP	Grn	Ind	KAP	LNP	ON	Total
Annastacia							
Palaszczuk	95%	86%	40%	50%	1%	7%	46%
Tim Nicholls	0%	0%	40%	17%	89%	61%	41%
U	5%	14%	20%	33%	10%	32%	13%
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

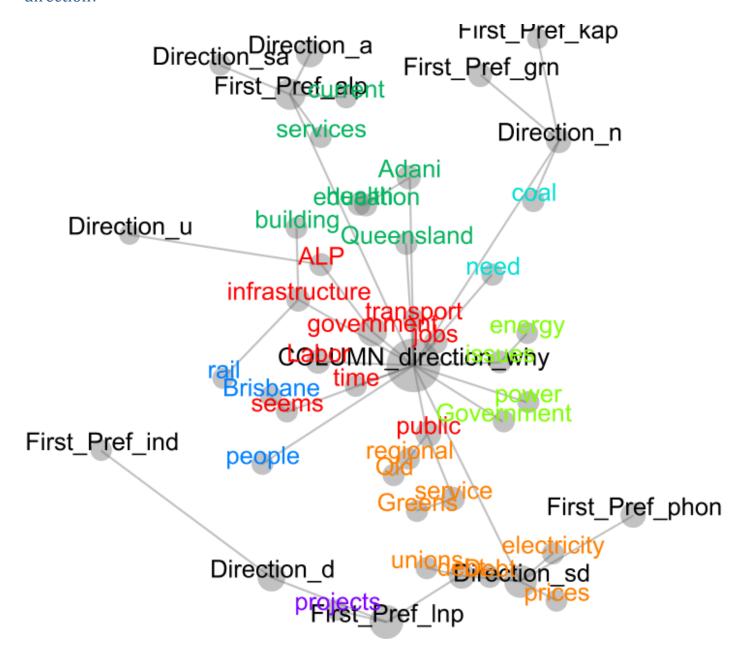
n=245

Qualitative Analysis

Our qualitative analysis looks at the reasons given by respondents for their various judgements. The following maps are generated from the data by Leximancer and overlay the key words over the variables from the question – generally the answer to the question plus voting intentions. Words that are most closely associated will cluster together. The most frequently used words are brighter than those used less frequently.

We do not edit the verbatims and all spelling and grammatical errors are reproduced. Editing the transcripts would take away from some of the unique tone of each response, as though we had changed their accents if it were spoken language. The verbatims are selected so as to give a better insight into how the individual words are being used. They are chosen from those highlighted by Leximancer as the most representative.

Thinking about Queensland would you agree or disagree that the state is heading in the right direction?



Verbatims

I think roads and Adani are an issue however everything is focused on Brisbane infrastructure and olympics I cannot believe there are reserve funds anywhere other than the government using a credit card. they are not addressing or wooing big multi national corporate organisations to come to Qld to employ our graduates or decentralisation with incentives and a very fast train or decent public transport system from regional areas to Brisbane the Bruce highway over the last 15 years is a disgrace yet they are building a Caloundra city that will only congestion the Bruce highway camel track even more

trains don't run, let alone on time unions have too much influence on government public service numbers & cost rising state debt out of control government is sneaky - hide adani deals and new taxes health is all talk and longer delays etc

I am concerned about the way the ALP government deals with issues that impact on the natural environment of Queensland ie mining and land development however the delivery of services relating to health and education are more inclusive and fair.

government debt, huge increase public servants without any improvement in service, draconian vegetation management laws forced on farmers to placate the Greens, talk about jobs but not do anything for productive employment

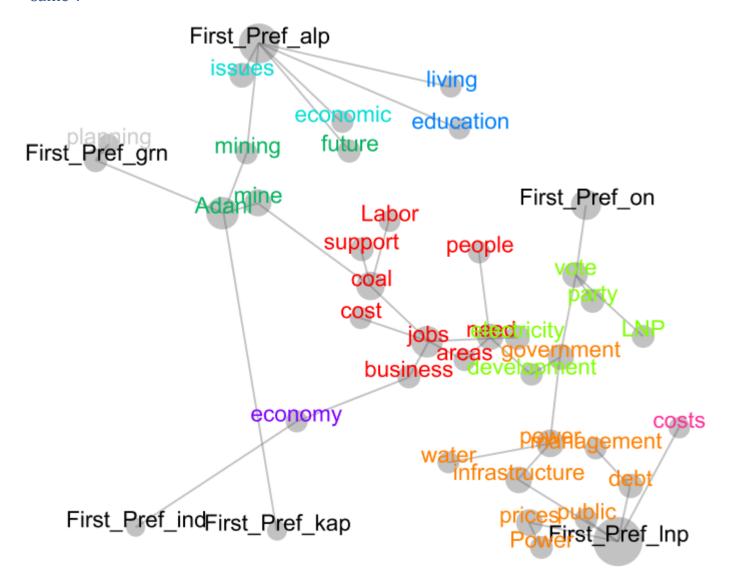
Debt, high electricity costs, carrying the burden of a bloated public service, too much regulation and government meddling, micro management of local government and property issues

Labor government has (unfortunately) quietly put into place a wide range of innovative programs for the environment, education, aged care, infrastructure and health to name a few.

Government policies wrong: We need coal mining; it is safe and makes electricity cheaper The right to kill yourself is totally wrong Homosexuality is totally against God's Word and Will Prostitution is wrong - God regards it as a sin. The main reason - With our culture being so anti-God, it should be obvious that He will leave us to our own evil desires, and fall into very bad times.

We are looking at calm and clear management of issues, without the schoolboy attitudes and snide cynicism of Tim Nichols and crew. I think Labor has got to stick with the current direction and lead Queensland back from what has been a very unsettled parliament, which had little room to move - congratulations to staying strong and focussed on the job at hand.

Thinking about your vote in this election, in a short paragraph please tell us what issue affected your vote the most. If your answer is the same as for 3 above, please just write in "same".



Verbatims

Education - to ensure we have a skilled workforce for the future; A healthy environment - there is no point having people if there is nowhere safe for them to live and breathe; **Alternative** energy if we put as much money into building alternative energy facilities as we put into coal, we would have the energy system we deserve at the price we can afford; **Health** - we need hospitals that can cater for. everyone, not just the wealthy; **Community** - we have lost our sense of caring for others.

Governments are not supposed to pay for a new company to setup, ie by paying for the railway line, even councils vying to build its airports. No one else has ever done this. Yes, they may have assisted it when times got tough like the **Car Manufacturing** industries but not fund them and that's what the **ALP** was doing until the **Premiers** husband compromised her loan to **ADANI**.

Too many public servants who are not front line workers, too many people dependent on the government for employment - via public funded works **Public** transport that is a better option than private transport because it is not only more cost effective but faster and convenient.

Initially I was going to vote **Green** because of my opposition to the **Adani** mine but in the end I voted **Labor** because I believed that in my electorate there was quite a large population of **One Nation** supporters and very very few **Green** voters and that a vote for the **Greens** would never elect a **Green** candidate but my vote for **Labor** might stop the election of a **One Nation** member.

The **LNP** was too keen to cosy up to **One Nation** and **Adani**. They have not learnt the lessons of **Newman's** mistakes and defeat and have no interest in developing renewable energy or other sustainable economic options so I could not consider voting for them.

All of the rhetoric of successive governments has proved to be hot air - neither of the major parties have delivered change of any substance. **Labor** and **Liberal** governments appear more concerned with retaining power than serving the people of this state.

Clear debt - slowly and steadily - while maintaining focus on delivering health and education priorities for our children s futures. **Secondly**, more major infrastructure and support for businesses needs to evolve.

Nothing for the **Sunshine Coast** by **Labor**- no improvement on **Bruce** highway, despite being one of the fastest growing areas in **Australia!Sick of Labor's** rorting - too many **Public Servants** with too much payroll **LNP** promises to improve rail line.

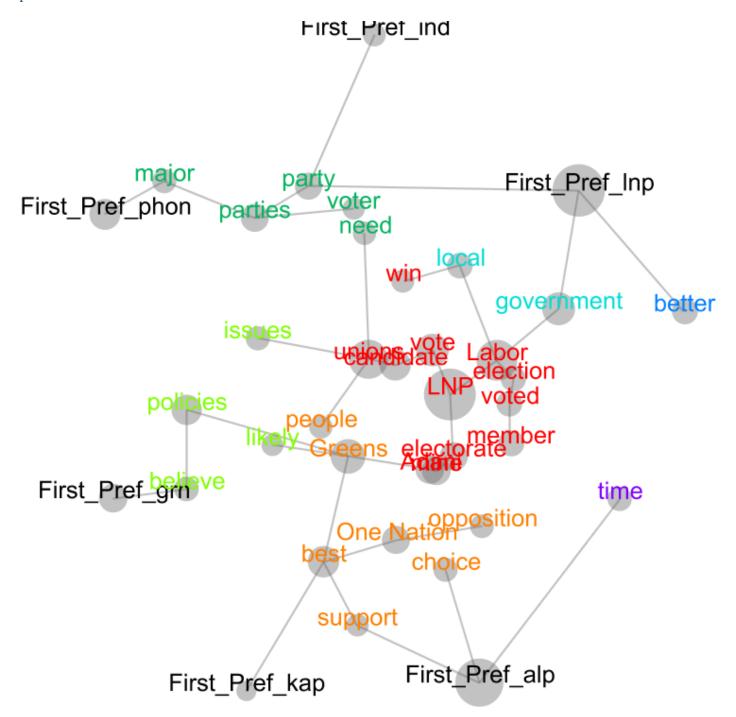
At least the **Labor Party** will veto the **Commonwealth** government giving taxpayer's money to build a railway for the monster mine of corrupt **Adani**.

Not building the **Adani** mine with government money - if it is built at all. **Saving** the barrier reef and building renewal energy plants.

In other words **Labor** got my vote because I want to protect employment for my family and the **Opposition** currently has NO talent. The current sitting **LNP** member in my electorate **lan Walker** has done nothing to address access to parking at **Eight Mile Plains Park** and **Ride**.

help **Queenslanders** improve their lives through better education, especially reviving **TAFE**, more jobs so that people feel included and valued. 4. **Encourage** renewable energy production and climate action 5.

Thinking about your vote this election, which of the following parties received your first preference?



Verbatims

Initially I was going to vote **Green** because of my opposition to the **Adani** mine but in the end I voted **Labor** because I believed that in my electorate there was quite a large population of **One Nation** supporters and very very few **Green** voters and that a vote for the **Greens** would never elect a **Green** candidate but my vote for **Labor** might stop the election of a **One Nation** member.

The **NLP** does not have policies that protect our environment; they do not have policies that protect jobs; they are stuck in a time warp thinking they can proceed with 'business as usual' just

like their fathers and grandfathers did. The **NLP** seems to be too keen to support developers/miners/ big corporations at the expense of **Australian** residents.

Nornally I put **Greens** first but **Annastacia Palaszczuk's** promise to veto the **Commonwealth** government giving taxpayer's money to build a railway for the monster mine of corrupt **Adani** got my vote.

I hope that the potentially better economic outcome potential of the **LNP** government along with the increasing imperative to handle the environment carefully and the electoral outcome will bring better outcomes than pre election promises/statements indicate.

They were the best of a bad bunch. My electorate only had Labor, LNP, Greens and an Independent who was likely to be from the Animal Justice Party.

I have always been a conservative voter but just couldn't vote for them because (1) can't stand the local pollie (LNP) who has done nothing even when they were in government....and couldn't ever vote Labor or Green.

Not happy with either - **LNP** wants **Adani** but farmers need groundwater, **Labor** just tries to keep **SE Qld** happy - except for **Sunshine Coast**

We had the choice of **Labor**, the **Greens** and **LNP** in our electorate. Of the 3, **Labor** offered the best balanced program.

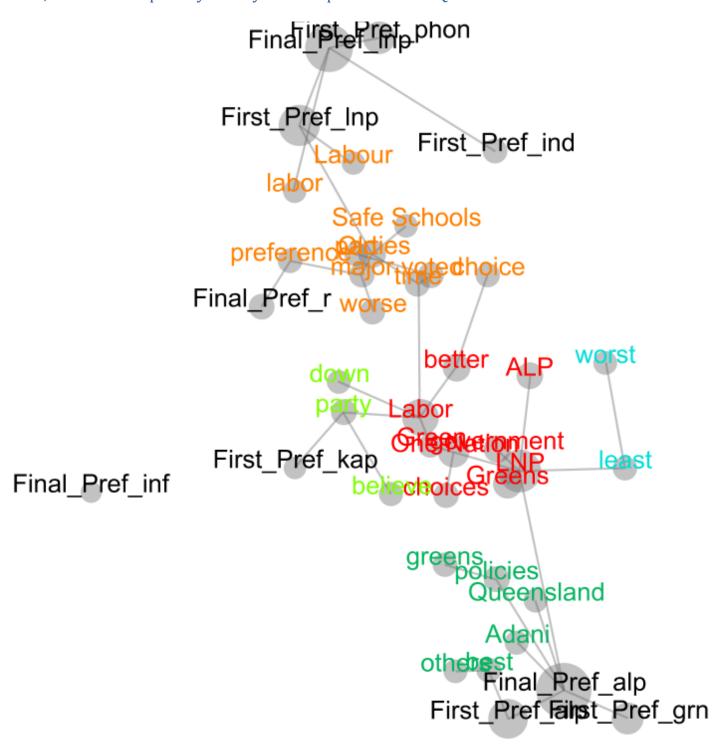
There was no way I was preferring the **LNP** candidate as he was previously a **Queensland** policeman who believes in law and order and scaring his constituents. If he truely believe in law and order he would not have left the police force.

Do not trust the **LNP** to protect the environment, stop the **Adani** and other coal mine development and expansion. Do not trust them to govern **Qld** in the best interests of the people.

For the reasons above - their talk about securing energy and water supply, their understanding that issues in regional areas are different with a big one being jobs, the welfare of primary producers and country towns. I liked the fact **Nichols** seemed, as far as a voter can tell, to be playing less games and that unions were not involved.

The main reason is that the **Liberal Party** have the ability to think longer term than the **Labor Party**, they are one of the larger parties with any will to reduce debt. **If Campbell Newman** had managed to be voted in to lead for a second time, the State would have been in a much better position than it is today.

Thinking about your vote this election, which party, Labor or Liberal National, did you direct your preferences to favour - that is, which would you prefer to form the government? Please note, it is now compulsory to fully allocate preferences in Queensland elections.



Verbatims

I voted 1 for LNP, 2 for One Nation, 3 for Labor & 4 for Greens according to their perceived strength against Safe Schools but really I wasn't particularly happy with the 4 parties standing in my electorate or in the state for that matter. I have always wanted to number every square on ballot papers but this time I only wanted to use #1 but in this election we had to number all.

The other choices on the ballot paper, besides **Labor** and the **Greens** was the **NLP** and some noparty-listed guy, probably **One Nation** but afraid to identify openly as such. I don't trust the **NLP** or the no-party-listed guy who the **NLP** wanted as second choice - I put him second last and **NLP** last.

The ALP's policies come closer to the Greens policies in some ways than any other party. I do think Anastacia Palaszcuk is a likeable person and I think she is doing her best under very trying circumstances.

The major parties, **Labor** or **LNP** are the only parties that can form government for better or worse.

One Nation as 2nd preference (your drop down question box in 7 did not allow that), as much as I would hate to see them actually get seats, I did not want to give **Labor** any further impetus either

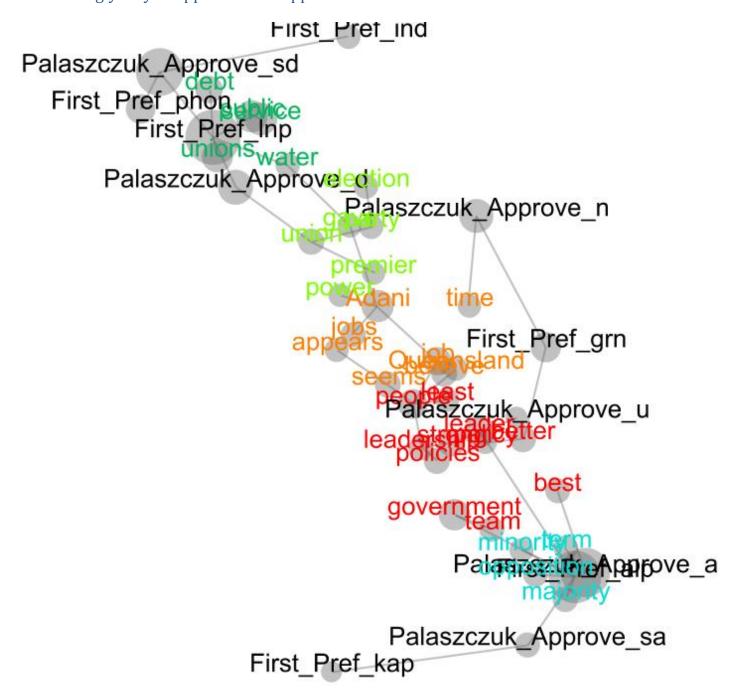
I would have voted **LNP** but have serious concerns about them going into a formal agreement with **One Nation** to form government.

Unfortunately, at the time of voting (postal vote) I was unaware that it was preferable to put **Labour** LAST. That is until I spent 2 hours delivering flyers on behalf of **Cherish Life QLD** who were urging voters to put **Labour** LAST!

Need to protect the environment, halt land clearing. **Believe** that **ALP** more likely to do this than the **LNP**, **One Nation**, etc.

The way the **LNP** ran their race, the more mud you throw, the more sticks, everyone know what has gone on in the past, so running others down doesn't work with me.

Thinking about your opinion in general of the performance of Premier Annastacia Palaszczuk how strongly do you approve or disapprove of it?



Verbatims

The **Premier** is not a strong enough leader to shout out the policies so everyone hears them and then stays on that for full term explaining how policies are being implemented. I don't want wishy washy verbal chit chat with the opposition I want **Annastacia** to talk to me and the other people of **Queensland** and stop being distracted by nonsense.

Despits the huge task ahead of her and the new members of her team, they performed suietly, sensible, moving forward to solve the problems and create jobs throughhout the State as well as

all the other afreas of government that must be professionally handled and not changed by rushes of the blood to gain a so-called advantage over the opposition. The majority of the behaviour of the **Opposition** in **Parliament** was disgraceful.

I believe that she is very beholden to the union movement in many aspects and therefore any decisions that may have affect on policy direction, if any policy at all is forthcoming. The only time she looked like a leader was when she said at the leader's forum at the **Bronco's** that she would do no deals with any party, and most importantly, **One Nation**.

She has kept the State moving, despite a clear majority and often hostile, negative and/or clueless policies from opposition parties. I am very disappointed in the **LNP**, who in recent times have lost the plot and also lack good leadership at State and **Fed** level.

I don't particularly like her emphasis on jobs, economics and **Adani**, but she is better than the alternative. At least she seems connected to the people.

She is doing okay, but she needs to be better than she is. I think she has a couple of weak links in her team and the stuff-ups affecting this term of government were preventable and self inflicted - nothing fatal, but this government really needs to start taking risk management more seriously.

She has led a government controlled by unions, pandering to greens and covering up for at least 5 members of her team who under normal **Westminster** protocols, would have been sacked for incompetence and dishonesty.

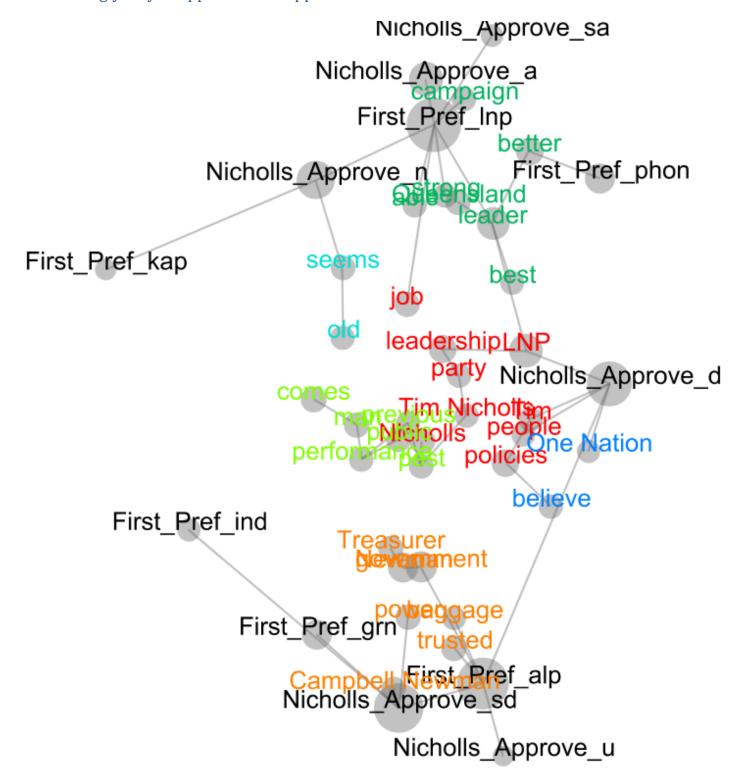
The **ALP** govt. has increased state debt, is considering putting the appalling "**Safe Schools**" program into action, has overinflated the public service and is more or less beholden to the unions.

I believe the **Premier** is doing her job but does not appear to be a very strong leader. I believe she is being managed by the various union bodies.

She didn't do anything useful in the entire 3y ears. She is under the thrall of the unions, and so created useless (and highly paid) jobs in the public service to please them.

Disappointed with the slavish following union wishes. **Ridiculous** reemployment apparently unnecessary public servants and claiming that to be part of job creation.

Thinking about your opinion in general of the performance of Opposition Leader Tim Nicholls, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of it?



Verbatims

He typifies a current broad political deficit in both **Fed** and **State LNP** - lacking a really attractive public persona (displaying a grating media performance akin to a public school mummy s boy), together with a lack of strong policies, future political direction/options or leadership.

Lack of leadership and lack of decision making on the **One Nation** preference flow and poor response at leadership forum (opposite to **Palaszczuk's** answer). **Nicholls** looked weak-willed in his response to that same question and it cost him and the **LNP** greatly.

I think **Nicholls** is probably a nice bloke who just doesn't cut the mustard. He had to know that his past record as **Treasurer** and architect of the debt reduction strtaegies in the **Newman** government would have to come back to haunt him - and they did.

He should never have taken on the leadership as he was tarnished by the Cambell

Newman period (don't get me wrong I thought Cambell Newman was great, a go getter who
could have done better with more support from within his party). I think Tim Mander would make
a good leader or maybe one of the others but not someone who was a higher rank in the Cambell
Newman period.

He should never have become leader. His ego was bigger than his desire to do what is best for the **LNP**, and the people of **Queensland**.

LNP has the better policies in general but **Tim** is a fairly unimpressive leader

I find **Tim Nicholls** persona arrogant and insincere. The policies he presented seemed trite and the same old solutions offered up in the past.

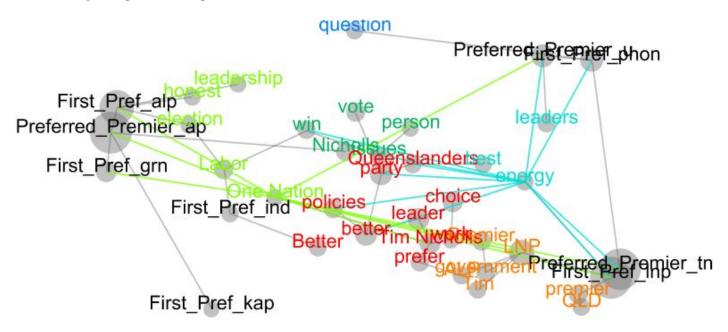
He's unlikeable, he presided over the dreadful public sector job cuts under **Campbell Newman's** government and he's for **Adani** and coal fired power etc.

He did his best, but still represented the excesses of the **Newman** government, and led a party whose philosophy I distrust.

The **LNP** have never sadly been able to produce a good leader except **Newman**, who sadly went to far with the right polices.

Appears to be misleading and not trustworthy. Was too heavily involved in the leadership of the **LNP** with **Campbell Newman** to be trusted now.

Who was your preferred premier?



Verbatims

Because he leads a party with policies which could benefit all **Queenslanders**, by dropping the ridiculous heavily subsidised renewable energy scam, creating a better environment for business and industry to create real employment, and letting farmers manage their environment to maximise sustainable production without green extremist influence. Tim Nicholls has refused to rule out forming a government with One Nation support. Does this make you more or less likely to vote LNP?

Queensland Opposition Leader Tim Nicholls put **Adani's** \$16.5 billion **Carmichael** mine at the front and centre of the November 25 election. Over the past year, **Adani** has been increasingly unable to secure the \$5 billion it needs from private sources, as various financial institutions have begun shifting investments away from coal and towards renewables, so they are totally dependent on massive taxpayer funding which will only happen if **Queenslanders** are silly enough to vote for him.

She comes across as a nicer person, but her party is not much better than **LNP**, particularly on certain social issues such as **SSM**, abortion etc.

The **ALP** also seem to be addressing the issues in unimaginative ways but I relate better to her communication style. I also prefer a woman to be the leader.

I think **QLD** needs an **LNP** government to get the state moving financially again, so I prefer an **LNP** premier, not necessarily **Tim Nicholls**

Tim Nicholls could bring a fresh approach to **Queensland**. The current **Premier** is beholden to the labor party and unions therefore she is unable to make individual choices to benefit the state.

If Anastacia had **LNP** policies she would be my preferred premier but she doesn't so I had to reluctantly opt for **Tim**

Labor was paying for its largely unpopular **pro-Adani** stance, with her party at risk of losing two inner **Brisbane** seats to the **Greens** until **Annastacia Palaszczuk** announced that, if re-elected, she would veto the **NAIF** loan application. With this promise she will probably win the election.

Perhaps even worse in his "campaign launch" speech he managed not to mention "energy security and cost", "Adani and mining industry jobs" and "safe schools". When you can't even mention the three issues which are your strong suite, how can you expect to win?