

Exit Poll Report Federal Election 2019

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The Australian Institute for Progress exists to advance the discussion, development and implementation of public policy for Australia's future, from its base in Brisbane. The future does not look after itself.

Methodology

The following tables and graphs are based on a sample which has been selected for voting intention based on the results of the most recent election.

Results should be taken as indicative in that the sample is not properly randomised, but it is unlikely that groups are completely unrepresentative. Based on the election results as predicted by this sample, and the actual results at the election there is a small bias towards the ALP in the results.

In these tables we have amalgamated the Pauline Hanson One Nation, Australian Conservatives, United Australia Party and Christian Democrats votes as one and labelled them "Nationalist". This is so that we have a statistically significant sample for this group, and because these parties in our sample attract similar voters, with significantly more having voted Liberal or Liberal National previously than have voted Labor.

The poll was conducted May 17 through to May 21, 2019 using our online panel of over 13,000 Australian voters.

Quantitative analysis was undertaken using Microsoft Excel, and responses were weighted by voting intention normalised against the election results. Qualitative analysis was undertaken using Leximancer. Respondents for qualitative research were selected randomly from their various voting blocs.

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Executive Summary

This was an election that Labor lost. It had too many policies that hurt too many people through higher taxes. This was meant to redistribute to poorer Australians and make the country fairer. But those who would lose were angry, and those who might win, unappreciative.

On top of that it actively alienated working Australians in the mining regions of Queensland and New South Wales by its lack of action on Adani specifically, and coal mining generally, and antagonised religious Australians by trying to wedge Scott Morrison on his Christianity and threatening to take rights away from Christian organisations in their staff hiring policies.

Morrison waged a chanceless campaign. He didn't show a lot of flair, but he didn't make any mistakes and cured the perception that the Coalition was weak and divided. He reconnected the party with its conservative rural base, and appears to have won the majority of undecided voters as they entered the polling booth.

The win looks larger than it is because the expectation of a Labor win was so high, but the government only has a bare majority, and a large proportion of voters either voted for third parties, or when they voted for the majors, did so unenthusiastically.

Climate change was the largest issue on the Labor/Greens side, but it didn't translate into changes of voting intention. When it was mentioned by voters on the right it was generally in negative terms. Stability, taxes and the economy were the major issues on the right, with a smattering of cultural issues.

With such a close result we can expect the dysfunction of the last parliament to continue, unless one side or the other can develop a compelling narrative which converts voters to their cause. The best chance for this is for the Morrison government, if it can eat into the nationalist voter base and snare first preferences.

Labor will also be eyeing this group off, but it will be difficult for them as they stand to lose Green votes and preferences on the left if they try too hard to meet the demands of rural and regional voters.

Specific findings

1. Campaign seemed to intensify pre-existing opinions. While the overall response to the question of whether the country was heading in the right direction was statistically insignificant, there were some statistically significant moves in subgroups with Nationalists being inclined to see the country in a much more positive light at the end of the campaign. Labor, Greens and Others voters were more pessimistic by a few percentage points while Liberal voters were more optimistic by a similar margin.
2. The group is more left-leaning than the population at large. Despite using the actual voting figures to weight our sample, when we distributed preferences in line with intentions we got a 53% win to Labor. This is not dissimilar to the published polls, suggesting that it was the voters pollsters couldn't measure who made the difference when it came to voting. They don't fill in our surveys generally either.
3. Consistent with the left lean our sample disapproved of Scott Morrison, but that disapproval shrank over the course of the campaign. This was a result of an increase in enthusiasm by Liberals and Others. The Nationalists actually moved a little against him, while Greens moved a little towards him.
4. There was also an improvement in Bill Shorten's approval ratings, with favourable movements amongst Labor, Coalition, Nationalists and Others. His approval fell with Greens voters.
5. Morrison improved his preferred PM rating, but again reflecting the skew in the sample, he was only level-pegging with Shorten on 48% with the 4% balance to undecideds. Others appear to have warmed towards Shorten while Nationalists became slightly less sure about Morrison, and parked a large number of their votes under "unsure".

6. Morrison was loathed by opponents, who thought he was dishonest and hypocritical, while supporters saw him as a straightforward family man with good principles. Shorten was seen as a solid pair of hands by supporters, and a hypocrite by detractors, although supporters were relatively unenthusiastic in their support. Compared to Morrison Shorten had fewer “Strongly approve” ratings, as well as fewer “Strongly disapprove” ratings.
7. The issues appear to have stayed remarkably stable over the course of the campaign. In the end it was a contest between Labor’s fairness narrative, which necessitated a reasonably large tax redistribution, and the Liberal’s concern with limiting tax and strengthening the economy.
8. The one exception to the issues staying constant was the increase in reference to religion in the exit poll versus the first poll we did. Controlling for the different sample size there was an approximate 66% increase in the use of words starting with “relig” and 44% in those starting with “christ”. This tends to confirm the possibility that Rugby Australia may have helped the coalition campaign by deciding to discipline Israel Folau so close to the election. It was also affected by the image of Scott Morrison inside his church which galvanised voters on all sides.
9. Retirees were an issue, as was tax, but “death tax” barely featured, and retiree tax was not present in the first survey, and barely present in the second survey. “Franking” was more prominent as a concept. However around one-third of respondents mentioned “tax”, suggesting that rather than any specific tax it was the whole suite of proposed taxes that concerned voters.
10. While “Chaos and Cuts” seemed to work for the ALP earlier on in the year, they do not appear to have been very top-of-mind by the time of the election campaign. “Stability” was an issue but cut both ways with Labor respondent concerns for the stability of the coalition government being countered by coalition respondent concerns for the stability of the economy.
11. Malcolm Turnbull also started the election campaign as a large issue, but frequency of mentions halved by the second sample. The sentiment was fairly evenly spread with some thinking he should still be Liberal leader, and blaming Morrison or the Liberals for removing him, and others thinking he was a poor leader.

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

	ALP		Coalition		Greens		Nationalists		Others		Total	
	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd
Strongly agree	1%	1%	15%	21%	0%	1%	0%	1%	2%	2%	6%	9%
Agree	4%	2%	44%	39%	1%	1%	15%	27%	8%	6%	20%	19%
Neither agree nor disagree	8%	6%	14%	12%	7%	2%	10%	24%	11%	12%	11%	10%
Disagree	34%	37%	16%	19%	22%	25%	29%	14%	29%	37%	25%	27%
Strongly disagree	51%	53%	10%	7%	70%	72%	39%	34%	47%	42%	36%	35%
Unsure	2%	0%	1%	2%	0%	0%	7%	0%	5%	0%	2%	1%
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total approve	5%	3%	59%	60%	1%	1%	15%	28%	9%	8%	26%	28%
Total disapprove	85%	90%	26%	26%	92%	97%	68%	48%	76%	80%	61%	62%
Net approve	-81%	-87%	33%	35%	-91%	-95%	-54%	-20%	-67%	-71%	-35%	-34%

Thinking about your vote in the House of Representatives, which group, Labor or Coalition, did you direct your preferences to favour - that is, which did you prefer to form the government?

	ALP		Coalition		Greens		Nationalists		Others		Total	
	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd
ALP	99%	99%	1%	2%	100%	99%	0%	17%	52%	58%	53%	53%
Coalition	1%	1%	99%	98%	0%	1%	100%	83%	48%	42%	47%	47%
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Thinking about your opinion in general of the performance of Prime Minister Scott Morrison, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of it?

	ALP		Coalition		Greens		Nationalists		Others		Total	
	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd
Strongly approve	1%	0%	47%	55%	0%	1%	24%	13%	5%	3%	20%	23%
Approve	1%	2%	39%	37%	0%	1%	32%	37%	20%	28%	19%	20%
Neither approve nor disapprove	6%	5%	8%	5%	1%	3%	15%	19%	11%	12%	7%	7%
Disapprove	14%	18%	3%	2%	15%	21%	22%	11%	12%	11%	10%	11%
Strongly disapprove	78%	76%	2%	1%	84%	74%	7%	20%	52%	46%	43%	40%
Unsure	0%		1%		0%		0%		2%		1%	
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total approve	2%	2%	86%	92%	0%	1%	56%	50%	24%	31%	39%	42%
Total disapprove	92%	93%	5%	2%	99%	95%	29%	31%	64%	57%	53%	51%
Net approve	-90%	-92%	81%	90%	-99%	-94%	27%	19%	-39%	-27%	-14%	-8%

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

	ALP		Coalition		Greens		Nationalists		Others		Total	
	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd
Strongly approve	26%	23%	1%	2%	4%	10%	2%	4%	3%	10%	11%	11%
Approve	54%	58%	2%	5%	49%	40%	2%	3%	18%	24%	28%	29%
Neither approve nor disapprove	17%	15%	4%	7%	35%	31%	2%	8%	17%	25%	13%	14%
Disapprove	3%	2%	17%	20%	8%	12%	7%	8%	18%	22%	11%	12%
Strongly disapprove	1%	2%	76%	66%	4%	6%	85%	77%	41%	20%	38%	34%
Unsure	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total approve	79%	81%	3%	7%	53%	50%	5%	7%	21%	34%	39%	40%
Total disapprove	4%	4%	93%	86%	12%	17%	93%	85%	59%	42%	48%	46%
Net approve	75%	77%	-90%	-79%	41%	33%	-88%	-78%	-38%	-8%	-9%	-6%

Who was your preferred prime minister?

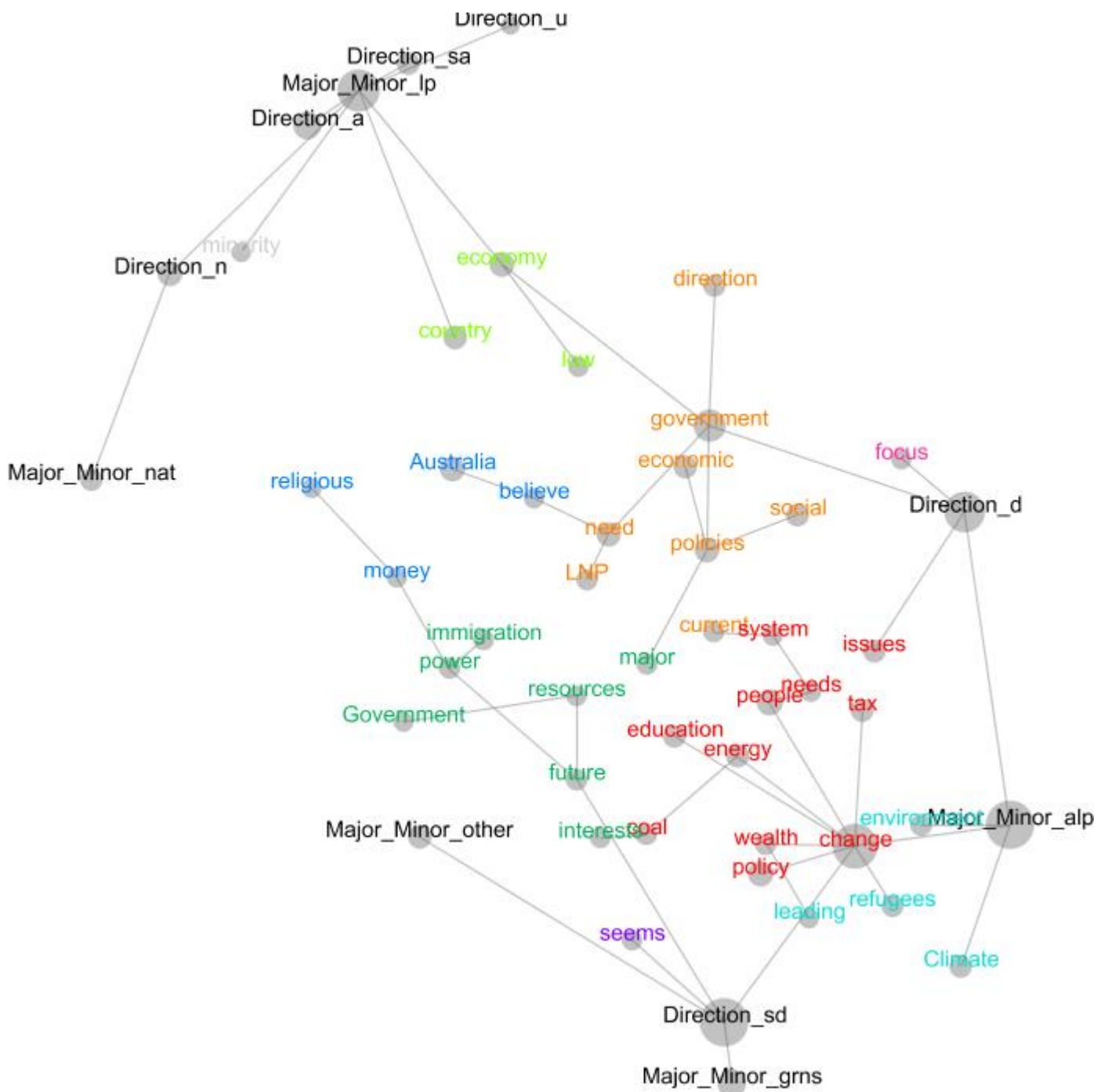
	ALP		Coalition		Greens		Nationalists		Others		Total	
	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd
Shorten	97%	95%	1%	1%	89%	93%	0%	0%	36%	48%	49%	48%
Morrison	1%	1%	97%	99%	0%	2%	87%	79%	41%	37%	46%	48%
U	2%	3%	2%	0%	11%	5%	13%	21%	24%	14%	5%	4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

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. The verbatims are selected so as to give a better insight into how the individual words are being used.

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



Verbatims

I detest the way the government of this country embraces "the big end of town" including providing large tax cuts that will benefit those who do not need it, while on the other hand taking very good care to reduce/remove benefits for those on the lower end, in particular those on social benefits. Couple that with climate policies that do not recognise the harm caused by our own industrial activities and even more by the industrial activities of those countries we export our coal, natural gas and un-natural gas to, while failing to fully embrace the abundance of solar energy available in this country.

No climate policy **Illegal**, immoral policies towards refugees **Flatlining** wages for workers, tax cuts for the top end (both individuals & business) **Appalling** abuse of people claiming government benefits - particularly **Newstart** rates No affordable housing policy **Superannuation** being plundered by providers and those 'in the know', but not designed to assist people at the bottom end, and especially women who've had periods out of employment, to have a reasonable retirement The list goes on, and on, and on .

People whom believe in protecting the environment, providing a base level of social security and rational, fully costed economic policy have a clear lack of viable political options. **Due** to our 2 party preferred system, we have on one hand a somewhat progressive position of social and environmental issues, but based on poor economic foundations, misguided fiscal policy (or even basic maths).

The **Morrison** government has no climate change policy, no policy on renewables, supports coal fired power stations, wants to open more coal mines and dig up more coal, takes no action on the **Uluru**'statement, has no policies in regard **First Nation** peoples, no refugee resettlement policies besides continued incarceration, wants to privatise the **ABC**

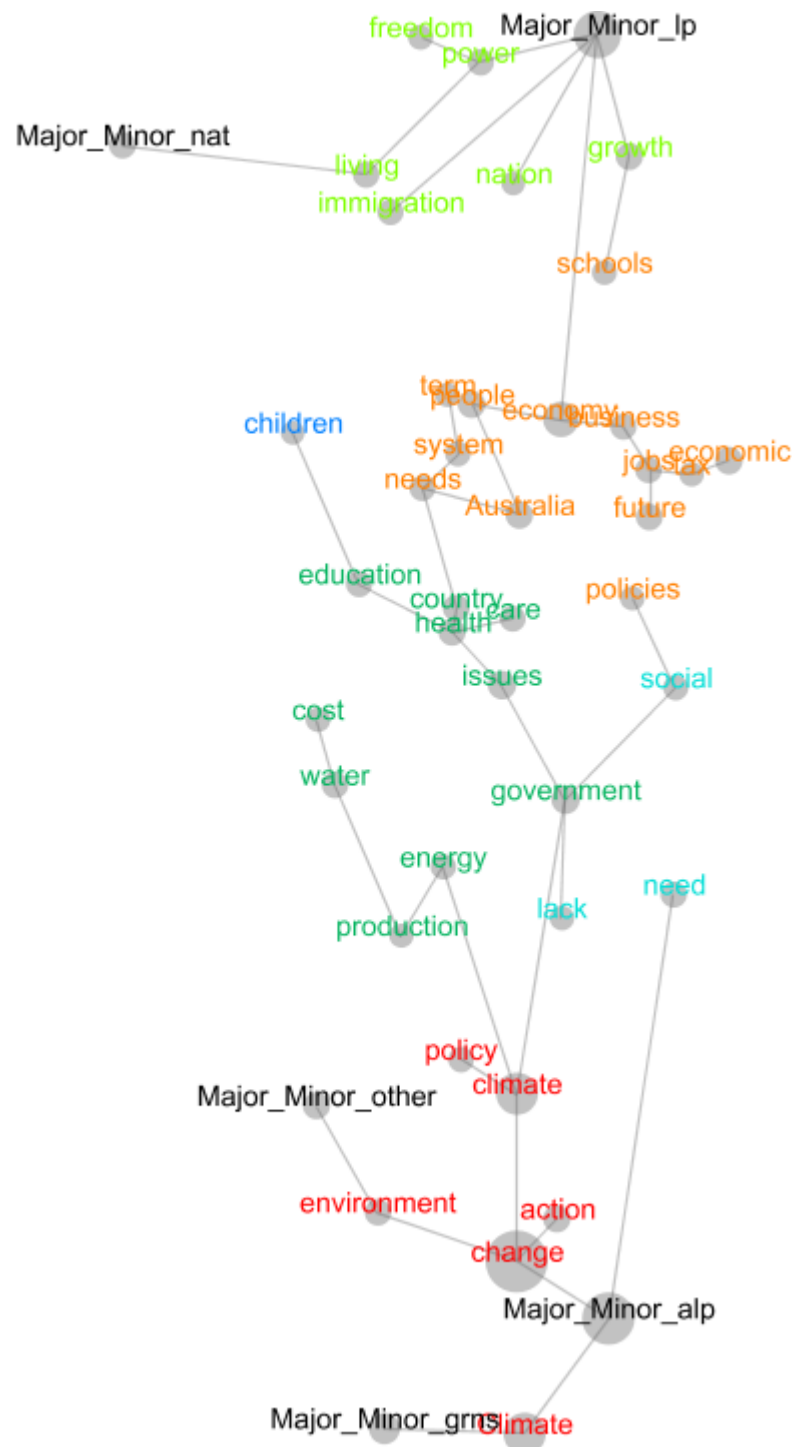
The **Abbott/Turnbull/Morrison Coalition Government** has done a good job in managing the economy to date, however, I believe that international events are going to overtake and overwhelm **Australia** in the near future. **Whoever** forms **Australia's** new government will have a tough time ahead and will need to be very steady when crises turn up.

Something needs to be done about the high immigration we face. **Weasel** words have been used to soothe our worries, but they are blatantly dishonest as people are being brought in under different schemes This affects wages, infrastructure, health and education services and given the retail sector is in a bad way, does not really support the supposed reason for them entering the country - improved economics.

Whilst my view is largely influenced by the absence of action on climate change, I do not feel the current **Government** has a sound economic strategy. It seems more concerned with preserving wealth for those fortunate to possess it, than creating new wealth.

On the other hand we have a rational, if deficient economic position, but an absolute lack of social and environmental policy, bordering on flagrant disregard for our nations most valuable natural assets - people and environment.

Thinking about Australia again, in a short paragraph please tell us what is the most important issue facing the country.



Verbatims

*In a nut shell a balance of issues - no **Adani** (environmental disaster, economic and jobs furphy); yes to family assistance to ensure all whom want to, can work; yes to protecting our food bowl and the people that create it; yes to readying and aligning our national schools and curriculum to **Australia's** geopolitical and economic position in 50 years time; yes to decreased taxes on individual retirement. (saving for or drawing from) to lower the burden on the state in the future; yes to retaining and increasing our infrastructure spending (and ownership) to ensure scope for population growth of the future and provide*

*jobs for the present; decrease tax loop holes and offsets for business over 100 m revenue; **GST** review and potential increase; **PBS** funding increase and public hospital funding with for.*

*Hard to say, as there quite a number of issues. I think excessive migration and overpopulation is one of the biggest problems as this is feeding falling living standards, a faltering **GDP** and consumer based economy, exacerbating the climate vagaries and environmental pressures (water shortages, land degradation and deforestation, expansive urbanisation over previously arable production etc) and watering down the frugal and low footprint colonial.*

*Something needs to be done about the high immigration we face. **Weasel** words have been used to soothe our worries, but they are blatantly dishonest as people are being brought in under different schemes This affects wages, infrastructure, health and education services and given the retail sector is in a bad way, does not really support the supposed reason for them entering the country - improved economics.*

*We are over governed, and yet we are failing at the human infrastructure issues - aged care is diabolical; education is based on **American** system and is failing; hospital system is over crowded and slow; the generations of families on welfare; our lack of fitness & health; mental health. The ability of governments and bureaucracies to fix these problems is a great concern.*

*The country needs to focus on developing our infrastructure and reducing business costs so that investors will see **Australia** as an attractive long term investment opportunity. The **Primary** industries should also be supported with water resources moved from where they are wasted to those areas where the water can be used to support agriculture.*

*The environment, public systems (education, health and active/public transport) and new industries for the economy, like modern **European** countries (**Netherlands/Germany/Denmark/Norway**). **Facing** these issues based on fact, academic research, not polls and self interests.*

***Climate** change, water availability, droughts/floods, **Energy** production and supply, cost of electricity. **Eastern States** are the recipient of most of the funds handed out by government, **Western Australia** gets a pittance.*

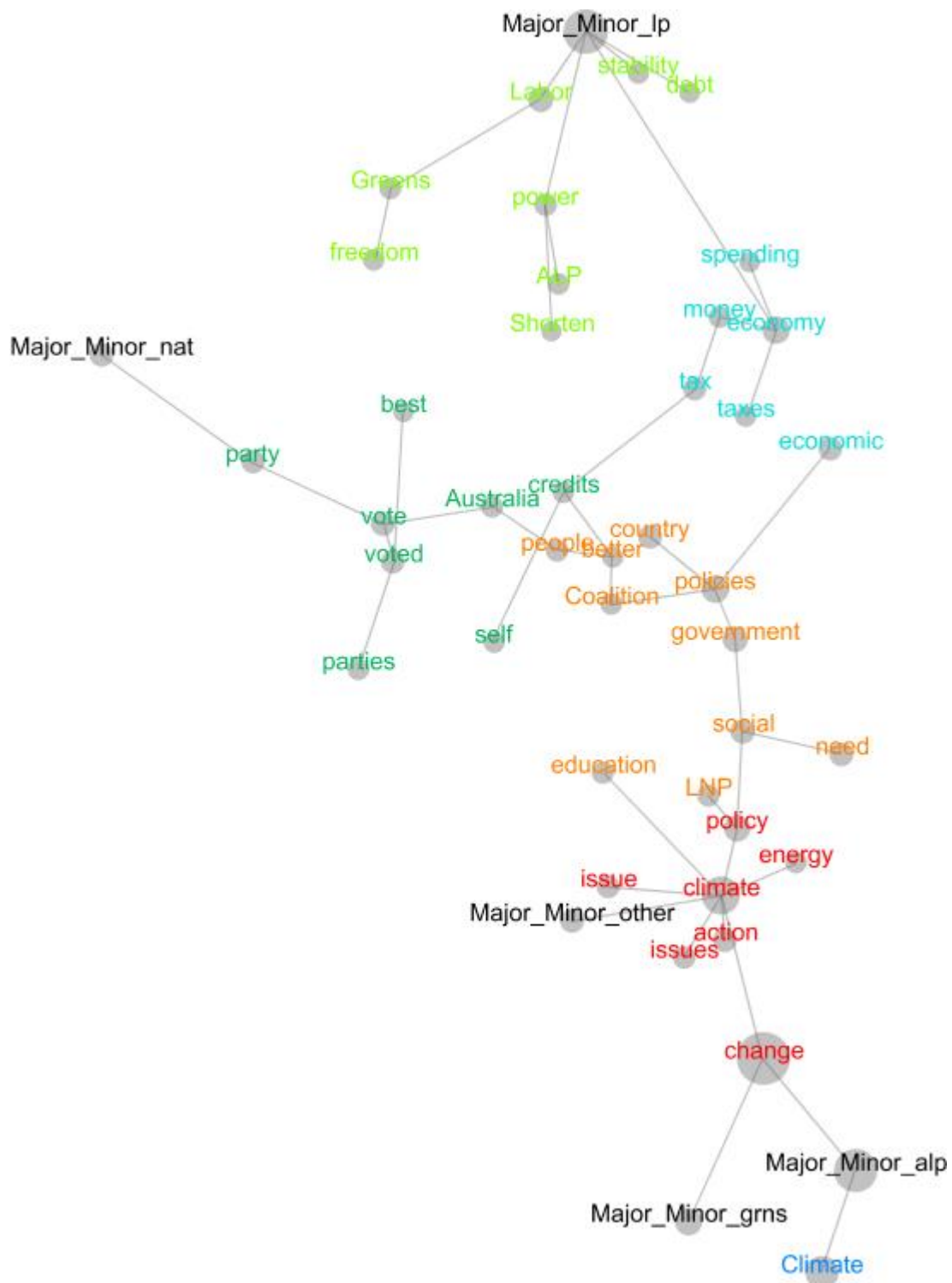
underemployment ,labour hire companies leeching workers pay packets,casualization of employment and lack of action on climate change, cuts to government services and departments

There are many issues, climate change, social justice, wealth gap, baby boomers, but all are magnified by a conservative religious government that is focused on smaller govt, deregulation, and increasing the wealth of the rich.

It s still the economy. But I think that after years of stripping away worker benefits and the casualisation of the workforce, that we need to recalibrate our economic and social policy arrangements, and also to return to a humanitarian position on so called unauthorised migration and other matters.

*I think addressing **Climate** change is crucial but more importantly if we don't give our first nation people a reason to move forward, we will never have a unified country.*

In this year's federal election, in a short paragraph please tell us what issue affected your voting intention the most.



Verbatims

*I think **Australian** politics needs a more diverse cross section of people and ideas. I tend to vote for independents and minor parties who share my views on humanist issues - action on climate change, compassion for refugees, funding for public education, separation of state and church.*

*The potential for enduring harm being inflicted on the economy if the **Labor Party** gained power given the unwillingness to explain how revenue would be generated to match expenditures. As someone was alive and aware during the **Whitlam** government period the probability that the country would endure a repeat of that fiasco of expenditures vastly exceeding income to placate the masses and to implement policies regardless of consequences.*

*I voted for the parties that would most likely stop the winding back of freedom of speech and freedom of religious practice. This means minor parties and independents as the three major parties (**Coalition**, **ALP** and **Greens**) were put last given their recent track record of having lurched too far to the **Marxist** left in their social policies.*

*I originally planned to vote green - labor but when they started to talk about the franking credits it affected me (shares) and my self funded retiree father also. **Then Hawke** died and I saw how much better he was than **Shorten** so while I don't like **Morrison** I started my 6 numbered boxes green **LNP**.*

***Bill Shorten's** divisive policies, and his uncoded "real action on climate change", which had the potential to smash our economy while achieving little. **Unless** the big polluters across the world take drastic action, carbon dioxide levels will continue to increase.*

***LNP** had no detailed policies, **Labor** did. **Representation** of women **Willingness** to balance social and economic change I work for an **NGO** whose funding depends on the outcome*

The wreckage of stability in the economic management of the country with a change of government. With the introduction of social engineering in the moral fabric of citizens.

It's still the economy. But I think that after years of stripping away worker benefits and the casualisation of the workforce, that we need to recalibrate our economic and social policy arrangements, and also to return to a humanitarian position on so called unauthorised migration and other matters.

*The sheer incompetence in managing the country. **Lack** of effective climate change policy and preparing the economy for the digital revolution that is taking place.*

There are many issues, climate change, social justice, wealth gap, baby boomers, but all are magnified by a conservative religious government that is focused on smaller govt, deregulation, and increasing the wealth of the rich.

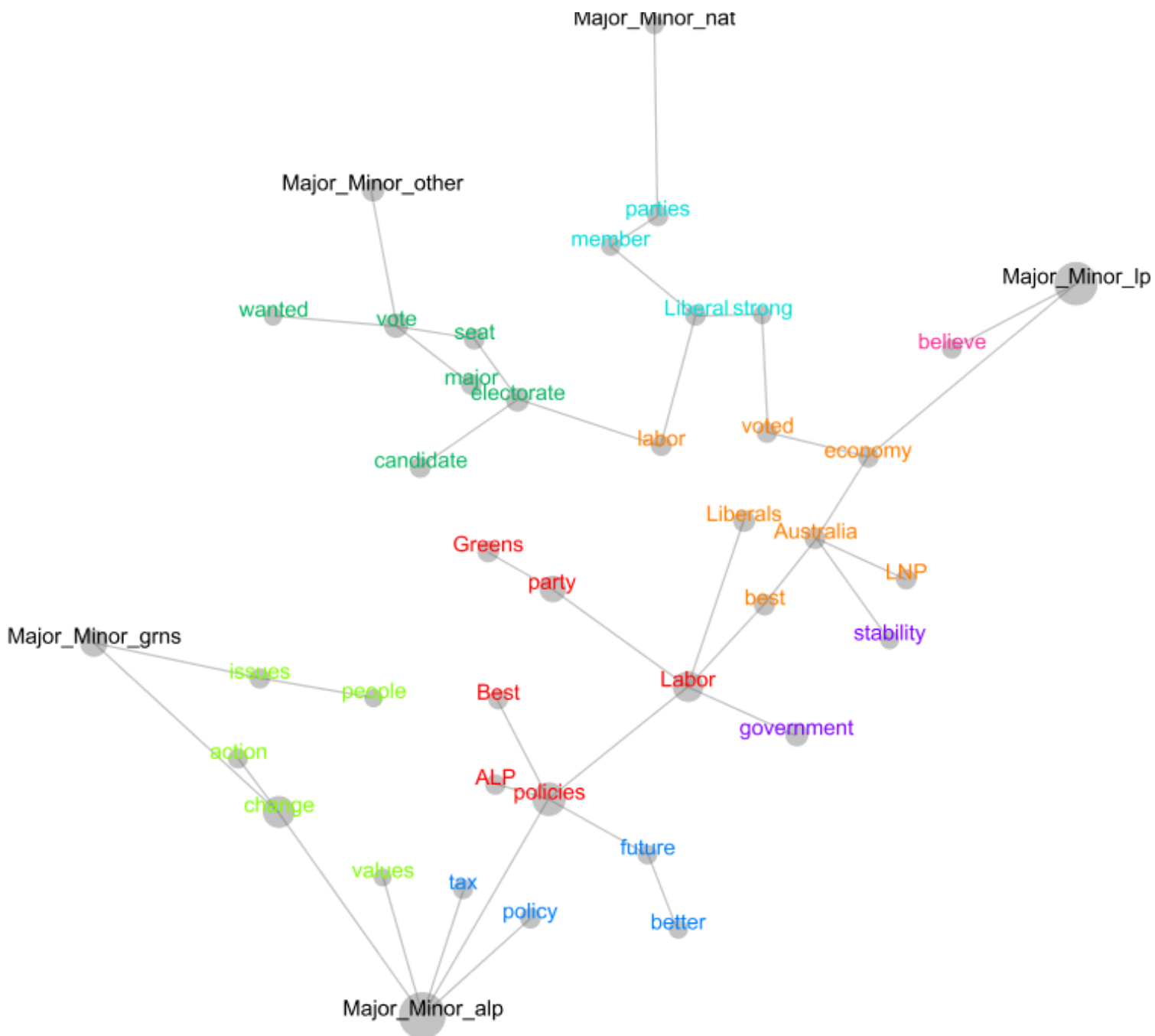
*The threat a lying thief like **Shorten** might lead a scabrous government and push unknown, uncoded so-called real action on climate change and pauperise us all.*

***Climate** action and energy policy I voted labour despite that imputation credits policy will cost me 10% of my income. I am a self funded retiree.*

*I also worried about the world economy and wanted **Australia** to be in a strong position to be able to weather all possible storms. They look after our money and economy much better than the **ALP** which would spend it all in a hurry and then we and the **Coalition** would have to work for years again to recover.*

***Best** thing would be dramatic tax cuts to increase spending power. **Lots** of labour's policy is not coded, will cost small businesses a lot and will bring an ailing economy to a halt*

In this year's federal election, which of the following parties received your first preference in the House of Representatives?



Verbatims

Better policies, the **Liberal**s have no clear goals or any major differences promised, there campaign seemed to be about how everything good the **Labor** party was trying to do (tax cuts, climate change action). **Clive Palmer's** massive advisting campaign didn't help either.

The **Labor** party has a record of forward-thinking policies designed to support the interests of all people, especially those who are vulnerable or not privileged. The **Shorten Labor** platform was among the most progressive and detailed in recent history, and represented an **Australia** I would happily be a part of.

The **Liberals** have better policies for freedom and self advancement. The **Labor** party wants to wreck the economy.

I still believe the **Liberal National Parties** will keep **Australia** strong, and are not run by socialist left wanting to destroy the economy by stopping coal mining etc. **Focused**, protecting, and working with our farming and agriculture sector.

I like **Oliver Yates** policies on refugees and climate change and I think if he ends up high enough on the vote he can play a strong role in beating **Frydenberg**.

While it seems unlikely that they'll make huge headway against the major parties, my vote is by way of a protest against the opportunistic behaviours of the major parties, and their unwillingness to lead on important issues.

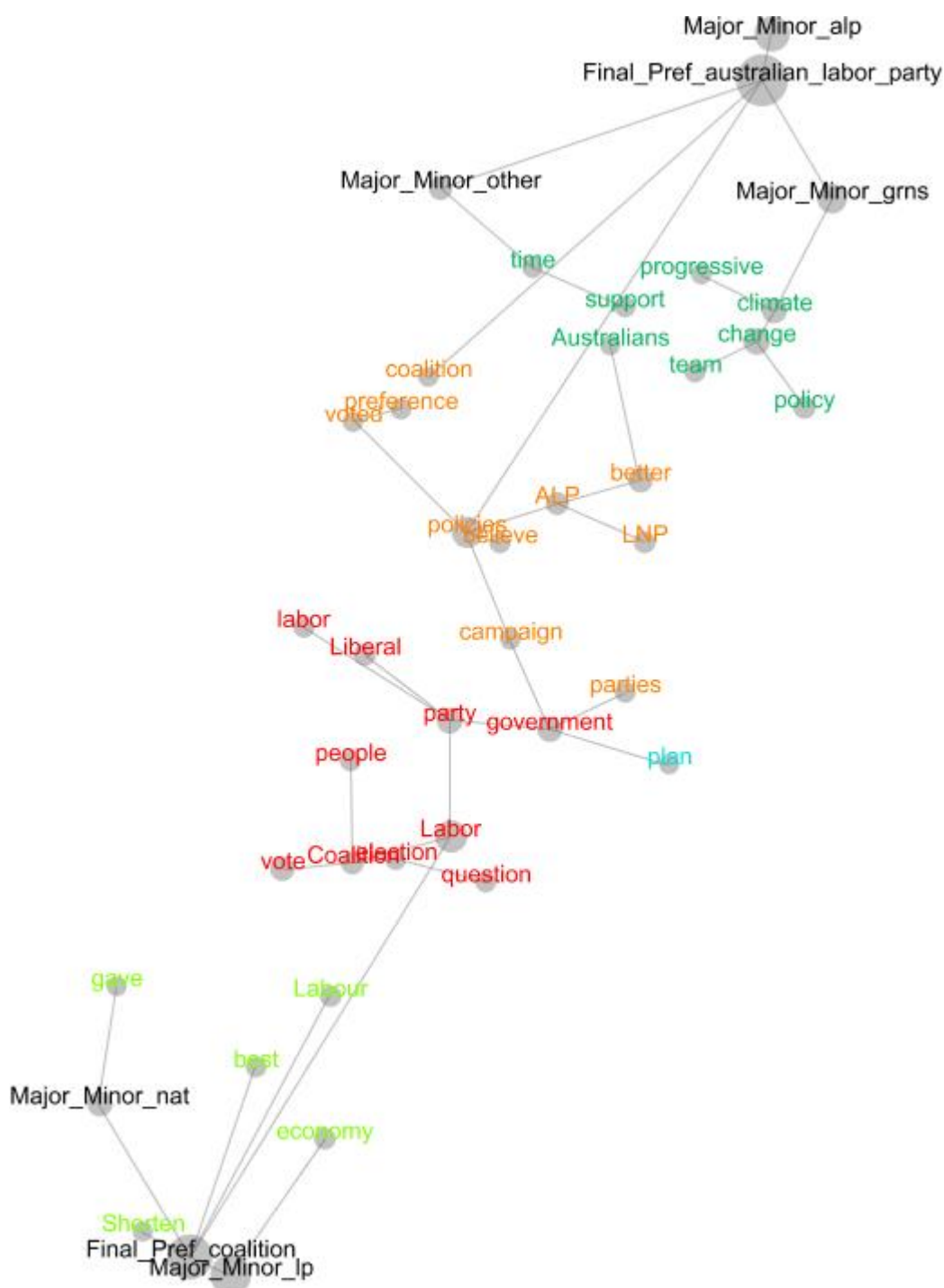
A strong party is the only way to get bills thru, I have recently voted for **One Nation** but realised that they will never hold power in the **Upper House** so opted for **LNP**. I have previously voted for **Liberal National**

Labor - not minor parties or independants - is the best chance to set **Australia** on a socially, economically and ecologically sustainable path forward.

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The local member is **Liberal** and has been pro-family and has faith and has done a reasonable job. There weren't any other pro-life minor parties to vote for.

Thinking about your vote in the House of Representatives, which group, Labor or Coalition, did you direct your preferences to favour - that is, which did you prefer to form the government?



Verbatims

Labor has a much better suite of policies and is offering to address some significant challenges facing the nation. The **Coalition** is offering no change and is deeply divided, despite papering over the huge cracks during the campaign

Only differs in that this is the first time in 50 years of eligible voting that I have voted other than labor as first preference in the lower house. But the **ALP** policies on refugees still bother me and as they won't bring those on **Manus** here.

Of the major parties that can form a government, only **Labor** has something resembling a policy to address the causes and effects of climate change.

The **Liberals** have better policies for freedom and self advancement. The **Labor** party wants to wreck the economy.

Self funded retiree attacks, **Unions**, climate change, **Labor**'s policy on negative gearing and franking credits, climate change, **Union** influence, **Getup**, you name it.

I liked and agreed with the **Coalition** policies, especially the funding they gave to many medicines and treatments. I like their border and immigration control and the fact they don't go against the ordinary people who have "old fashioned" ideas different from the many new minority noisy groups.

If one had the choice one may not have voted as no party or individual stood out as a candidate who professed a range of policies that appealed. **Individual** aspects had appeal but all had platforms that contained material that outweighed the positives.

Verbatims

18

I was giving them the benefit of the doubt that they would take action on climate change and also have a more humane approach to treatment of asylum seekers. In opposition since that election they have not been nearly strong enough on climate action policies (including the call for a price on carbon) & I am distressed about their apparent us too support for the government's horrific treatment of asylum seekers

The **Liberals** have better policies for freedom and self advancement. The **Labor** party wants to wreck the economy.

I usually vote **Greens** then **Labor** but this time I don't trust the **Greens** not to block the **Labor** climate change policies as they did last time.

Last election we were in **Hindmarsh** - voted **Liberal** as the **Labor** candidate (**Georganis**) is a party hack

For the same reason I find myself in recent times always voting for the **ALP** - **Bill Shorten's** quiet responses to questions, as opposed to the bleating from whichever **Liberal** replies to questions as to why, what and when. The answer is always to blame **Labor**.

As Scomo said, you can't trust **Labor** with your money. I remember **Gough Whitlam** well and **Keating's** "recession we had to have", **John Howard's** rescue of the economy and then his dumping for **Kevin**, who spent the surplus on pink batts and school halls, not to mention his and **Julia's** disfunction.

Can't remember 100% but I have always been a liberal supporter until my interest in politics has grown and I tend to agree with the goals of the **Labor** party not the liberal party. I don't think a lot of working class people know much about the priorities of the **Liberal** party helping the top end of town (banks, multinational companies)

I believe in the **Labor** party - they look after workers, fair to the pensioners and unemployed, climate change

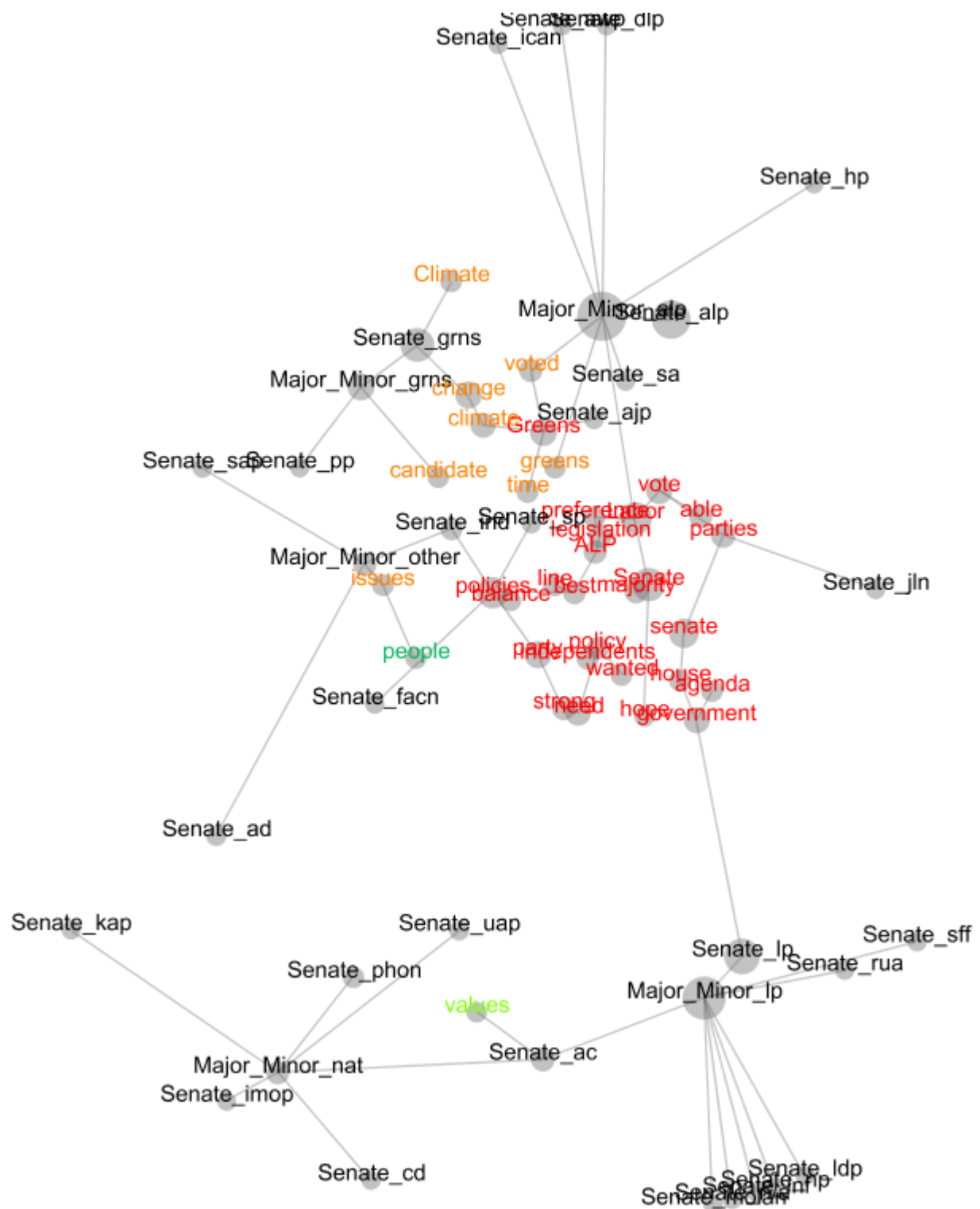
I thought a vote for the **Greens** would be a useless vote, I wanted **Liberals** out and figured I should vote **Labor** for that reason

Greens policies are best on **Climate** change and social justice

I was in a **Labor** electorate (that has since been abolished) and so I voted green to put some pressure on the labor party.

I prefer the coalition as keeper of our fortunes. They have progressed with care and effect in the correcting of the desperate financial and social crises left by the last **Labor** mob.

In this year's federal election, which of the following parties received your first preference in the Senate?



Verbatims

It's time to change our binary system, and elect independents so all sides of politics have to learn truly negotiate each piece of legislation, and form 'coalitions' around issues, and answer to the non-binary

voting public ie people who have a range of opinions on a range of subjects, and don't fit neatly into 'one or the other' as much as politicians, journalists and pundits would like to believe they do

*I want to see a **Senate** that is capable of dealing with the issues of our time in a professional way. I don't care about **Labor** having a majority in the **Senate** as long as it is composed of intelligent, responsible people who are capable of thinking in the national interest from an educated viewpoint (this excludes **Pauline Hanson, Clive Palmer** etc)*

*To ensure that the **ALP** was able to enact its platform with minimum interference, because I support that platform. The **Greens** received my second preference, in spite of their history of making the best the enemy of the good by hamstringing solid **Labor** legislation.*

*I like to have a bit of balance and accountability in the senate - there were too many weird parties so above the line was out of the question. I researched all The independents and greens and did them individually below the line instead with a nice 70 year old man with **Afghani** heritage first as he seemed the one with the most common sense, world experience, and knowledge*

*My hope is that if **Labor** does not get a **Senate** majority, **Labor** and the **Greens** may have enough numbers to get environmental legislation passed in spite of the climate deniers and will encourage **Labor** to honor its promises.*

*I gave 1-2-3 votes to **Libs** and 1-2-3 to **Labor**. I wanted the senate not to have too many independents and one policy parties stuffing up the government of the day.*

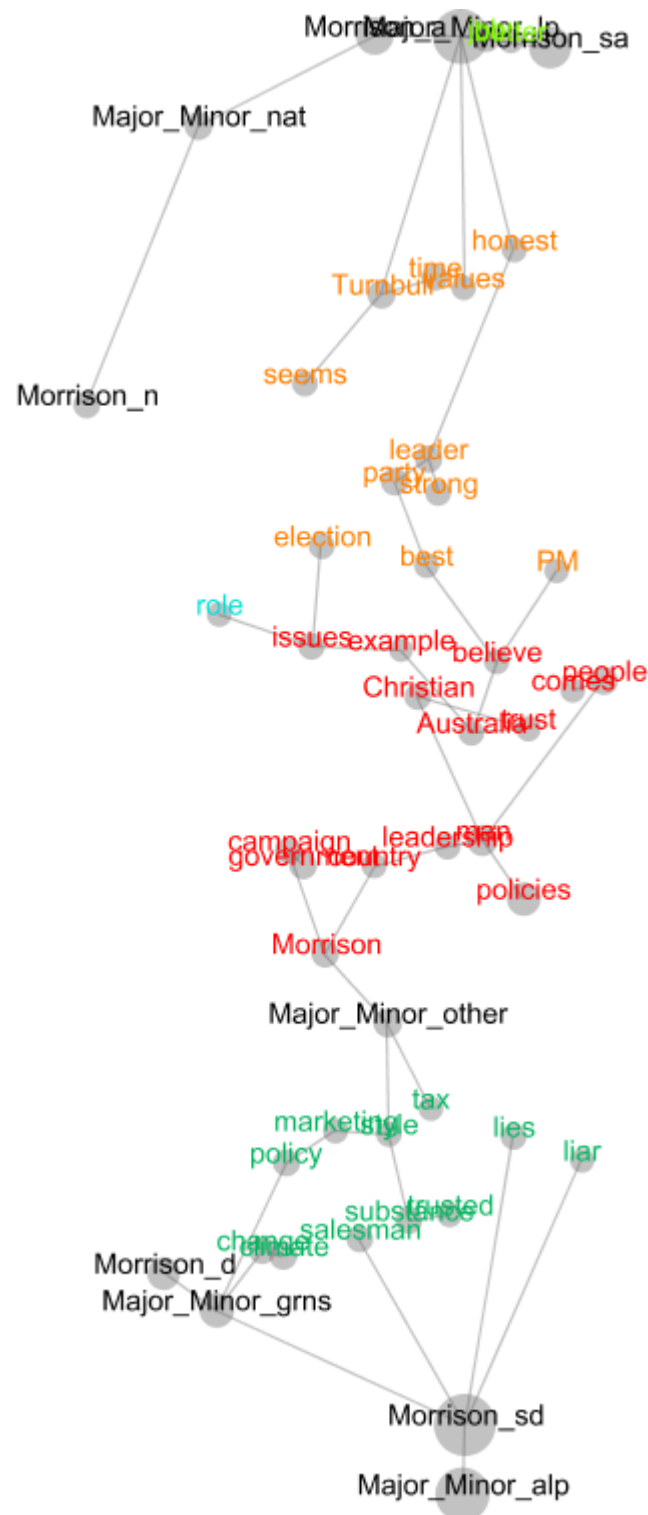
*I wanted the **Coalition** to be well represented in the **Senate** so hopefully their policies can get through and without amendment - and if the **ALP** won to have the common sense of as many **Liberal National** senators as possible keeping watch for **Australia's** best interests.*

*One must attempt to provide the government of the day the opportunity to have legislation passed without blackmail. If I believed that the **Labor Party** was worthy of forming government I would preference **Labor** above others for **Senate** election.*

COLUMN: senate_why

*If by some sad confluence of circumstances **Shorten** formed a government a strong opposition in the senate may be able to stop his lunatic legislation.*

Thinking about your opinion in general of the performance of Prime Minister Scott Morrison, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of it?



Verbatims

I started off thinking he was not too trustworthy because of his closeness to **Turnbull** and his adherence to **Turnbull's** policies. But I have to give credit because he has fought like a terrier for sensible government this election

campaign, although there were many issues he ignored - dams and a sensible water policy for example and immigration as another.

We do not need a marketing man with the style and tactics of a used car salesman to lead the country. As a **Fin Review** journalist described him, **Morrison** is a "deeply unimpressive" man, which I think is the best assessment I've read so far.

Morrison has operated with skill during this campaign and has, seemingly single-handedly, wrenched an unwinnable election result from his opponents. However, his values are strongly opposed to mine and I deplore his stance on asylum seekers and his work in this policy area as minister.

No substance, touting himself as a one man band, because the "team" behind him is, like him, empty of ideas and focusing always on the other side. No substantive policies to offer **Australians** except tax cuts, and then at the end of the campaign declaring that the "government" will cut the public service by \$!

Scott Morrison comes across as an honest man connected to ordinary people plus I could imagine him meeting with, for example, the **Queen** compared to my shuddering if **Shifty Shorten's** awful voice was to meet the **Queen**

I know **Morrison** performed reasonably well, but he couldn't push the climate change disaster that Shorten is pushing without costing. He also should have hit hard on the fact that public servants, politicians, judges were exempt from the tax on salaries over \$200,000

Bery slick but a lack of strong leadership, has used a siege mentality to hold his party together rather than a coherent vision, has placed style over substance.

He's fair dinkum and trying his best to do what is right for **Australia**, not like what **Turnbull** did (and back stabbing) for his "mates" and the same which **Shorten** will do for his "mates" specifically in the unions. **What Shorten** did as a union rep turning against his own members to support their employer instead shows he is NOT to be trusted.

He basically does very little to mitigate climate change. His views on "border protection" and refugees are appalling. He is ignorant about and does not properly fund education and health. He cannot lead a team since the government ranks are so fractured - he has had to lead on all issues.

Morrison was underhanded in getting to become **PM** in the first place, and he has gone to the election with absolutely no policies. He is constantly negative, and he tells complete lies.

No real policy, was dishonest in the treatment of **Labor's Policy**, claims were generally inconsistent such as more tax means fewer jobs, when the tax collected actually funds wages of people doing work that the private sector won't do. He lied about the impact of **Labor** policy on house pricing when there was evidence to the contrary.

Scott Morrison is a strong leader and needs more time in the role, a **Christian**, and in debates raised issues important to most of us.

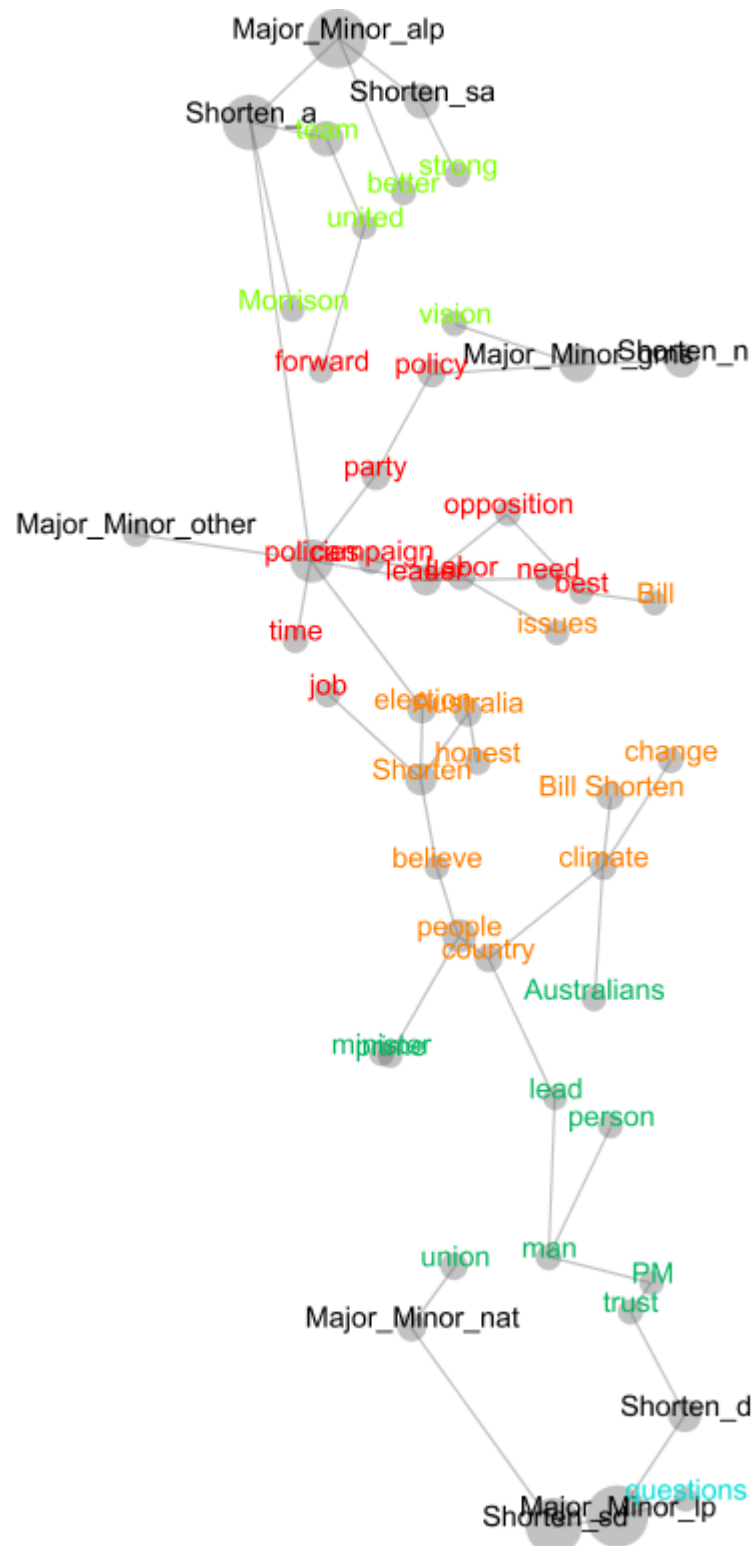
He is an energiser bunny. Always the ad man, no substance and no strong policies for **Australia**.

Morrison is a hopeless nonentity with a penchant for parading his fundamentalist **Christian** faith. His economic credentials, such as they were, sank without trace in the late stage of the campaign with his panic-driven housing grant bribe.

I would NEVER trust anyone who acts in a cowardly manner - waffling on about how **Turnbull** was "his mate" in the full knowledge that he was stabbing him in the back is a measure of the integrity of the man - and he calls himself a **Christian** ??

He has proven to be quite a good media performer and can rebut *Shorten's* play acting and spin and lies more effectively than did *Turnbull*. However, *Labor* can always outcampaign their opposition, because they twist the truth and use people like *GetUp* to do their dirty work.

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



Verbatims

Shorten has become increasingly impressive, as he endorses his team, the collegial way that the shadow cabinet works together, the amount of policy thinking and work done to begin rebuilding **Australia** and moving the country forward. They are united and show a willingness to listen to the concerns of people

and work through how to solve problems the country faces, including what they have now recognised is a climate emergency.

*I felt fairly neutral towards **Bill Shorten** because of his somewhat 'robotic' manner - he sounded scripted - but I have very much respected his discipline for all these years in opposition, and his history in the union movement, particularly how he has held the **Labor** party together and maintained a strong policy platform. **During** the election campaign, I did come to like him more.*

He cannot be trusted because it was proven in the campaign he was not honest about the intentions and implications of their heavily pushed policies. eg. The interaction with the well paid tradie captured on prime time tv showed that he did not have the strength of character to be honest with any of the people, even his union members, on his policies.

***Shorten** and his party are weak on addressing poverty, carbon emissions and corporate greed, but they do come to the election with a range of policies and a (too timid) vision for the country.*

*We ll have to see how **Shorten** actually performs if he becomes prime minister, but he didn t frighten the horses during the campaign (my horses, at any rate) and **Labor** s platform is hardly radical. It should be, arguably, but that s not the issue.*

***Bill Shorten** is a good man from all things that he has presented however he is not a leader of the people. His involvement in deposing **Kevin Rudd for PM**, and then deposing **Julia Gillard from PM** make it very hard to trust his intention and integrity.*

*He and his team have been willing to put their policies before the voting public months and years before the election, and argue their worth rather than make themselves small targets like the government He allows his ministers and cabinet colleagues as much air time as himself, rather than hogging it and making it all about him, unlike **Morrison***

***Shorten** wasn't the warrior in opposition that **Abbott** was (love or hate **Abbott** he was one of the best opposition leaders they have had in terms of kicking dents into the government) and, **Bill** didn't offer to me, any feelings that he was honest enough.*

*I have not been a great fan of **Bill Shorten** as I felt he lacked spine when it came to the issues I am most concerned about. However, I feel he has spoken well during this campaign, coming out strongly on climate action, although **Labor** s stand on **Adani** is still a major concern for me.*

He proposed policies I was not on board with but he gave his best He often avoided specifics which was frustrating I found him unstable . It seemed whoever yelled the loudest got what they wanted A leader must lead not follow

*I cannot understand why **Labor** - at least under **Shorten** - want to change **Australia** in ways which will alter our culture for ever and probably send the country broke, or to the edge.*

*He is fairly creative about leading policy development and brave enough to allow **Labor** to be a labour party. He's a good team leader.*

*In this election **Bill Shorten** was arrogant and rude. In debates didn't answer questions relating to his climate change budget costs.*

***Labor** is making a serious attempt at putting forward credible alternative policies. Its strength is its team, not its leader*

*I approve of the rhetoric that he is a team player (but have no idea if it is true). I approve of his support of the disability sector and that he is proposing policies and making commitments that I also believe would benefit **Australia** as a whole.*

*The first sign of his growth (as far as I was concerned is when he quietly pointed out to **Scom** that he was a space invader, and by the time the urdock press made the mistake of picking of **Bill's** mum we knew the **Labor Party** had a leader they could be proud of. **Unlike Scom Bill** used the members of his team very effectively to present a picture of a united and competent team.*

*Since 2013 we have endured **Tony Abbott, Malcolm Turnbull** and **Scott Morrison** as **PM's** - all of these unpleasant individuals have maintained a large margin as preferred **Prime MInister** over **Bill Shorten**, this is the failure in his performance, this is where **Labor** should have been looking not at the 2 party preferred polling*

Frequency of use of various words, or fragments of words

	Frequency Sample 1*	Frequency Sample 2*	Change in Frequency
Climate	121%	122%	1%
Econ	80%	76%	-5%
Tax	35%	31%	-12%
edu	33%	49%	48%
Social	23%	29%	29%
turnbull	22%	11%	-82%
Immi	21%	16%	-25%
stab	20%	20%	2%
Fair	15%	19%	24%
free	15%	18%	20%
Christ	11%	16%	44%
Relig	9%	15%	66%
Retir	6%	5%	-24%
franking	6%	3%	-48%
adani	5%	4%	-13%
cuts	4%	6%	62%
death tax	1%	0%	-82%
retiree tax	0%	0%	#DIV/0!
*Frequency is calculated by dividing the total number of mentions by the total number of responses. If enough respondents use the term in multiple responses it is possible to have more than 100% frequency using the term in this way.			