

Why Albanese will face a teal wave in 2025

Comment

John Black



The old days of factional elites dictating pre-selections and taking their most loyal supporters for granted ended on Saturday night.

Whatever we eventually see as the national two-party preferred vote and whatever the outcome on the floor of the House of Representatives, the pure Liberal party base vote, 23.7 per cent, has sunk below the point at which it can recover without a major reinvention at the national level and a lot of old-fashioned hard work at the local level.

The Labor Party on 32.8 per cent is not all that far behind them, as our 2022 modelling showed that inner-city ALP seats such as Grayndler and Sydney are now more vulnerable than the Liberals to the teal/independent wave in what were once their safest electorates, as captain's pick Kristina Kennally proved in Fowler on Saturday night.

The likely Labor majority on the floor of the House of about 79 seats is based on exceptionally slender primary vote margins between Greens and Labor candidates, which decide whether the Greens elect Labor or vice versa – just as the Liberals are now learning that, if their primary vote drops below 43 per cent, they are likely to lose to a teal independent.

Rather like the polar cap under global warming, the Liberal Party's primary vote has been melting away quietly in the background among professional women since the 1980s.

However, until the teal candidates took centre stage in more than a score of seats in the 2022 campaign, this vote effectively had no centre-right alternative for the Liberal Party.

When presented with this alternative, the teal look like swivelling their numbers from three MPs to nine as large chunks of the Liberal demographic base begin to break away, leaving the displaced Liberal MPs on Saturday night looking like that confused polar bear on the shrinking floating iceberg trying to figure out what to do next.

The Greens are the other big winners from this election, but only when voters have not been presented with a teal alternative.

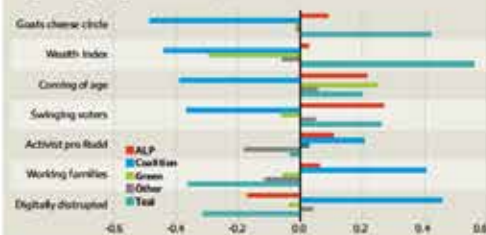
In the central Brisbane "goat cheese circle" seats of Ryan, Brisbane (both Liberal) and Griffith (Labor), the Greens candidates door-knocked pretty much every house with personable



Alegna Spender, the teal independent candidate for Wentworth, celebrates her win with supporters at Bondi Beach yesterday. PHOTO: JAMES ALCOCK

Tribal warfare

Party swings by key voter indices (%)



Teal candidates won their biggest swings in seats containing high percentages of former Liberal voters and wealthy persons, especially those living in the goats cheese circle, close to the CBDs of the capital cities. Both the ALP and the Greens won support from swinging voters, while the Liberals were seen in former Labor strongholds, containing working families and the digitally disrupted – workers to be trained by technology.

SOURCE: FINANCIAL REVIEW

contenders who, like Cathy McGowan in Indi in 2013, went back to the basics and talked to real voters face-to-face.

Meanwhile, the sitting MPs of the major parties learnt the hard way that climbing the greasy factional pole to secure pre-selection does not win votes on the ground.

As the count resumed on Sunday, the Greens could win up to three of these three inner Brisbane seats, thanks to the absence of any teal candidates north of the NSW border.

This was either a very lucky break for the Greens, or a preference deal we know nothing about, but that would make the teal more of a political party, without a TIF of course not.

So, how did the primary vote swings pan out on the night?

As in 2019, Labor won increased support from our swinging voter stereotype in marginal seats this year.

These are younger, married couples, with family incomes between \$50,000 and \$150,000, often born in the UK, with a mortgage to pay off, two jobs to work and two kids to raise.

A rise in interest rates under the Liberals during the campaign would not have impressed this group, and they would have warmed to Labor's plan to improve access to childcare.

Labor also picked up votes from our traditional voters stereotype – dominated by highly mobile students at both TAFE and university, moving out of the family home and living in rental digs, typically agnostic and often casting their first or second votes. No

first prizes for guessing they liked Labor's free TAFE policy.

Labor also won primary votes from some high-income groups, including miners, particularly the very well paid FIFO ones and especially the blokes.

These changes represented a big swing back from a demographic from which Labor has been losing support for the past 30 years.

But Labor continued to lose support in their safer seats from overseas-born, lower-income earners, including men in manufacturing jobs with spouses not in the workforce.

The Liberal Party mopped up many of these losses from Labor, and continued to move in on Labor's once-traditional demographic strongholds of welfare recipients, single-parent families, second-quartile income earners, semi-skilled and unskilled blue-collar workers – think Tasmania and western Sydney.

And who did the LNP lose? Well, no surprises here. We're looking at the "goat cheese circle", folks: high-income families with investment houses, earning \$200,000 plus per annum, living close to the CBDs of our major capitals, with tertiary qualifications and two professional jobs.

We also noted parents sending their children to high-fee Catholic independent schools. But basically, this was all about the money; if you had it, you didn't you swing towards them.

And those very high-income earners who had been lost to the Liberals went straight to teal candidates. The teals were Gen X-ers, professional women (and spouses) in their 40s or 50s, with very high incomes and also very high scores on our wealth stereotype.

Palmer, Hanson fight out last Qld Senate seat

Fair fight

Mark Ludlow

Queensland's Senate race is shaping as a battle between mining billionaire Clive Palmer and Pauline Hanson for the sixth and final seat.

With the Liberal National Party and Labor locking in two seats each, a 4 per cent surge in support for the Greens is likely to deliver that party the fifth Senate seat.

Greens candidate Penny Allman-Payne, who lives in Gladstone in Central Queensland, will join nine Greens senators including fellow Queenslander Larissa Waters.

As counting continued on Sunday, Mr Palmer – who has spent \$100 million on political advertising for his United Australia Party – was fighting it out with Senator

Hanson, who is seeking another term.

The biggest loser from the Queensland Senate race was LNP assistant minister for women Amanda Stoker, who was assigned the almost unwinnable third spot on the LNP ticket. She is now out of the Senate.

The first two on the LNP ticket, backbencher senators Matt Canavan and James McGrath, were returned for another term, as were Labor senators Murray Watt and Anthony Chisholm.

The LNP secured 31.3 per cent of the Senate vote in Queensland – a fall of 7.57 per cent – while Labor boosted its vote by 1.66 per cent to 24 per cent.

One Nation secured 7.84 per cent of the Senate vote in Queensland, a fall of 2.44 per cent.

But Senator Hanson, who was

sidelined with COVID-19 for the final week of the campaign, could still secure enough votes for a quota with preference flows.

The United Australia Party received only 4.69 per cent of the Senate vote in Queensland. It was a terrible return on Mr Palmer's \$100 million investment, with the party's vote below even the Legislative Council party (6.72 per cent).

But the businessman might still scrape home when preferences from micro parties and independents are allocated.

"It's unlikely but he is still a chance," an ALP insider said.

Former Queensland premier Campbell Newman, who quit the LNP for the Liberal Democrats and was a vocal critic of Prime Minister Scott Morrison, received only 2.4 per cent of the vote.

Ms Allman-Payne said she was

not surprised the Greens had picked up an extra Senate seat in Queensland, as people were looking for action on climate change, affordable housing and education.

"I'm so excited that Queenslanders have chosen to send a regional teacher from Gladstone to the Senate," she said yesterday.

"I am so proud to be representing the people of Queensland right across our state. And I will be fighting for all of those things down in Canberra."

Greens leader Adam Bandt said the party, which achieved its best electoral performance at a federal election, would now have the balance of power in the Senate.

"The Greens will be the biggest third party in the Senate," he said. "This result is a mandate for action on climate change and inequality."

They were often aspirational migrants from South-East Asia, India and China, mostly with two kids, both at independent schools. Their religion followed their cultural heritage and included Buddhism, Oriental Orthodox and Hinduism. Unlike their Green counterparts, there was no sign of the very large group of agnostics.

And speaking of the Greens, what happened here in terms of swings? Well, nothing much, really, when there was a centre-right teal candidate to compete for their votes.

When there was no teal candidate, the Green swing moved into the teal demographic strongholds of high social status female and male professionals, looking for anyone other than a Liberal for whom to vote.

The Greens also made gains from middle-aged traditional Labor voters flattered by the attention and feeling neglected by the ALP.

We also profited those voting for the United Australia Party, One Nation and Katter's Australia Party.

These right-wing, blue-collar groups combined to pick up the sort of migrant groups clearly feeling ignored by Labor's factions parachuting nice-looking, well-connected, very rich, white professionals into what used to be Labor's safest seats, such as Fowler.

We're talking non-English speaking migrants from Middle Eastern countries, Hindus, Muslims and Oriental Orthodox, with lots of very young children.

These would appear to be the demographics targeted in Labor's safest seats by Scott Morrison's campaign, but they seem to have switched to Pauline Hanson and Clive Palmer instead of the Coalition.

And which demographics did the Palmer/Hanson duo manage to lose in 2022? The same FIFO miners who we noted above moving to Labor.

We also saw the "others" losing votes among Australian-born, English-speakers, Anglican, and families with one self-employed trade and a wage-earning partner, typically a teacher.

It is the Liberal Party that is the labor casualty this year, but the Labor Party will have its turn in 2025 if it fails to learn from the fate of the Liberals.

That's because Labor's safer inner-city seats are more vulnerable to teal candidates than the Liberals, especially after Anthony Albanese would have spent three years in government in a hostile economic and political climate, with up to six state Labor governments that are on the nose.

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Please note the changes below are effective 23 May 2022 for the following products:

Product	Rate
Savings Account	
MySaver	0.25% p.a.
Cash Management Account	
Adelaide CMA	0.25% p.a.
24 Hour Call Account	
\$0 - \$4,999	0.25% p.a.
\$5,000 - \$24,999	0.25% p.a.
\$25,000 - \$99,999	0.25% p.a.
\$100,000 - \$249,999	0.25% p.a.
\$250,000 - \$1 million	0.25% p.a.
\$1 million - \$5 million	0.25% p.a.

These products are offered by Adelaide Bank, a Division of Bendigo and Adelaide Bank Limited ABN 11 068 049 178 AFSL 237879. All information is correct at 23/05/2022 and is subject to change. (1743784-1742809) (05/22)

