Illustrations

Figures

Figure 6.1. Trajectories of support for various parties (voting intentions, per cent), 2013–16 ................. 139
Figure 6.2. Jumps in voting intentions associated with the prorogation of parliament and Turnbull ascension ....... 140
Figure 6.3. Trajectories of support for various parties (voting intentions, per cent), restricted to calendar year 2016 .......... 142
Figure 6.4. Polling organisation bias estimates .................... 144
Figure 6.5. Performance of seat-specific polls ................... 147
Figure 6.6. Performance of seat-specific polls by party and pollster .. 149
Figure 6.7. Performance of seat-specific polls, by party and over time (days until election) .................. 151
Figure 7.1. Total House of Representatives candidates per election, 1990–2016 ............................................. 163
Figure 7.2. Seats decided on preferences, 1993–2016 ........ 165
Figure 7.3. Winners of federal seats in Australia, 1984–2016 ...... 171
Figure 7.4. Non-classic races in federal elections, 1990–2016 ...... 173
Figure 7.5. Greens vote in inner-city federal electorates in Melbourne and Sydney .................. 176
Figure 8.1. Informal vote at Senate elections, 1919–2016 .......... 189
Figure 8.2. Sample Senate ballot paper ......................... 191
Figure 8.3. Minor party vote at federal elections, 1949–2016 199
Figure 8.4. Use of above-the-line group voting squares, 1984–2016 ........................................ 204

Figure 9.1. Distribution of first preference votes, 2016 federal election (Tukey box plots) .................. 226

Figure 9.2. Distribution of first preference votes, 2013 federal election (Tukey box plots) ................. 226

Figure 9.3. Distribution of two-party preferred swing, 2013–16 (Tukey box plots) .......................... 228

Figure 11.1. ALP first preferences and two-party preferred vote, 1980–2016 .................................. 260

Figure 11.2. ALP first preferences and swing, national and States, 2016 ........................................ 260

Figure 13.1. Greens election results, 1993–2016 ................................................................. 299

Figure 14.1. Proportion of seats and primary votes for the Country–National Party for the House of Representatives .... 326

Figure 15.1. Per cent of first preference votes for minor parties and Independents. .......................... 336

Figure 18.1. GetUp! analysis: Where do the parties stand on issues? . 402

Figure 18.2. GetUp! – How to vote in Mayo ................................................................. 406

Figure 19.1. The number of front-page stories in Australia’s daily mastheads’ Monday to Saturday editions during the 56-day 2016 election campaign ............................. 427

Figure 19.2. Number of positive and negative daily front-page stories by masthead for Liberal and Labor .......... 428

Figure 19.3. Number of positive and negative daily front-page news stories during the election campaign by political party. . . 429

Figure 19.4. Story sentiment of front-page newspaper stories during the federal election for Liberal and Labor .......... 430

Figure 20.1. Characterisation of reporting, by publication .............. 460

Figure 20.2. Publications’ relationship with the median news agenda ............................................ 464

Figure 21.1. The nature of debate ................................................................. 485
Figures

Figure 21.2. Election topics ........................................ 488
Figure 21.3. Election experience ................................... 489
Figure 24.1. Media coverage of social issues at the 2016 election  
(number of articles) ................................................... 550
Figure 24.2. Issues most important to Australians, 2013–16 .... 562
Figure 25.1. Support for the carbon price, 2012–14 ............. 576
Figure 25.2. Views on Coalition and Labor climate change plans  
by voter groups .......................................................... 577
Figure 26.1. Refugees and the 2016 election ..................... 604
Figure 28.1. Women as a percentage of Coalition and Labor MPs  
in the House of Representatives, 1977–2016 ................. 644
Figure 28.2. Rainbow Labor, 2016 Mardi Gras ................ 649

Tables

Table 5.1. Final pre-election public opinion polls for the House  
of Representatives election, national voting intention,  
2 July 2016 (percentages) ............................................ 112
Table 5.2. Mean differences between the final national polls  
and the election results, 2016 (percentage points) ............ 114
Table 5.3. Differences between polls’ estimate of party support  
and the final vote, single seats, campaign period, 2016  
(percentage points) .................................................. 120
Table 6.1. Summary of poll errors .................................. 147
Table 7.1. Results of the 2013 federal election by party .......... 161
Table 7.2. Results of the 2016 federal election by party .......... 164
Table 7.3. Turnout 2013 and 2016 (percentages) ................. 166
Table 7.4. Seats changing hands at the 2016 federal election ...... 166
Table 8.1. Senate results compared to list-PR with highest  
remainder allocation ..................................................... 193
Table 8.2. Senate results in 2016 in States with six Coalition  
Senators ................................................................. 196
Table 8.3. Senate election results, 2016 .......................... 197
Table 8.4. Difference in party support ............................. 200
Table 8.5. Senators elected by initial quota status ............... 201
Table 8.6. Formal ballot papers categorised by method
of completion and preferences .................................. 203
Table 8.7. Exhausted preferences by State .......................... 206
Table 9.1. Average Coalition and Labor first preference votes
in lower house State and Territory elections, July 1996 –
June 2016 (percentages) ........................................... 216
Table 9.2. The States and Territories in 2016 .................... 218
Table 9.3. The major party leaders’ campaign visits to States
and Territories ....................................................... 220
Table 9.4. Potential State effects on Coalition voting at the 2016
federal election ....................................................... 222
Table 9.5. House of Representatives two-party preferred vote
by State and Territory, 2016 ...................................... 223
Table 9.6. House of Representatives first preference vote by State
and Territory, 2016 .................................................. 225
Table 9.7. Results of principal components analysis of State-
and electorate-level contribution to variations in the vote,
2013 and 2016 .......................................................... 229
Table 10.1. Voter engagement with the election campaign,
2004–16 (percentages) ................................................. 237
Table 10.2. Volatility and partisanship, 2004–16 (percentages) .... 238
Table 10.3. Vote by sociodemographic indicators in 2016
(percentages) .......................................................... 239
Table 10.4. Vote by socioeconomic indicators in 2016
(percentages) .......................................................... 242
Table 10.5. Party and leader evaluations in 2016
(means on 0–10 scale) ................................................. 243
Table 10.6. Perceived leadership attributes of Malcolm Turnbull
and Bill Shorten in 2016 (percentage saying attribute
describes leader extremely well or quite well) ...................... 244
Table 10.7. Importance rating of election issues (percentage describing issue as extremely important) and party differential (percentage saying Liberal–National closer on issue minus percentage saying Labor closer) in 2016 .................. 246

Table 10.8. Factors influencing the vote in 2016 (multiple regression) ........................................ 247

Table 13.1. State and federal representation (number of MPs) .... 300

Table 13.2. Press releases – top 10 topics .......................... 307

Table 13.3. House of Representatives seats—Greens vote over 15 per cent ........................................ 309

Table 13.4. Results by State, 2013–16 (percentage) .............. 311

Table 14.1. Proportions of votes and seats for the National Party in the House of Representatives, 2016 .................. 327

Table 15.1. Minor parties contesting the 2016 federal election .... 339

Table 15.2. One Nation results in the House of Representatives and the Senate .............................. 344

Table 15.3. The Nick Xenophon Team results in the House of Representatives and the Senate .................. 348

Table 16.1. Results for Independents (and Katter), 2013 and 2016 .... 371

Table 17.1. Ideological positions of Australian national interest groups ........................................ 384

Table 18.1. Getup!’s 2016 Facebook posts with over 10,000 engagements, April–July 2016 .................. 410

Table 18.2. Facebook election posts with highest engagement – shares and comments .................. 411

Table 18.3. Reportage of election campaign issues .................. 414

Table 18.4. Reportage of election campaign tactics .................. 415

Table 19.1. Ratings for free-to-air election night TV programs .... 438

Table 20.1. Sample and comparator publications .................. 454

Table 20.2 Length of sampled articles .............................. 457

Table 20.3. Media content of sampled articles (percentage) .... 458
Table 20.4. Policy detail in sampled articles, average. .......... 461
Table 20.5. Top 15 topics, all publications ..................... 463
Table 20.6. Policy issues, all publications ...................... 463
Table 20.7. Names and organisations mentioned in sampled articles ............................................. 465
Table 20.8. Most commonly cited electorates .................. 467
Table 20.9. Articles syndicated from other news sources or containing significant references to other publications’ coverage .................................................. 468
Table 20.10. Syndicated content providers ...................... 469
Table 20.11. Facebook likes for sampled articles .............. 470
Table 21.1. Reliability test results .............................. 481
Table 21.2. Political affiliation .................................. 487
Table 22.1. Policy summary ...................................... 507
Table 23.1. Regression equation predicting two-party preferred swing to the Coalition, 2016 election ......................... 532
Table 25.1. Parties’ environmental policy positions .......... 581
Table 26.1. Overview of major party refugee policies ......... 602
Table 28.1. Gender breakdown of the House of Representatives after the 2016 election ......................................... 644
Table 28.2. Gender breakdown of the Senate after the 2016 election .................................................. 645
Table 28.3. Gender breakdown of Cabinet, 2010–16 .......... 646
Table 28.4. LGBTI representation in the House of Representatives after the 2016 election ................................. 647
Table 28.5. LGBTI representation in the Senate after the 2016 election .................................................. 647
Table 28.6. Women’s policies at federal elections, 2007–16 .... 651
Table 28.7. Women’s policies at federal elections, 2010–16 652
Table 28.8. Women’s policies at federal elections, 2013–16 653
Table 28.9. Women’s policies at federal elections, 2016–17 654
Table 29.1. Australian electorates (selective): Languages Other Than English (LOTE) spoken at home. ....................... 673