# Voting Trends and the ALP

Ian McAllister The Australian National University Canberra ACT 0200 Email ian.mcallister@anu.edu.au



# THE AUSTRALIAN VOTER

# **50 YEARS OF CHANGE** IAN M<sup>C</sup>ALLISTER



#### Web Addresses

Australian Election Study
<u>http://aes.anu.edu.au/</u>
http://assda.anu.edu.au/aestrends.pdf

• ANU Poll

http://www.anu.edu.au/anupoll/

• ian.mcallister@anu.edu.au



# Australian Election Studies, 1987-2010

	Total	Moved/gone	Refusals/ non-	Valid	Effective
	sample	away	responses	responses	response
1987	3,061	156	1,080	1,825	62.8
1990	3,606	125	1,461	2,020	58.0
1993	4,950	137	1,790	3,023	62.8
1996	3,000	95	1,110	1,795	61.8
1998	3,502	215	1,391	1,896	57.7
2001	4,000	369	1,621	2,010	55.4
2004	4,250	275	2,206	1,769	44.5
2007	5,000	337	2,790	1,873	40.2
2010	5,200	282	2,714	2,061	41.9

The response rate is estimated as: valid responses/(total sample—moved or gone away). The 2010 response rate is the figure for the initial self-completion sample.



# Topics

- 1. Social background: gender, ethnicity
- 2. Age and generation
- 3. Occupational class
- 4. Socioeconomic status
- 5. Change 2007-2010-2011



## Assumptions

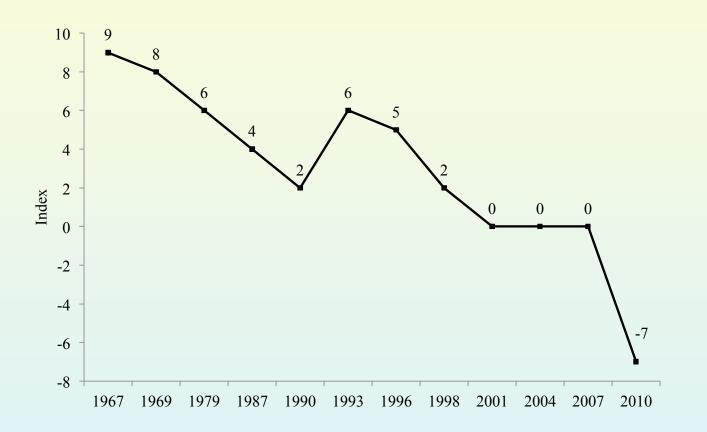
- Voters are rational, make sophisticated judgments
- Political parties are central to democratic politics

# Main Changes Since 1960s

- Social bases of parties declining
- Issues, personalities deciding elections

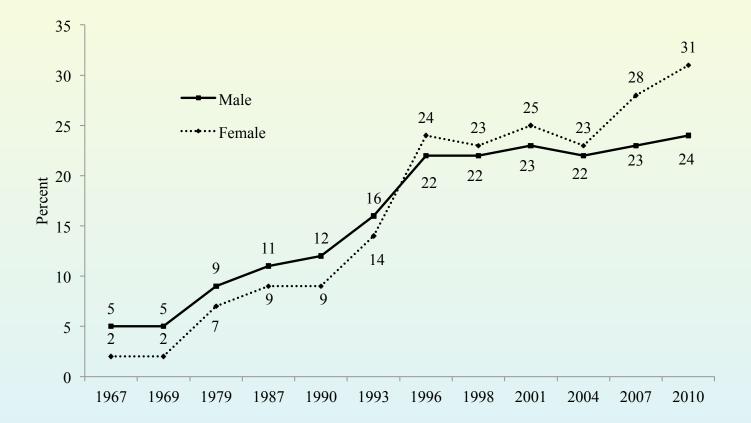


#### **Social Background: Gender**



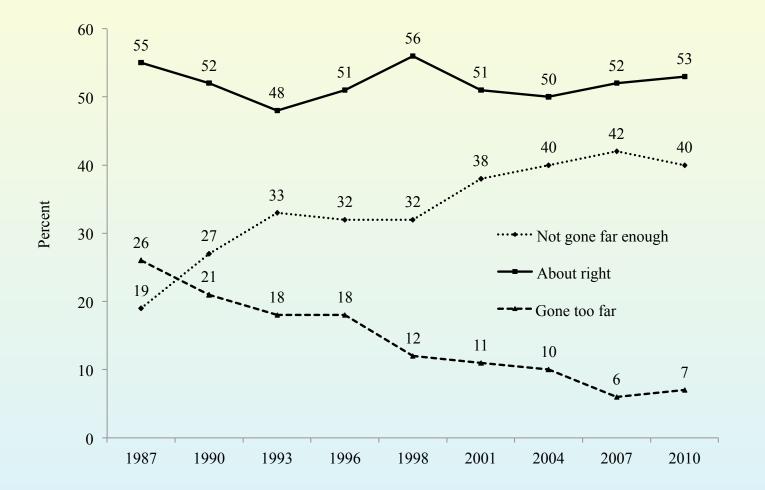


#### Gender and University Education, 1967-2010



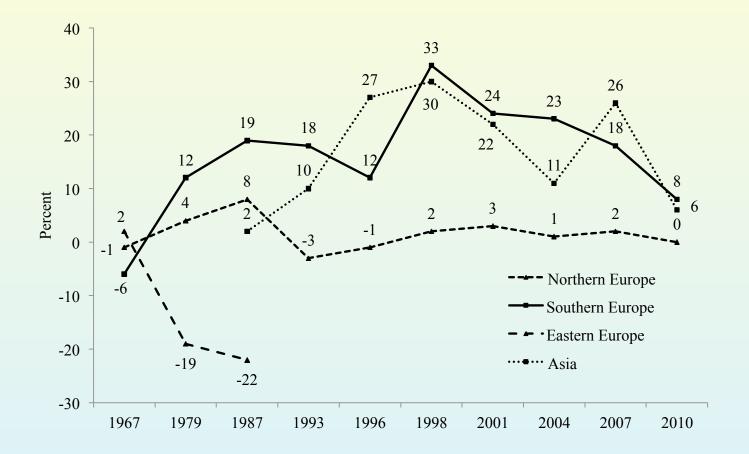


#### **Attitudes to Gender Equity, 1987-2010**



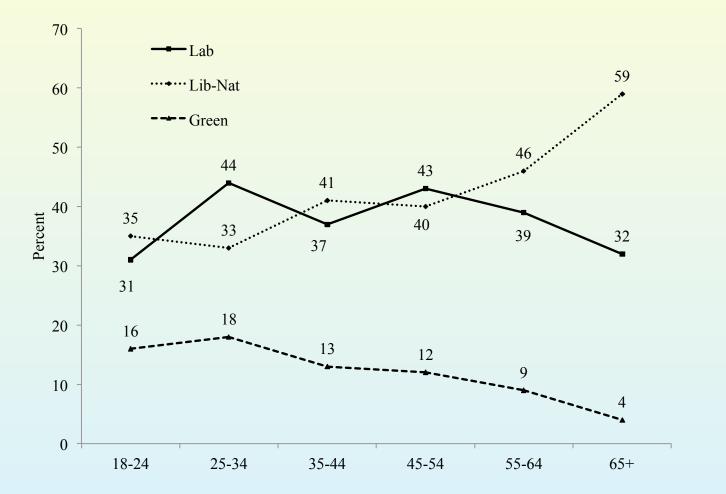


#### The Ethnic Vote, 1967-2010



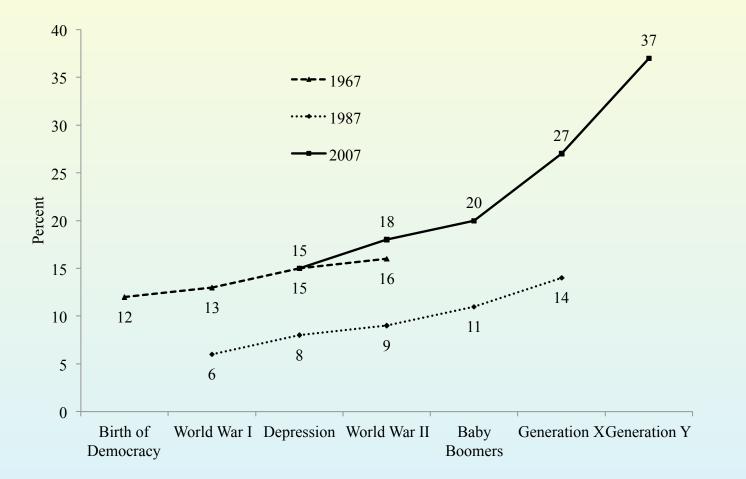


#### Voting by Age in 2010



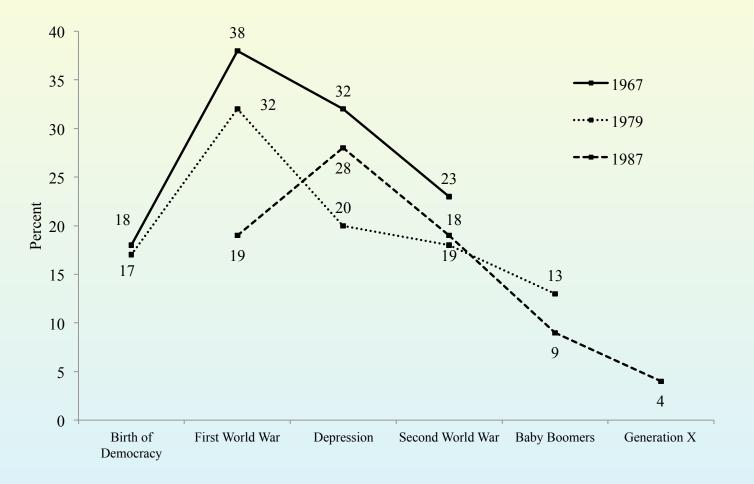


#### Generation and Minor and Non-Party Party Identifiers, 1967, 1987 and 2010



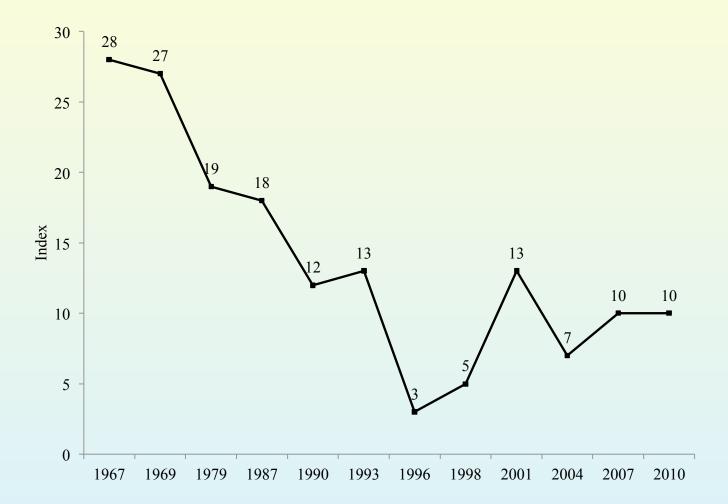


# Class Voting in Different Generations, 1967, 1979 and 1987



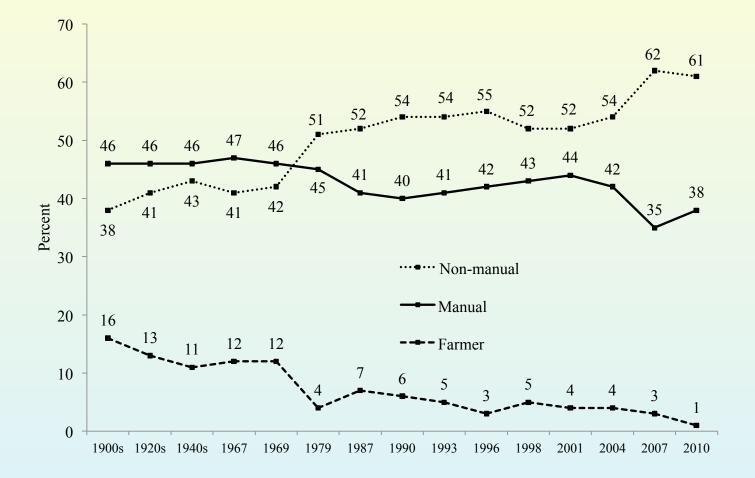


#### **Class Voting, 1967-2010**





#### **Class Composition of the Electorate, 1900s-2010**



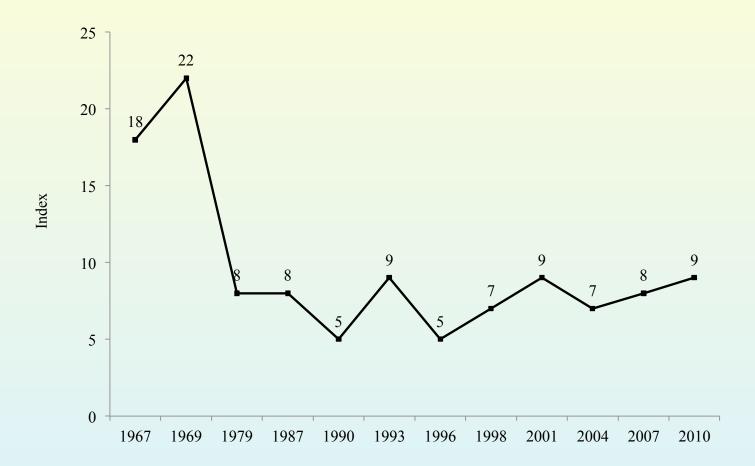


#### **Dimensions of Class Structure, 2007**

	Non-manual	Manual	(All)
Command			
Supervisors	67	49	(60)
'Obey'	33	51	(40)
Total	100	100	
(N)	(988)	(605)	
Conflict			
Self-employed	23	27	(24)
Employee	77	73	(76)
Total	100	100	
(N)	(1,004)	(627)	
Sector			
Government	27	16	(22)
Private	73	84	(78)
Total	100	100	
(N)	(1,004)	(627)	

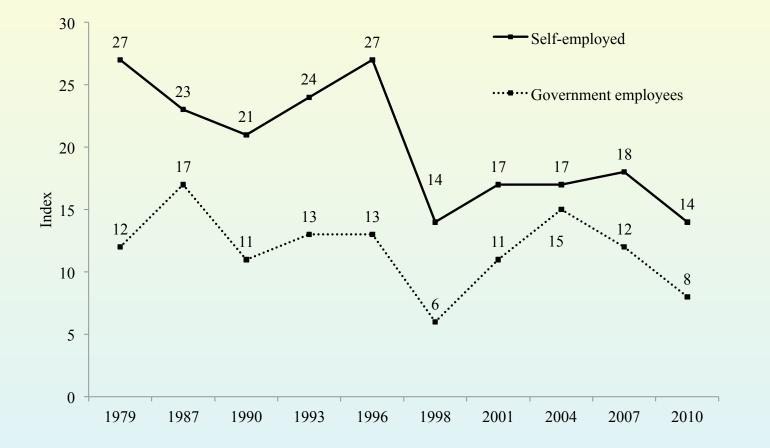


#### Voting Among Supervisors, 1967-2010



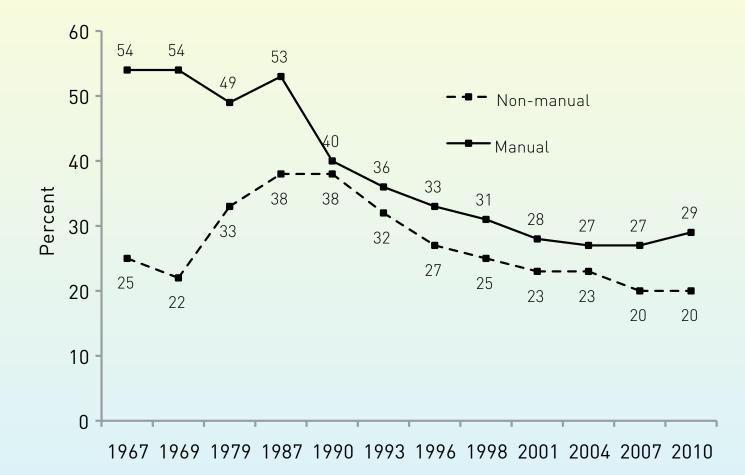


#### Conflict Aspects of Class and Voting, 1979-2010



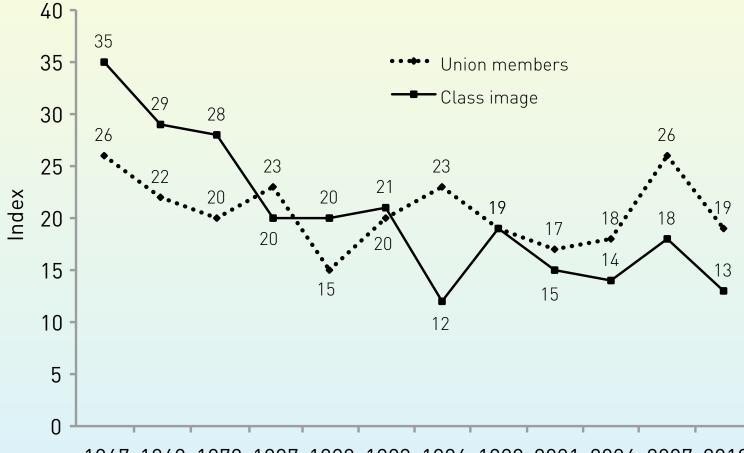


#### Trade Union Membership, 1967-2010





#### Voting by Economic Interests, 1967-2010



1967 1969 1979 1987 1990 1993 1996 1998 2001 2004 2007 2010



#### Material Assets and the Vote

	Lab	LibNat	Green	Other
Income				
Top quintile	18	24	28	17
Fourth quintile	19	21	20	21
Third quintile	19	19	20	18
Second quintile	20	19	14	23
Bottom quintile	24	17	18	21
Total	100	100	100	100
(N)	(2,611)	(2,945)	(486)	(447)
Housing				
Own, outright	45	53	40	53
Own, buying	30	30	32	38
Rent, private	12	8	15	14
Rent, public	5	2	2	2
Other	8	7	11	13
Total	100	100	100	100
(N)	(2,798)	(3,204)	(524)	(476)
Share ownership				
No shares	61	48	55	54
Yes, owns 1	15	15	14	16
Yes, owns 2-5	16	22	18	19
Yes, owns 6-10	4	7	7	6
Yes, owns >10	4	8	6	5
Total	100	100	100	100
(N)	(2,815)	(3,233)	(522)	(480)



#### Impact of Class on Vote, 2007

	(Regre	(Regression coefficients)			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3		
Occupational class					
Non-manual worker	08**	01	01		
Supervisor	08**	06*	04		
Government employee	.09**	.03	.03		
Self-employed	16**	12**	09**		
Class Interests					
Union member		.22**	.20**		
Middle class image		14**	13**		
Economic Assets					
Family income			03		
Own occupier			08**		
Share owner			06*		
Adj R-squared	.04	.10	.11		



Percent Labor voters	2007	2010	(2007-10 Change)	ANUpoll Sep 11
Gender	2007	2010	Change)	5 <b>c</b> p 11
Male	45	35	(-10)	27
Female	45	41	(-10)	25
Age	<b>-</b> 5	71	()	23
18-24	49	31	(-18)	15
25-34	43	44	(+1)	27
35-44	43 47	44 37	(+1) (-10)	27
45-54	47 47	43	(-10) (-4)	23 29
55-64	47 44	4 <i>3</i> 39		
			(-5)	33
65+ 0 i	42	32	(-10)	26
Occupation	4.1	25		
Non-manual	41	35	(-6)	
Manual	51	43	(-8)	
Supervisor	41	34	(-7)	
'Obey'	49	44	(-5)	
Self-employed	30	27	(-3)	
Employee	49	41	(-8)	
Union member	65	52	(-13)	
Non-union member	39	34	(-5)	
Middle class	36	32	(-4)	
Working class	54	45	(-9)	
Government employee	54	44	(-10)	
Private sector employee	42	36	(-6)	
Qualifications				
Tertiary education	44	36	(-8)	23
Post secondary	44	38	(-6)	27
No qualifications	46	40	(-6)	28
(Mean Labor vote)	(44)	(38)	(-6)	(26)

#### Who are the Labor Defectors?



### Conclusions

- Greater voter volatility
- Increased importance of leaders
- Delayed voting decision
- Increased importance of internet to convert young
- Parties' focus on narrow range of economic issues



#### Always Voted for Same Party, 1967-2010





#### **Timing of the Voting Decision, 1987-2010**

