



Research Paper



The 2014 Victorian State Election

No. 1, June 2015

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Executive Summary

This paper examines the 2014 Victorian state election, providing description and analysis of the results in three main sections.

Part A of the paper provides some context to the outcome of the election by examining the redistribution of Victoria's state electoral boundaries, and key issues during the life of the 57th Parliament. Part B provides an overview of the election campaign, key policies, news coverage and the polling data. Part C provides statistical tables of the results for each district and region.

Key Results

The Labor Party, led by Daniel Andrews, won the election.

In the Legislative Assembly:

- Labor won a total of 47 seats
- the Coalition won 38 seats (30 to the Liberal Party and eight to the Nationals)
- the Greens won two seats (Melbourne and Prahran)
- an Independent won one seat (Suzanna Sheed for the seat of Shepparton), and
- another Independent (former Liberal), Geoff Shaw, lost his seat of Frankston to Labor.

In the Legislative Council:

- Labor won a total of 14 seats
- the Coalition won 16 seats (14 to the Liberal Party and two to the Nationals)
- the Greens won five seats
- the Shooters and Fishers Party of Victoria won two seats
- the Democratic Labour Party (DLP) won one seat
- the Australian Sex Party won one seat, and
- Vote 1 Local Jobs won one seat.

The Labor Party:

- won four seats in the Legislative Assembly since the 2010 election (the results of the seats which changed notionally due to the redivision of electoral boundaries are discussed later in the publication)
- lost the electoral district of Melbourne to the Greens, and
- lost two seats in the Legislative Council to the Greens.

The Coalition:

- lost seven seats in the Legislative Assembly since the 2010 election including Prahran to the Greens and Shepparton to an Independent
- lost a total of five seats in the Legislative Council to the micro parties, and
- the Nationals lost the status of 'third party' in the Parliament by failing to win 11 seats, they won a total of ten seats.

The Greens:

- won two seats in the Legislative Assembly giving them representation in the lower house for the first time, and
- won two extra seats in the Legislative Council, to make a total of five.

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2014 Post Election Victorian Pendulum

List of Abbreviations

AJP	Animal Justice Party
CA	Australian Country Alliance
DLP	Democratic Labor Party of Australia
EWL	East West Link
Labor/ALP	Australian Labor Party – Victorian Branch
Family First/FF	Family First Victoria Inc.
Greens/GRN	The Australian Greens – Victoria
Lib Dems	Liberal Democrats
Liberal/Lib	Liberal Party of Australia – Victorian Division
Nationals	National Party of Australia – Victoria
PUP	Palmer United Party
Sex Party/SP/ASP	Australian Sex Party – Victoria
Shooters and Fishers/SFPV	Shooters and Fishers Party of Victoria
VEC	Victorian Electoral Commission
V1LJ	Vote 1 Local Jobs

Notes

Figures included in this publication were derived from the Victorian Electoral Commission website, www.vec.com.au and were correct at the time of writing.

Victorian State Election 2014: Overview of Results

The following charts and tables show the proportion of first preference votes received by the parties which won seats in Parliament, and the composition of the Parliament's two chambers following the 2014 state election:

Table A: The Legislative Assembly — Proportion of first preference vote received by party

Party	ALP	Liberal	Nationals	Greens	Others
%	38.10	36.46	5.53	11.48	8.42

Source: [VEC website](#).

Chart A: The Legislative Assembly — Seat Results

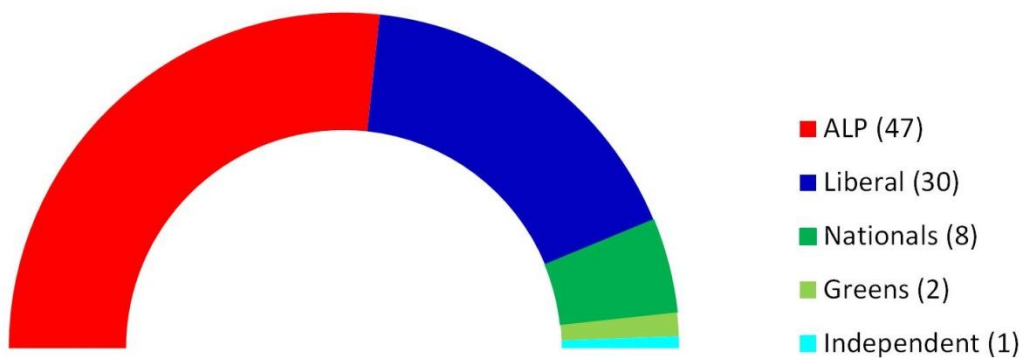
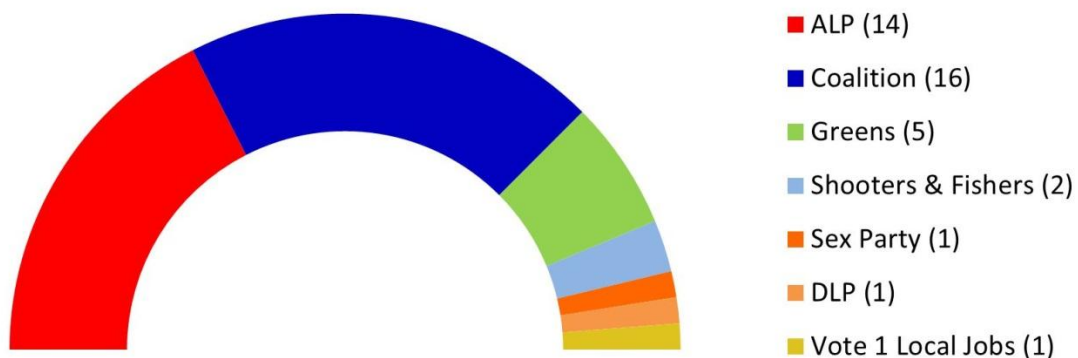


Table B: The Legislative Council — Proportion of first preference vote received by party

Party	ALP	Coalition	Greens	Sex Party	DLP	Shooters & Fishers	Vote 1 Local Jobs	Others
%	33.46	36.14	10.75	2.63	2.32	1.65	0.21	12.84

Source: [VEC website](#).

Chart B: The Legislative Council — Seat Results



Introduction

Victoria is earning a reputation for producing surprising election results. According to political commentators and the opinion polls, the 1999 election was expected to return the Coalition Government and the 2010 election was expected to return the Labor Government, yet neither did.

Even though the polls had long placed Labor ahead of the Coalition, the party's election to office at the 2014 election was still regarded as a significant outcome.

This was because of the removal of the Coalition Government after only one term in power, when history has shown us that governments in Victoria are often likely to consolidate their position at their first return to the ballot box. It had been more than half a century since Victoria experienced a single term government, in 1952-55, and it was a casualty of the split of the Australian Labor Party.

It should be noted however, that the close numbers in the Legislative Assembly in the last Parliament — 44 Coalition, 43 Labor and one Independent, and the redistribution of the state's electoral boundaries, meant that Labor required a notional uniform swing of only around 1 per cent to gain government.

The election result was that Labor secured government by obtaining a total of 47 seats in the 88 seat Parliament with a swing of 3.6 per cent on a two-party preferred basis.

This election is also historic for the election of two representatives of the Greens Party into the Legislative Assembly: the first time the party has won seats in the Lower House in Victoria. Also, notable, was the election of an Independent in what had been a very safe National Party seat (Shepparton).

The make-up of the Legislative Council after the election was also significantly changed. Neither of the major parties won a majority in the Upper House, and the Greens and four other minor parties won ten seats between them.

As stated earlier, this paper provides a description and analysis of the results the 2014 Victorian state election, set out in three main sections.

Part A of the paper provides some context to the outcome of the election by examining the redistribution of Victoria's state electoral boundaries, and key issues during the life of the 57th Parliament.

Part B of the paper provides an overview of the election campaign, the leaders' debate, preference deals, social media, key policies, and polls data in the lead up to, and during the campaign. This section also includes a brief overview of the minor parties.

Part C of the paper examines the outcomes of the election in both houses and how the parties fared. It also contains a short section on women MPs, new and departing MPs, voter turnout, and the number of candidates contesting the election. Part C also provides statistical tables for each district and region and additional tables and information on relevant voter statistics.

PART A: THE CONTEXT FOR THE 2014 ELECTION

1. The redistribution of electoral boundaries

In 2013, the Victorian Electoral Commission (VEC) conducted a redistribution of Victoria's state electorates. The application of the 2010 election results to the new boundaries indicated some notable consequences.

The ABC's election analyst, Antony Green's analysis of the results of the 2010 election based on the new boundaries, revealed some notable changes to the results.¹ The redistribution of electoral boundaries abolished two Coalition seats and created two notionally Labor-held seats. Major changes to other boundaries, however, converted several Labor seats into notionally-held Liberal ones.² According to Antony Green, Bellarine, Monbulk, Ripon, Wendouree and Yan Yean became notionally Liberal held seats on very small margins.

The VEC's analysis of the new seats, based on the 2010 election results, suggested different effects. According to the VEC, Wendouree and Yan Yean remained notionally Labor held seats, on the smallest of margins.³

Taking into account the VEC's analysis, the redistribution meant that Labor now had to win three seats rather than two, in order to win government. Paradoxically, the redistribution also made it easier for the Labor Party to win government by reducing the uniform swing it required to win, from 1.2 per cent to 0.8 per cent.⁴

Table 1a: Party composition of Legislative Assembly⁵

	After 2010 election	After the resignation of the Member for Frankston from the Parliamentary Liberal Party and the redivision of electoral boundaries
Liberal	35	36
Nationals	10	9
Labor	43	42
Independent	-	1
Total	88	88

1.1 Old boundaries

- Labor needed a uniform swing of 1.2 per cent to win two seats, and
- there were 16 seats with a margin of 2.5 per cent or under — five Liberal, 11 Labor.

1.2 New boundaries

- Labor needed a uniform swing of 0.8 per cent to win three seats, and
- there were 16 seats with a margin of 2.5 per cent or under — seven Liberal (three with sitting Labor members), nine Labor.

¹ A. Green (2013) '[2013 Victorian redistribution: analysis of new electoral boundaries](#)', Prepared for the Department of Parliamentary Services, Victorian Parliamentary Library.

² *ibid.*, p. 4.

³ P. Thornton-Smith, email, 24 March 2015. Wendouree = 50.1, Yan Yean = 50.0.

⁴ Compare the [2010 pendulum](#) with the revised '[redistribution' pendulum](#). Please overlook that Mackerras's 2014 redistribution pendulum also lists Wendouree and Yan Yean as notional Liberal held seats.

⁵ This table is based on Antony Green's table, in the light of the VEC's results. Green (2013) *op. cit.*, p. 4.

2. The 57th Parliament

The last time a Victorian government was defeated after one term was in 1955 (John Cain Snr's 1952-55 administration) as a result of the Labor Party split. A look back at the 57th Parliament, however, goes some way to explain the election results of 2014.

The 2010 election left the Coalition with 45 seats in the Legislative Assembly and the Labor Party with 43 seats. The provision of a Speaker by the Coalition reduced the majority on the floor of the House of Government, to just one seat.

Such close numbers in the House demand reliable party discipline over the life of a Parliament to ensure the success of the Government's business program. This was not what transpired during the 57th Parliament.

Instead the business of the Legislative Assembly chamber was hampered by instability. While a detailed account of all that transpired is beyond the scope of this paper, some of the major events are outlined below.

2.1 Instability

Much of the instability in the Legislative Assembly during the 57th Parliament was related in some way to the actions of Geoff Shaw, the Member for Frankston. After the *Herald Sun* revealed to the Premier, Ted Baillieu, in May 2012 that they had allegations that Mr Shaw had allegedly misused his parliamentary entitlements, the Premier asked the Speaker, Ken Smith to conduct an investigation.⁶ On 5 June 2012 the Speaker informed the House that he had received a disclosure under the *Whistleblowers Protection Act 2001* alleging improper conduct by the member for Frankston, which he then referred to the Ombudsman, as required under the Act.⁷

A recommendation of the Ombudsman's report tabled in Parliament on 11 October 2012 led to further investigations by the Legislative Assembly's Privileges Committee and Victoria Police (the latter at the request of Opposition Leader, Daniel Andrews).⁸

On 6 March 2013, Mr Shaw resigned from the Parliamentary Liberal Party to sit as an Independent on the crossbenches, thereby obtaining the balance of power in the Lower House. Releasing a brief statement to the media, he cited dissatisfaction with the Leadership of the Government as a reason for his resignation.⁹ This contributed to Mr Baillieu resigning as Premier later the same day.¹⁰

Mr Shaw was also critical of Speaker Smith. He stated to the media that he did not have confidence in the Speaker to manage the security of the parliamentary precinct.¹¹ This related to an incident on the steps of Parliament House in which Mr Shaw was caught up in a scuffle with taxi licence owners demonstrating against the Government's changes to the taxi industry.¹²

⁶ D. Hurley & P. Rolfe (2012) '[Taken for a ride](#)', *Sunday Herald Sun*, 20 May, p. 1.

⁷ K. Smith (2012) '[Disclosure: improper conduct](#)', *Debates*, Victoria, Legislative Assembly, 5 June, p. 2400.

⁸ Charges were dropped by the DPP on 3 December 2013. S. Donovan (2013) '[All charges dropped against Geoff Shaw](#)', *The World Today*, ABC News, 3 December.

⁹ M. Dunckley & L. Keen (2012) '[Embattled Baillieu forced out](#)', *Australian Financial Review*, 7 March, p. 1.

¹⁰ *ibid.* See the next page for further discussion on Premier Baillieu's resignation.

¹¹ J. Ferguson (2014) '[Speaker has spoken: Smith won't quit](#)' *The Australian*, 7 January, p. 5.

¹² J. Campbell & M. Ainsworth (2013) '[Shaw's asking price](#)', *Herald Sun*, 16 November, p. 7; H. Cook & J. Gordon (2013) '[Shaw takes aim at Speaker](#)', *The Age*, 13 November, p. 8.

Mr Shaw selectively voted with the Opposition to leverage his ability to influence the Government and to bring about the removal of Speaker Smith.¹³

The effects in the Legislative Assembly included:

- the resignation of the former Premier, Baillieu on 6 March 2013 and his replacement by Denis Napthine
- the resignation of the former Minister for Gaming Regulation and Minister responsible for Independent Broad-based Anti-corruption Commission (IBAC), Andrew McIntosh on 16 April 2013 (who said he was the member of the Privileges Committee who had 'leaked' information about Mr Shaw to a newspaper)¹⁴
- the Member for Frankston voting with the Opposition to defeat the Government's Business Program for the sitting week beginning 12 November 2013
- the suspension of Opposition members for six sitting days on 26 November 2013
- the resignation of former Speaker Smith, on 4 February 2014
- the suspension of the Member for Frankston for 11 sitting days on 11 June 2014.

Premier Baillieu and the Coalition were polling poorly in early 2013. According to political commentators, this was partly due to perceptions that it was under-performing; because of the *Herald Sun* police tapes scandal;¹⁵ and because of ongoing disputes with teachers, nurses and paramedics.¹⁶ It was reported in the media that Baillieu had lost the confidence of a section of the parliamentary Liberal Party and was forced to resign.¹⁷

The polls improved initially after Denis Napthine became Premier in February 2013 and resolved the teachers pay dispute in April.¹⁸ According to Newspoll, opinion poll results for the Coalition rose in Mar/April 2013 and May/Jun 2013, but by September/October of 2013 they had shifted back in favour of the Labor Party and stayed there until the election.¹⁹ (A more in-depth polling discussion is provided later in this publication).

Other issues that attracted wide media attention during the 57th Parliament included:

- demonstrations about cuts to TAFE funding²⁰
- protests about changes to taxi licences²¹
- the teachers' salary dispute 'broken promise'²²
- protests and blockades by inner Melbourne residents against the East West Link²³

¹³ H. Cook (2014) '[Geoff Shaw saga: How the most recent chapter unfolded](#)', *The Age*, 4 June; J. Ferguson (2014) '[Shaw deals Napthine's Liberals an election year embarrassment](#)', *The Australian*, 5 February, p. 1; J. Campbell (2013) '[Your taxes at work: With a paralysed government, the time has come for some hard choices](#)', *Sunday Herald Sun*, 17 November, p. 23.

¹⁴ J. Ferguson (2013) '[Napthine minister falls on his sword over media leak](#)', *The Australian*, 17 April, p. 8.

¹⁵ For further information on the *Herald Sun* tapes scandal see J. Campbell (2013) '[Secret tapes bombshell](#)', *Herald Sun*, 4 March, pp. 1, 4-7.

¹⁶ H. Ewart (2013) '[What's gone wrong: critics size up Victoria's government](#)', *7.30 Report*, ABC Television, 21 February; M. Dunckley (2013) '[Baillieu's exit leaves bigger issues unsolved](#)', *Australian Financial Review*, 7 March.

¹⁷ J. Campbell (2013) '[In the end: Ted had no choice](#)', *Herald Sun*, 10 March, p. 15.

¹⁸ J. Topsfield & B. Preiss (2013) '[Teachers win big pay deal](#)', *The Age*, 18 April.

¹⁹ Based on two-party preferred poll data. Newspoll did not publish a poll in July/August 2013.

²⁰ E. Barry (2012) '[TAFE cuts protest](#)', *Herald Sun*, 19 September, p. 6.

²¹ (2013) '[Taxi protest over cost of licence](#)', *The Australian*, 26 June, p. 2; J. Dagge (2013) '[Cabbies protest fee cut](#)', *Sunday Herald Sun*, 10 June, p. 19.

²² D. Kemp (2015) '[Review of the 2014 State Election: Interim report](#)', Liberal Party of Australia (Victorian Division), State Council, 28 March, Melbourne Convention Centre, p. 8.

- the unresolved pay dispute with paramedics²⁴
- the health issues of residents in the region of the Hazelwood mine fire²⁵
- the threatened closure of SPC Ardmona in Shepparton²⁶
- the announced closures of local car manufacturing companies General Motors Holden, Ford and Toyota in 2017²⁷
- the loss of jobs at Alcoa's aluminium smelting plant at Point Henry and QANTAS maintenance at Avalon²⁸
- the unpopularity of some of the Federal Coalition government's 2014 budget measures²⁹, and
- a rise in the state's unemployment level.³⁰

²³ L. Quinn (2014) '[Protestors march against link](#)', *Herald Sun*, 31 March, p. 8.

²⁴ D. Kemp (2015) op cit., p. 6.

²⁵ (2014) '[Vic: Reopen Vic mine fire inquiry: Locals](#)', *AAP Newswire*, 18 November 2014.

²⁶ L. Keen (2014) '[Sour taste for Shepparton](#)', *Australian Financial Review*, 1 February, p. 6; (2014) '[SPC Ardmona, Shepparton lifeline](#)', *Warrnambool Standard*, 14 February, p. 18.

²⁷ N. Toscano (2014) '[State's west bearing brunt of jobs decline](#)', *The Age*, 1 July, p. 8.

²⁸ G. Dundas & C. Crane (2014) '[800 axed: Alcoa to shut](#)', *Geelong Advertiser*, 19 February, p. 1; D. Lannen (2014) '[Qantas flies into sunset](#)', *Geelong Advertiser*, 14 March, p. 3.

²⁹ S. Green (2014) '[Abbott: Napthine's nightmare](#)', *Saturday Age*, 24 May, p. 35.

³⁰ H. Aston, G. Hutchens & M. Mason (2014) '[Political blame flies as jobless rate rises](#)', *The Age*, 8 August, p. 2.

PART B: THE CAMPAIGN

3. The campaign

Political commentators tended to describe the election campaign as ‘lacklustre’ and ‘uninspiring’.³¹ Even so, much of the news media declared that Daniel Andrews had been the better campaigner, and that his wife proved to be a campaign asset.³²

Commentators discussed the transformation of Daniel Andrews in the media and the polls over the election campaign. Labor’s advertising campaign presented him as a positive and engaging family man.³³ Over this period his ratings as ‘preferred Premier’ in the polls climbed several percentage points. While he started significantly behind Denis Napthine as ‘preferred Premier’ in the polls at the beginning of the campaign, by election day he was only four percentage points behind in the Newspoll.³⁴

Dr Napthine was personally well regarded, and campaigned with his son Tom and wife, Peggy, often alongside in support. The body of political commentators felt, however, that the Coalition was beaten by Labor’s ‘youthful’ campaign.³⁵

3.1 Coalition three-cornered contests

There were tensions between the Coalition partners about the running of three-cornered contests. In 2008 National Party leader Peter Ryan and then Leader of the Opposition, Ted Baillieu, reached a ten-year agreement that the Coalition partners would not stand against each other in seats held by either of the parties in the Lower House.³⁶ Six years later, however, in February 2014, Liberal members were said to be unhappy that they were unable to field candidates in seats to be vacated by the retirement of Nationals MPs, Bill Sykes, Jeanette Powell and Hugh Delahunty.³⁷

By June 2014, the Liberal Party stated that it was intending to field a candidate in the new seat of Euroa, even though the seat was notionally held by the Nationals. Mr Ryan was reported to have asked them not to stand a candidate.³⁸

The parties disagreed about who should rightfully claim Euroa following the redrawing of its electoral boundaries.³⁹ The Nationals then fielded a candidate in the new seat of Eildon, which was largely made up of the former seat of Seymour, held by Liberal MP, Cindy McLeish.⁴⁰

Both parties also fielded candidates in the newly created seats of Buninyong and Ripon. Buninyong was notionally Labor and Ripon notionally Liberal.

³¹ See, for example: M. Iaria (2014) ‘Victorian poll race expected to be close’, *AAP Newswire*, 28 November.

³² See, for example: F. Tomazin (2014) ‘Campaign supernova: how Labor’s strategy outgunned the Coalition and delivered victory to Daniel Andrews’, *The Sunday Age*, 7 December, p. 34.

³³ F. Tomazin (2014) ‘Rebranding Dan’, *The Sunday Age*, 10 November, p. 16.

³⁴ J. Ferguson (2014) ‘Labor on brink of victory: Newspoll’, *The Weekend Australian*, 29 November, p. 1.

³⁵ See, for example: Editorial (2014) ‘Liberal brand on the nose’, *Warrnambool Standard*, 1 December, p. 8.

³⁶ J. Wagstaff (2014) ‘Three-way is the best way’, *Weekly Times*, 5 March, p. 10

³⁷ *ibid.*; Editorial (2014) ‘Libs get political lesson’, *Weekly Times*, 26 February, p. 24.

³⁸ F. Tomazin (2014) ‘Coalition under pressure from within’, *The Sunday Age*, 22 November, p. 39.

³⁹ *ibid.*; R. Willingham & J. Gordon (2014) ‘State Coalition set for poll bush battle’ *The Age*, 18 June, p. 16.

⁴⁰ General news (2014) ‘Nationals hit Eildon’, *North Central Review (Kilmore)*, 16 September, p. 7.

The results of the three-cornered contests were: the Nationals retained Euroa, the Liberal Party retained Eildon, Buninyong was retained by Labor and Ripon was won by the Liberal Party.

3.2 Grassroots campaigning

Following the election, commentary suggested that one of the elements of Labor's victory had been its successful grassroots campaign of phone calls and door knocking in marginal seats by teams of volunteers and unions. This strategy was based on a model adopted by the US Democratic Party to support President Obama's campaign.⁴¹ According to several articles, the field campaign was initially launched in 25 marginal seats but narrowed its focus to just six key seats in the last weeks of the campaign (Bentleigh, Carrum, Mordialloc, Frankston, Bellarine and Monbulk).⁴²

Labor's advertising and direct mail campaigns which had featured heavily in previous election campaigns were restricted and targeted. Direct mail, for example, was tailored to the particular issues identified by undecided voters during the field program.⁴³

Some unions in dispute with the Government also campaigned against it at various venues. The paramedics union undertook grassroots activities in the field such as handing out leaflets, holding up banners and speaking directly to members of the public.⁴⁴

The Victorian Greens were also noted for mounting a strong grassroots campaign based on the successful one run by the federal Member, Adam Bandt for the House of Representatives.⁴⁵ In the seat of Prahran, for example, 20,000 homes were doorknocked.⁴⁶

3.4 Preference deals

Following the precedent set by the then Opposition Leader Baillieu in 2010, Premier Napthine announced to the media that the Liberal Party would preference the Greens last in all Lower House seats. For the group tickets in the Upper House, he stated that the Greens would be put last in most cases, but that he would consider putting them above candidates that he regarded as too extreme.⁴⁷

Opposition leader, Daniel Andrews rejected the Greens offer of a formal preference deal, but said that they could swap preferences on a seat-by-seat basis. It was also reported that Labor would not make a preference deal with the Rise Up Australia Party.⁴⁸

According to *The Australian* newspaper, the Greens and the Palmer United Party (PUP) struck a preference deal. The article stated that PUP agreed to give its preferences to the Greens above the Labor Party in all eight Upper House regions and above the Liberal Party in four of the seats. In

⁴¹ R. Wallace (2014) '[The secret weapon that outmanoeuvred the Coalition](#)', *The Australian*, 1 December, p. 9.

⁴² Chanticleer (2014) '[Lessons from Victoria](#)', *Australian Financial Review*, 2 December, p. 40; Wallace (2014) op. cit.; Tomazin (2014) '[Campaign supernova](#)' op. cit.

⁴³ *ibid.*

⁴⁴ J. Medew (2014) '[Paramedics taken to court for campaigning in uniform](#)', *The Age*, 21 November, p. 6.

⁴⁵ L. Stickels (2014) '[Grassroots groundwork](#)', The Greens website.

⁴⁶ H. Cook (2014) '[Prahran new face of Victorian politics with Green victory](#)', *The Age*, 9 December.

⁴⁷ J. Ferguson (2014) '[Huge blow for Greens, as Libs decide to preference them last](#)', *The Australian*, 14 November, p. 2.

⁴⁸ (2014) '[Vic Labor says no to formal Greens deal](#)', *AAP Newswire*, 7 November; D. Moss (2014) '[Shifting alliances and bitter distrust as Vic preference deals go down to the wire](#)', *Crikey*, 14 November, p. 1.

turn, it was said that the Greens would place PUP above Labor in four regions and above the Liberals in seven.⁴⁹

There was also speculation in the media that the minor parties were doing preference deals with each other to leverage their chances of winning an Upper House seat. Glenn Druery, the so-called 'preference whisperer' who helped Ricky Muir of the Australian Motoring Enthusiast Party win a seat in the Senate in Victoria at the 2013 federal election, stated on the ABC's 7.30 that he was working with the smaller parties.⁵⁰ Elsewhere in the media it was reported that he advised the Shooters and Fishers Party.⁵¹

The Sex Party was reported to have exchanged preferences with the Basics Rock 'N' Roll Party, the Voluntary Euthanasia Party, the Animal Justice Party and the Australian Cyclists Party.⁵²

3.3 The Leaders' debate

There was some discussion in the media about the fact that there was only one debate by the party leaders and that it was not televised on free-to-air television.⁵³ Instead, the debate between the leaders was a 'people's forum' in front of 100 undecided voters selected by Galaxy Research, in the marginal seat of Frankston. It was televised by *Sky News* and the questions were unscripted and asked from the floor. The debate was described as 'fiery' in some news reports, as questions on medical marijuana, the Melbourne airport rail link and the East West Link, were tackled by the leaders. Both leaders ruled out increases to taxes and charges.⁵⁴

In his final submission to the audience, Dr Napthine focussed on the issue of trust: asking who do you trust to manage the economy, maintain Victoria's AAA credit status, and to deliver budget surpluses that fund hospitals and schools, and 200,000 new jobs, 60,000 apprenticeships and 850,000 training places. He compared the previous Labor government's track record of the desalination plant, the north-south pipeline and myki compared to the current Coalition government's AAA credit rating, budget surpluses and record investment to build a better Victoria.⁵⁵

Mr Andrews' final submission focussed on Labor's plans for removing 50 dangerous level crossings, repairing the TAFE system, ending the war on paramedics, finding hospital beds for a better health system, giving every child a better chance to improve the education system and getting Victoria back to work.⁵⁶

A poll of the audience members after the debate gave Mr Andrews a narrow victory. Thirty-nine audience members said that they would vote for Mr Andrews, 38 said they would vote for Dr Napthine and 23 remained undecided.⁵⁷

3.5 The East West Link project

The election was widely described by the media and politicians as a referendum on the East West Link project. It was a clear point of difference in the policies of the major parties.⁵⁸

⁴⁹ J. Ferguson & R. Wallace (2014) 'Greens, PUP in upper house deal', *The Australian*, 18 November, p. 1.

⁵⁰ S. Farnsworth (2014) 'Interview with Glenn Druery', *7.30 Victoria*, ABC Television, 7 November.

⁵¹ J. Heath (2015) 'Druery sees 'minor' role', *Australian Financial Review*, 8 January, p. 5.

⁵² L. Keen (2014) 'Sex, drugs and payroll tax', *Australian Financial Review*, 3 December, p. 7.

⁵³ Editorial (2014) 'State leaders script debate', *Warrnambool Standard*, 21 November, p. 8.

⁵⁴ D. Speers (2014) '2014 Victorian election 'people's forum'', *Sky News*, 19 November.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁷ J. Ferguson & R. Baxendale (2014) 'All even as leaders' fail to land a killer punch', *The Australian*, 20 November, p. 4.

In May 2013, the Coalition Government announced that it would fund the eastern part of the East West Link (EWL) as the first stage of the proposed 18-kilometre toll road that would run from the western suburbs of Melbourne to the Eastern Freeway in Clifton Hill.⁵⁹

The Coalition Government estimated that the eastern-section of the EWL would cost \$6-8 billion. It stated that the project would be built via a public private partnership (PPP) arrangement, with financing sourced from the State Government, the Commonwealth Government and the private sector. The Federal Coalition pledged \$1.5 billion for the building of stage one of the EWL (and a further \$1.5 billion for the future building of stage two).⁶⁰

In June 2013, the Coalition Government released the executive summary or 'short form business case' for the project and submitted it to Infrastructure Australia.⁶¹

Some groups – such as the Greens, local governments in the project area, transport academics and community organisations – called for the full business case for the project to be released for public scrutiny. Concerns also centred on the acquisition of residential properties, and the impact on Royal Park and Melbourne Zoo.⁶²

Leader of the Opposition, Daniel Andrews stated in the media in August 2013 that he did not support the EWL project and that it should be put to the people at the election. He further stated that the contracts for the EWL should not be signed eight weeks before the election, but said if the contracts were signed prior to the election he would not seek to cancel them because of sovereign risk.⁶³

On 19 November 2013, Labor announced its alternative infrastructure project to the EWL. Labor's *Project 10,000* which was to be funded by the sale of the Port of Melbourne, would remove 50 of the most dangerous level crossings, build Melbourne Metro Rail, remove 5,000 trucks daily from the Westgate Bridge, invest \$2 billion on roads and create 10,000 construction jobs.⁶⁴

In June 2014, the Coalition Planning Minister approved the building of the eastern section of the EWL. In July 2014, Moreland and Yarra Councils began legal proceedings opposing the decision on the basis that the planning process had been flawed.⁶⁵ A number of protest groups had also been demonstrating against the project.⁶⁶

An Age/Neilson poll of 1000 voters in mid-2014 reported that 45 per cent favoured the removal of 50 level crossings as the most important infrastructure project, 30 per cent favoured the building of the Melbourne Metro Tunnel, ahead of the 20 per cent who were in favour of the building of the EWL.⁶⁷

⁵⁸ (2014) 'Vic election an infrastructure referendum', AAP Newswire, 9 November; (2014) 'Transport centre stage in Vic', *The New Daily*, 11 November; J. Gordon 'Labor stakes all on dislike of project', *The Age*, 11 September, p. 4.

⁵⁹ Victorian Parliamentary Library (2015) *2015 Briefing Book: Key Issues from the 57th Parliament*, Melbourne, Victorian Parliamentary Library, pp. 138-139.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*

⁶¹ *ibid.*

⁶² *ibid.*

⁶³ G. Stayner (2013) 'Interview with Daniel Andrews', *ABC 7.30 Report*, 2 August.

⁶⁴ Editorial (2013) 'Labor's bid for power', *Herald Sun*, 19 November, p. 20.

⁶⁵ Victorian Parliamentary Library (2015) *op. cit.*, p. 139.

⁶⁶ (2015) 'Protest earns gong', *Herald Sun*, 27 January, p. 2.

⁶⁷ R. Willingham (2014) 'Railway crossings big bugbear', *The Age*, 26 June, p. 6.

On 11 September 2014, Daniel Andrews announced in an interview on morning radio that Labor would not honour the EWL contract because he did not accept that it would be legally binding. Rather, he would proceed with Labor's own transport plan for improvements in public transport and local roads.⁶⁸

It was also speculated in the media that this policy by Labor was meant to appeal to potential Greens voters in the inner Melbourne seats of Melbourne, Richmond, Brunswick and Northcote.⁶⁹

On 29 September, the Coalition Government signed a contract with the East West Connect consortium to build stage one of the EWL. The Government stated that if the contracts were not honoured after a change of government, Commonwealth grants for the project would have to be repaid, in addition to contract termination costs.⁷⁰

Three weeks before election day, Prime Minister Tony Abbott stated that the election was a referendum on the EWL.⁷¹

Further polling on the subject of the EWL showed increasing support for the project. A *Herald Sun/Seven News* survey of more than 2,500 Victorians found 45 per cent now favoured the EWL ahead of 23 per cent who favoured the removal of 50 level crossings.⁷² The ABC's *Vote Compass* online poll of its 30,000 participants, found that 46 per cent disagreed with the cancelling of the EWL, 35 per cent supported the cancelling of the project and 20 per cent were neutral or unsure.⁷³

On 20 November 2014, Moonee Valley Council lodged a separate legal action against the project.⁷⁴

There was considerable media discussion questioning the Government's decision to sign a contract so close to an election as well as critical reporting of the Opposition for declaring that it would not honour the contract if elected to office.⁷⁵

3.6 Parties and personalities

The 2014 election set a new record for the number of parties fielding candidates. A total of 21 parties fielded candidates, compared to 10 at the previous Victorian election in 2010.

The parties which fielded candidates for the first time in the 2014 election were: Animal Justice Party, Australian Christians, Australian Cyclists Party, Liberal Democratic Party, Palmer United Party, People Power Victoria – No Smart Meters, Rise Up Australia Party, Shooters and Fishers Party of Victoria, The Basics Rock'N'Roll Party, Voice for the West, Voluntary Euthanasia Party (Victoria) and Vote 1 Local Jobs.

⁶⁸ N. Mitchell (2014) 'Interview with Daniel Andrews', *3AW Mornings*, 11 November.

⁶⁹ E. Hastings (2014) 'Greens picked to falter', *Moreland Leader*, 10 November, p. 3.

⁷⁰ Victorian Parliamentary Library (2015) op. cit., p. 40.

⁷¹ (2014) 'Vic election referendum on EW link: PM' *AAP Newswire*, 8 November; F. Tomazin (2014) 'This election is built on roads: Abbott', *Sunday Age*, 9 November, p. 5.

⁷² A. Devic (2014) 'Voters swinging behind east west', *Herald Sun*, 13 November, p. 6.

⁷³ (2014) 'Most in Vic support East West Link: poll', *AAP Newswire*, 13 November.

⁷⁴ Victorian Parliamentary Library (2015) op. cit., p. 40.

⁷⁵ See: M. West (2014) 'Secrecy is the real road toll scandal', *The Age*, 12 September, p. 32; J. Menzies & A. Tiernan (2014) 'Politicians not comfortable being mere caretakers', *The Age*, 11 November, p. 20; M. Johnston, J. Campbell & M. Ainsworth (2014) 'Backflip Dan falls for trap', *Herald Sun*, 12 September, p. 6; H. Cook, S. Johanson & J. Gordon (2014) 'Naphthine tunnel pledge disarray', *The Age*, 12 September, p. 2.

Musician Tex Perkins attracted media attention when he announced that he would stand as a candidate for the marginal seat of Albert Park on the single issue of saving the Palais Theatre. The Labor Party subsequently pledged up to \$13.4 million to work with the Port Phillip Council and the theatre's operators to restore the theatre in the event that it gained government. In response, Perkins made a statement rarely heard from political candidates, 'You don't have to vote for me'.⁷⁶

Tex Perkins was not the only musician standing at the election. Band members of The Basics formed the Basics Rock'n'Roll Party to lobby for music, education and Indigenous issues.⁷⁷

Coburg football identity and the former federal Independent member for Wills, Phil Cleary, known for his anti-violence activism, stood for Voice for the West on a ticket of addressing family violence, renewable energy and public transport.⁷⁸

3.7 Social media

The uptake and integration of social media grew significantly between the 2010 and 2014 election campaigns, to the point that it was a central feature of candidates' campaigns, electoral education, and news reporting during the 2014 election.⁷⁹

For example, the VEC actively engaged social media to promote the election. Its 'Driving Votes' roadshow toured historically under-represented districts to encourage young people to register to vote, and ran an online competition to post photos from the roadshow on the VEC website.⁸⁰ A new smartphone app, 'Vote Victoria', was developed to remind people to vote, provide information on candidates and voting centres, and monitor the vote count after the polls closed.⁸¹ Further, the VEC live-tweeted results as they were declared during the weeks after the election.⁸²

Twitter was widely used throughout the campaign to report from the hustings. The hashtag #SpringSt and #vicpol continued to be used throughout the campaign for posts on Victorian politics, but the hashtag #vicvotes became popular for campaign related material. Tweets reached their peak on election day, with #vicvotes used more than 23,000 times by 5.30pm.⁸³ While most candidates engaged through online profiles, there were also many anonymous and fake accounts used to attack party policies.⁸⁴

Social media was also employed by candidates to target particular demographics. For example, in what was reported as an Australian first, the Greens appealed to the gay male population in Prahran by placing advertisements on the mobile phone dating application 'Grindr'.⁸⁵

Given this engagement with social media, candidates' online presence was highly scrutinised. Two candidates resigned from standing in the election as a result of comments they made on social media.⁸⁶ Campaign volunteers were also reprimanded for offensive posts.⁸⁷

⁷⁶ H. Cook (2014) 'Half way to saved', *The Age*, 19 November, p. 1.

⁷⁷ S. Whyte (2014) 'They built this party on rock'n'roll', *Crikey*, 30 October, p. 1.

⁷⁸ N. Filmer (2014) 'Phil re-enters politics to give community a voice', *Moreland Leader*, 17 November, p. 5.

⁷⁹ See: Electoral Matters Committee (2014) *Inquiry into the Impact of Social Media on Victorian Elections and Victoria's Electoral Administration*, discussion paper, Melbourne, Parliament of Victoria, August.

⁸⁰ VEC (2014) *2014 Victorian State Election: Media Handbook*, Melbourne, VEC, p. 8.

⁸¹ VEC (2014) *Victorian Voters to Get a Truly 'appy Election*, media release, 14 November.

⁸² See: VEC (2015) '@electionsvic', Twitter.

⁸³ M. Singer (2014) 'How bratwursts and pony rides kept the tweeps happy', *Sunday Age*, 30 November, p. 8.

⁸⁴ T. Doutre (2014) 'Agenda hides in plain sight on social media', *Melbourne Times Weekly*, 9 July, p. 9.

⁸⁵ H. Cook (2014) 'Greens think pink with ads on gay app to boost vote', *Saturday Age*, 11 October, p. 21.

4. Key policies of the parties

A comprehensive catalogue of the Coalition, Labor and Greens policy platforms for the 2014 state election is beyond the scope of this paper. However, a selection of key policies put forward by the Coalition, Labor and the Greens are summarised below. The policies of the minor parties who were elected and the successful independent candidate Suzanna Sheed are also provided.

4.1 The Liberal Nationals Coalition



Source: Photo: A. Wylie (2014) *The Age*⁸⁸

The Coalition's main policies included: major transport projects; a \$100 million infrastructure fund for regional cities; education initiatives; and incentives to employ long-term unemployed young people.⁸⁹ The key message of the Coalition's election campaign was that only the Coalition could be trusted to manage the economy and deliver surpluses to invest in infrastructure and services.⁹⁰ The Coalition's campaign slogans included 'Building a Better Victoria' and 'Strong Economy, Helping Families, Creating Jobs'.⁹¹

The Coalition officially launched its campaign on 9 November 2014 in Ballarat. The regional city takes in the three marginal electorates of Buninyong, Wendouree and Ripon. Prime Minister Tony Abbot did not attend the launch but former premiers Jeff Kennett and Ted Baillieu and federal senators, including Mitch Fifield and Scott Ryan, attended.⁹²

Investment in transport infrastructure was a main plank of the Coalition policy platform. In addition to the building of the East West Link, the Coalition planned to widen the CityLink and Tullamarine Freeway at a cost of \$1.1 billion.⁹³ The Coalition also pledged to build the 'Melbourne Rail Link' which it said would comprise of 'a new underground rail link from Southern Cross to

⁸⁶ R. Willingham (2014) 'Liberal candidate Aaron Lane resigns after offensive tweets', *The Age*, 1 August;

R. Willingham (2014) 'Libs' second candidate quits in disgrace', *The Age*, 4 August.

⁸⁷ J. Ferguson (2014) 'Campaigner under fire for "neo-Nazi" retweet', *The Australian*, 17 November, p. 2.

⁸⁸ R. Willingham (2014) 'Victorian state election: Naphthine offers cash to kindergarten parents', *The Age*, 9 November. Photo: A. Wylie.

⁸⁹ T. Wright (2014) 'Easy, tiger. Naphthine bids to claw his way back', *The Age*, 10 November.

⁹⁰ Liberal Victoria (2014) *Liberal Victoria website*, Election 2014.

⁹¹ *ibid.*

⁹² L. Keen (2014) 'Naphthine sets votes in train', *Australian Financial Review*, 10 November; Willingham (2014) 'Victorian state election: Naphthine offers cash to kindergarten parents', *op. cit.*

⁹³ Liberal Victoria (2014) *Widening CityLink and the Tullamarine Freeway*, Liberal Victoria policy document, Election 2014.

South Yarra via Fishermans Bend' and a rail link to Melbourne Airport.⁹⁴ It also promised to upgrade the Cranbourne-Pakenham rail corridor to allow 'a 30 per cent boost in capacity' on those lines.⁹⁵

The Coalition announced at the campaign launch that it would invest \$3.9 billion in 170 new trains and trams, which would see a new train delivered 'every month for the next decade', and create 3,500 jobs in the rail manufacture, supply and construction industries.⁹⁶

The campaign launch also emphasised rural and regional initiatives. The Coalition announced a new \$100 million 'Regional Cities Infrastructure Fund' for Victoria's ten largest regional cities. It was explained that the Regional Cities Infrastructure Fund would come from the \$1 billion Regional Growth Fund to finance projects that would enable regional cities to keep up with population growth.⁹⁷ The Coalition also pledged to invest \$178.1 million to provide an extra 79 V/Line train trips per week on eight country rail lines and to duplicate part of the Traralgon line,⁹⁸ and to upgrade and standardise the rail link to Mildura.⁹⁹

In regard to education, the Coalition pledged to reduce cost of living expenses for families through a \$100 rebate for each child attending kindergarten.¹⁰⁰ They also announced that they would increase the number of 'primary welfare officers to cover all state schools'.¹⁰¹ Coalition policy also included the investment of \$1.2 billion in new schools and school upgrades over four years, with additional funding of \$4.2 billion for education to be delivered over the next term through the Better Schools Agreement with the Commonwealth Government.¹⁰²

Coalition policy also encompassed the \$75 million 'Youth Employment Strategy'. The strategy would support young people aged 15 to 24, who had been unemployed for more than six months and were not enrolled in full-time study or training, to assist them obtain the skills and experience needed to gain employment.¹⁰³

In the area of health, Coalition policies included \$15 billion for hospitals and health services, a new hospital in Bendigo, major upgrades at Ballarat and Geelong, building the new Box Hill Hospital, the new Victorian Comprehensive Cancer Centre and Monash Children's Hospital, and

⁹⁴ Liberal Victoria (2014) *Melbourne Rail Link*, Liberal Victoria policy document, Election 2014.

The Melbourne Rail Link was the Coalition's alternative to the previously bi-partisan policy to build the Melbourne Metro, see: J. Dowling & R. Willingham (2014) 'State Government 'strongly backed' first Melbourne Metro line', *The Age*, 17 May.

⁹⁵ Liberal Victoria (2014) *Cranbourne-Pakenham Rail Corridor Upgrade*, Liberal Victoria policy document, Election 2014.

⁹⁶ Liberal Victoria (2014) *Our \$3.9 Billion Plan for a rail state*, Liberal Victoria policy document, Election 2014.

⁹⁷ Liberal Victoria (2014) *Regional Cities Infrastructure Fund*, Liberal Victoria policy document, Election 2014.

⁹⁸ Liberal Victoria (2014) *79 Extra Long Distance V/Line Train Trips Each Week*, Liberal Victoria policy document, Election 2014.

⁹⁹ Liberal Victoria (2014) *Building a Better Regional Victoria*, Liberal Victoria policy document, Election 2014.

¹⁰⁰ Liberal Victoria (2014) *Coalition Pledges Policy Initiatives to Benefit Victorian Families*, Liberal Victoria policy document, Election 2014.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*

¹⁰² Liberal Victoria (2014) *Building a Smarter Victoria*, Liberal Victoria policy document, Election 2014.

¹⁰³ Liberal Victoria (2014) *Coalition Invests \$75 Million to Give Young Victorians the Start they Need*, Liberal Victoria policy document, Election 2014.

building Australia's first dedicated Cardiac Hospital – Monash Heart – at the Monash Medical Centre.¹⁰⁴

4.2 The Labor Party

During the 2014 election campaign, Victorian Labor launched its policies through Daniel Andrews' Leader of the Opposition website. The Labor campaign ran on six main themes: 'skills and knowledge', 'jobs and growth', 'health and wellbeing', 'world class transport', 'a safe and just society', 'sustainable and liveable communities', and 'backing rural and regional Victoria'.¹⁰⁵

The official Labor campaign was launched on 26 October 2014 in Geelong.¹⁰⁶ Former premiers John Cain Jr, Joan Kirner, Steve Bracks and John Brumby were in attendance, with Federal Leader of the Opposition Bill Shorten delivering the opening speech.¹⁰⁷ Labor's campaign slogan was 'Victorian Labor Putting People First'.¹⁰⁸

The policy focus of the campaign launch was education, with Mr Andrews' speech marking the launch of the 'Education State' platform. Mr Andrews announced a number of education initiatives, including reinvigorating technical schools and the TAFE system, which were linked to a broader jobs and skills platform throughout the campaign.¹⁰⁹ In addition, Labor pledged to help create 100,000 full-time jobs through its 'Back to Work' plan, including 10,000 construction jobs as part of its 'Project 10,000' transport plan.¹¹⁰

The 'Back to Work' plan also included the introduction of the *Back to Work Act*, which would create a \$100 million fund to give payroll tax concessions to companies that hire unemployed youth, the long-term unemployed and re-trenched workers. The 'Back to work' plan additionally included the creation of a Jobs and Investment Panel to advise the Premier on employment expenditure, a Future Industries Fund, and a Regional Jobs Fund.¹¹¹

'Project 10,000' was the Labor alternative to building East West Link and it detailed initiatives such as: removing 50 level crossings across the metropolitan rail network; building Melbourne Metro Rail; building the West Gate Distributor to remove trucks from the West Gate Bridge; \$2 billion in funding for suburban and regional roads; and upgrading strategic roads such as the Tullamarine Freeway and Hoddle Street.¹¹² A number of public transport initiatives were

¹⁰⁴ Liberal Victoria (2014) *Our Plan for 21st Century Hospitals and Schools*, Liberal Victoria policy document, Election 2014.

¹⁰⁵ Victorian Labor (2014) *Labor's Financial Statement 2014*, prepared by Moore Stephens Accounts & Advisors for Victorian Labor, Melbourne, 28 November, p. 6.

¹⁰⁶ D. Andrews (2014) *Daniel Andrews: Campaign Launch Speech*, media release, 26 October.

¹⁰⁷ R. Willingham (2014) 'Victorian Labor Party state election campaign launch: Daniel Andrews' pitch to parents', *The Age*, 26 October.

¹⁰⁸ See, for example: Victorian Labor (2014) *Labor's Financial Statement 2014*, op. cit., p. 1.

¹⁰⁹ Andrews (2014) *Campaign Launch Speech*, op. cit. See also: D. Andrews (2014) *The Education State*, Victorian Labor, 1 November; D. Andrews (2014) *Back to School: Skills for our Future. Support for our Kids*, Melbourne, Victorian Labor, 2 November; D. Andrews (2014) *Labor Will Bring Back Tech Schools*, media release, 27 October; D. Andrews (2014) *Labor's \$100 million Plan to Re-Build and Re-Open TAFE Campuses*, media release, 16 November.

¹¹⁰ D. Andrews (2014) *Back to Work: Labor's Plan for 100,000 Jobs*, Melbourne, Victorian Labor, 2 November.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, pp. 3-7.

¹¹² D. Andrews (2014) *Project 10,000: Trains, Roads, Jobs*, Melbourne, Victorian Labor, 2 November. See also: D. Andrews (2014) *Only Labor Will Remove 50 Level Crossings*, media release, 20 November; D. Andrews (2014) *More Victorian Trains, More Victorian Jobs Under Labor*, media release, 29 October; D. Andrews (2014) *\$1 Billion for Country Roads*, media release, 27 August; D. Andrews (2014) *\$1 Billion for Suburban Roads*, media release, 27 August; D. Andrews (2014) *Only Labor Will Build the West Gate*

announced including: \$100 million to improve bus services in growth areas;¹¹³ implementing an extra 22 train services between Geelong and Melbourne per day;¹¹⁴ extending the South Morang line to Mernda;¹¹⁵ opening Flagstaff station on the weekends;¹¹⁶ building the Huntingdale bus interchange at the Monash University Clayton campus;¹¹⁷ and 24-hour public transport on Fridays and Saturdays through the *Homesafe* program.¹¹⁸

In regard to health, Labor's primary policy was to address the paramedics pay dispute and improve ambulance services. It pledged to remove the board of Ambulance Victoria, fund new ambulance infrastructure, and reduce ambulance response times.¹¹⁹ Hospital investments were also announced including: an expansion of Casey Hospital;¹²⁰ investment in medical technology through the Aikenhead Centre for Medical Discovery at St Vincent's Hospital;¹²¹ and building the Western Women's and Children's Hospital in Sunshine.¹²²

Labor's platform also encompassed rural and regional policy initiatives, in particular, 'Back on Track' plans were announced for Geelong, Bendigo, Ballarat, the Latrobe Valley, and Regional Victoria, as well as the establishment of a \$500 million Regional Jobs and Investment Fund.¹²³

As part of its 'Our Environment, Our Future plan', Labor said it would support wind farms through a New Energy Jobs Fund,¹²⁴ undertake a State of the Bay report every five years, introduce a Yarra River Protection Act, and reintroduce the ban on cattle grazing in the Alpine and River Red Gum National Parks.¹²⁵ Labor prepared its election commitments financial statement independently of Treasury, and released it on 28 November 2014.¹²⁶

4.3 The Greens

The Greens presented a comprehensive policy platform that addressed health, justice, the economy, education, the environment and other major areas of state governance.¹²⁷ Key election campaign policies included: the rejection of the East West Link in favour of easing congestion through improved public transport; action on climate change through increasing the use of renewable energies; health and education initiatives; and measures to increase political integrity.

Distributor, media release, 7 August; D. Andrews (2014) *Only Labor Will Build Melbourne Metro Rail*, media release, 7 August.

¹¹³ J. Hennessy (2014) *Labor's \$100 million Bus Boost to Fill the Gaps in Growth Areas*, media release, 20 November.

¹¹⁴ D. Andrews (2014) *Geelong-Melbourne Trains Every 20 Minutes under Labor*, media release, 14 August.

¹¹⁵ D. Andrews (2014) *Only Labor Will Extend the Rail Line to Mernda*, media release, 25 September.

¹¹⁶ D. Andrews (2014) *Only Labor Will Reopen Flagstaff Station on Weekends*, media release, 22 September.

¹¹⁷ D. Andrews (2014) *Labor to Build Huntingdale Bus Interchange*, media release, 8 September.

¹¹⁸ D. Andrews (2014) *Homesafe: 24-Hour Public Transport*, media release, 1 November.

¹¹⁹ D. Andrews (2014) *Ending the Ambulance Crisis*, Melbourne, Victorian Labor, 24 November.

¹²⁰ D. Andrews (2014) *Labor Announces Major Expansion of Casey Hospital*, media release, 11 November.

¹²¹ D. Andrews (2014) *New Jobs, Better Lives: Victoria to Lead the World*, media release, 3 November.

¹²² D. Andrews (2014) *Labor to Build Women's and Children's Hospital for the West*, media release, 13 November.

¹²³ See: D. Andrews (2014) *Back on Track: Labor's Plan for Geelong*, Melbourne, Victorian Labor, 27 November; D. Andrews (2014) *Back on Track: Labor's Plan for Ballarat*, Melbourne, Victorian Labor, 25 November; D. Andrews (2014) *Back on Track: Labor's Plan for the Latrobe Valley*, Melbourne, Victorian Labor, 18 November; D. Andrews (2014) *Back on Track: Labor's Plan for Regional Victoria*, Melbourne, Victorian Labor, 17 November.

¹²⁴ D. Andrews (2014) *Labor Will Save Wind Industry and Create Local Jobs*, media release, 13 November.

¹²⁵ D. Andrews (2014) *Our Environment, Our Future*, Melbourne, Victorian Labor, 25 November.

¹²⁶ Victorian Labor (2014) *Labor's Financial Statement 2014*, op. cit.

¹²⁷ See: Victorian Greens (2014) 'Key Issues', Victorian Greens policy documents webpage, Election 2014.

The Greens launched their official election campaign on 15 November 2014 in Melbourne's Flinders Lane. The Greens election campaign slogan was 'For a plan you can trust'.¹²⁸ At the campaign launch, the then National leader of the Greens, Christine Milne, said the party was focussed on re-engaging voters through a door knocking campaign, which would work 'door by door, meeting by meeting, person by person, conversation by conversation'. She emphasised that having Greens in Parliament helped to hold governments to account and aid transparency.¹²⁹ The Greens contrasted their campaign message that 'You can trust us to tackle the big issues in smart, sustainable ways', with a perceived lack of action by the major parties on issues such as public transport, renewable energy and the environment.¹³⁰

A key plank of the Greens policy platform was that the \$18 billion projected to be spent on (both sections of) the East West Link, would be better invested in improving the public transport system.¹³¹ Victorian Greens leader Greg Barber stated that building more roads has been shown not to cure traffic congestion, whereas public transport helps to take people off the road and enhance the liveability of the city.¹³² Specific public transport policies included initiatives to:

- increase investment in Melbourne's train network immediately and run more trains at busy times¹³³
- fast-track investment in new signalling to increase capacity and efficiency of the train system, by investing \$300-\$400 million in the next four years¹³⁴
- purchase 50 additional E-class trams (which would further secure 500 Dandenong manufacturing jobs) at an estimated cost of \$350 million¹³⁵
- extend existing tram routes to areas that do not have connected public transport, by investing up to \$840 million in 17 low-cost tram extensions¹³⁶
- improve V/Line bus services by increasing the operational budget of V/Line buses by 50 per cent at an estimated cost of \$16 million a year¹³⁷
- re-open the Geelong to Bendigo train service via Ballarat and Maryborough¹³⁸

¹²⁸ A. Schetzer (2014) 'Greens launch election campaign by taking swipes at ALP', *The Age*, 15 November; A. Worrall (2014) 'Greens campaigning hard on East West Link in Melbourne inner-city seats', *The Age*, 18 October.

¹²⁹ ABC News (2014) 'Victorian election 2014: Greens want to "re-engage" voters as it launches campaign', ABC News website, 15 November.

¹³⁰ Victorian Greens (2014) 'Home: Issues', Victorian Greens website; Schetzer (2014) 'Greens launch election campaign by taking swipes at ALP', op. cit.; ABC News (2014) 'Victorian election 2014: Greens want to "re-engage" voters as it launches campaign', op. cit.

¹³¹ Victorian Greens (2014) *Beat the Crush: The Greens' plan to cut overcrowding on our trams*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2014; G. Barber (2014) 'East West toll road – All roads lead to congestion', Victorian Greens website, 24 June; Victorian Greens (2014) *Greens Vow to Stand with Community to Stop East West Tollway*, media release, 30 June; L. Keen (2013) 'Traffic figures kept secret', *Australian Financial Review*, 14 May.

¹³² Barber (2014) 'East West toll road – All roads lead to congestion', op. cit.; Victorian Greens (2014) 'Greens vow to stand with community to stop East West tollway', op. cit.

¹³³ Victorian Greens (2014) *We Won't Stand for It: The Greens' plan to reduce overcrowding on our trains*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2014.

¹³⁴ *ibid.*

¹³⁵ Victorian Greens (2014) *Beat the Crush*, op. cit.

¹³⁶ Victorian Greens (2014) *Connecting Melbourne's Trams: The Greens' plan for tram route extensions*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2014.

¹³⁷ Victorian Greens (2014) *Better Connections for Regional Victoria: The Greens' plan for 50% more V/Line bus services*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2014.

¹³⁸ Victorian Greens (2014) *Geelong to Bendigo Train Service: The Greens' plan to revive the Goldfields rail line*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2014.

- remove trucks carrying Port of Melbourne freight from residential streets by building West Gate truck bypass ramps, extending truck curfew times, and increasing investment in freight rail infrastructure¹³⁹
- provide \$50 million per annum in capital grants to develop regional bike riding and walking infrastructure for tourists¹⁴⁰
- install secure bicycle parking at 40 train stations across Melbourne.¹⁴¹

Another key plank of the Greens policy platform was their support of renewable energy sources such as wind and solar power. The Greens stated that the Coalition government had ‘blocked’ the renewable energy industry in Victoria, which had cost jobs and pushed investment in renewables to other states.¹⁴² Greens policy included the reinstatement of the Victorian renewable energy target, and a transition away from coal-fired power stations.¹⁴³ They stated that ‘Clean energy is not a threat but an employment opportunity for places like Anglesea and the LaTrobe Valley’.¹⁴⁴ The Greens also announced that they supported a permanent ban on new coal mining, onshore gas drilling and fracking, in order to protect agricultural land and water supplies from contamination.¹⁴⁵

In regard to health, some key Greens policies encompassed the construction of a new Women’s and Children’s centre at Sunshine Hospital; increasing funding to mental health community support services; and increasing funding for preventative health measures with a view to lessening the economic burden on the Victorian health system.¹⁴⁶ The Greens also pledged their support for public education and restoration of funding to the Victorian TAFE system.¹⁴⁷

The Greens election policies also included initiatives to support Victorian political integrity, such as: extending freedom of information laws; increasing the powers of the Independent Broad-based Anti-Corruption Commission; and providing the Victorian Auditor-General with the power to access and scrutinise taxpayer-funded project records.¹⁴⁸

¹³⁹ Victorian Greens (2014) *Trucks and our Health: The Greens’ plan to get container trucks off local streets and freight on to rail*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2014.

¹⁴⁰ Victorian Greens (2014) *Geelong and South West Coast: The Greens’ plan for cycling and walking tourism*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2014.

¹⁴¹ Victorian Greens (2014) *Secure Bicycle Parking at Melbourne’s Train Stations: A smart solution for everyone*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2014.

¹⁴² Victorian Greens (2014) *Victorian Renewable Energy Target: Victoria can lead the way to a clean energy future*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2014.

¹⁴³ *ibid.*; Victorian Greens (2014) *A New Victorian Economy: Cleaning up our energy system*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2014.

¹⁴⁴ Victorian Greens (2014) *A New Victorian Economy: Cleaning up our energy system*, *op. cit.*

¹⁴⁵ Victorian Greens (2014) *Coal Mining and Gas Drilling: A permanent ban on fracking, onshore gas and new coal mines*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2014.

¹⁴⁶ Victorian Greens (2014) *Better Hospital Care for Families*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2014; Victorian Greens (2014) *Close the Gap in Mental Health*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2014; Victorian Greens (2014) *Keeping People Healthy and Out of Hospital*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2014.

¹⁴⁷ Victorian Greens (2014) *We’re Standing Up for TAFE*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2014.

¹⁴⁸ Victorian Greens (2014) *Clear Access to Information*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2014; Victorian Greens (2014) *Tackling Political Corruption*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2014; Victorian Greens (2014) *Access to Taxpayer-Funded Project Records*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2014.

4.4 Shooters and Fishers Party

The Shooters and Fishers Party of Victoria slogan for the state election was ‘Protect your freedoms & the future of outdoor sports’.¹⁴⁹ The party’s policy platform centred on improving ‘access to all public lands and waters in Victoria to enable all citizens to pursue and enjoy their cultural, outdoor, sporting and recreational interests’.¹⁵⁰ It emphasised the importance of activities such as hunting, fishing, four-wheel driving, horse riding and fossicking, to regional economies.¹⁵¹

Specific policies put forward by the Shooters and Fishers Party in regard to firearms included: the abolition of the Victorian long-arm (a category of firearm) registry; the removal of the 1996 uniform National Firearms Agreement (created following the Port Arthur massacre); and opposition to federal firearm laws in general.¹⁵² They also stated their commitment to protecting deer, duck and quail hunting in legislation.¹⁵³ In regard to recreational fishing, the party stated its commitment to keeping waterways open for fishing and upgrading facilities for recreational fishers.¹⁵⁴

The Shooters and Fishers Party also pledged its support for ‘truth in sentencing and mandatory minimum sentencing subject to adequate parole rules and policing’, and non-negotiable additional sentences for indictable offences involving a firearm. They also stated that ‘for custodial sentences there should be no concurrent sentencing options available’.¹⁵⁵

The Shooters and Fishers Party policies also included supporting Local Government and the constitutional recognition of Local Government. The party stated that local councils are large employers in regional communities and ‘play a vital role in delivering a broad range of services’. They stated that they opposed forced amalgamations of councils and the outsourcing of services.¹⁵⁶ The party also stated its support for: trade unions and collective bargaining; an increase in apprenticeships and traineeships; the continuation of forestry; and its opposition to the misuse of 457 visas.¹⁵⁷

4.5 Australian Sex Party

The Australian Sex Party launched its Victorian election campaign at the Melbourne city bar ‘Madame Brussels’ on 12 November 2014.¹⁵⁸ The Sex Party policy platform centred on civil liberties. Party slogans included ‘Your Life, Your Choice! Protecting the civil liberties of all Victorians’ and ‘Take a new position’. The party described itself as ‘a libertarian, political response to the needs of Australians in the 21st century’.¹⁵⁹

It was reported that Sex Party leader Fiona Patten, said that social media has made it much easier for small parties to broadcast their message, and that the party ‘ran an intense campaign on social

¹⁴⁹ Shooters and Fishers Party of Victoria (2015) [Shooters and Fishers Party of Victoria Facebook page](#).

¹⁵⁰ Shooters and Fishers Party of Victoria (2014) [Policies for the 2014 Victorian State Election](#), Shooters and Fishers Party of Victoria policy document, Election 2014, p. 2.

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

¹⁵² *ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁵⁸ T. Wright (2014) ‘[Sex Party bash at bawdy house. Naturally](#)’, *The Age*, 13 November.

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*; ASP – Victoria (2014) ‘[About Australian Sex Party – Victoria](#)’, ASP – Victoria Facebook page.

media, taking in Facebook, YouTube and Twitter’, which acknowledged that ‘their potential supporters were not watching free-to-air television’.¹⁶⁰

Key policies put forward by the Sex Party during the election campaign included support for ‘voluntary assisted dying’, which it defined as ‘the process whereby an individual chooses to engage the assistance of an appropriately qualified person to end their life’.¹⁶¹ The policy document stated that: ‘The Australian Sex Party believes in the rights of individuals being able to make informed decisions about the way they die and support an individual’s right to a dignified death’.¹⁶² Ms Patten was reported as saying that ‘the first thing she wants to do if elected is call for the Victorian Law Reform Commission to investigate voluntary assisted dying laws’.¹⁶³

The Sex Party also campaigned on ‘equality and reproductive rights’.¹⁶⁴ The party pledged support for: same-sex marriage; abortion to remain legal in Victoria; the introduction of 100 metre buffer zones around fertility clinics for protesters; and ‘equality in adoption rights, surrogacy and access to IVF services, regardless of gender identity or relationship status’.¹⁶⁵

The Sex Party policies in regard to sex work, included: the full decriminalisation of sex work; the amendment of the *Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities Act 2006* to protect sex workers from discrimination; reform of regulations pertaining to sex work; and the establishment of an advocacy organisation to protect the rights and interests of sex workers.¹⁶⁶

Drug law reform was another major policy concern of the Sex Party. Proposed reforms included: the removal of all criminal and civil sanctions for the use or cultivation of cannabis for people over 18; the regulation and taxation of the supply of cannabis in Victoria; support for the use of medicinal cannabis; and the decriminalisation of all drugs for personal use accompanied by the implementation of appropriate harm reduction mechanisms (such as clean needles for injecting drug users and support for health and community workers).¹⁶⁷

4.6 Democratic Labour Party

The DLP launched their Victorian election campaign on 18 October 2014 in the inner-northern Melbourne suburb of Brunswick East.¹⁶⁸ DLP campaign slogans included: ‘Giving a voice to all Victorians’; ‘Be heard, make a difference’; and ‘Putting You back into Labour’.¹⁶⁹

The main policies put forward by the DLP included opposing abortion and euthanasia. DLP campaign documents emphasised the party’s opposition to abortion and their policy to introduce a private member’s bill to repeal section 8 of Victoria’s *Abortion Law Reform Act 2008* (which provides that if a woman requests a registered health practitioner to advise on or perform an

¹⁶⁰ S. Patten (2014) ‘Alternative voice of experience’, *Australian Financial Review*, 27 December.

¹⁶¹ See: ASP – Victoria (2014) *Voluntary Assisted Dying Policy*, ASP – Victoria policy document, Election 2014.

¹⁶² *ibid.*

¹⁶³ D. Moss (2014) ‘From marijuana to firearms, micro-parties have a big part to play in Victoria’, *Crikey*, 1 December.

¹⁶⁴ ASP – Victoria (2014) *Equality & Reproductive Rights Policy*, ASP policy document, Election 2014.

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ ASP – Victoria (2014) *Sex Work Policy*, ASP – Victoria policy document, Election 2014.

¹⁶⁷ ASP – Victoria (2014) *Drug Law Reform Policy*, ASP – Victoria policy document, Election 2014.

¹⁶⁸ Democratic Labour Party (2014) ‘2014 Victorian state election campaign launch’, DLP Facebook page.

¹⁶⁹ DLP (2014) *DLP Campaign Leaflets*, DLP Facebook page, Election 2014; DLP (2014) ‘Home’, DLP website.

abortion, and that practitioner has a conscientious objection to abortion, then they must refer the woman to another practitioner who does not have a conscientious objection).¹⁷⁰

The DLP also pledged to expand palliative care services. The party emphasised their opposition to the enactment of euthanasia legislation and stated that it is ‘completely unnecessary in light of advances within medicine and alternative medicine for effective pain relief, and the development of modern methods of palliative care’.¹⁷¹

Reform of poker machine laws was put forward as a key DLP policy. The policy stated that tens of millions of dollars are lost by Victorians each year through gambling and it disproportionately affects people who are financially vulnerable.¹⁷² The DLP said that ‘limiting the maximum bet on poker machines to \$1 (down from \$5 at present), and limiting losses to a maximum of \$120 per hour, will reduce problem gambling. This solution targets problem gamblers only, and would have little to no impact on recreational gamblers.’¹⁷³

The DLP election campaign also featured a policy to establish a state-owned bank called the ‘State Development Bank’ to help ‘build a strong self-sustaining Victorian economy’. The policy document said that the State Development Bank would ‘use its funds to finance public and private enterprises, mostly for infrastructure and long-term investment, but also for regional development and capital for small and medium enterprises.’¹⁷⁴

4.7 Vote 1 Local Jobs

Vote 1 Local Jobs is a new political party with policies that centre on enhancing job security in regional Victoria, particularly in Western Victoria. The party was officially registered ‘a few weeks before the November election’.¹⁷⁵ Its slogan was ‘Working for Western Victoria’.¹⁷⁶

The Vote 1 Local Jobs election platform included an ‘eight-point jobs plan’ with the aim of creating ongoing employment for residents of Western Victoria.¹⁷⁷ The plan proposed the removal of payroll tax obligations from country businesses to provide an incentive for businesses to be located outside of Melbourne. The party stated that this would be financed through a one per cent increase in metropolitan payroll tax.¹⁷⁸

Vote 1 Local Jobs policies also included: ensuring the commitment of local and state governments to buying locally produced products; the relocation of a further five per cent of government departments to regional areas; and lowering the driving age to 17 for apprentices and workers during working hours.¹⁷⁹

The party additionally proposed that regional education be improved by increasing funding to universities, TAFEs and technical colleges, and by establishing online training in small towns to

¹⁷⁰ DLP (2014) *Amend Victorian Abortion Laws, Starting with Section 8!*, DLP policy document, Election 2014; See section 8 of the *Abortion Law Reform Act 2008 (Vic)*.

¹⁷¹ DLP (2014) *Expand Palliative Care Services*, DLP policy document, Election 2014.

¹⁷² DLP (2014) *DLP Vows to Reform Poker Machine Laws*, DLP policy document, Election 2014.

¹⁷³ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ DLP (2014) *A State Development Bank will Provide Much Needed Long-term Funding*, DLP policy document, Election 2014.

¹⁷⁵ J. Purcell (2015) ‘Governor’s Speech’, *Debates*, Victoria, Legislative Council, 10 February, p. 89.

¹⁷⁶ Vote 1 Local Jobs (2014) ‘Home’, Vote 1 Local Jobs website.

¹⁷⁷ Vote 1 Local Jobs (2014) *Our 8 Point Jobs Plan*, Vote 1 Local Jobs policy document, Election 2014.

¹⁷⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ *ibid.*

overcome distances.¹⁸⁰ They also proposed ‘overhauling the childcare system to support working parents’ through the reduction of red tape to reduce the cost of childcare, training to encourage in-home childcare, and greater flexibility in childcare hours.¹⁸¹

In regard to transport, the party proposed ‘investing the \$50 million currently spent annually on the Grand Prix into Western Victoria roads and rail’ to improve the transport infrastructure and encourage business activity in the region.¹⁸²

Vote 1 Local Jobs also emphasised the protection of agricultural land as a key policy, and stated its opposition to coal seam gas development, free trade agreements and foreign ownership of farmland.¹⁸³

4.8 Independent – Suzanna Sheed

Suzanna Sheed announced her candidacy as an Independent for the electoral district of Shepparton on 30 October 2014.¹⁸⁴ The *Shepparton News* reported that Ms Sheed ‘wanted to address issues she believed had been overlooked in the electorate because of Shepparton being considered a safe seat’.¹⁸⁵ Her campaign slogan was ‘Stand up Shepparton – It’s our turn’.¹⁸⁶ It was also reported that Ms Sheed’s campaign was based on ‘having conversations about what we were trying to achieve’; making ‘the best use of finite resources’ through small gatherings with community leaders; and supporters using social media to ‘spread the word’.¹⁸⁷

Ms Sheed’s policy platform for the election was based on advocacy for the Shepparton region. Her campaign focussed on the need to address disadvantage and the high level of youth unemployment in the region, which she stated was symptomatic of underinvestment in local services and infrastructure.¹⁸⁸

Key policies included the establishment of a strategic and consultative review of Shepparton’s current education model, with a view to improving education facilities and outcomes in the region.¹⁸⁹ Ms Sheed also pledged that she would campaign for increased funding for Shepparton’s hospital, Goulburn Valley Health.¹⁹⁰

In regard to transport, Ms Sheed’s policies included seeking a full commitment from local, state and federal governments to the roll out of the Goulburn Valley Bypass project; and the upgrading of rail connections to Shepparton so that the network would be capable of running VLocity trains and ‘providing connectivity to fast, reliable and frequent services through to Melbourne’.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁸¹ *ibid.*

¹⁸² *ibid.*

¹⁸³ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ E. Cooney (2014) ‘[Sheed’s standing: Family lawyer running as independent for seat of Shepparton](#)’, *Shepparton News*, 31 October.

¹⁸⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ D. Linton (2014) ‘[Sheed taps into frustration](#)’, *Shepparton News*, 1 December.

¹⁸⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ S. Sheed (2014) ‘About: My Policies’, Suzanna Sheed policy document, Election 2014.

¹⁸⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁹¹ *ibid.*

5. News coverage and the polls

5.1 Editorials

Newspaper editorials including those published in *The Age*, *The Australian*, the *Australian Financial Review (AFR)* and the *Herald Sun* almost uniformly supported the return of the Coalition government to power. The exception was a *Sunday Age* editorial the week before the election which gave qualified support to Labor. It stated, 'With little enthusiasm, and much reservation, the *Sunday Age* believes Labor is better able to lead Victoria'.¹⁹² For more information on the newspaper editorials, see the Campaign Snapshot later in the paper.

5.2 Alternative news

New notable sources of commentary on the 2014 election included *The Conversation* and *Unipollwatch*. *The Conversation* was established in March 2011 to provide academic commentary on news items. This gave academics the ability to publish peer-reviewed news analysis on issues of relevance to the election during the campaign.¹⁹³ Further, *Unipollwatch* was established to coordinate reporting on the 2014 state election, with students from La Trobe, Melbourne, RMIT and Swinburne universities collaborating to report on local electorate issues, because 'State elections don't tend to get as much coverage as federal elections ... yet, vitally important matters are determined by state governments'.¹⁹⁴ The *Guardian Australia* also gave considerable attention to the election through the commentary of Gay Alcorn.¹⁹⁵

5.3 Opinion polls

Opinion polls conducted throughout 2014 indicated a likely Labor Party victory. The final polls of four of the five major polling groups closely mirrored the election result. These final polls were all conducted in the days leading up to the election, largely by telephone (landlines and mobiles), and each of these polls had a sample size over 1000.

Table 5.3a: Two-party preferred as predicted by major polling groups

Polling organisation	Labor	Liberal/Nationals Coalition
Newspoll, <i>The Australian</i> ¹⁹⁶	52	48
Fairfax Ipsos poll ¹⁹⁷	52	48
SMS Morgan Poll (Roy Morgan) ¹⁹⁸	50	50
Galaxy, <i>Herald Sun</i> ¹⁹⁹	52	48
Seven News/ReachTEL ²⁰⁰	52	48
2014 Election Result	51.99	48.01

¹⁹² Editorial (2014) 'Change is needed after tawdry years', *The Sunday Age*, 23 November, p. 28.

¹⁹³ See: The Conversation (2014) 'Victorian election 2014', *The Conversation*.

¹⁹⁴ Unipollwatch (2014) 'About Unipollwatch', Unipollwatch website.

¹⁹⁵ G. Alcorn (2014) 'Victorian election 2014', the *Guardian Australia* website.

¹⁹⁶ Poll conducted: 24-27 November. Sample size: 1584. See Ferguson (2014) 'Labor on brink of victory: Newspoll', op. cit.

¹⁹⁷ Poll conducted: 25-27 November. Sample size: 1236. Ipsos Australia (2014) 'Victoria's Coalition narrows the lead but Labor set to win the Election', 29 November; J. Gordon (2014) 'Victorian Election 2014: Result likely to come down to the wire', *The Age*, 28 November.

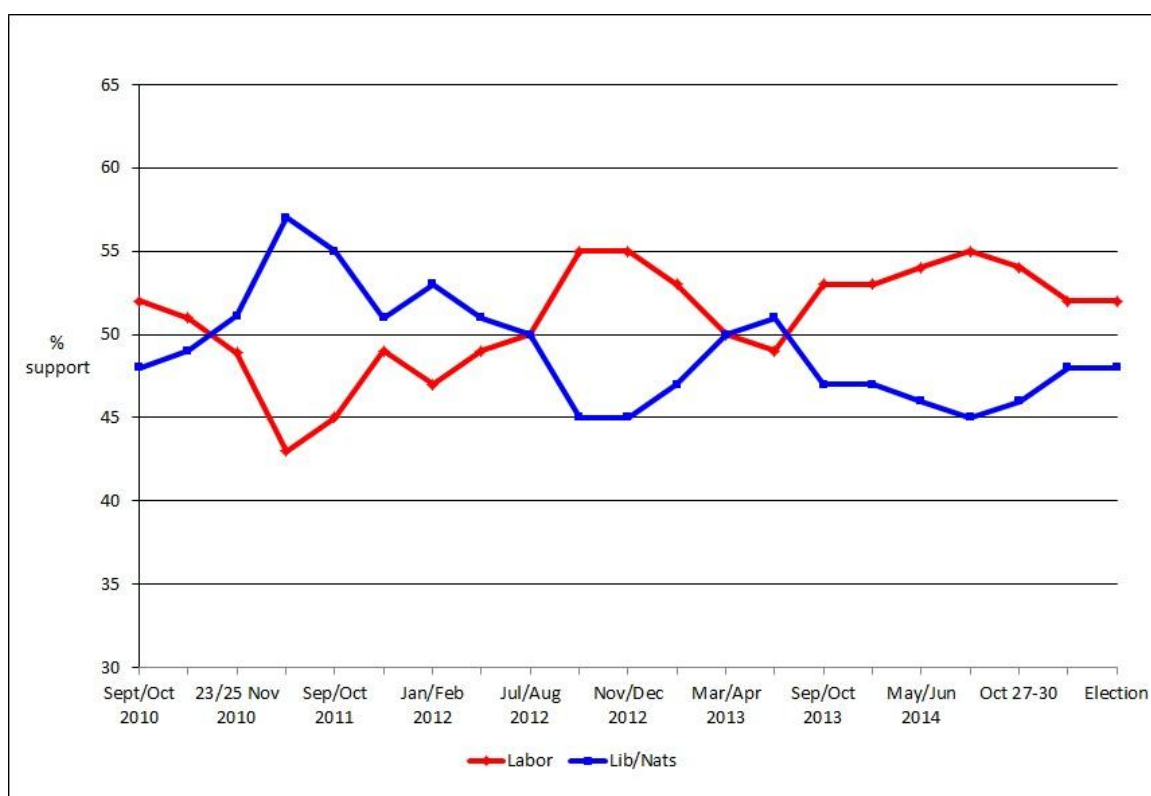
¹⁹⁸ Poll conducted: 26-27 November. Sample size: 1163. See Roy Morgan Research (2014) 'ALP favoured to win Victorian Election but late surge to Liberals continues. A close election will be decided on minor party Preferences', Roy Morgan Research, Finding No. 5959, 27 November.

¹⁹⁹ Poll conducted: 25-26 November. Sample size: 1090. Galaxy Research (2014) 'Labor hold comfortable lead in Victoria', Galaxy website; Galaxy Research (2014) 'Who will you vote for?', Galaxy website.

²⁰⁰ Poll conducted: 27 November. Sample size: 2155. ReachTEL (2014) '7 News – Victorian poll – 27 November 2014', ReachTEL website, 28 November.

Graph 5.3a shows the trend in the two-party preferred vote in Newspoll from before the 2010 election through to the 2014 election. Unlike in 2010 when Newspoll showed Labor suffering a late swing immediately before the 2010 election, in 2014 Newspoll had Labor maintaining a strong position in two-party preferred terms throughout the election year.

Graph 5.3a: Two-party preferred vote, Newspoll 2010-2014



The following table, Table 5.3b, shows primary voting intentions as predicted by four polls taken in the final days before the election.

Table 5.3b: Primary voting intentions as predicted by major polling organisations

Polling organisation	Labor	Liberal/Nationals Coalition	Greens	Other
Newspoll/ <i>The Australian</i> ²⁰¹	39	40	12	9
Fairfax Ipsos poll ²⁰²	35	42	15	8
Roy Morgan SMS Poll ²⁰³	36	44	13.5	6.5 ²⁰⁴
Galaxy, <i>Herald Sun</i> ²⁰⁵	39	40 (34 LP + 6 Nat)	13	8
Seven News/ReachTEL ²⁰⁶	38.3	39.7 (34.5 LP + 5.2 Nat)	13.5	8.5
2014 election result	38.10	41.99 (36.46 LP + 5.53 Nat)	11.48	8.42

²⁰¹ Ferguson (2014) 'Labor on brink of victory: Newspoll', op. cit.

²⁰² Ipsos Australia (2014) 'Victoria's Coalition narrows the lead', op. cit.

²⁰³ Roy Morgan Research (2014) 'ALP favoured to win Victorian Election', op. cit.

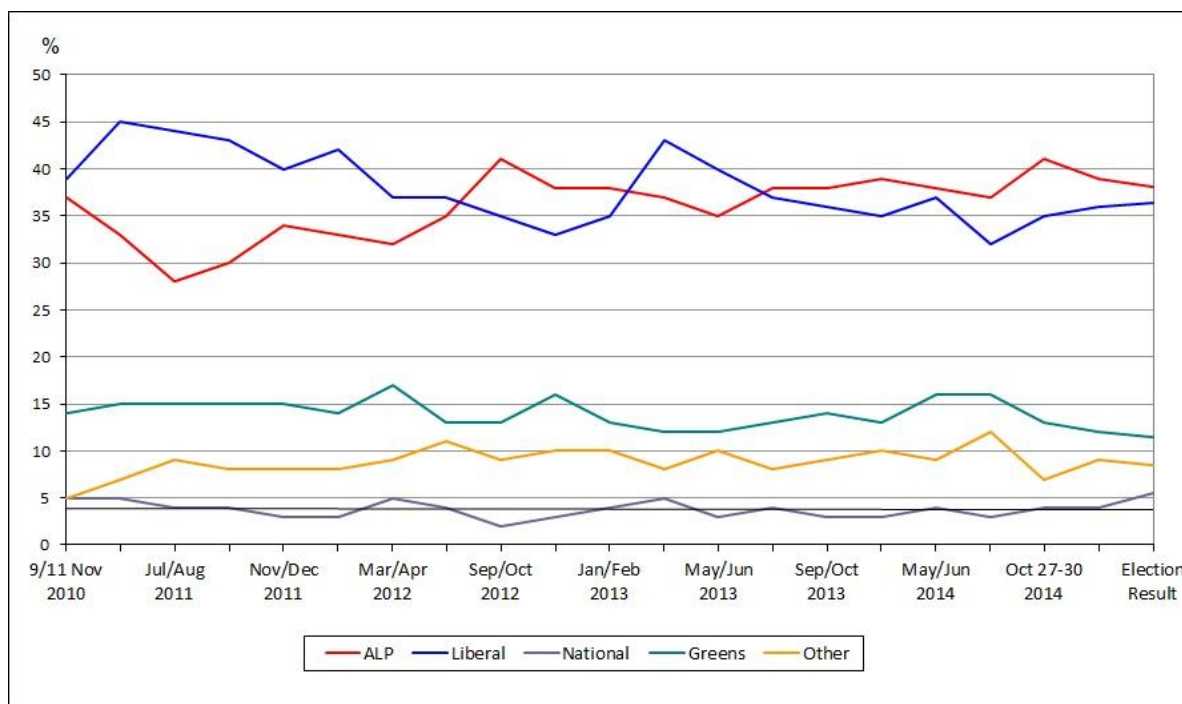
²⁰⁴ The SMS Morgan Poll split 'Other' into the following categories: Family First (1.5 per cent), Australian Sex Party (0.5 per cent), Country Alliance (0.5 per cent) and Independent/Others (4.0 per cent). Roy Morgan Research (2014) 'ALP favoured to win Victorian Election', op. cit.

²⁰⁵ Galaxy Research (2014) 'Labor hold comfortable lead in Victoria', op. cit.; Galaxy Research (2014) 'Who will you vote for?', op. cit.

²⁰⁶ ReachTEL (2014) '7 News – Victorian poll – 27 November 2014', op. cit.

Graph 5.3b, below, shows trends in primary voting intentions as predicted by Newspoll.

Graph 5.3b: Primary voting intentions, Newspoll



The following table, Table 5.3c, shows ‘Preferred Premier’ ratings as indicated by major polling groups, illustrating that in all the final polls, Dr Napthine remained in the lead.

Table 5.3c: Preferred Premier as indicated by major polling organisations

Polling organisation	Mr Napthine	Mr Andrews	Uncommitted
Newspoll, <i>The Australian</i> ²⁰⁷	41	37	22
Fairfax Ipsos poll ²⁰⁸	44	42	- *
SMS Roy Morgan Poll ²⁰⁹	50.5	49.5	- *
Galaxy, <i>Herald Sun</i> ²¹⁰	41	38	21
Seven News/ReachTEL ²¹¹	52	48	- *

* Roy Morgan and ReachTEL excluded ‘uncommitted’ responses from their poll. Fairfax Ipsos did not specifically mention the number of ‘uncommitted’.

Table 5.3d show the trends in ‘Preferred Premier’ from Newspoll. While Dr Napthine’s ‘Preferred Premier’ ratings remained relatively consistent throughout the election year, Mr Andrews’ ‘Preferred Premier’ rating improved as the rate of those who were uncommitted declined.

²⁰⁷ Ferguson (2014) ‘Labor on brink of victory: Newspoll’, op. cit.

²⁰⁸ Ipsos Australia (2014) ‘Victoria’s Coalition narrows the lead’, op. cit.; Gordon (2014) ‘Victorian Election 2014: Result likely to come down to the wire’, op. cit.

²⁰⁹ Roy Morgan Research (2014) ‘ALP favoured to win Victorian Elections’, op. cit.

²¹⁰ Galaxy Research (2014) ‘Labor hold comfortable lead in Victoria’, op. cit.; Galaxy Research (2014) ‘Who will you vote for?’, op. cit.

²¹¹ ReachTEL (2014) ‘7 News – Victorian poll – 27 November 2014’, op. cit.

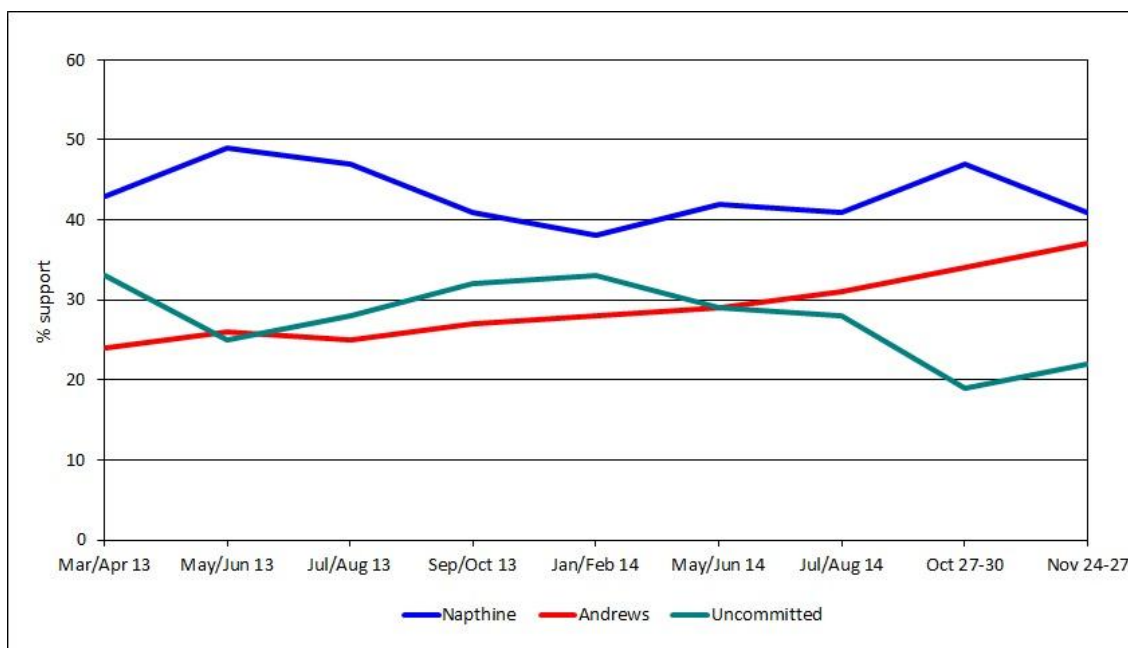
Table 5.3d: Newspoll results on 'Preferred Premier'²¹²

Poll date	Mr Napthine	Mr Andrews	Uncommitted
Sept-Oct 2013	41	27	32
Jan-Feb 2014	39	28	33
May-Jun 2014	42	29	29
Jul-Aug 2014	41	31	28
27-30 Oct 2014	47	34	19
24-27 Nov 2014	41	37	22

Source: Newspoll (2014) [Victorian Election Final Poll](#), 29 November, Newspoll website.

The following graph provides an illustrative version of the above data.

Graph 5.3c: Preferred Premier, Newspoll



In addition to Preferred Premier, Newspoll also asked questions to gauge the level of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with both the Premier and the Leader of the Opposition.²¹³ As the table below demonstrates, while the satisfaction rates for both leaders remained fairly stable, the dissatisfaction rate changed for each of the leaders by 9-12 per cent from the September-October 2013 poll to the 24-27 November 2014 poll.

Table 5.3e: Satisfaction and dissatisfaction with Premier/Leader of the Opposition (Newspoll)

	Mr Napthine		
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncommitted
Sep-Oct 2013	42	36	22
Jan-Feb 2014	43	35	22
May-Jun 2014	44	40	16
Jul-Aug 2014	40	43	17
27-30 Oct 2014	46	41	13

²¹² Question asked by Newspoll: Who do you think would make the better Premier?

²¹³ Voters were asked: are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Mr Denis Napthine/Mr Daniel Andrews is doing his job as Premier/Leader of Opposition?



24-27 Nov 2014	41	45	14
Mr Andrews			
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncommitted
Sep-Oct 2013	35	31	34
Jan-Feb 2014	32	33	35
May-Jun 2014	35	37	28
Jul-Aug 2014	32	41	27
27-30 Oct 2014	36	45	19
24-27 Nov 2014	38	43	19

Source: Newspoll (2014) [Victorian Election Final Poll](#), 29 November, Newspoll website.

Overall, the main polling groups achieved a high level of accuracy with four of the five final two-party preferred polls closely reflecting the actual election result. For further information on public opinion polling in Victoria, including an examination of the methodologies used by the main polling groups and a guide to interpreting public opinion polling results, see the Parliamentary Library's 2011 research paper [Public Opinion Polls](#).²¹⁴

²¹⁴ R. Macreadie (2011) '[Public opinion polls](#)', *Research Paper*, No. 3, Parliamentary Library, Melbourne, Parliament of Victoria. The Library also updates (by graph) Newspoll opinion polls, which are published in *The Australian* outside election periods (see the [Parliamentary Library Intranet Opinion Poll page](#)).

6. Campaign snapshot

	COALITION	LABOR	GREENS
Launch: Location	Ballarat	Geelong	Melbourne CBD
Launch: Theme	Stronger economy Helping families Creating jobs	Victorian Labor Putting People First	The Greens For a Plan You Can Trust
Leaders' Debate	38 votes for Napthine	39 votes for Andrews	N/A
Advertising Images			
Some Key Policies²¹⁵	<p>East West Link Project</p> <p>Melbourne Rail Link</p> <p>200,000 jobs over 5 years in 'Jobs Plan'</p> <p>'Supporting Families' package</p> <p>Investing in 21st Century Hospitals and Schools</p> <p>Maintaining the AAA Credit Rating</p>	<p>Scrap East West Link for Project 10,000 which removes 50 level crossings</p> <p>Build Melbourne Metro Rail</p> <p>100,00 jobs 'Back to Work' plan over two years</p> <p>TAFE Rescue Fund</p> <p>Back to School Plan</p> <p>Establish a Royal Commission into Domestic Violence</p>	<p>Rejects East West Link for Transport and Freight policy which prioritises public transport funding above road funding.²¹⁶</p> <p>Climate Change Policy</p> <p>Sustainable Agriculture Policy</p> <p>Disability Policy</p> <p>Land Use</p> <p>Planning Policy</p> <p>Biodiversity Policy</p>
Promises \$	\$12.4 billion ²¹⁷	\$10 billion	Not available as a total
Newspaper Editorials which Support:	<p>Coalition has the best policies for the state (<i>The Age</i>)</p> <p>Mediocre contest provides no imperative for change (<i>The Australian</i>)</p> <p>Labor not fit for return in Victoria (<i>AFR</i>)</p> <p>Dangerous time to change (<i>Herald Sun</i>)</p> <p>It's a matter of trust (<i>Herald Sun</i>)</p>	<p>Change is needed after tawdry years (<i>Sunday Age</i>)</p>	N/A

²¹⁵ Further discussion of key policies is provided under a section on each party.

²¹⁶ Worrall (2014) 'Greens campaigning hard on East West Link in Melbourne inner city seats', op. cit.

²¹⁷ A. Livingston (2014) 'Vic govt promises \$12b, ALP \$10b', *AAP Newswire*, 2 November.

PART C: THE RESULTS

7. Outcome in the Legislative Assembly

7.1 Summary of the election result

The 2014 election saw a change of government after only four years of the Baillieu/Napthine Liberal Nationals Coalition Government. Mr Andrews became Victoria's 48th Premier as a result of Labor winning a total of 47 seats in the Legislative Assembly.

Ostensibly, since the 2010 election, Labor had a net gain of four extra seats in the Legislative Assembly: Bentleigh, Carrum, Frankston and Mordialloc. The Coalition lost seven seats, from a total of 45 seats in 2010, down to a total of 38 seats in 2014.²¹⁸

The Greens had historic wins in the Legislative Assembly, winning two seats with 11.5 per cent of the state-wide primary vote. There was also a significant win by Independent Suzanna Sheed in the seat of Shepparton.

Table 7.1a: Overall Legislative Assembly result by party

Party	% share of first preference vote	Seats won
ALP	38.1	47
Liberal Party	36.5	30
The Nationals	5.5	8
Australian Greens	11.5	2
Others	8.4	1
Total	100	88

Source: State Election 2014 Results [Overall Lower House results](#) VEC website.

The Labor Party received 38.1 per cent of first preference votes, that is, 1,278,322 votes. The Coalition received 42.0 per cent of first preference votes, that is, a total combined 1,409,093 votes for the Liberal and National parties. The Greens received 11.5 per cent of first preference votes, that is, 385,190 votes.

Of the remainder, only the Australian Country Alliance (1.3 per cent) and Family First (1.1 per cent) received more than one per cent of first preference votes. But as more parties stand, the proportion of first preference votes received by the minor parties can be diluted among them. For example, when Family First stood for the first time in the 2006 Victorian election, it was up against eight other parties in the Lower House and won 4.3 per cent of the vote. In 2014 by comparison, there were 16 parties competing for seats in the Legislative Assembly.²¹⁹

7.2 The Labor Party

Labor won back the four marginal 'sand-belt' seats that it had lost in 2010: Frankston, Carrum, Bentleigh and Mordialloc. However, it also won the seats of Monbulk and Bellarine which, along with Ripon, had become notional Coalition seats as a result of the redivision of electoral boundaries.

²¹⁸ Seats that notionally changed via the redivision of boundaries, which were won by a different party will be discussed further under each party's section.

²¹⁹ VEC (2006) '[State election 2006 results](#)', VEC website.

As explained earlier in the section of this paper on the redivision of electoral boundaries, Wendouree and Yan Yean were also widely understood to have become notionally Liberal held seats.²²⁰ Analysis by the VEC however, has determined that they remained Labor held seats, on wafer-thin margins. They are therefore not being regarded here as Labor wins.

Table 7.2a: Seats gained by Labor at the 2014 election

District	2010 results Labor (%)	Estimated 2010 results on new boundaries Labor (%)	2014 results Labor (%)	Swing* 2010-2014 (%)	New Labor majority (%)
Bellarine [#]	51.4	48.1	54.8	6.7	4.8
Bentleigh	49.3	48.7	50.8	2.1	0.8
Carrum	48.0	49.8	50.7	0.9	0.7
Frankston	47.9	49.6	50.5	0.9	0.5
Monbulk [#]	51.9	49.0	55.0	6.0	5.0
Mordialloc	47.9	48.5	52.1	3.6	2.1

Source: Compiled from VEC data.

*Based on new boundaries. [#]Seats which had been deemed notionally Liberal held seats after the redivision of electoral boundaries

Labor's win depended upon it retaining all of its seats in the regional cities, as well as the growth corridor electorates, which it did.

An increasing challenge for Labor however, was the rise of the Greens in the inner metropolitan Melbourne seats of Melbourne, Richmond, Brunswick and Northcote.

Changing demographics in inner Melbourne has seen the gentrification of these electorates and an influx of young socially progressive voters. Associate Professor and political commentator Paul Strangio, writes that these 'post-materialist cosmopolitans' are attracted to the Greens idealism.²²¹

Recent analysis of the NSW election results by *The Australian* newspaper, using census data compiled by the NSW Parliamentary Library, found that Greens-held electorates rated very highly among all of the electorates for those who professed no religion and households with an income of \$3,000 a week or more.²²² Analysis of 2011 census data for Melbourne and Prahran indicated that both rated very highly for the following attributes: following no religion; being tertiary educated; and working as managers and professionals.²²³

This has been reflected in the election results over the last decade or so. With each election these electorates have increased their primary vote for the Greens at the expense of the Labor Party. For the first time in a Victorian election, Labor lost the seat of Melbourne to the Greens. It also came third, behind the Greens, in a three-way split in the seat of Prahran between the Liberal Party, Labor and the Greens, with the preference flow from Labor ultimately propelling the Green's candidate over the line to win the seat from the Liberal Party.

²²⁰ Green (2013) op. cit., pp. 4-5.

²²¹ P. Strangio (2012) 'The root of Labor's problems', *The Age*, 20 July, p. 11.

²²² M. Coultan (2015) 'Rich, godless find it easy voting Greens', *Weekend Australian*, 11 April, p. 4.

²²³ See Victorian Parliamentary Library (2014) '2011 electorate census data for the new electoral divisions', Victorian Parliamentary Library Intranet.

Table 7.2b: Primary votes in the seat of Melbourne between Labor and the Greens

Melbourne Electoral District – Primary Vote		
General Election	Labor (%)	Greens (%)
2014	29.27	41.44
2010	35.67	31.92
2006	44.56	27.41

Source: [Victorian State Election Results](#), Victorian Parliamentary Library Intranet.

Of the seats that were won or retained by Labor, the largest swings since 2010 on a two-party preferred basis, based on the estimated results of the new boundaries, were recorded by Bendigo West (9.1 per cent), Broadmeadows (7.7 per cent), Bellarine (6.7 per cent), Thomastown (6.3 per cent), Monbulk (6.0 per cent) and Wendouree (5.9 per cent).

7.3 The Liberal Party

Among the seven seats lost by the Liberal Party since the 2010 election, were the four crucial sand-belt seats of Bentleigh, Carrum, Frankston²²⁴ and Mordialloc, along the Frankston train-line corridor.

The Liberal Party received a stronger primary vote than Labor in the seats of Bentleigh and Mordialloc, and to a lesser extent, Carrum, as can be seen from Table 7.3a. It lost the seats, however, due to Green preferences which favoured Labor.

In the seat of Frankston, the primary vote for the two major parties was fairly evenly split at 35 per cent (Labor) to 35.8 per cent (Liberal). Geoff Shaw, the sitting member for Frankston who was standing as an Independent, garnered 12.9 per cent of the primary vote. As the seat was eventually won by Labor by only a 0.5 per cent margin, it would appear that the former member of the Liberal Party split the non-Labor vote.

Table 7.3a: Preference flows in the four sand-belt seats

	% share of first preference vote Labor	% share of first preference vote Liberal	% preference flows* from the last excluded candidate to:		% two-party preferred result
			Labor	Liberal	
Bentleigh	38.6	45.8	85.0	15.0	50.8 ALP
Carrum	42.2	45.2	77.7	22.3	50.7 ALP
Frankston	35.0	35.8	36.0	64.0	50.5 ALP
Mordialloc	38.7	43.8	81.2	18.8	52.1 ALP

*In all seats except Frankston, the last excluded candidate had been a candidate for the Greens. In Frankston, the last excluded candidate was former Independent MP Geoff Shaw.

As these seats remain on very narrow margins, they are likely to be yet again the focus of considerable interest at the next election.

Table 7.3b: Total seats lost by the Liberal Party at the 2014 election

District	2010 results Liberal (%)	Estimated 2010 results on new boundaries Liberal (%)	2014 results Liberal (%)	Won by	New majority non-Liberal (%)
Bellarine#	48.6	51.9	45.2	ALP	4.8
Bentleigh	50.8	51.3	49.2	ALP	0.8
Carrum	52.0	50.2	49.3	ALP	0.7

²²⁴ Frankston became an Independent held seat when Geoff Shaw resigned from the Liberal Party on 6 March 2013.

Frankston	52.1	50.4	49.5	ALP	0.5
Monbulk#	48.1	51.0	45.0	ALP	5.0
Mordialloc	52.1	51.5	47.9	ALP	2.1
Prahran	54.3	54.8	49.6	GRN	0.4

Source: Compiled from VEC data.

Frankston is included here because it was won by the Liberal Party at the 2010 election.

Seats which had been deemed notionally Liberal held seats after the redivision of electoral boundaries.

The seat of Prahran was also lost by the Liberal Party to the Greens. (Analysis of the results is discussed in the section on the Greens on the following page). The Liberal Party lost despite local Member, Clem Newton-Brown, winning 44.8 per cent of the primary vote. Prahran has been something of a bellwether seat for the last four elections, with a tendency to shift allegiance to the party winning government. In this case however, the seat was won by the Greens candidate, Sam Hibbins, from third place in terms of his primary vote.

The Liberal Party won 23 of its 30 seats in the Legislative Assembly on its primary vote. The seats that were won on preferences were: Bass, Bayswater, Eildon, Forest Hill, Ringwood, Ripon and South Barwon.

Ripon is the most marginal seat held by the Liberal Party following this election, (0.8 per cent). Retained by former Labor Minister Joe Helper at the 2010 election, it converted to a notionally Liberal held seat upon the redivision of electoral boundaries, with an estimated margin of 1.5 per cent. The retirement of Mr Helper at the election weakened any incumbency advantage for the Labor Party and it was widely expected that the seat would be won by the Liberal Party.²²⁵

Despite a significant primary vote of 18.3 per cent for the National Party candidate, preference leakages to the Labor Party during the distribution of preferences made it a close call, with the Liberal Party candidate eventually winning Ripon on a narrow margin.

Table 7.3c: Preference flows in Ripon

	% share of first preference vote Labor	% share of first preference vote Liberal	% preference flows from the last excluded candidate (National Party) to		% two-party preferred result
			Labor	Liberal	
Ripon	35.1	32.8	30.7	69.3	50.8 LIB

Source: State Election 2014: Ripon District VEC website.

7.4 The Nationals

The 2014 election was a setback for the Nationals. The setback however, started in 2013 at the redivision of electoral boundaries, when the seat of Rodney was abolished.

It was expected that then Minister Russell Northe would face a challenge at the election in the seat of Morwell because of discontent about the Government's perceived delayed response to the health concerns of residents living with the consequences of the Hazelwood mine fire.²²⁶ One of the candidates, Tracie Lund, was running a community campaign along the lines of that run in the seat of Indi at the 2013 federal election that saw independent candidate Cathy McGowan topple the sitting Member, Sophie Mirabella.

In the event, the result was the traditional contest between the Nationals and Labor candidates. Russell Northe survived a swing against him (based on the new boundaries) of -11.5 per cent to retain the seat by a margin of 1.8 per cent.

²²⁵ W. Bowe (2014) 'Poll Bludger: Redistribution of seats a game changer in election', *Crikey*, 4 November.

²²⁶ F. Plummer (2014) 'Conflicting polls of Morwell seat security', *La Trobe Valley Express*, 30 October, p. 5.

What was not anticipated, however, was the loss by the Nationals of the seat of Shepparton. Shepparton had been a Country/National Party seat for 47 years and one of the Nationals' safest seats.

There was much discussion in the media about the possible reasons for the defeat of the Nationals, and it is likely to have been the product of a combination of factors.

It is likely that the retirement of the sitting member and former Minister, Jeanette Powell, prior to the election, diminished the incumbency effect in the electorate. Additionally, like the seat of Morwell, Independent candidate Suzanna Sheed was running a community campaign.²²⁷ There was news coverage which argued that the Nationals should have allowed their Coalition partner to also stand in the seat in order to send their preferences to the Nationals.²²⁸

Others voiced concern over the timing of remarks by federal Coalition government Minister Barnaby Joyce about Shepparton in an ABC series on the National Party aired a few days before the election.²²⁹ Mr Joyce said that as the seat of Shepparton was won by the Liberal Party (rather than the Nationals) at the 2013 federal election, the voters of Shepparton should be looking to the Liberal Party rather than the Nationals to financially rescue SPC Ardmona from the threat of closure.²³⁰

There was also discussion about the support for the Independent by the local Shepparton newspaper; that there was a sense that the bailout of SPC by the Coalition and funding promises made for the area during the election were 'too little too late'; and that the Nationals were focussing their resources in nearby Euroa.²³¹

Table 7.4a: Shepparton

District	2010 results Nationals (%)	Estimated 2010 results on new boundaries Nationals (%)	2014 results Nationals (%)	Won by	New majority by Independent (%)
Shepparton	76.0	76.0	47.4	IND	2.6

Source: [State Election 2014: Shepparton District](#) VEC website.

7.5 The Greens

The Greens had a successful 2014 election, winning an historic two seats in the Legislative Assembly. The seat of Melbourne was won from the Labor Party and the seat of Prahran was won from the Liberal Party.

As can be seen in Table 7.5a, the Greens won the seat of Melbourne due to their high primary vote and via preference leakages from the Liberal Party candidate.

Table 7.5a: Preference flows in Melbourne

	% share of first preference vote ALP	% share of first preference vote GRN	% preference flows from the last excluded candidate (Liberal Party) to		% two-party preferred result
			Labor	Greens	
Melbourne	29.3	41.4	67.7	32.3	52.4 GRN

Source: [State Election 2014: Melbourne District](#) VEC website.

²²⁷ R. Harris (2014) 'Command post: Why a desperate region jumped ship', *Weekly Times*, 3 December, p. 1.

²²⁸ (2014) 'No Liberal option hurt Nats', *Shepparton News*, 12 December, p. 12.

²²⁹ E. Gannon (2014) 'Wounded Nationals focus anger on one of their own', *Herald Sun*, 4 December, p. 50.

²³⁰ *ibid.*

²³¹ Harris (2014) *op. cit.*, p. 1.

Prahran is particularly interesting because the Greens candidate (Sam Hibbins) came from third place in terms of primary vote share to win the seat. This was largely as a result of preferences from the Animal Justice Party candidate (as the second last excluded candidate) that lifted the Greens candidate ahead of the Labor Party candidate. Preferences flowing from the last excluded candidate (Labor) secured the Greens victory over the Liberal Party candidate.

Table 7.5b: Preference flows in Prahran

	% share of first preference vote		
	Liberal	Labor	Greens
Prahran	44.8	25.9	24.7
Progressive total of votes	16582	9586	9160
Elimination of Independent candidate (Menadue) 82 votes - % share of preferences flowed to:			
	Liberal	Labor	Greens
	12.2	8.5	13.4
Progressive total of votes	16592	9593	9171
Elimination of Independent candidate (Stephanopoulos) 241 votes - % share of preferences flowed to:			
	Liberal	Labor	Greens
	21.6	19.1	19.5
Progressive total of votes	16644	9639	9218
Elimination of Family First candidate (Walker) 295 votes - % share of preferences flowed to:			
	Liberal	Labor	Greens
	27.8	17.3	13.4
Progressive total of votes	16726	9690	9171
Elimination of Independent candidate (Goldsmith) 349 votes - % share of preferences flowed to:			
	Liberal	Labor	Greens
	33.5	19.5	26.6
Progressive total of votes	16843	9758	9403
Elimination of Animal Justice Party candidate (Gullone) 999 votes - % share of preferences flowed to:			
This is the point where the Greens overtake the Labor Party			
	Liberal	Labor	Greens
	23.3	19	57.7
Progressive total of votes	17076	9948	9979
Elimination of last excluded candidate - Labor (Pharaoh) 9948 votes - % share of preferences flowed to:			
	Liberal		Greens
	12.9		87.1
Final total of votes	18,363		18,640

Source: State Election 2014: [Prahran District Distribution of preference votes](#) VEC website.

In terms of primary vote, the Greens vote has remained fairly static since the last election, increasing from 11.21 per cent in 2010 to 11.48 per cent in 2014.

7.6 Independents

As already discussed under the Nationals section, Independent candidate Suzanna Sheed won the seat of Shepparton from the Nationals, which had a margin of 26 per cent. The seat is now on a margin of 2.6 per cent.

Other Independent candidates that garnered encouraging primary vote results at the election were in Mildura, Lowan, Frankston²³² and Morwell with 21.3 per cent, 14.2 per cent, 12.9 per cent and 10.9 per cent, respectively.

²³² The Independent candidate garnering 12.9 per cent was Geoff Shaw who won the seat at the 2010 election for the Liberal Party.

7.7 Primary vote performance of parties

The following table shows the primary vote performance of the parties (and independent candidates collectively) by number and percentage share.

Table 7.7a: Primary vote performance of parties – Legislative Assembly

Party	First preference votes	% of first preference vote
ALP	1,278,322	38.10
Liberal	1,223,474	36.46
Australian Greens	385,190	11.48
The Nationals	185,619	5.53
Australian Country Alliance	43,038	1.28
Family First	37,194	1.11
Australian Christians	26,545	0.79
Rise Up Australia Party	20,795	0.62
Voice for the West	16,584	0.49
Sex Party	8,930	0.27
Animal Justice Party	7,778	0.23
DLP	2,799	0.08
Shooters and Fishers Party	2,622	0.08
Socialist Alliance	1,728	0.05
People Power Victoria No Smart Meters	1,375	0.04
The Basics Rock 'N' Roll Party	1,043	0.03
Other Candidates	112,289	3.35
Total	3,355,325	100.0

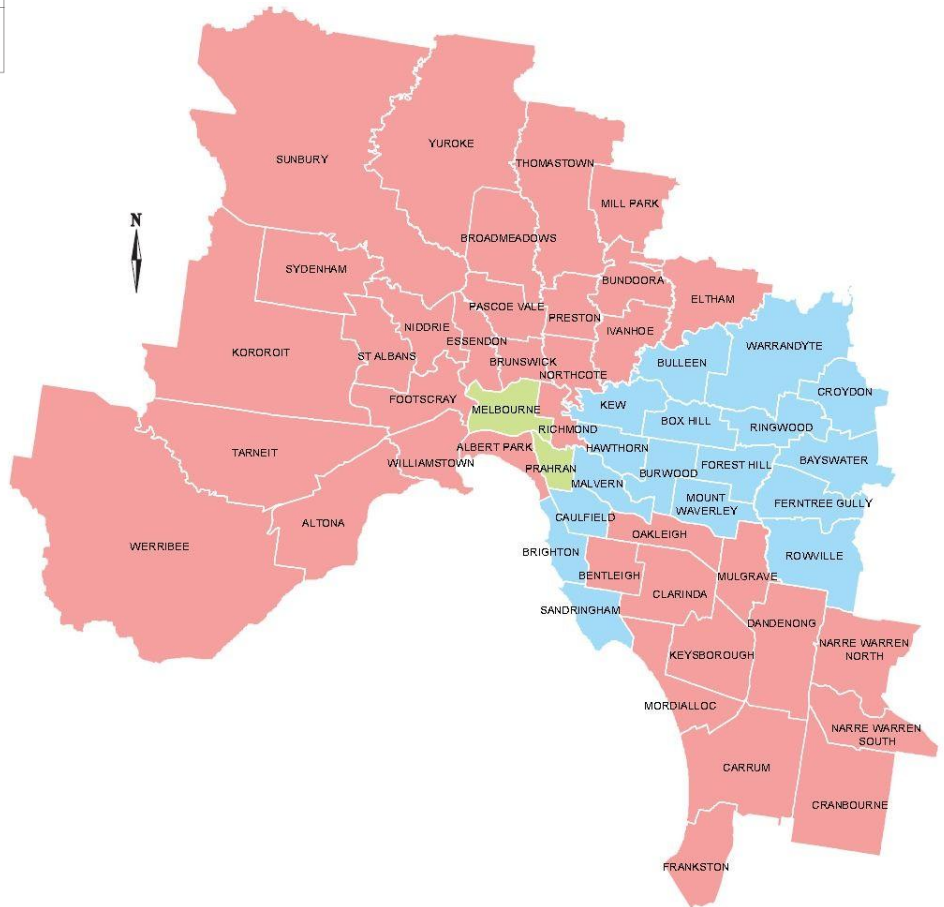
Source: State Election 2014 Results [Overall Lower House results](#) VEC website.

VICTORIAN STATE ELECTION

Legislative Assembly Results
LOWER HOUSE DISTRICTS 2014

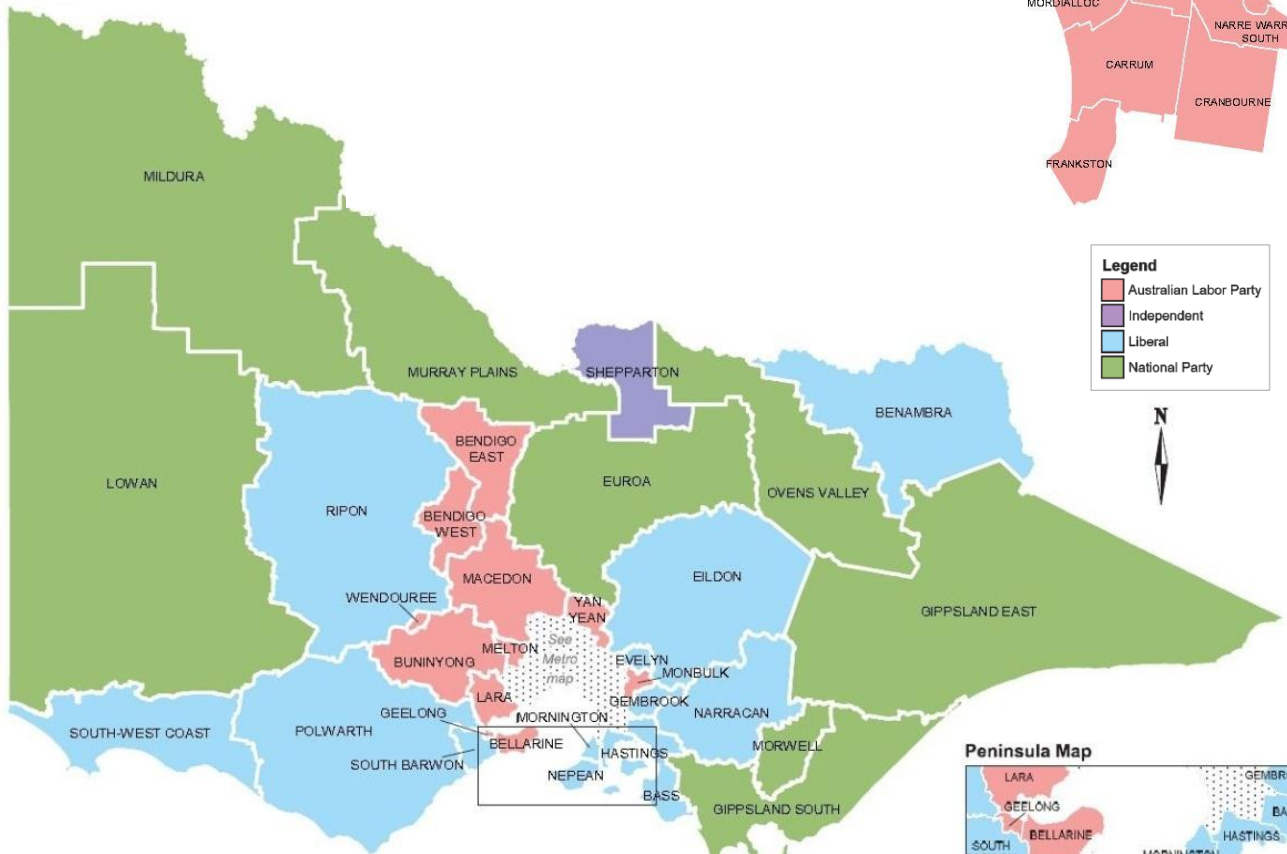
Legend

- Australian Greens
- Australian Labor Party
- Liberal



Legend

- Australian Labor Party
- Independent
- Liberal
- National Party



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8. Outcome in the Legislative Council

8.1 Summary of the result

A total of 3,539,762 votes were cast for the Legislative Council's eight regions. This was 93 per cent of total voters enrolled. Informal votes amounted to 121,482 votes, or 3.4 per cent of the total votes counted.

As can be seen in Table 8.1a, there were eight parties elected to the Legislative Council. They were: the Labor Party, the Liberal Party, the Nationals, the Greens, the Shooters and Fishers Party, the DLP, the Sex Party and the Vote 1 Local Jobs Party.

Table 8.1a: Legislative Council composition by party and region

Region	ALP	LIB	NATS	GRN	SFPV	DLP	SP	V1LJ
Eastern Metro	1	3	-	1	-	-	-	-
Eastern Vic	2	1	1	-	1	-	-	-
Northern Metro	2	1	-	1	-	-	1	-
Northern Vic	2	1	1	-	1	-	-	-
Sth Eastern Metro	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	-
Southern Metro	1	3	-	1	-	-	-	-
Western Metro	2	1	-	1	-	1	-	-
Western Vic	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total (40)	14	14	2	5	2	1	1	1
		Coalition = 16						

Source: State Election 2014 Results [Overall Upper House results](#) VEC website.

As a result of the composition of the Legislative Council, the Labor Party will need to rely on the support of other parties in the chamber, to enable the passing of its legislation.

8.2 The Labor Party

The Labor Party won two fewer seats in the Legislative Council at the 2014 election compared to 2010. Its total of 14 seats equals 35 per cent of the Council's membership. The losses were in Eastern Metropolitan and South Eastern Metropolitan. Both of those seats were won by Greens candidates.

Labor's first preference share was 33.5 per cent, almost two percentage points lower than at the 2010 election.²³³

The best results for Labor were in the Western Metropolitan region (44.0 per cent), Northern Metropolitan region (40.4 per cent) and the South Eastern Metropolitan region (40.1 per cent). Its lowest first preference vote was in the Southern Metropolitan region (25.2 per cent).

8.3 The Liberal Party

The Liberal Party won four fewer seats in the Legislative Council at the 2014 election, compared to 2010. Its total of 14 seats, like the Labor Party, equals 35 per cent of the Council's membership. Its losses were in the Eastern Victoria, Northern Metropolitan, Northern Victoria and the Western Metropolitan regions. These seats were won by the Shooters and Fishers Party; the Australian Sex Party; the Shooters and Fishers Party again and the DLP, respectively.

²³³ First preference data based on the redivision of boundaries was unavailable at the time this paper was prepared.

The best results for the Liberal Party were in Eastern Metropolitan (45.7 per cent) and Southern Metropolitan (42.7 per cent). Its lowest first preference vote was in the Northern Metropolitan region (21.9 per cent).

8.4 The Nationals

The Nationals lost a seat in the Legislative Council at the 2014 election as compared to 2010. Its total of two seats equals five per cent of the Council's membership. It lost a seat in Western Victoria region, which was won by the Vote 1 Local Jobs party.

Due to the joint ticket arrangements between the Liberal Party and the Nationals in the three regions which are contested by the Nationals, it is not possible to determine the true first preference vote for the Nationals. Above the line voting for the Liberal/Nationals ticket cannot be disaggregated by party.

8.5 The Greens

The Greens had its best result so far in the Legislative Council at the 2014 election, winning two further seats compared to 2010. Its total of five seats equals 12.5 per cent of the Council's membership. As already stated, the Greens' extra seats were won in the Eastern Metropolitan region and the South Eastern Metropolitan region. These seats were won by the Labor Party at the previous election.

The Greens best first preference results were in Northern Metropolitan (18.6 per cent) and Southern Metropolitan regions (15.5 per cent). Its lowest first preference vote was in the South Eastern Metropolitan region (6.3 per cent).

8.6 The Shooters and Fishers Party

The Shooters and Fishers Party achieved a historic result at the election by winning two seats in the Legislative Council, which is the first time it has had representation in the Victorian Parliament. Jeffrey Bourman won the fourth seat in the Eastern Victoria region with 2.4 per cent of the first preference vote and Daniel Young won the fourth seat in the Northern Victoria region with 3.5 per cent of the first preference vote. As already stated, both of these seats were won by Liberal Party candidates in the previous election.

8.7 The Democratic Labour Party (DLP)

The DLP was previously elected to the Legislative Council at the 2006 election, when Peter Kavanagh won the last seat in the Western Victoria region. He subsequently lost his seat at the 2010 election.

At the 2014 election, the DLP candidate, Rachel Carling-Jenkins won the last seat in the Western Metropolitan region with a first preference vote of 2.6 per cent. It had been won by the Liberal Party at the previous election.

8.8 Australian Sex Party

The Sex Party (SP) had a historic win at the election, gaining a seat in the Legislative Council for the first time. Fiona Patten won the fifth seat in the Northern Metropolitan region with 2.9 per cent of the first preference vote. The contest for that final seat was between the SP and Family First.

8.9 Vote 1 Local Jobs

The Vote 1 Local Jobs (V1LJ) party also had a historic win at the election, gaining a seat in the Legislative Council for the first time. James Purcell won the fifth seat in the Western Victoria region with 1.3 per cent of the first preference vote.

As can be seen in table 8.9a, there were ten parties that had a higher first preference vote than the Vote 1 Local Jobs Party in Western Victoria region. James Purcell won 5,501 first preference votes, but by the completion of preference transfers, had reached the quota of 72,940. Therefore a significant 92.5 per cent of the quota was acquired through the transfer of preferences.

Professor of Political Science and political commentator Brian Costar has explained how the Single Transferable Vote (STV) voting system used for Upper House elections can result in candidates winning a seat from a low base of first preferences by attracting preferences from across the political spectrum. Such outcomes are possible because the majority of electors vote above the line and, accordingly, preference allocations follow parties' group voting tickets.²³⁴

Table 8.9a: First preference votes for selected parties in Western Victoria region

LIB/NATS	ALP	GRN	SP	PUP	Lib Dems	SFPV	FF	AJP	DLP	V1LJ
37.0	34.1	9.2	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.3	2.0	1.7	1.5	1.3

Source: [State Election 2014: Western Victoria region](#) VEC website.

Table 8.9b: First preference vote by Legislative Council region

Region	ALP	Liberal	Nationals	Greens	SFPV	DLP	SP	V1LJ
Eastern Metro	28.7	45.7		10.5	0.8	2.3	2.1	-
Eastern Vic	29.0	41.6*		8.5	2.4	0.7	2.5	-
Northern Metro	40.4	21.9		18.6	1.1	3.0	2.9	0.4
Northern Vic	26.4	41.2*		7.7	3.5	4.2	3.3	-
South Eastern Metro	40.1	35.2		6.3	1.2	2.2	2.7	-
Southern Metro	25.2	42.7		15.5	0.5	2.2	2.4	-
Western Metro	44.0	23.6		10.3	1.2	2.6	2.7	-
Western Vic	34.1	37*		9.2	2.3	1.5	2.5	1.3

Source: State Election 2014 Results [Overall Upper House results](#) VEC website.

* Joint Liberal/Nationals ticket. BOLD type in minor and micro parties section indicates where seats were won by those parties.

8.10 Composition of the Legislative Council

Table 8.10a below shows the percentage of first preference votes achieved by each party and how this translates to the number of successful candidates and the proportion of seats obtained in the Legislative Council. It is important to note that the joint Liberal/Nationals ticket in the three non-metropolitan regions precludes an accurate allocation of the primary vote for either party, individually.

As can be seen in table 8.10a, the composition of the Legislative Council reflects the first preference votes to a degree. The largest disparities were the Coalition which achieved 36.1 per cent of the primary vote and 40 per cent of the seats, the Shooters and Fishers Party which achieved 1.7 per cent of the vote and 5.0 per cent of the seats and the Vote 1 Local Jobs party which achieved 0.2 per cent of the vote and 2.5 per cent of the seats.

²³⁴ C. Macdonald, G. Gardiner & B. Costar (2007) 'The 2006 Victorian state election', *Research Paper*, No. 1, Parliamentary Library, Melbourne, Parliament of Victoria, p. 30; R. Carbone (2015) 'Minor and micro parties win seats in Vic Upper House', *PM ABC Radio*, 16 December.

Table 8.10a: First preference votes and composition of the Legislative Council

Party	First preference vote (%)	Number of successful candidates	Seats in Legislative Council (%)
Labor	33.46	14	35.0
Liberal	20.82	10	25.0
Liberal/Nationals	15.32	6 (4 Lib + 2 Nats)	15.0
Greens	10.75	5	12.5
Liberal Democrats	3.06	0	0.0
Sex Party	2.63	1	2.5
DLP	2.32	1	2.5
Palmer United Party	1.95	0	0.0
Family First	1.83	0	0.0
Animal Justice Party	1.70	0	0.0
Shooters and Fishers Party	1.65	2	5.0
Australian Christians	1.03	0	0.0
Australian Country Alliance	0.68	0	0.0
Australian Cyclists Party	0.61	0	0.0
Rise Up Australia Party	0.52	0	0.0
Voluntary Euthanasia Party (Victoria)	0.49	0	0.0
People Power Victoria-No Smart Meters	0.35	0	0.0
Voice for the West	0.32	0	0.0
Vote 1 Local Jobs	0.21	1	2.5
The Basics Rock 'N' Roll Party	0.19	0	0.0
Other Candidates	0.13	0	0.0
Total	100	40	100

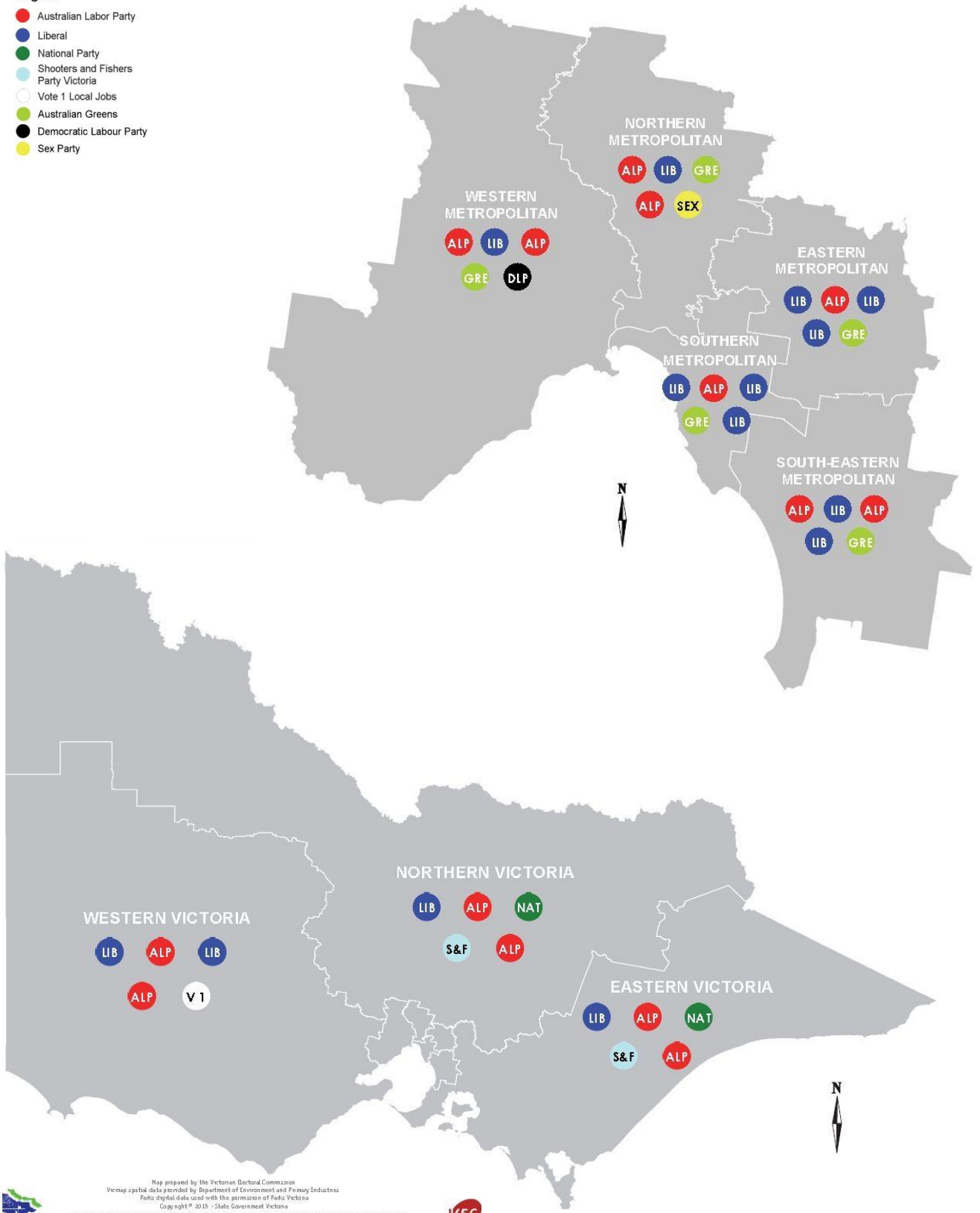
Source: compiled from State Election 2014 Results [Overall Upper House results](#) VEC website.

VICTORIAN STATE ELECTION

Legislative Council Results
UPPER HOUSE REGIONS 2014

Legend

- Australian Labor Party
- Liberal
- National Party
- Shooters and Fishers Party Victoria
- Vote 1 Local Jobs
- Australian Greens
- Democratic Labour Party
- Sex Party



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9. Further results

9.1 Women Parliamentarians

The number of women in Parliament has increased over the last few parliaments. The 2014 election saw 48 women elected to the Victorian Parliament, which is an increase of six since the 2010 election. Table 9.1a shows the number of women elected to the last three parliaments and that number represented as a percentage of the total number of MPs.

Table 9.1a: Women in Parliament

Election	Number of women	Percentage of women
2014	48	37.5
2010	42	32.8
2006	38	29.7

Source: VEC data.

The following table outlines the number and percentage of women by party:

Table 9.1b: Number and percentage of women elected by party

Party	Number of women	Party Total	Percentage of women by party
Labor	27	61	44
Liberal	11	44	25
Nationals	2	10	20
Greens	5	7	72
DLP	1	1	100
Sex Party	1	1	100
Shooters and Fishers Party	0	2	0
Vote 1 Local Jobs	0	1	0
Others/Independents	1	1	100
Total	48	128	37.5

Source: VEC data.

The number of women in the Cabinet also increased following the election. There are nine women in the 21 member Andrews Ministry or 43 per cent of the membership. They are: Jacinta Allan, Jill Hennessy, Lily D'Ambrosio, Jaala Pulford, Jane Garrett, Fiona Richardson, Lisa Neville, Natalie Hutchins and Jenny Mikakos. Six of these nine women were in the Labor Shadow Ministry in the previous Parliament. Table 9.1c shows the Andrews Ministry by portfolio, with the portfolios held by women highlighted.

Table 9.1c: The Andrews Ministry

Minister	Portfolios
Daniel Andrews	Premier
James Merlino	Deputy Premier; Education
Tim Pallas	Treasurer
Martin Pakula	Attorney-General; Racing
Jacinta Allan	Public Transport; Employment; Leader of the House
Jill Hennessy	Health; Ambulance Services
Martin Foley	Housing, Disability and Ageing; Mental Health; Creative Industries
Wade Noonan	Police ; Corrections
Richard Wynne	Planning
Jaala Pulford	Agriculture; Regional Development
Lily D'Ambrosio	Industry; Energy and Resources
Luke Donnellan	Roads and Road Safety; Ports

John Eren	Tourism and Major Events; Sport; Veterans' Affairs
Jane Garrett	Emergency Services; Consumer Affairs; Gaming and Liquor Regulation
Gavin Jennings	Leader of Government in Upper House; Special Minister of State
Fiona Richardson	Women; Prevention of Family Violence
Robin Scott	Finance; Multicultural Affairs
Adem Somyurek	Small Business, Innovation and Trade
Lisa Neville	Environment; Climate Change; Water
Natalie Hutchins	Local Government; Aboriginal Affairs; Industrial Relations
Jenny Mikakos	Families and Children; Youth Affairs

9.2 New and departing MPs

The 2014 election saw 36 new MPs enter Parliament with 23 new Members elected to the Assembly and 13 new Members for the Council. The new MPs constituted 28.13 per cent of the total membership of the Parliament, which was a higher turnover than the 2010 election but slightly smaller than the number of new MPs entering Parliament in 2006.

Several Members also moved Houses, with former Upper House Member Matthew Guy successfully contesting the seat of Bulleen in the Assembly (and becoming the Leader of the Opposition) and the former Member for Eltham, Steve Herbert, elected in the Legislative Council region of Northern Victoria. The 2013 redistribution led to the abolition of the seat of Doncaster, which was held by Mary Wooldridge (then Minister for Mental Health and Community Services). Wooldridge won the first seat in the Eastern Metropolitan region in the Legislative Council at the 2014 election. The following two tables set out the new Members in the Assembly and Council, the districts/regions they will represent, and their party affiliations.

Table 9.2a: New Members in the Legislative Assembly

Member	District	Party
Brian Paynter	Bass	Liberal
Nick Staikos	Bentleigh	Labor
Sonya Kilkeny	Carrum	Labor
Gabrielle Williams	Dandenong	Labor
Vicki Ward	Eltham	Labor
Danny Pearson	Essendon	Labor
Steph Ryan	Euroa	Nationals
Paul Edbrooke	Frankston	Labor
Chris Couzens	Geelong	Labor
John Pesutto	Hawthorn	Liberal
Tim Smith	Kew	Liberal
Emma Kealy	Lowan	Nationals
Mary-Anne Thomas	Macedon	Labor
Ellen Sandell	Melbourne	Greens
Tim Richardson	Mordialloc	Labor
Steve Dimopoulos	Oakleigh	Labor
Lizzie Blandthorn	Pascoe Vale	Labor
Sam Hibbins	Prahran	Greens
Louise Staley	Ripon	Liberal
Suzanna Sheed	Shepparton	Independent
Natalie Suleyman	St Albans	Labor
Josh Bull	Sunbury	Labor
Ros Spence	Yuroke	Labor

Table 9.2b: New Members in the Legislative Council

Member	Region	Party
Samantha Dunn	Eastern Metropolitan	Greens
Harriet Shing	Eastern Metropolitan	ALP
Jeff Bourman	Eastern Victoria	Shooters and Fishers Party
Daniel Mulino	Eastern Victoria	ALP
Fiona Patten	Northern Metropolitan	Sex Party
Daniel Young	Northern Victoria	Shooters and Fishers Party
Jaclyn Symes	Northern Victoria	ALP
Philip Dalidakis	Southern Metropolitan	ALP
Margaret Fitzherbert	Southern Metropolitan	Liberal
Nina Springle	South Eastern Metropolitan	Greens
Rachel Carling-Jenkins	Western Metropolitan	DLP
Joshua Morris	Western Victoria	Liberal
James Purcell	Western Victoria	Vote 1 Local Jobs

Twenty-three Members of the Victorian Parliament chose not to renominate and announced they would retire at the 2014 state election. This included 16 Members of the Legislative Assembly and eight Members of the Legislative Council. The number of Members retiring at this election was significantly more than the ten Members who retired at the 2010 State election, but less than the 26 Members who retired at the 2006 election. The following table lists the 23 Members who retired, the districts and regions that they represented and their party membership.

Table 9.2c: Members who retired at the election

Member	District or Region	Party
Ted Baillieu ²³⁵	Hawthorn (Assembly, 1999-2014)	Liberal
Ann Barker	Bentleigh (Assembly, 1988-1992) Oakleigh (Assembly, 1999-2014)	ALP
Liz Beattie	Yuroke (Assembly, 2002-2014) Tullamarine (Assembly, 1999-2002)	ALP
Christine Campbell	Pascoe Vale (Assembly, 1996-2014)	ALP
Andrea Coote	Southern Metropolitan (Council, 2006-2014) Monash (Council, 1999-2006)	Liberal
Kaye Darveniza	Northern Victoria (Council, 2006-2014) Melbourne West (Council, 1999-2006)	ALP
Hugh Delahunty	Lowan (Assembly, 2002-2014) Wimmera (Assembly, 1999-2002)	Nationals
Joanne Duncan	Macedon (Assembly, 2002-2014) Gisborne (Assembly, 1999-2002)	ALP
Joe Helper	Ripon (Assembly, 1999-2014)	ALP
David Koch	Western Victoria (Council, 2006-2014) Western (Council, 2002-2006)	Liberal
Nicholas Kotsiras	Bulleen (Assembly, 1999-2014)	Liberal
Jan Kronberg	Eastern Metropolitan (Council, 2006-2014)	Liberal
John Lenders	Southern Metropolitan (Council, 2006-2014) Waverley (Council, 2002-2006) Dandenong North (Assembly, 1999-2002)	ALP
Marg Lewis	Northern Victoria (Council, appointed to fill a casual vacancy on 11 June 2014)	ALP
Justin Madden	Essendon (Assembly, 2010-2014) Western Metropolitan (Council, 2006-2010)	ALP

²³⁵ Ted Baillieu was Victorian Premier from 2 December 2010 until his resignation on 6 March 2013.

	Doutta Galla (Council, 1999-2006)	
Andrew McIntosh	Kew (Assembly, 1999-2014)	Liberal
John Pandazopoulos	Dandenong (Assembly, 1992-2014)	ALP
Jeanette Powell	Shepparton (Assembly, 2002-2014) North Eastern (Council, 1996-2002)	Nationals
Johan Scheffer	Eastern Victoria (Council, 2006-2014) Monash (Council, 2002-2006)	ALP
Ken Smith	Bass (Assembly, 2002-2014) South Eastern (Council, 1988-2002)	Liberal
Bill Sykes	Benalla (Assembly, 2002-2014)	Nationals
Ian Trezise	Geelong (Assembly, 1999-2014)	ALP
Matt Viney	Eastern Victoria (Council, 2006-2014) Chelsea (Council, 2002-2006) Frankston East (Assembly, 1999-2002)	ALP

On 2 February 2015, Peter Ryan, Leader of the Nationals, announced his resignation.²³⁶ A by-election for Gippsland South was held on Saturday 14 March. Danny O'Brien vacated his seat in Eastern Victoria region in the Legislative Council to stand. He was duly elected in Gippsland South. The vacancy in Eastern Victoria region was filled by Melina Bath.

9.3 Voter turnout

At the 2014 election, 3,540,140 votes were counted, which consisted of 3,355,325 formal votes and 184,815 informal votes (5.22 per cent of votes counted) in the Legislative Assembly.²³⁷ In the Legislative Council there were 3,539,762 votes counted and 121,482 informal votes (3.43 per cent of votes counted). There were 3,806,301 voters enrolled at the close of the roll. This represented a participation rate of 93.01 per cent in the Legislative Assembly and 93 per cent in the Legislative Council.

Early voting

A record number of electors cast their ballots before election day at the 2014 election. The final figure for pre-poll voting at early voting centres was 898,552 and the reported number of postal votes received was 302,794. The total of pre-poll voting was 1,201,346, which is an increase of nearly 40 per cent from the previous record number of early votes in 2010.²³⁸

Table 9.4a: Trend in early voting

Election	Pre-poll in person	Total number of early votes
2014	898,552	1,201,346
2010	559,857	817,263

Source: VEC data. See also VEC (2011) *Report to Parliament on the 2010 Victorian State Election*, p. 22.²³⁹

PUP candidate Maria Rigoni, who was unsuccessful in the election, filed a petition in the Supreme Court sitting as the Court of Disputed Returns. Rigoni argued that the high number of early votes

²³⁶ Peter Ryan was first elected to the Victorian Legislative Assembly as the Member for Gippsland South in 1992. He held the position of the Leader of the Nationals from December 1999 and served as Deputy Premier in the 57th Parliament. P. Ryan (2015) *Statement by the Honourable Peter Ryan MP, Member for Gippsland South*, media release, The Nationals, 2 February 2015.

²³⁷ Informal voting refers to any ballot paper which is not completed in accordance with the parameters set by the *Electoral Act 2002* (Vic) (see sections 112 and 93). These ballot papers are excluded from the count.

²³⁸ M. Russell (2015) 'Palmer United Party candidate tells court early voting favoured big parties', *The Age*, 25 February.

²³⁹ *ibid.*; VEC (2010) *Early Voting Record Set*, media release, 26 November.

rendered the election result invalid.²⁴⁰ She claimed that the early voters failed to make a declaration that they were unable to vote on election day, as required by the law. Justice Gregory Garde dismissed the case in the Victorian Supreme Court on 24 March 2015. He stated that ‘given that the voter ... had properly voted apart from the early voting declaration’ and would ‘most likely’ have given a declaration had he or she been asked by an election officer, it would be significant to disenfranchise a voter based on the misunderstanding or oversight of an election officer.²⁴¹

By-elections

Prior to the 2014 state election, there had been four by-elections since the 2010 state election in the following districts: Broadmeadows, Niddrie, Melbourne and Lyndhurst. Voter participation was lowest in Melbourne with 68.62 per cent of eligible voters voting.²⁴² The table below provides information on the date of the by-election, the rate of voter turnout and the outcome. Notably, each of the by-elections were in Labor held seats and the Liberals did not stand any candidates. Labor retained each of their seats in the by-elections.

Table 9.4b: By-elections in the 57th Parliament

By-election	By-election date	Voter turnout (%)	Outcome
Broadmeadows	19 February 2011	78.45 ²⁴³	Labor retained
Niddrie	24 March 2012	84.80 ²⁴⁴	Labor retained
Melbourne	21 July 2012	68.62 ²⁴⁵	Labor retained
Lyndhurst	27 April 2013	80.07 ²⁴⁶	Labor retained

Source: [By-election results VEC data](#).

Broadmeadows by-election

On 21 December 2010, shortly following the 2010 state election, former Premier John Brumby announced his resignation, triggering a by-election for the Broadmeadows district.²⁴⁷ Labor candidate Frank McGuire was elected to the seat of Broadmeadows with 53.43 per cent of first preference votes.

Niddrie by-election

Former Attorney-General Rob Hulls, who had represented the district of Niddrie since 1996, announced his resignation on 27 January 2012.²⁴⁸ The seat of Niddrie has been held by Labor since

²⁴⁰ Russell (2015) ‘Palmer United Party candidate tells court early voting favoured big parties’, op. cit.

²⁴¹ (2015) ‘PUP candidate loses court bid’, *SBS News*, 24 March.

²⁴² This surpassed the previous low voter participation record made in the previous Parliament for the Albert Park by-election and is significantly lower than the average voter turnout rate for state by-elections (80.65 per cent). The voter turnout rate for the Melbourne by-election (68.62 per cent) was significantly lower than the voter participation rate for Melbourne district at the 2010 state election (81.35 per cent).

²⁴³ VEC (2011) *Report on the Broadmeadows District By-election Held on 19 February 2011*, Melbourne, VEC, July, p. 2.

²⁴⁴ While the Niddrie district had a relatively high voter turnout rate, there was a high rate of informal votes (11.48 per cent). At the 2010 election, the informality rate for Niddrie was 8.31 per cent. The average state-wide informality rate is 7.00 per cent for the five most recent state by-elections. See: VEC (2012) *Report on the Niddrie District By-election Held on 24 March 2012*, Melbourne, VEC, April, p. 16.

²⁴⁵ VEC (2012) *Report on the Melbourne District By-election Held on 21 July 2012*, Melbourne, VEC, October, p. 6.

²⁴⁶ VEC (2014) *Report on the Lyndhurst District By-election Held on 27 April 2013*, Melbourne, VEC, February, p. 18.

²⁴⁷ Brumby was Victoria’s 45th Premier following the resignation of Steve Bracks in July 2007, a position he held until the Labor government was defeated by the Liberal National Coalition at the 2010 state election.

²⁴⁸ J. Gordon (2012) ‘Labor MP resigns after coma scare’, *The Age*, 27 January.

1976 and was retained by Labor candidate Ben Carroll, who was elected to the Assembly after receiving 46.84 per cent of first preference votes.

Melbourne by-election

On 7 May 2012, former Minister Bronwyn Pike announced her resignation, which triggered a by-election for the seat of Melbourne.²⁴⁹ In 2012, Labor candidate Jennifer Kanis was elected to the seat of Melbourne with 33.38 per cent of first preference votes. Greens candidate, Cathy Oke received 36.52 per cent of first preference votes. Following the distribution of preferences, however, Kanis won the seat with 51.51 per cent of two-party preferred votes, as reflected in the table below:

Table 9.4c: Melbourne by-election result

Candidate	First preference votes (%)	After distribution of preferences (%)
Jennifer Kanis (ALP)	33.38	51.51
Cathy Oke (Greens)	36.52	48.49

Source: VEC Melbourne by-election data.

Lyndhurst by-election

On 15 February 2013, former Minister Tim Holding resigned, resulting in a by-election in which Labor candidate Martin Pakula was elected with 40.96 per cent of first preference votes.²⁵⁰ Following the 2014 redistribution of boundaries, the seat of Lyndhurst has been largely replaced by the new electorate of Keysborough.

Informal voting

The rate of informal voting was 5.22 per cent for the Assembly and 3.43 per cent for the Council. As illustrated in Table 9.4d below, the rate of informal voting has increased in the Assembly.

Table 9.4d: Percentage of informal votes in the Assembly and Council

Election year	LA informal votes (%)	LC informal votes (%)
2014	5.22	3.43
2010	4.96	3.38
2006	4.56	4.28
2002	3.41	3.67
1999	3.02	3.37

Source: VEC data.

9.5 Number of candidates contesting the election

A record number of candidates contested the 2014 election. The total number of 896 candidates was 185 more than the previous record breaking number of candidates who contested the 2010 election (711).²⁵¹ Table 9.5a below shows the trend over the last two decades.

²⁴⁹ VEC (2012) *Report on the Melbourne District By-election*, op. cit., p. 6 and p. 21.

²⁵⁰ VEC (2014) *Report on the Lyndhurst District By-election*, op. cit., p. 18.

²⁵¹ See VEC (2014) *Record Number of Electors, Candidates and Registered Political Parties for 2014 State Election*, media release, 14 November. The VEC became aware that a candidate who nominated for the South Eastern Metropolitan region was not eligible but could not be removed from the ballot paper once nominated. See VEC (2014) *State Election Candidate Qualification*, media release, 14 November.

Table 9.5a: Percentage of candidates contesting the election

Election year	Number of candidates
2014	896
2010	711
2006	707
2002	477
1999	406
1996	421
1992	444

Source: VEC data.

The Assembly districts with the highest number of candidates were Frankston (14), Mordialloc (11) and Tarneit (10). Table 9.5b shows the number of candidates contesting Assembly districts, illustrating how many districts had two candidates, three candidates, four candidates and so forth in the election period 1999-2014.

Table 9.5b: Number of candidates contesting Legislative Assembly districts 1999-2014

Election Year	Number of candidates							
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2014+	0	3	11	22	18	15	11	5
2010^	0	2	17	26	19	14	5	4
2006	0	0	23	35	19	10	1	0
2002	0	23	36	20	5	3	1	0
1999*	25	26	16	10	7	3	0	0

Source: VEC data.

+ In 2014 one district had ten candidates, one district had 11 candidates and one district had 14 candidates.

^ In 2010 one district had ten candidates.

* In 1999 one district had 19 candidates.

The Council region with the highest number of candidates contesting the election was Northern Metropolitan with 52 candidates. The Council region with the lowest number of candidates contesting the election was Northern Victoria which had 37 candidates.

Out of the 895 candidates contesting the election, there were 544 candidates for the 88 seats in the Legislative Assembly and 351 candidates for the eight Legislative Council regions. This meant that there was an average of 6.18 candidates standing for election per Legislative Assembly district, compared with 5.7 candidates standing for election per Assembly district in 2010. Table 9.5c, below, shows the total number of candidates standing for the Legislative Assembly and the average number of candidates per district.

Table 9.5c: Average number of candidates contesting Legislative Assembly seats at state elections since 1999

Election year	Total number of LA candidates	Average per LA district
2014	544	6.18
2010	502	5.70
2006	459	5.21
2002	372	4.22
1999	321	3.64

Source: VEC data.

In the Legislative Council regions, there was an average of 43.87 candidates per region in 2014, compared to 26.12 in 2010. As each region has five seats, this shows an average of 8.77 candidates per seat. Table 9.5d, below, shows the total number of Legislative Council candidates,

followed by the average number of candidates per region and then the average number of candidates per seat on the left column.

Table 9.5d: Average number of candidates contesting vacancies in the Legislative Council

Election year	Total number of LC candidates	Average number per LC region	Average number per LC seat
2014	351	43.87	8.77
2010	209	26.12	5.22
2006	248	31.00	3.87

Source: [VEC data](#).

10. Tables and results

The following data was derived from the Victorian Electoral Commission website.

Table 10a: Overall Legislative Assembly result by party

Party	First preference votes	% of first preference vote	Seats won	+/- in number of seats since 2010 election results*
ALP	1,278,322	38.1	47	5
Liberal	1,223,474	36.46	30	-5
Australian Greens	385,190	11.48	2	2
The Nationals	185,619	5.53	8	-2
Australian Country Alliance	43,038	1.28	0	-
Family First	37,194	1.11	0	-
Australian Christians	26,545	0.79	0	-
Rise Up Australia Party	20,795	0.62	0	-
Voice for the West	16,584	0.49	0	-
Sex party	8,930	0.27	0	-
Animal Justice Party	7,778	0.23	0	-
DLP	2,799	0.08	0	-
Shooter and Fishers Party Victoria	2,622	0.08	0	-
Socialist Alliance	1,728	0.05	0	-
People Power Victoria/No Smart Meters	1,375	0.04	0	-
The Basics Rock 'N' Roll Party	1,043	0.03	0	-
Other Candidates	112,289	3.35	1	-
Total	3,355,325	100	88	-

Source: State Election 2014 Results [Overall Lower House results](#), VEC website.

*does not include notional seat changes due to the redivision of boundaries.

Table 10b: Legislative Assembly result by seat: first preference vote (number)

District	ALP	Lib.	Nat.	Greens	Others	Seat won by
Albert Park	11,826	15,177	-	6,134	3,439	ALP
Altona	21,862	13,235	-	4,220	2,768	ALP
Bass	11,659	18,008	-	3,613	6,433	LIB
Bayswater	12,927	18,811	-	3,355	3,066	LIB
Bellarine	16,818	15,678	-	3,639	2,476	ALP
Benambra	12,273	21,430	-	3,568	1,973	LIB
Bendigo East	18,651	16,492	-	2,935	2,227	ALP
Bendigo West	18,247	12,328	-	4,482	3,074	ALP
Bentleigh	14,025	16,669	-	3,842	1,794	ALP
Box Hill	11,964	19,944	-	5,649	1,448	LIB
Brighton	8,973	21,145	-	6,619	1,350	LIB
Broadmeadows	21,584	5,797	-	1,884	4,371	ALP
Brunswick	15,318	6,554	-	16,001	2,485	ALP
Bulleen	11,859	21,983	-	3,824	1,452	LIB
Bundoora	18,628	11,822	-	3,592	1,338	ALP
Buninyong	15,984	12,829	2,301	4,017	1,572	ALP
Burwood	12,995	18,902	-	4,904	960	LIB
Carrum	16,645	17,802	-	2,989	1,989	ALP
Caulfield	10,849	18,860	-	5,940	833	LIB
Clarinda	20,082	10,986	-	4,254	2,378	ALP
Cranbourne	17,365	16,536	-	1,668	4,468	ALP

Croydon	11,352	19,797	-	3,273	2,441	LIB
Dandenong	17,891	9,809	-	2,611	3,547	ALP
Eildon	10,375	16,070	2,253	4,323	3,986	LIB
Eltham	16,374	17,727	-	4,600	1,641	ALP
Essendon	16,026	14,052	-	7,065	2,040	ALP
Euroa	11,428	10,454	14,494	2,110	2,545	NAT
Evelyn	11,588	19,258	-	2,393	2,738	LIB
Ferntree Gully	11,967	19,452	-	3,279	1,391	LIB
Footscray	17,542	10,386	-	6,682	4,257	ALP
Forest Hill	12,984	18,340	-	3,289	2,279	LIB
Frankston	12,241	12,542	-	2,790	7,421	ALP
Geelong	16,516	15,232	-	4,833	3,674	ALP
Gembrook	11,568	20,646	-	3,197	2,350	LIB
Gippsland East	7,754	-	22,984	3,035	4,303	NAT
Gippsland South	7,819	-	20,468	3,436	4,022	NAT
Hastings	13,109	21,316	-	3,096	4,113	LIB
Hawthorn	9,117	20,551	-	8,042	-	LIB
Ivanhoe	14,133	15,730	-	6,147	3,292	ALP
Kew	10,448	22,552	-	6,433	-	LIB
Keysborough	19,678	11,811	-	2,126	3,479	ALP
Kororoit	23,913	8,690	-	2,921	4,133	ALP
Lara	21,457	11,090	-	3,413	2,404	ALP
Lowan	7,243	-	21,087	3,324	7,328	NAT
Macedon	14,677	16,376	-	5,841	1,061	ALP
Malvern	7,730	22,642	-	5,780	-	LIB
Melbourne	10,830	8,913	-	15,333	1,924	GRN
Melton	19,272	11,783	-	2,777	4,363	ALP
Mildura	4,244	-	16,794	671	14,727	NAT
Mill Park	22,807	10,317	-	2,640	2,383	ALP
Monbulk	14,096	15,063	-	5,029	3,360	ALP
Mordialloc	14,840	16,807	-	3,031	3,676	ALP
Mornington	10,762	23,184	-	4,618	869	LIB
Morwell	14,282	-	17,824	1,894	6,130	NAT
Mount Waverley	13,184	18,357	-	3,432	915	LIB
Mulgrave	17,150	14,622	-	2,525	1,548	ALP
Murray Plains	8,190	-	25,406	1,619	4,939	NAT
Narracan	12,223	22,907	-	3,720	2,646	LIB
Narre Warren Nth	17,421	14,849	-	2,114	2,991	ALP
Narre Warren Sth	19,501	16,212	-	2,465	2,299	ALP
Nepean	12,253	20,984	-	4,658	1,454	LIB
Niddrie	17,342	14,101	-	3,045	3,089	ALP
Northcote	15,928	6,407	-	14,101	2,435	ALP
Oakleigh	15,903	13,303	-	4,617	937	ALP
Ovens Valley	8,147	-	20,394	3,694	4,541	NAT
Pascoe Vale	18,679	10,416	-	6,372	3,690	ALP
Polwarth	11,045	21,861	-	4,352	2,206	LIB
Prahran	9,586	16,582	-	9,160	1,675	GRN
Preston	17,607	7,694	-	5,869	5,194	ALP
Richmond	13,349	8,308	-	12,615	5,830	ALP
Ringwood	11,777	17,440	-	3,903	3,137	LIB
Ripon	14,059	13,118	7,342	2,856	2,682	LIB
Rowville	12,419	18,758	-	2,566	1,096	LIB
Sandringham	9,103	19,264	-	5,144	3,840	LIB
Shepparton	7,218	-	14,272	1,365	17,515	IND

South Barwon	13,618	18,869	-	5,023	3,284	LIB
South-West Coast	11,507	23,234	-	3,993	2,048	LIB
St Albans	21,435	10,215	-	3,475	2,878	ALP
Sunbury	16,358	13,384	-	2,918	4,431	ALP
Sydenham	22,752	11,112	-	2,814	2,982	ALP
Tarneit	17,446	9,839	-	3,360	6,635	ALP
Thomastown	22,786	5,801	-	1,775	3,800	ALP
Warrandyte	11,289	21,982	-	4,032	1,333	LIB
Wendouree	15,712	14,408	-	3,629	2,584	ALP
Werribee	20,338	10,327	-	3,049	2,212	ALP
Williamstown	18,417	11,569	-	8,547	2,725	ALP
Yan Yean	17,499	17,030	-	2,945	3,215	ALP
Yuroke	20,484	8,943	-	2,277	6,163	ALP
Total	1,278,322	1,223,474	185,619	385,190	282,720	

Source: VEC data.

Table 10c: Legislative Assembly result by seat: first preference vote (per cent)

District	First preference votes (%)					Seat won by
	ALP	Lib.	Nat.	Greens	Others	
Albert Park	32.33	41.49	-	16.77	9.40	ALP
Altona	51.95	31.45	-	10.03	6.58	ALP
Bass	29.36	45.35	-	9.10	16.20	LP
Bayswater	33.88	49.30	-	8.79	8.04	LP
Bellarine	43.56	40.61	-	9.42	6.41	ALP
Benambra	31.27	54.61	-	9.09	5.03	LP
Bendigo East	46.27	40.92	-	7.28	5.52	ALP
Bendigo West	47.85	32.33	-	11.75	8.06	ALP
Bentleigh	38.60	45.88	-	10.58	4.94	ALP
Box Hill	30.67	51.13	-	14.48	3.71	LP
Brighton	23.56	55.52	-	17.38	3.54	LP
Broadmeadows	64.17	17.23	-	5.60	12.99	ALP
Brunswick	37.96	16.24	-	39.65	6.16	ALP
Bulleen	30.32	56.20	-	9.78	3.71	LP
Bundoora	52.65	33.41	-	10.15	3.78	ALP
Buninyong	43.55	34.95	6.27	10.94	4.28	ALP
Burwood	34.41	50.06	-	12.99	2.54	LP
Carrum	42.22	45.15	-	7.58	5.05	ALP
Caulfield	29.74	51.70	-	16.28	2.29	LP
Clarinda	53.27	29.14	-	11.28	6.31	ALP
Cranbourne	43.37	41.30	-	4.17	11.17	ALP
Croydon	30.80	53.70	-	8.88	6.62	LP
Dandenong	52.84	28.97	-	7.71	10.48	ALP
Eildon	28.04	43.42	6.09	11.68	10.77	LP
Eltham	40.59	43.94	-	11.40	4.07	ALP
Essendon	40.90	35.86	-	18.03	5.2	ALP
Euroa	27.85	25.48	35.32	5.14	6.21	NAT
Evelyn	32.21	53.53	-	6.65	7.61	LP
Ferntree Gully	33.16	53.90	-	9.09	3.85	LP
Footscray	45.13	26.72	-	17.19	10.95	ALP
Forest Hill	35.19	49.71	-	8.92	6.18	LP
Frankston	34.98	35.84	-	7.97	21.22	ALP
Geelong	41.03	37.84	-	12.01	9.13	ALP
Gembrook	30.63	54.68	-	8.47	6.23	LP
Gippsland East	20.36	-	60.36	7.97	11.29	NAT

Gippsland South	21.87	-	57.26	9.61	11.25	NAT
Hastings	31.49	51.20	-	7.44	9.87	LP
Hawthorn	24.18	54.50	-	21.33	-	LP
Ivanhoe	35.96	40.02	-	15.64	8.38	ALP
Kew	26.50	57.19	-	16.31	-	LP
Keysborough	53.05	31.84	-	5.73	9.38	ALP
Kororoit	60.30	21.91	-	7.37	10.42	ALP
Lara	55.93	28.91	-	8.90	6.26	ALP
Lowan	18.58	-	54.09	8.53	18.80	NAT
Macedon	38.67	43.15	-	15.39	2.80	ALP
Malvern	21.38	62.63	-	15.99	-	LP
Melbourne	29.27	24.09	-	41.44	5.21	GRN
Melton	50.46	30.85	-	7.27	11.41	ALP
Mildura	11.65	-	46.09	1.84	40.41	NAT
Mill Park	59.79	27.05	-	6.92	6.25	ALP
Monbulk	37.54	40.12	-	13.39	8.94	ALP
Mordialloc	38.69	43.82	-	7.90	9.58	ALP
Mornington	27.29	58.79	-	11.71	2.20	LP
Morwell	35.59	-	44.42	4.72	15.28	NAT
Mount Waverley	36.74	51.15	-	9.56	2.55	LP
Mulgrave	47.84	40.79	-	7.04	4.32	ALP
Murray Plains	20.40	-	63.27	4.03	12.3	NAT
Narracan	29.46	55.20	-	8.96	6.37	LP
Narre Warren North	46.61	39.73	-	5.66	8.00	ALP
Narre Warren South	48.18	40.05	-	6.09	5.68	ALP
Nepean	31.14	53.33	-	11.84	3.69	LP
Niddrie	46.15	37.53	-	8.10	8.22	ALP
Northcote	40.98	16.48	-	36.28	6.25	ALP
Oakleigh	45.75	38.27	-	13.28	2.70	ALP
Ovens Valley	22.15	-	55.45	10.04	12.35	NAT
Pascoe Vale	47.70	26.60	-	16.27	9.42	ALP
Polwarth	27.99	55.39	-	11.03	5.59	LP
Prahran	25.91	44.81	-	24.75	4.52	GRN
Preston	48.42	21.16	-	16.14	14.28	ALP
Richmond	33.29	20.72	-	31.46	14.54	ALP
Ringwood	32.48	48.10	-	10.76	8.65	LP
Ripon	35.10	32.75	18.33	7.13	6.7	LP
Rowville	35.65	53.84	-	7.37	3.15	LP
Sandringham	24.37	51.58	-	13.77	10.28	LP
Shepparton	17.88	-	35.35	3.38	43.38	IND
South Barwon	33.38	46.25	-	12.31	8.07	LP
South-West Coast	28.22	56.97	-	9.79	5.02	LP
St Albans	56.40	26.88	-	9.14	7.57	ALP
Sunbury	44.10	36.08	-	7.87	11.94	ALP
Sydenham	57.37	28.02	-	7.10	7.52	ALP
Tarneit	46.80	26.39	-	9.01	17.81	ALP
Thomastown	66.70	16.98	-	5.20	11.12	ALP
Warrandyte	29.22	56.90	-	10.44	3.45	LP
Wendouree	43.24	39.66	-	9.99	7.11	ALP
Werribee	56.61	28.75	-	8.49	6.16	ALP
Williamstown	44.64	28.04	-	20.72	6.61	ALP
Yan Yean	43.01	41.85	-	7.24	7.90	ALP
Yuroke	54.09	23.62	-	6.01	16.27	ALP
Total	38.10	36.46	5.43	11.48	8.42	

Source: [VEC data](#).

Table 10d: Legislative Assembly result by seat: two-party preferred/two candidate preferred vote and swing to/from ALP

District	Two-party preferred vote (no.)		Two-party preferred vote (%)		Swing to/from ALP#	Status of Seat
	ALP	Other	ALP	Other		
Albert Park	19,370	17,206	52.96	47.04	1.66	ALP retain
Altona	26,366	15,777	62.56	37.44	0.16	ALP retain
Bass	18,049	21,664	45.45	54.55	8.15	LP retain
Bayswater	17,323	20,854	45.38	54.62	2.28	LP retain
Bellarine	21,174	17,437	54.84	45.16	6.74	ALP gain**
Benambra	15,848	23,452	40.33	59.67	6.23	LP retain
Bendigo East	22,187	18,118	55.05	44.95	2.05	ALP retain
Bendigo West	23,702	14,419	62.18	37.82	9.08	ALP retain
Bentleigh	18,449	17,881	50.78	49.22	2.08	ALP gain
Box Hill	17,298	21,744	44.31	55.69	3.81	LP retain
Brighton	15,330	22,777	40.23	59.77	4.73	LP retain
Broadmeadows	26,126	7,442	77.83	22.17	7.73	ALP retain
Brunswick	21,075	19,283 ^G	52.22	47.78 ^G	4.40	ALP retain
Bulleen	15,438	23,699	39.45	60.55	4.55	LP retain
Bundoora	22,035	13,376	62.23	37.77	1.73	ALP retain
Buninyong	20,697	16,006	56.39	43.61	4.89	ALP retain
Burwood	17,688	20,079	46.83	53.17	3.13	LP retain
Carrum	19,998	19,427	50.72	49.28	0.92	ALP gain
Caulfield	16,471	20,034	45.12	54.88	5.12	LP retain
Clarinda	24,832	12,879	65.85	34.15	3.45	ALP retain
Cranbourne	20,954	19,083	52.34	47.66	0.94	ALP retain
Croydon	15,108	22,005	40.71	59.29	2.81	LP retain
Dandenong	21,389	12,628	62.88	37.12	-1.12	ALP retain
Eildon	17,151	19,934	46.25	53.75	3.55	LP retain
Eltham	21,258	19,084	52.69	47.31	1.89	ALP retain
Essendon	22,988	16,195	58.67	41.33	4.37	ALP retain
Euroa	14,580	26,451 ^N	35.53	64.47 ^N	-0.87	NAT retain
Evelyn	14,562	21,476	40.41	59.59	3.21	LP retain
Ferntree Gully	15,238	20,849	42.23	57.77	3.73	LP retain
Footscray	25,065	13,802	64.49	35.51	-1.41	ALP retain
Forest Hill	16,717	20,286	45.18	54.82	-1.32	LP retain
Frankston	17,665	17,329	50.48	49.52	0.88	ALP gain
Geelong	22,556	17,699	56.03	43.97	2.13	ALP retain
Gembrook	15,545	22,324	41.05	58.95	-0.15	LP retain
Gippsland East	12,263	25,954 ^N	32.09	67.91 ^N	*5.19	NAT retain
Gippsland South	12,289	23,503 ^N	34.33	65.67 ^N	*6.93	NAT retain
Hastings	17,657	24,036	42.35	57.65	2.05	LP retain
Hawthorn	15,577	22,041	41.41	58.59	8.01	LP retain
Ivanhoe	20,991	18,311	53.41	46.59	1.61	ALP retain
Kew	15,510	23,899	39.36	60.64	4.96	LP retain
Keysborough	23,013	14,164	61.90	38.10	2.50	ALP retain
Kororoit	27,791	11,922	69.98	30.02	2.48	ALP retain
Lara	25,746	12,618	67.11	32.89	3.61	ALP retain
Lowan	11,199	27,773 ^N	28.74	71.26 ^N	0.54	NAT retain
Macedon	20,417	17,538	53.79	46.21	1.59	ALP retain
Malvern	12,205	23,958	33.75	66.25	4.25	LP retain
Melbourne	17,599	19,401 ^G	47.56	52.44 ^G	6.96	GRN gain
Melton	23,495	14,885	61.22	38.78	-2.38	ALP retain
Mildura	15,379 ^I	21,271 ^N	41.96 ^I	58.04 ^N	*-5.72	NAT retain

Mill Park	26,314	11,356	69.85	30.15	3.15	ALP retain
Monbulk	20,643	16,905	54.98	45.02	5.98	ALP gain**
Mordialloc	19,981	18,373	52.10	47.90	3.60	ALP gain
Mornington	14,759	24,711	37.39	62.61	3.49	LP retain
Morwell	19,343	20,787 ^N	48.20	51.80 ^N	11.50	NAT retain
Mount Waverley	16,211	19,489	45.41	54.59	4.01	LP retain
Mulgrave	19,528	16,317	54.48	45.52	2.38	ALP retain
Murray Plains	11,111	29,100 ^N	27.63	72.37 ^N	7.73	NAT retain
Narracan	16,095	25,482	38.71	61.29	4.61	LP retain
Narre Warren North	20,392	16,981	54.56	45.44	-0.04	ALP retain
Narre Warren South	22,461	18,016	55.49	44.51	-1.51	ALP retain
Nepean	16,684	22,694	42.37	57.63	6.17	LP retain
Niddrie	21,686	15,891	57.71	42.29	2.91	ALP retain
Northcote	21,783	17,088 ^G	56.04	43.96 ^G	4.32	ALP retain
Oakleigh	20,224	14,536	58.18	41.82	2.98	ALP retain
Ovens Valley	12,305	24,502 ^N	33.43	66.57 ^N	2.73	NAT retain
Pascoe Vale	26,244	13,060	66.77	33.23	-1.73	ALP retain
Polwarth	15,541	23,944	39.36	60.64	3.16	LP retain
Prahran	18,640 ^G	18,363	50.37 ^G	49.63	4.77	GRN gain
Preston	27,199	9,235	74.65	25.35	4.45	ALP retain
Richmond	20,798	19,304 ^G	51.86	48.14 ^G	2.77	ALP retain
Ringwood	16,250	19,919	44.93	55.07	1.33	LP retain
Ripon	19,728	20,329	49.25	50.75	0.75	LP retain**
Rowville	14,499	20,363	41.59	58.41	4.29	LP retain
Sandringham	15,920	21,393	42.67	57.33	7.87	LP retain
Shepparton	21,247 ^I	19,123 ^N	52.63 ^I	47.37 ^N	*12.72	IND gain
South Barwon	19,231	21,563	47.14	52.86	2.04	LP retain
South-West Coast	15,947	24,914	39.03	60.97	0.93	LP retain
St Albans	25,711	12,381	67.50	32.50	3.40	ALP retain
Sunbury	20,139	16,952	54.30	45.70	-2.10	ALP retain
Sydenham	26,301	13,394	66.26	33.74	4.66	ALP retain
Tarneit	24,139	13,239	64.58	35.42	2.98	ALP retain
Thomastown	26,611	7,317	78.43	21.57	6.33	ALP retain
Warrandyte	14,840	23,804	38.40	61.60	5.50	LP retain
Wendouree	20,270	16,063	55.79	44.21	5.69	ALP retain
Werribee	23,607	12,349	65.66	34.34	4.56	ALP retain
Williamstown	27,453	13,805	66.54	33.46	3.34	ALP retain
Yan Yean	21,831	18,858	53.65	46.35	3.65	ALP retain
Yuroke	25,839	11,869	68.52	31.48	2.42	ALP retain

Source: [VEC data](#).

Swing from estimated 2010 results based on the new boundaries, to 2014.

Notes: 'Other' refers to a Liberal candidate (unmarked), Nationals candidate (marked with an ^N), Greens candidate (marked with a ^G) or independent candidate (marked with an ^I). This is because an ALP candidate ran in each district and was one of the top two candidates in all but three seats: Mildura (Independent v Nationals), Prahran (Liberal v Greens) and Shepparton (Independent v Nationals). Swings to/from the Nationals are marked with an asterisk (*). Seats that changed hands notionally (i.e. where the seat had changed hands under the 2013 redistribution) are marked with a double asterisk (**).

The term 'two party preferred' (2PP) refers to a distribution of preferences between the two major parties - the ALP and the Coalition (Liberal/Nationals parties). 'Two candidate preferred' (2CP) refers to a distribution of preferences between the two candidates who are expected to come first and second in the election. In seats where the Greens or independent candidates were

one of the two top candidates, the two candidate preferred results are provided (Brunswick, Melbourne, Northcote, Prahran and Richmond (Greens); Mildura and Shepparton (independent)).²⁵²

Table 10e: Overall Legislative Council result by party

Party	First preference vote (no.)	First preference vote (%)	Seats won
Animal Justice Party	58,128	1.70	0
Australian Christians	35,156	1.03	0
Australian Country Alliance	23,159	0.68	0
Australian Cyclists Party	20,699	0.61	0
Greens	367,592	10.75	5
Labor	1,143,774	33.46	14
DLP	79,298	2.32	1
Family First	62,422	1.83	0
Liberal	711,548	20.82	10
Liberal Democrats	104,510	3.06	0
Liberal/Nationals	523,510	15.32	6
Palmer United Party	66,674	1.95	0
People Power Victoria-No Smart Meters	120,22	0.35	0
Rise Up Australia Party	17,670	0.52	0
Sex Party	89,737	2.63	1
Shooters and Fishers Party	56,527	1.65	2
The Basics Rock 'N' Roll Party	6,340	0.19	0
Voice for the West	11,064	0.32	0
Voluntary Euthanasia Party (Victoria)	16,769	0.49	0
Vote 1 Local Jobs	7,108	0.21	1
Other Candidates	4,573	0.13	0
Total	3,418,280	100	40

Source: VEC data.

Table 10f: Legislative Council result by region

Region	First preference votes	% of first preference vote	Candidates elected in order
Eastern Metropolitan	191,943	45.33	Mary Wooldridge (Liberal)
	120,069	28.35	Shaun Leane (Labor)
	498	0.12	Bruce Atkinson (Liberal)
	640	0.15	Richard Dalla-Riva (Liberal)
	41,665	9.85	Samantha Dunn (Greens)
Eastern Victoria	180,013	41.21	Edward O'Donohue (Liberal)
	124,762	28.56	Harriet Shing (Labor)
	455	0.10	Danny O'Brien (Nationals)
	10,481	2.40	Jeffrey Bourman (Shooters and Fishers)
	672	0.15	Daniel Mulino (Labor)
Northern Metropolitan	165,122	40.08	Jenny Mikakos (Labor)
	88,980	21.60	Craig Ondarchie (Liberal)
	71,808	17.43	Greg Barber (Greens)
	562	0.14	Nazih Elasmr (Labor)
	11,733	2.85	Fiona Patten (Sex Party)
Northern	177,415	40.54	Wendy Lovell (Liberal)
	113,617	25.96	Steven Herbert (Labor)

²⁵² See Australian Electoral Commission (2015) 'Glossary', AEC website.

Victoria	1,147	0.26	Damian Drum (Nationals)
	15,070	3.44	Daniel Young (Shooters and Fishers)
	289	0.07	Jaclyn Symes (Labor)
South-Eastern Metropolitan	166,418	39.53	Gavin Jennings (Labor)
	147,204	34.97	Gordon Rich-Phillips (Liberal)
	610	0.14	Adem Somyurek (Labor)
	426	0.10	Inga Peulich (Liberal)
	25,503	6.06	Nina Springle (Greens)
Southern Metropolitan	175,146	42.29	David Davis (Liberal)
	102,218	24.68	Philip Dalidakis (Labor)
	552	0.13	Georgie Crozier (Liberal)
	61,683	14.89	Sue Pennicuik (Greens)
	592	0.14	Margaret Fitzherbert (Liberal)
Western Metropolitan	189,454	43.49	Cesar Melhem (Labor)
	101,317	23.26	Bernie Finn (Liberal)
	408	0.09	Khalil Eideh (Labor)
	43,074	9.89	Colleen Hartland (Greens)
	11,048	2.54	Rachel Carling-Jenkins (DLP)
Western Victoria	160,000	36.56	Simon Ramsay (Liberal)
	147,214	33.64	Jaala Pulford (Labor)
	600	0.14	Josh Morris (Liberal)
	761	0.17	Gayle Tierney (Labor)
	5,501	1.26	James Purcell (Vote 1 Local Jobs)

Source: VEC data.

Table 10g: Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council voting statistics

Election	House	Enrolled	Turnout (no.)	Turnout (%)	Formal (no.)	Formal (%)	Informal (no.)	Informal (%)
2014	LA	3,806,301	3,540,140	93.01	3,355,325	94.78	184,815	5.22
	LC		3,539,762	93.00	3,418,280	96.57	121,482	3.43
2010	LA	3,582,232	3,329,865	92.96	3,164,729	95.04	165,136	4.96
	LC		3,328,861	92.93	3,216,386	96.62	112,475	3.38
2006	LA	3,353,845	3,109,907	92.73	2,967,993	95.44	141,914	4.56
	LC		3,110,172	92.73	2,976,929	95.72	133,243	4.28
2002	LA	3,228,456	3,007,342	93.15	2,904,551	96.58	102,791	3.42
	LC		3,006,200	93.12	2,895,778	96.33	110,422	3.67
1999	LA	3,159,215	2,918,546	92.38	2,830,271	96.98	88,275	3.02
	LC		2,918,410	92.38	2,820,010	96.63	98,400	3.37
1996	LA	3,000,076	2,822,531	94.08	2,757,567	97.70	64,964	2.30
	LC		2,826,467	94.21	2,753,667	97.42	72,800	2.58
1992	LA	2,855,471	2,716,297	95.13	2,612,896	96.19	103,401	3.81
	LC		2,718,936	95.22	2,607,309	95.89	111,627	4.11

Source: VEC data.

Table 10h: Victorian election results 1988 – 2014

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL																
Party	Total formal vote share (%)								Seats won*							
	1988	1992	1996	1999	2002	2006	2010	2014	1988	1992	1996	1999	2002	2006	2010	2014
Liberal	43.50	43.49	43.87	39.70	34.51	34.55	43.04	20.82^	10	14	14	11	3	15	18	14
Labor	48.13	38.56	40.49	42.23	47.49	41.45	35.36	33.46	9	5	5	8	17	19	16	14
Greens	-	-	-	2.23	10.87	10.58	12.01	10.75	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	5
Nationals	7.48	8.74	6.63	7.28	4.37	4.43	0.11#	^	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	2
Liberal/Nationals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15.32^	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Total Coalition</i>	<i>50.98</i>	<i>52.23</i>	<i>50.50</i>	<i>46.98</i>	<i>38.88</i>	<i>38.98</i>	<i>43.15</i>	<i>36.14</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>16</i>
Democratic Labour Party	-	4.54	1.58	-	-	1.97	2.33	2.32	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Sex Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.91	2.63	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Shooters and Fishers Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.65	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Vote 1 Local Jobs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Others	0.89	4.66	7.43	8.57	2.76	7.02	5.22	12.84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

*Prior to 2006, the Council comprised 44 members half of whom retired at each election.
#Note: The Nationals low vote share for 2010 is due to a Coalition ticket.
^The Nationals ran on a joint ticket with the Liberal Party in the non-metropolitan regions in 2014.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY																
Party	Total formal vote share (%)								Seats won							
	1988	1992	1996	1999	2002	2006	2010	2014	1988	1992	1996	1999	2002	2006	2010	2014
Liberal	40.50	44.00	44.00	42.22	33.91	34.44	38.03	36.46	33	52	49	36	17	23	35	30
Labor	46.50	38.67	43.10	45.57	47.95	43.06	36.25	38.10	46	27	29	42	62	55	43	47
Greens	-	-	-	1.15	9.73	10.04	11.21	11.48	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Nationals	7.80	7.75	6.70	4.80	4.30	5.17	6.75	5.53	9	9	9	7	7	9	10	8
Others	2.70	9.40	6.20	5.98	3.97	3.01	5.48	8.42	0	0	1	3	2	1	0	1

2014 Post Election Victorian Pendulum

Labor 47 - Greens 2		Liberal 30 - Nationals 8 - Independent 1	
Electoral district	Margin (%)	Electoral district	Margin (%)
Prahran (v LIB) Greens held	0.4	Ripon	0.8
Frankston	0.5	Morwell (NAT)	1.8
Carrum	0.7	Shepparton (v NAT) IND held	2.6
Bentleigh	0.8	South Barwon	2.9
Richmond (v GRN)	1.9	Burwood	3.2
Mordialloc	2.1	Eildon	3.8
Brunswick (v GRN)	2.2	Bass	4.6
Cranbourne	2.3	Bayswater	4.6
Melbourne (v ALP) Greens held	2.4	Mount Waverley	4.6
Eltham	2.7	Forest Hill	4.8
Albert Park	3.0	Caulfield	4.9
Ivanhoe	3.4	Ringwood	5.1
Yan Yean	3.7	Box Hill	5.7
Macedon	3.8	Sandringham	7.3
Sunbury	4.3	Hastings	7.6
Mulgrave	4.5	Nepean	7.6
Narre Warren North	4.6	Ferntree Gully	7.8
Bellarine	4.8	Mildura (NAT v IND)	8.0
Bendigo East	5.0	Rowville	8.4
Monbulk	5.0	Hawthorn	8.6
Narre Warren South	5.5	Gembrook	9.0
Wendouree	5.8	Croydon	9.3
Geelong	6.0	Evelyn	9.6
Northcote (v GRN)	6.0	Benambra	9.7
Buninyong	6.4	Brighton	9.8
Niddrie	7.7	Bulleen	10.6
Oakleigh	8.2	Kew	10.6
Essendon	8.7	Polwarth	10.6
Melton	11.2	South-West Coast	11.0
Keysborough	11.9	Narracan	11.3
Bendigo West	12.2	Warrandyte	11.6
Bundoora	12.2	Mornington	12.6
Altona	12.6	Euroa (NAT)	14.5
Dandenong	12.9	Gippsland South (NAT)	15.7
Footscray	14.5	Malvern	16.3
Tarneit	14.6	Ovens Valley (NAT)	16.6
Werribee	15.7	Gippsland East (NAT)	17.9
Clarinda	15.8	Lowan (NAT)	21.3
Sydenham	16.3	Murray Plains (NAT)	22.4
Williamstown	16.5		
Pascoe Vale	16.8		
Lara	17.1		
St Albans	17.5		
Yuroke	18.5		
Mill Park	19.9		
Kororoit	20.0		
Preston	24.7		
Broadmeadows	27.8		
Thomastown	28.4		

The pendulum shows two-party preferred (2PP) AND two-candidate preferred (2CP) margins where applicable. The equivalent 2PP swings for the 2CP seats shown in the pendulum are: the notionally Labor seats of Northcote 29.8 per cent; Brunswick 29.4 per cent; Richmond 23.1 per cent and Melbourne 20.5 per cent and the notionally Nationals seats of Mildura 20.2 per cent and Shepparton 13.3 per cent and the notionally Liberal seat of Prahran 0.03 per cent.

denotes Greens held seats

denotes Independent held seat

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