



The 2018 Victorian State Election

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Executive Summary

This paper examines the 2018 Victorian state election, providing description and analysis of the results in two main sections. Part A provides an overview of the election campaign, key policies, news coverage and polling data. Part B provides statistical tables of the results for each district and region.

Key results

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

In the Legislative Assembly:

- Labor won a total of 55 seats
- the Liberal Nationals Coalition won 27 seats (21 to the Liberal Party and six to the Nationals)
- the Victorian Greens won three seats: Brunswick, Melbourne and Prahran (and lost Northcote which they had won from Labor at the November 2017 by-election)
- three independents won seats: Russell Northe retained Morwell (the seat he held since 2006 as a member of the Nationals, and from August 2017 as an independent member after resigning from the party); Suzanna Sheed retained the seat of Shepparton which she won at the 2014 election; and Ali Cupper won the seat of Mildura from the Nationals.

In the Legislative Council:

- Labor won a total of 18 seats
- the Coalition won 11 seats (10 to the Liberal Party and one to the Nationals)
- Derryn Hinch's Justice Party won three seats (although one candidate later resigned from the party to sit as an independent)
- the Liberal Democrats won two seats
- the Animal Justice Party won one seat
- the Australian Greens won one seat
- Fiona Patten's Reason Party won one seat
- the Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party Victoria won one seat
- Sustainable Australia won one seat
- Transport Matters won one seat.

The Labor Party:

- won eight more seats in the Legislative Assembly than the 2014 election
- lost the electoral district of Brunswick to the Victorian Greens (but won back Northcote from the Victorian Greens, as mentioned above)
- won four additional seats in the Legislative Council, two each off the Liberal Party and the Australian Greens.

The Coalition:

- lost 11 seats in the Legislative Assembly since the 2014 election
- lost a total of five seats in the Legislative Council: four Liberal, one Nationals.

The Greens:

- won three seats in the Legislative Assembly, one more than at the 2014 election
- lost four seats in the Legislative Council.

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Pendulum

2018 Post Election Victorian Pendulum

List of Abbreviations

AJP	Animal Justice Party
ABP	Aussie Battler Party
ACP	Australian Country Party
ALA	Australian Liberty Alliance
DHJP	Derryn Hinch's Justice Party
DLP	Democratic Labour Party
FPRP	Fiona Patten's Reason Party
Greens/GRN	The Australian Greens – Victoria
Labor/ALP	Australian Labor Party – Victorian Branch
Liberal/Lib	Liberal Party of Australia – Victorian Division
Lib Dems	Liberal Democratic Party
Nationals	National Party of Australia – Victoria
PBO	Parliamentary Budget Office
SFFPV	Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party Victoria
SA	Sustainable Australia
VEC	Victorian Electoral Commission
TM	Transport Matters Party
VS	Victorian Socialists

Notes

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

Victorian State Election 2018: Overview of Results

The following charts and tables show the proportion of first preference votes received by the parties that won seats in Parliament, and the composition of the Parliament’s two chambers following the 2018 state election:

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

Party	ALP	Liberal	Nationals	Greens	Others
%	42.86	30.43	4.77	10.71	11.23

Source: [VEC website](#).

Chart A: The Legislative Assembly—Seat Results

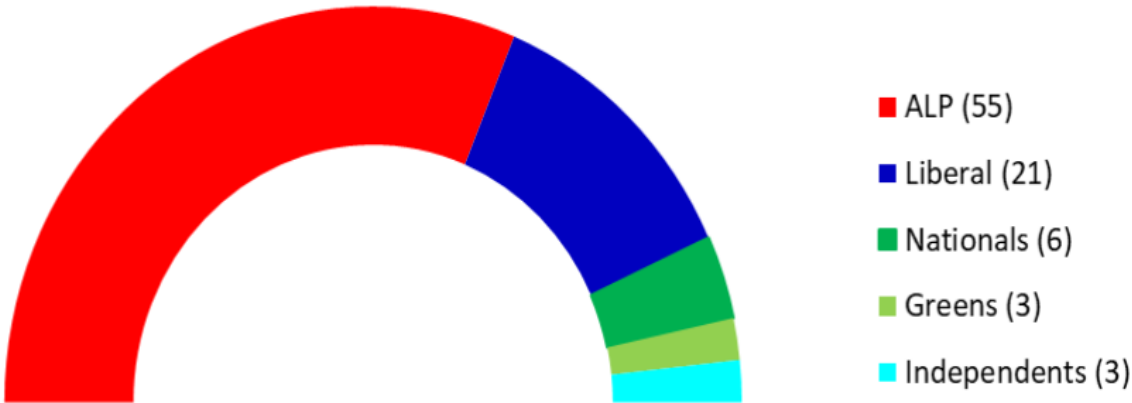
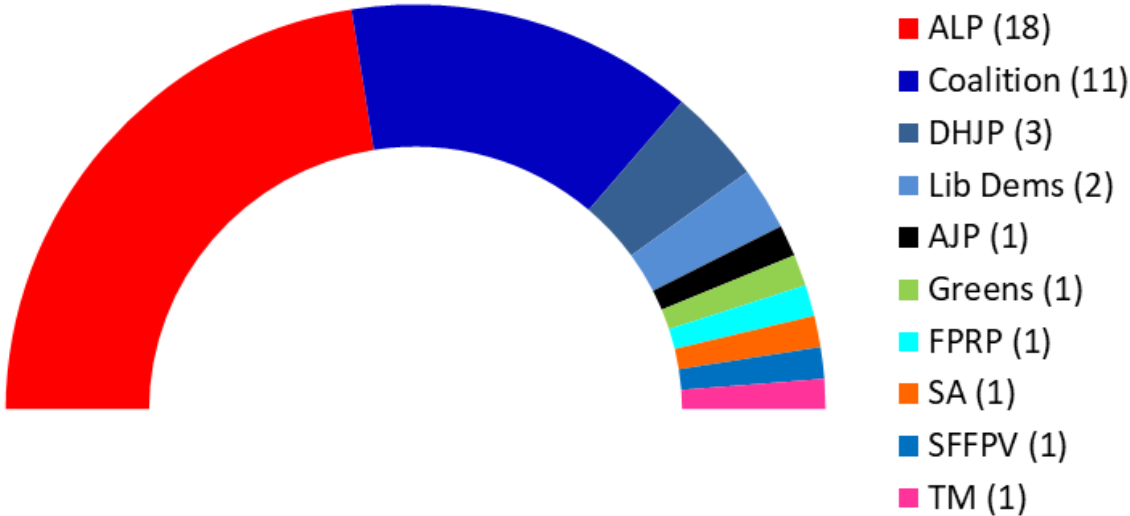


Table B: The Legislative Council—Proportion of first preference vote received by party

Party	ALP	Coalition	Greens	DHJP	SFFPV	Lib Dems
%	39.22	29.43	9.25	3.75	3.02	2.50
Party	AJP	FPRP	SA	TM	Others	
%	2.47	1.37	0.83	0.62	7.54	

Source: [VEC website](#).

Chart B: The Legislative Council—Seat Results



Introduction

Once again, the outcome of a Victorian election has produced surprising results. Political commentators and the opinion polls all predicted a Labor victory at the election, but the swing to Labor was greater than predicted. For example, the Newspoll quoted in *The Australian*¹ on the day of the election, predicted that Labor would achieve a two-party preferred vote of 53.5 per cent and the Coalition 46.5 per cent, but the actual results were 57.3 per cent and 42.7 per cent respectively.

The same article discussed the election outcome as potentially a narrow win for the returning Labor government or the 'possibility of the government losing its lower house majority, forcing it into a deal with either the Greens or independents'. Such media commentary and speculation, on the possibility of a hung Parliament or Labor in minority government with the support of the Greens, was persistent.²

The unexpected results were not just Labor's success in the lower house, where they won 55 out of 88 seats. They also extended to the Liberal Party's loss of seats in the party's heartland eastern suburbs of Melbourne, such as the seat of Hawthorn. Hitherto safe 'blue-ribbon' Liberal Party seats, including Brighton in Melbourne's sand-belt, were also reduced to marginal status. So too was Sandringham, which experienced a higher primary vote for the Liberal Party at the 2014 election (51.58 per cent) than its **two-party preferred** results at the 2018 election (50.65 per cent).

Moreover, the four marginal sand-belt seats of Bentleigh, Mordialloc, Carrum and Frankston, regarded by commentators as deciding the fate of recent elections,³ were decisively retained by the Labor party and are no longer marginal seats.

As stated earlier, the number of independent candidates elected to Parliament rose to three at the 2018 election.

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 11 seats between them. Notably, Derryn Hinch's Justice Party won three seats in the Legislative Council. But was suddenly reduced to two, when Catherine Cumming quit the party to sit as an independent, before the new members had been sworn in.⁴

As stated earlier, this paper provides a description and analysis of the results of the 2018 Victorian state election, set out in two main sections.

Part A provides an overview of the election campaign, the leaders' debate, preference deals, social media, key policies of the parties, and polls data in the lead up to, and during the campaign.

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

¹ J. Ferguson (2018) 'Labor on track for poll victory', *The Australian*, 24 November.

² T. Walker (2018) 'Election's too close to call', *The Age*, 6 November and P. Rodan (2018) 'Outlook uncertain in Labor's Victoria', *Inside Story*, 6 August.

³ A. Green (2018) [The city seats, the regions and the train line that will decide Victoria's election](#), *ABC News* online, 23 November.

⁴ R. Willingham (2018) 'Derryn Hinch's Justice Party loses one of its three Victorian Upper House MPs', *ABC News* online, 18 December.

PART A: THE CAMPAIGN

3. The campaign

3.1 Labor

The Labor Party campaign, led by Daniel Andrews, has been described by media commentators as disciplined, positive and with a clear agenda. It focused on several core policy areas of transport, health, and education. Mr Andrews also promoted his record in government of delivering on the promises he made at the last election. Similarly to the party's successful campaign in 2014, Labor made full use of its experienced party machine and army of volunteers for grassroots campaigning.⁵

Labor ran a targeted campaign against the Coalition, which included a billboard featuring the face of Opposition Leader Mathew Guy alongside three federal ministers considered unpopular in Victoria: Tony Abbott, Peter Dutton and Scott Morrison. A number of commentators regarded these tactics as effective for Labor.⁶

The Labor Party also ran a negative campaign against the Greens, focusing on damaging accusations about several Green candidates.⁷

3.2 Coalition

As has been extensively discussed in the media, the Coalition campaign largely focused on the issues of crime, gang violence, terrorism and Labor's 'red shirts' controversy, which media commentators stated failed to resonate with the majority of voters.⁸

It was also widely reported that the Liberal Party 'brand' was out of favour with moderate-leaning Victorian Liberal Party voters.⁹ It was stated that there was enduring anger at the federal parliamentary Liberal Party's leadership spill (when Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull was replaced by Scott Morrison), and that this was symptomatic of a shift to the right by right-wing elements within the Liberal Party. Essentially, it was said, the party's identity and policies no longer reflected the views of modern, economically conservative, but socially progressive, Liberal Party voters.¹⁰

Additionally, ongoing conflict within the head office of the Victorian Liberal Party, such as that between the president of the Victorian branch, Michael Kroger, and major funder, the Cormack Foundation—

⁵ F. Tomazin (2018) '[A highly disciplined plan that paid off for Dan](#)', *The Age*, 26 November, N. Savva, (2018) '[This party is over and the hangover has just begun](#)', *The Australian*, 29 November and J. Kennett, (2018) '[Disciplined campaign delivers a big dividend](#)', *The Australian*, 26 November.

⁶ T. Colebatch (2018), '[Washed up in the wash-up](#)', *Inside Story*, 30 November.

⁷ M. McKenzie-Murray (2018) '[Inside the Victorian election dirt files](#)', *The Saturday Paper*, 1 December; J. Dowling (2018), '[Ratnam Green about the gills over Labor's smears](#)', *Herald Sun*, 26 November; and C. Lucas and S. Ilanbey (2018) '[Aspirations wilt as Greens play their own blame game](#)', *Sunday Age*, 25 November.

⁸ See for example: J. Ferguson (2018) '[Labor ahead as Libs fail to make case on law and order](#)', *The Australian*, 24 November, S. Carney (2018) '[Liberals' outrage a vote loser](#)', *Herald Sun*, 27 November and T. Colebatch op. cit.

⁹ C. Wahlquist and P. Karp (2018) '[Victorian Liberal moderates unload on party hardliners after election wipeout](#)', *The Guardian*, 26 November.

¹⁰ See for example: P. Strangio (2018) '[Victorian Labor's thumping win reveals how out of step with voters Liberals have become](#)', *The Conversation*, 25 November; J. Campbell (2018) '[Liberals don't fit anymore and it's not just Victoria](#)', *Herald Sun*, 29 November and P. Kelly (2018) '[Australia's changed and Libs have been left behind](#)', *The Australian*, 28 November.

as well as alleged branch stacking by factional leader Marcus Bastiaan—hit the headlines prior to the election and reinforced perceptions of division.¹¹

3.3 Greens

Media commentators have been critical of the Greens' election campaign.¹² Rohan Leppert, Greens Councillor for the City of Melbourne, conducted an internal post-election review following the disappointing result for the party. It was reported that Mr Leppert identified a number of procedural failures around resource allocation and recommended an overhaul of recruitment processes, because inadequate vetting of candidates led to a succession of damaging accusations with regard to four Greens candidates.¹³

It was further reported that the review blamed the Labor Party and the media for exploiting Greens scandals. It also blamed Glenn Druery for arranging preference swaps among the micro-parties in the upper house, which contributed to the loss of four of its Members in the Legislative Council since the 2014 election.¹⁴

3.4 Preference deals

The greatest media coverage with regard to preference deals revolved around Mr Druery, the so-called 'preference whisperer', and a group of micro-parties.¹⁵ It was reported that Mr Druery met with a group of eight aspiring micro-party candidates for the Legislative Council and assured them that if they all hired him to devise their group preference tickets, he could get them into Parliament. It was also reported that Mr Druery charged an initial fee of \$5,000 and a further \$30,000 if they were elected.¹⁶

In addition to running a personal business organising vote preferences, Mr Druery is a taxpayer-funded staffer for Senator Derryn Hinch. Fiona Patten (standing for Fiona Patten's Reason Party in the Northern Metropolitan region at the 2018 election) raised this as a potential conflict of interest in a complaint to the Victorian Electoral Commission.¹⁷ According to the media, the Australian Sex Party (the predecessor to the FPRP) had paid Mr Druery to help get Ms Patten into Parliament at the 2014 election, but Ms Patten refused to pay him the fees he was asking for at the following election—reportedly, an initial fee of \$5,000 and a further fee of \$50,000 if she was successful.¹⁸

3.5 Social media

On a global scale, social media has become an increasingly crucial part of any election strategy. The 2018 Victorian election was no exception, with the uptake of social media having grown significantly compared to the 2014 election.¹⁹ According to a 2018 report by the University of Canberra, there has

¹¹ See for example: A. Patrick (2018) 'Big ask for Liberals: Victoria poor and divided, the party is staring at an uphill struggle in the state', *Australian Financial Review*, 26 October; J. Dowling (2018) 'Mate versus mate: Emails out infighting', *Herald Sun*, 14 September and A. Patrick (2018) 'Vic Liberals 'ripped apart' by faction fight', *Australian Financial Review*, 21 March.

¹² J. Ferguson (2018) 'In danger now of going the way of the Democrats', *The Australian*, 27 November.

¹³ B. Hall (2019) 'Greens brutal poll post-mortem', *The Saturday Age*, 30 March; A. Carey (2019) 'Greens' election review lays blame inside and out', *The Age*, 29 March and P. Durkin (2018) 'Greens backlash over sex allegations', *AFR Weekend*, 24 November.

¹⁴ R. Baxendale (2019) 'Scandal-hit Greens urge stronger scrutiny of candidates', *The Australian*, 29 March.

¹⁵ B. Preiss and R. Millar (2018) 'Massive payday looms for vote 'whisperer'', *The Age*, 27 November.

¹⁶ R. Millar, B. Preiss and B. Schneiders (2018) 'Whisperer's quiet word on working the numbers', *Saturday Age*, 15 December.

¹⁷ R. Millar, B. Schneiders and B. Preiss (2018) 'Preference whisperer Glenn Druery faces police probe', *The Age*, 7 November.

¹⁸ B. Preiss (2018) 'Patten's progress', *The Age*, 12 December.

¹⁹ S. Park et al. (2018) *Digital News Report: Australia 2018*, Canberra, News & Media research Centre, University of Canberra, p. 20.

been a six per cent increase in the use of social media for news, up from 46 per cent in 2017 to 52 per cent in 2018.²⁰ The report also noted that from 2016 to 2017, there was an 11 per cent increase in the number of social news customers subscribing to the feeds of politicians—a statistic which aligns with the overall rise in the use of social media.²¹ Today, 22 per cent of Australian social media users are following politicians on social media, making social media a central focus of candidates' campaigns.²²

The 2018 Victorian election saw the use of advertising platforms such as Google Ads, Facebook and other intermediaries by political parties to target voters. For the first time in Victoria, the Liberal Party adopted i360 software to 'micro-target' undecided voters—the same program was used by Donald Trump's campaign in the 2016 US election.²³ These kinds of tools develop an infrastructure of data collection and targeting capacities, coined by experts as the Digital Influencing Machine (DIM).²⁴ Using DIM, political parties are able to target particular demographics; be it by age, gender, location or marital status.

A 2014 parliamentary committee inquiry into the impact of social media on Victorian elections revealed concern that current legislation has not kept pace with the increasing use of social media as a communication tool and platform for political electoral advertisements.²⁵ At present, social media is not explicitly mentioned in either the *Electoral Act 2002* (Vic) or the *Local Government Act 1989* (Vic). As a result, regulations pertaining to the authorisation of social media for Victorian election candidates remain unclear. At the national level, a parliamentary committee inquiry into the conduct of the 2016 federal election raised similar concerns, and recommended greater clarity be brought to the legal framework surrounding social media services.²⁶

Increased social media engagement, coupled with an absence of relevant policies and guidelines for candidates, culminated in greater media scrutiny of candidates' social media presence in the lead-up to the 2018 election. Three election candidates and one political staffer resigned (or offered to resign) after compromising materials surfaced from their social media histories.²⁷

The unfiltered nature of social media also made it easier to disseminate misinformation. In one instance, online video footage was edited in a way that misrepresented a politician's stance on the issue of fracking, with the edited footage posted on Facebook and Twitter.²⁸ There were also reported instances of Facebook pages and fake accounts being used to attack party candidates.²⁹

Twitter was widely used throughout the campaign to report from the hustings. The most frequently circulated hashtags were #vicvotes, #vicpol and #springst, with the VEC publishing the election results live via their virtual Twitter tally room.³⁰

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ *ibid.*, p. 97.

²² *ibid.*

²³ B. Preiss (2018) 'Big Data: Political groups aim to win by homing in on small details', *The Age*, 16 September.

²⁴ A. Nadler et al. (2018) *Weaponizing the Digital Influence Machine: The Political Perils of Online Ad Tech*, New York, Data & Society Research Institute, p. 9.

²⁵ Electoral Matters Committee (2014) *Inquiry into the impact of social media on Victorian elections and Victoria's electoral administration*, Discussion paper, Melbourne, The Committee, August, p. 9.

²⁶ Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters (2018) *Report on the conduct of the 2016 federal election and matters related thereto*, Final report, Canberra, The Committee, November, p. 60.

²⁷ M. McKenzie-Murray (2018) *Inside the Vic election dirt files*, *The Saturday Paper*, 1 December.

²⁸ A. Carey (2018) *Could fake news infect the Victorian election?*, *The Age*, 2 September.

²⁹ M. McKenzie-Murray (2018) *Withered Greens*, *The Saturday Paper*, 1 December.

³⁰ See: VEC (2018) '@electionsvic', Twitter.

4. Key policies of the parties

A comprehensive catalogue of the Labor, Coalition and Greens policy platforms for the 2018 state election is beyond the scope of this paper. However, some key policies put forward by these parties are summarised below. The policies of the minor parties who were elected and the successful independent candidates are also discussed.

4.1 The Labor Party

The incumbent Andrews Government launched its 2018 election campaign on 28 October at Monash University's Clayton campus.³¹ Under the theme of 'delivering for all Victorians', the Government announced a number of initiatives that it would pursue if re-elected.³² According to analysis by David Hayward, professor of public policy at RMIT University, Labor pledged a total \$23.2 billion worth of election promises.³³ Many of these can be grouped under three key areas of health, infrastructure and education.

Health

Royal Commission into Mental Health

The Government committed, within 100 days of being re-elected, to establishing a Royal Commission into Mental Health, billed as 'the first of its kind in Australia'.³⁴ In explaining this commitment, the Government highlighted that one in five Victorians experience a mental illness, and that the leading cause of death in Australia for people aged 15–44 is suicide.³⁵

According to a Government factsheet, the proposed Royal Commission will focus on:

- access to early intervention and community outreach;
- the quality and cost of care available and how this determines who gets treatment;
- better support for families affected by the mental health of a loved one;
- and the relationship between acute and community-based services and how this impacts on the quality and continuity of mental health care.³⁶

The Commission's role will be to report on the current state of the system, provide recommendations on how best to prevent mental illness and suicide, as well as support Victorians suffering from mental illness and raise awareness about mental health as an issue.³⁷ The Commission will also be tasked with providing advice to the Government on ways in which the *Victorian Mental Health Act 2014* may be reformed in future.³⁸

Hospitals

Another commitment was the promise to build, upgrade and expand ten community hospitals, through a total budget allocation of \$675 million.³⁹ Under the policy, new hospitals are to be built in Whittlesea, Eltham, Point Cook and Fishermans Bend, while existing medical services in Craigieburn, Cranbourne,

³¹ AAP (2018) 'Showdown as parties launch campaigns', *Geelong Advertiser*, 29 October.

³² A. Carey (2018) 'Health back on Andrews' agenda', *The Age*, 29 October.

³³ Cited in (2018) 'Labor and Coalition roll out 'eye-popping' spending commitments ahead of Victorian election', *ABC News*, 2 November.

³⁴ D. Andrews, Premier of Victoria (2018) *Royal Commission into mental health*, media release, 24 October.

³⁵ *ibid.*

³⁶ Victorian Labor (2018) *Mental health Royal Commission*, Fact sheet, Election 2018.

³⁷ *ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*; Royal Commission into Victoria's Mental Health System (2019) *Terms of reference*, 22 February.

³⁹ Victorian Labor (2018) *Ten new community hospitals to give patients the best care*, Victorian Labor policy document, Election 2018.

Pakenham, Philip Island, Sunbury and Torquay will be expanded to become community hospitals.⁴⁰ According to a Government factsheet, the funding will expand capacity for:

- second- and third-tier health services—such as dental and day surgery;
- low acuity, urgent care—such as diagnostic services including medical imaging, pathology and pharmacy; and
- land acquisition and planning for future development in areas where community health services are in high demand.⁴¹

The Government also stated its intention, if re-elected, to invest up to \$1.5 billion to build a new 504-bed hospital in Footscray, with construction scheduled to start in 2020.⁴² It further committed to a \$562 million redevelopment of Frankston Hospital, which would deliver 120 new hospital beds and expand maternity and children’s services—also due to start in 2020.⁴³

Free dental care

Another proposed initiative was the provision of dental vans to schools, to provide free dental care to every public school student.⁴⁴ Under the \$396 million scheme, 250 dental vans would be sent out to provide students with check-ups and fillings, which Labor asserted would save families approximately \$400 per year.⁴⁵

Workforce and infrastructure

Promises relating to the health sector’s workforce and infrastructure included an allocation of \$109 million for emergency services, which would allow for the recruitment of 90 new full-time paramedics.⁴⁶ Of that amount, \$25 million is set aside for building and upgrading ambulance branches, as well as for the delivery of 23 new vehicles.⁴⁷ A further \$29.9 million was allocated towards converting 15 single-crew stations in regional Victoria into dual-crew stations.⁴⁸

Labor further promised to recruit 1,100 new nurses and midwives, predominantly to increase nurse-to-patient ratios.⁴⁹ To support its initiative, Labor also committed to establishing a \$50 million Nursing and Midwifery Workforce Development Fund to retain, recruit and train more nurses and midwives.⁵⁰

Other health commitments

Additional commitments in the health portfolio included funding for an extra 500,000 specialist appointments in regional communities,⁵¹ and the expansion of the Centenary of Anzac Centre, which

⁴⁰ Victorian Labor (2018) *Ten new community hospitals to give patients the best care*, op. cit.

⁴¹ Victorian Labor (2018) *Community Hospitals*, Fact sheet, Election 2018.

⁴² Victorian Labor (2018) *Building a better hospital for Melbourne’s inner west*, Victorian Labor policy document, Election 2018.

⁴³ Victorian Labor (2018) *Frankston Hospital redevelopment*, Fact sheet, Election 2018.

⁴⁴ (2018) ‘Victorian Liberals promise ‘boot camp’ to teach discipline to non-violent offenders’, *ABC News*, 18 November.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁶ Victorian Labor (2018) *Backing our paramedics to keep saving lives*, Victorian Labor policy document, Election 2018.

⁴⁷ Victorian Labor (2018) *Paramedics Package*, Fact sheet, Election 2018.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Victorian Labor (2018) *Finishing what we started: Stronger nurse to patient ratios*, Victorian Labor policy document, Election 2018.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ Victorian Labor (2018) *More specialist care closer to home for regional Victorians*, Victorian Labor policy document, Election 2018.

provides mental health services to current and former Australian Defence Force personnel and their families.⁵²

Infrastructure

Suburban Rail Loop

A key announcement during the Government's election campaign was the commitment to build a Suburban Rail Loop (SRL), declaring it the 'biggest transport project in Australian history'.⁵³ The project has an estimated price tag of around \$50 billion.⁵⁴

The proposed SRL connects every major metropolitan train line, circles Melbourne's suburbs and involves up to 12 new underground stations.⁵⁵ Regional 'super hubs' at Clayton, Broadmeadows and Sunshine will include interchanges with the new underground network, which will also take in Melbourne Airport.⁵⁶

The Government stated that the project is set to create around 20,000 jobs during its construction,⁵⁷ and is expected to remove 200,000 cars from major roads.⁵⁸ Labor allocated \$300 million for a business case, design and pre-construction works, with construction on the first stages of the SRL to commence by the end of 2022.⁵⁹

Level Crossings

Level crossing removal also featured in Labor's election pitch, with a commitment to remove a further 25 level crossings by 2025.⁶⁰ The locations were chosen following analysis by the Level Crossing Removal Authority and Transport for Victoria, and the expanded project has been allocated funding of \$6.6 billion.⁶¹ Some of the removal projects are predicted to involve the construction of elevated rail—also known as sky rail—on the Mernda and Upfield lines.⁶²

North East Link

Labor committed to begin procurement on the North East Link project within its first 100 days, if re-elected.⁶³ The project was allocated \$16.5 billion, and aims to connect key growth areas in Melbourne's northern and south-eastern suburbs.⁶⁴ Construction is slated to begin in 2020, twin three-lane tunnels, lowered roads in some sections, green bridges, plus cycling and walking paths.⁶⁵

⁵² Victorian Labor (2018) *Supporting the men and women who protect us*, Victorian Labor policy document, Election 2018.

⁵³ Victorian Labor (2018) *Building the Suburban Rail Loop*, Victorian Labor policy document, Election 2018.

⁵⁴ R. Willingham & J. Oaten (2018) 'Melbourne suburban train loop, including 12 new stations, promised by Victorian Labor', *ABC News*, 28 August.

⁵⁵ D. Andrews, Premier of Victoria (2018) *Underground Suburban Rail Loop to connect Victoria*, media release, 28 August.

⁵⁶ Victorian Labor (2018) *Building Suburban Rail Loop*, Fact sheet, Election 2018.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁸ Victorian Labor (2018) *Underground Suburban Rail Loop to connect Victoria*, Victorian Labor policy document, Election 2018.

⁵⁹ D. Andrews, Premier of Victoria (2018) *Underground Suburban Rail Loop to connect Victoria*, *op. cit.*

⁶⁰ Victorian Labor (2018) *Removing 75 level crossings*, Victorian Labor policy document, Election 2018.

⁶¹ Victorian Labor (2018) *Removing 75 level crossings*, *op. cit.*

⁶² J. Longbottom (2018) 'Sky rail to form part of 25 new Melbourne level crossing removals pledged by Labor Government', *ABC News*, 21 October.

⁶³ Victorian Labor (2018) *Fast tracking the missing link in Melbourne's road network*, Victorian Labor policy document, Election 2018.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*

⁶⁵ (2018) 'North East Link road project design to feature twin tunnels, green bridges, new cycling paths', *ABC News*, 9 September.

Airport Rail Link

Labor committed to provide up to \$5 billion towards the construction of a Melbourne Airport Rail Link, matching the commitment already made by the Federal Government.⁶⁶ The link is intended to pass through a new ‘super station’ in Sunshine—the preferred route of both the State and Federal Governments.⁶⁷

It is expected that private-sector funding will also be required, with the total cost of the project estimated between \$8–13 billion.⁶⁸ Construction is set to begin by 2022, although may begin as early as 2020.⁶⁹

Western Rail Plan/ Fast regional rail

A further policy promise was a new Western Rail Plan. Through a funding commitment of \$100 million, in addition to the \$50 million allocated in the 2018–19 Victorian Budget,⁷⁰ the Plan allows for the full separation of regional services on the Ballarat and Geelong lines to enable future fast rail.⁷¹

The pitch also included undertaking a full business case and technical work into the delivery of two new electrified metro train lines to Melton and Wyndham Vale, and additional tracks between the CBD and Sunshine for extra services—likely through a new rail tunnel that would also be integrated with the proposed Airport Rail Link.⁷² The Government estimated that this would reduce the travel time to Geelong to 35 minutes, and to less than an hour for the journey to Ballarat.⁷³ Media reports indicate that the Plan is expected to take a decade to be completed.⁷⁴

Other Infrastructure commitments

Additional commitments in the infrastructure portfolio included a further \$128 million contribution towards the redevelopment of the Geelong Performing Arts Centre, and the creation of 11,000 new spaces at train station carparks.⁷⁵

Education

3-year-old kinder

A key policy announced by Labor in the lead-up to the 2018 election was the introduction of three-year-old kinder. Under the policy, children in Victoria will start kindergarten one year earlier, at age three, in order to receive an additional year of learning before starting school.⁷⁶ Labor deemed this policy initiative to be ‘the largest social, economic and educational reform ever undertaken in early childhood learning in Victoria’s history’, and one which will require \$4.8 billion over 11 years.⁷⁷

⁶⁶ Victorian Labor (2018) *Airport Rail to take off under Labor Government*, Victorian Labor policy document, Election 2018.

⁶⁷ T. Minear & A. Galloway (2018) ‘Link gets moving’, *Herald Sun*, 21 November 2018.

⁶⁸ Victorian Labor (2018) *Airport Rail to take off under Labor Government*, op. cit.

⁶⁹ (2018) ‘Melbourne Airport rail construction set to start by 2022 after State Government pledges funding’, *ABC News*, 22 July; and T. Minear & A. Galloway (2018) op. cit.

⁷⁰ D. Andrews, Premier of Victoria (2018) *A real plan for fast regional rail and metro rail for the west*, media release, 16 October.

⁷¹ Victorian Labor (2018) *Western Rail Plan*, Victorian Labor policy document, Election 2018.

⁷² Victorian Labor (2018) *Western Rail Plan*, op. cit.

⁷³ R. Willingham (2018) ‘Melbourne train link promised between CBD and Sunshine under Labor’s airport rail plan’, *ABC News*, 16 October.

⁷⁴ J. Taylor (2018) ‘Labor rolls out its own fast rail plan’, *Surf Coast Times*, 25 October.

⁷⁵ Victorian Labor (2018) *More parking for commuters*, Fact sheet, Election 2018.⁷⁵

⁷⁶ Victorian Labor (2018) *Ready for school: Kinder for every three-year-old*, Fact sheet, Election 2018.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*

These changes would be implemented from 2020, with every three-year-old Victorian child to have access to five hours of subsidised kinder by 2022. This would then be progressively scaled up to a total of 15 hours per week over the following decade.⁷⁸ The scheme would be first to be rolled out in regional Victoria, before expanding to other areas.⁷⁹

Schools

Labor also allocated \$850 million to build 100 new schools over the next two terms of government.⁸⁰ Forty-five schools are promised for the first term, and are planned for council areas in Greater Melbourne as well as Geelong, Ballarat and the Macedon Ranges.⁸¹ Labor has also committed to building a kindergarten alongside each new primary school, starting with the first eight schools that are due to open in 2021.⁸²

Additionally, Labor committed \$400 million for a fund in partnership with the non-government school sector to upgrade and build new independent and Catholic schools around Victoria.⁸³ The fund will also be used to assist with the removal of asbestos and cladding in non-government schools.⁸⁴

Other education commitments

Other commitments within the education portfolio included additional funding for the TAFE sector,⁸⁵ as well as the provision of free sanitary products in every government school from term three of 2019.⁸⁶

Other portfolios

Other Labor commitments put forward during the campaign included the following proposed legislative changes:

- amending the *Occupational Health and Safety Act 2004* (Vic) to introduce a new criminal offence of workplace manslaughter;⁸⁷
- making 'wage theft' a criminal offence;⁸⁸
- introducing WorkCover reforms relating to mental injury claims;⁸⁹
- creating a new Victorian Fair Jobs Code;⁹⁰
- introducing protections against overdevelopment under the *Planning and Environment Act 1987* (Vic),⁹¹ and

⁷⁸ D. Andrews, Premier of Victoria (2018) *Ready for school: Kinder for every three-year-old*, media release, 4 October.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*

⁸⁰ R. Willingham (2018) 'Liberal Party not fielding candidates in Melbourne, Northcote, Richmond and Brunswick', *ABC News*, 7 November.

⁸¹ R. Willingham (2018) 'Liberal Party not fielding candidates in Melbourne, Northcote, Richmond and Brunswick', *op. cit.*

⁸² *ibid.*

⁸³ D. Andrews, Premier of Victoria (2018) *Delivering great local schools across Victoria*, media release, 8 October.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*

⁸⁵ D. Andrews, Premier of Victoria (2018) *Better than ever: Rebuilding Victoria's TAFE*, media release, 8 October.

⁸⁶ J. Hennessy, Minister for Health (2018) *Supplying free tampons and pads in all public schools*, media release, 15 November.

⁸⁷ Victorian Labor (2018) *Workplace manslaughter laws to protect Victorians*, Victorian Labor policy document, Election 2018.

⁸⁸ Victorian Labor (2018) *Dodgy employers to face jail for wage theft*, Victorian Labor policy document, Election 2018.

⁸⁹ Victorian Labor (2018) *Safeguarding the legal rights of injured Victorians*, Fact sheet, Election 2018.

⁹⁰ Victorian Labor (2018) *Victorian Fair Jobs Code*, Fact sheet, Election 2018.

⁹¹ Victorian Labor (2018) *Better protecting our environment, heritage and neighbourhoods*, Fact sheet, Election 2018.

- enshrining public holidays in law.⁹²

Some other commitments included:

- \$1.24 billion for the Solar Homes program, which offers a 50 per cent rebate to eligible Victorian households purchasing solar panel systems;⁹³
- \$209 million to build 1,000 public housing properties;⁹⁴
- \$153 million for gambling harm prevention;⁹⁵
- \$150 million to create over 6,500 hectares of parkland around Melbourne, including new walking and bike trails, and \$10 million for local governments to upgrade or landscape suburban spaces;⁹⁶
- \$20 million for the Living Heritage Grants Program;⁹⁷
- \$12.7 million to assist WorkSafe inspectors dealing with health and safety risks on major construction projects;⁹⁸
- \$10 million for grants to small-scale agribusinesses who produce craft food, beer and spirits;⁹⁹
- \$6 million for a Prevention and Early Intervention Fund for programs run by Victoria Police to support the resilience and mental health of staff;¹⁰⁰
- \$4 million for the National Centre for Farmer Health;¹⁰¹
- \$3.75 million towards a scenic railway in the Yarra Valley;¹⁰²
- \$3.4 million for multicultural senior citizen groups;¹⁰³
- \$3 million for the *Safer Farms* workplace training and support program;¹⁰⁴
- \$3 million for animal welfare grants, as well as \$2 million for not-for-profit and community vet clinics;¹⁰⁵ and
- \$3 million for service providers in the homelessness sector to ensure that young LGBTI people can access appropriate services, as well as \$2.5 million towards family counselling services for LGBTI Victorians.¹⁰⁶

4.2 The Liberal Nationals Coalition

The Liberal Nationals Coalition, led by Matthew Guy, launched their election campaign on 28 October 2018 with three major themes: law and order, population pressures and cost of living—‘crime, congestion, costs’.¹⁰⁷ The overarching slogan for these themes was ‘Get Back in Control’. Mr Guy’s

⁹² Victorian Labor (2018) *Enshrining public holidays to protect your penalty rates*, Victorian Labor policy document, Election 2018.

⁹³ Victorian Labor (2018) *Saving with solar*, Fact sheet, Election 2018

⁹⁴ Victorian Labor (2018) *Building new homes to fight homelessness*, Victorian Labor policy document, Election 2018.

⁹⁵ Victorian Labor (2018) *Preventing gambling harm*, Fact sheet, Election 2018.

⁹⁶ Victorian Labor (2018) *Labor’s suburban parks package*, Fact sheet, Election 2018.

⁹⁷ Victorian Labor (2018) *Better protecting our environment, heritage and neighbourhoods*, op. cit.

⁹⁸ Victorian Labor (2018) *Supporting workplace safety & fairness at work*, Fact sheet, Election 2018.

⁹⁹ Victorian Labor (2018) *Taking our local produce to the world*, Victorian Labor policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁰⁰ Victorian Labor (2018) *Keeping the community safe*, Fact sheet, Election 2018.

¹⁰¹ Victorian Labor (2018) *Putting farmers’ health on the agenda*, Victorian Labor policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁰² Victorian Labor (2018) *Scenic railway to boost tourism in the Yarra Valley*, Victorian Labor policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁰³ Victorian Labor (2018) *Honouring our multicultural senior citizens*, Victorian Labor policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁰⁴ Victorian Labor (2018) *Supporting workplace safety & fairness at work*, op. cit.

¹⁰⁵ Victorian Labor (2018) *Labor’s plan for pets and animal welfare*, Fact sheet, Election 2018.

¹⁰⁶ Victorian Labor (2018) *The Equality State*, Fact sheet, Election 2018.

¹⁰⁷ S. Hutchinson (2018) ‘Guy puts crime, congestion and cost of living top of his agenda’, *Weekend Australian*, 27 October.

intention was to deal with these issues incrementally: law and order in the short term, cost of living in the medium term and decentralisation of Melbourne into rural and regional towns in the long term.¹⁰⁸

Other campaign strategies aimed to keep the Labor Government's controversies and contentious issues in focus. These included the 'red shirts scandal',¹⁰⁹ the continuing tensions around fire services reform, and safe (supervised) injecting rooms. Mr Guy pledged that in the first 100 days of a Coalition government he would call for a royal commission into fire services, introduce presumptive rights for cancer compensation for firefighters, and close the supervised injecting room trial in Richmond.¹¹⁰

At the Liberal Party campaign launch, Matthew Guy pledged to hold an independent judicial inquiry into Labor's misuse of Members of Parliament staff allowances to pay 'red shirt' campaigners for their work during the 2014 state election. The inquiry would examine 'political interference' in the police investigation into the matter.¹¹¹

Population Pressures/Congestion

The Coalition committed to relieve Melbourne's population pressures through a two-pronged strategy: decentralisation and traffic amelioration.

Decentralisation

The Coalition's decentralisation policy included a European-style high speed regional rail program, and a pledge to cut payroll taxes for regional businesses from 2.42 per cent to one per cent.¹¹²

The regional rail project was forecast to cost between \$15 and \$19 billion and would include a high speed rail link between Melbourne and Geelong, Ballarat, Bendigo, the Latrobe Valley and Shepparton.¹¹³ The project would be planned and built in three stages over the next ten years. A High Speed Rail Authority would be established to oversee the ten-year project, based in the Latrobe Valley.¹¹⁴

A further \$1 billion over ten years was committed to the 'Road Fix Blitz' program targeting regional roads.¹¹⁵ This included \$400 million for a Country Roads and Bridges program, \$400 million for road restoration and \$200 million for general road maintenance.

In addition to the regional payroll tax incentives, the Coalition pledged to review Victoria's tax system.¹¹⁶ The Department of Treasury and Finance would undertake the review which would focus on regional and rural taxes. To further attract and retain residents and businesses in the regions, the Coalition promised there would be \$30 million invested over four years for improvements to telecommunications infrastructure.¹¹⁷ A commitment of \$24 million over four years was also made to

¹⁰⁸ F. Tomazin (2018) 'The book of Matthew', *Saturday Age*, 3 November.

¹⁰⁹ R. Baxendale & S. Hutchins (2018) 'Lib bid to ramp up red shirts scandal' *The Australian*, 30 October.

¹¹⁰ A. Carey & A. Dow (2018) 'Guy vows to shut drug room', *The Age*, 22 November.

¹¹¹ R. Baxendale & S. Hutchins (2018) op. cit.

¹¹² (2018) 'Parties pitch for votes', *Herald Sun*, 29 October

¹¹³ R. Willingham & D. Harrison (2018) 'Coalition promises 32-minute trips from Geelong to Melbourne under regional rail upgrade', *ABC News*, 3 October ; Liberal Victoria (2018) *High speed rail for Victoria*, media release, 3 October.

¹¹⁴ Liberal Victoria (2018) *High Speed Rail Authority to be based in Latrobe Valley*, media release, 5 October.

¹¹⁵ (2018) 'Vic Lib \$1 billion rural road blitz', *Border Mail*, 31 October ; Liberal Victoria (2018) 'Safer country and regional roads save lives', media release, 30 October.

¹¹⁶ Sinnott, A. (2018) 'Regional tax review vow', *Weekly Times*, 17 October ; Liberal Victoria (2018) *Tax incentives to decentralise Victoria's population and grow our economy*, media release, 9 October.

¹¹⁷ (2018) 'Lib-Nats promise better country roads', *Gippsland & Maffra Spectator*, 16 November.

a Regional Aviation Infrastructure Fund to support regional airports connecting businesses and communities.¹¹⁸

Other commitments supporting the decentralisation platform included \$14.86 million for setting up the Goulburn Corridor Growth Area based in Seymour,¹¹⁹ \$7 million for a proposed new residential rehabilitation centre in Mildura,¹²⁰ \$100 million for the redevelopment of the Maryborough Hospital and \$4 million over four years for a National Centre for Farmer Health.¹²¹

In mid-November 2018, Nationals Leader Peter Walsh announced that a Coalition Government would establish a \$1 billion Decentralisation Fund.¹²² The Fund—available over two terms—would provide grants for smaller projects through the Putting Locals First Fund, infrastructure upgrades, and support for businesses that want to grow or relocate to regional and rural Victoria.¹²³

Education spending for the regions saw nearly \$90 million in new funding commitments for schools across the Geelong region including a commitment for a specialist autism school.¹²⁴ The Coalition also announced its intention to provide start-up funding of \$2 million to establish a Carbon Industry Commercialisation Institute in the Latrobe Valley in partnership with Federation University.¹²⁵

Toward the end of the campaign, Matthew Guy announced that a Coalition Government would move Victorian Government banking from Sydney-based Westpac to Bendigo Bank as part of its decentralisation platform.¹²⁶ The current government contract with Westpac banking services is set to end in 2020.

Congestion

The Coalition's other major infrastructure commitment centred on addressing Melbourne's traffic congestion under the banner of 'Get Victoria Moving'. To alleviate existing congestion, the Coalition pledged to proceed with the East West Link, plan the North East link, build the Melbourne Metro and West Gate tunnels, and continue with the current level crossings removal project.¹²⁷

Specifically, a commitment of between \$4.1 to \$5.3 billion was flagged for the Intersection Removal Program to remove '55 of the most congested intersections' in Melbourne and Geelong, replacing traffic lights and roundabouts with grade separations.¹²⁸ Additionally, \$20.5 million would be spent on smart technology solutions for traffic control.¹²⁹

¹¹⁸ Liberal Victoria (2018) *Liberal Nationals connecting business and communities with better regional airports*, media release, 13 November.

¹¹⁹ Liberal Victoria (2018) *Goulburn Corridor Growth Area*, media release, 31 October

¹²⁰ Nationals Victoria (2018) *Mildura to get a residential rehabilitation centre under Liberal Nationals*, media release, 30 August.

¹²¹ Liberal Victoria (2018) *Liberals will fund major redevelopment of Maryborough Hospital upgrade*, media release, 31 October.

¹²² J. Shields (2018) '*\$1b regional fund plan*', *Sunraysia Daily*, 13 November.

¹²³ A. Carey (2018) '*Coalition offers \$1 billion for regional jobs*', *The Age*, 14 November.

¹²⁴ J. Taylor (2018) '*Liberals pledge big spend for Geelong*', *Surf Coast Times*, 18 October.

¹²⁵ Liberal Victoria (2018) *Liberal Nationals to establish Carbon Innovation Institute in the Latrobe Valley*, media release, 13 November.

¹²⁶ A. Sinnott (2018) '*Guy banks on regional jobs*', *Weekly Times*, 21 November.

¹²⁷ (2018) '*Parties pitch for votes*', *Herald Sun*, 29 October.

¹²⁸ Liberal Victoria (2018) *Get Victoria moving: Civic Drive roundabout removal*, media release, 1 August.

¹²⁹ Liberal Victoria (2018) *Guy: smart technology to get back in control of traffic congestion*, media release, 19 October.

Law and Order

The second major plank of the Coalition's election campaign was law and order, under the 'Make Victoria Safe' banner. Matthew Guy promised tougher sentencing, bail and parole regimes, as well as a public registry for sex offenders.¹³⁰ The party committed to introducing mandatory minimum jail terms for 11 violent crimes within its first 100 days in government, including for armed robbery, aggravated carjacking, attacks on emergency workers and domestic abuse.¹³¹ GPS tracking devices would also be fitted to offenders convicted of home invasion or carjacking who are on parole or who have been given non-custodial sentences.¹³²

A further election promise was a \$690 million expansion of Lara Prison. The public private partnership build would include 700 new maximum security beds, 300 medium security beds and 300 beds for the remand facility. In announcing the commitment, Matthew Guy said that such a facility would be able to accommodate the increase in the prison population that was anticipated as a consequence of the Coalition's 'necessary sentencing regime'.¹³³

There was also a commitment of \$57 million for more Protective Services Officers, as well as plans for expanding their role to include powers that are currently reserved for police officers.¹³⁴

In early November 2018, a person attacked and killed one person in Bourke Street and injured two others, before being shot and killed by police.¹³⁵ The attacker was known to the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation and the Australian Federal Police. Following the incident, the Coalition announced an \$89.5 million four-point counter-terrorism plan that would involve the creation of 'terrorism restriction orders' and training of existing frontline police officers.¹³⁶ The restriction orders would require, among other conditions, the wearing of GPS tracking devices.

The Coalition also announced a policy that would require the sentencing records of judges and magistrates to be published online.¹³⁷ A reconstituted Judicial Commission would publish quarterly data on individual members of the judiciary, which would include their decision and sentencing records, judgments overturned on appeal and the time taken to deliver decisions.

In the final week of the campaign, the Coalition announced plans for a 'youth boot camp' for young non-violent offenders.¹³⁸ A commitment of \$5 million was made for the two-year pilot project that would commence in 2020.

Cost of living

The third major plank of the Coalition's platform was to alleviate cost of living pressures, with commitments ranging from discounted car registration for young drivers to lower utility costs for low income earners. Mr Guy promised that single-parent families, pensioners and retirees would benefit from the Coalition's Cost of Living Relief Packages with savings of up to \$1,700 a year.¹³⁹

The Coalition framed its energy policy as a cost of living issue. Mr Guy announced plans to purchase gas and electricity in bulk for eligible low income earners, which was predicted would reduce their

¹³⁰ (2018) 'Parties pitch for votes', *Herald Sun*, 29 October.

¹³¹ F. Tomazin, (2018) op. cit.; S. Hutchinson (2018) op. cit.

¹³² (2018) 'Liberals to expand use of GPS trackers on criminals', *Bellarine Times*, 8 November.

¹³³ B. Preiss (2018) 'Liberals pledge supersize Lara jail', *The Age*, 8 November.

¹³⁴ D. Hurley (2018) 'Plan to give PSOs a new beat', *Herald Sun*, 30 October.

¹³⁵ R. Baxendale (2018) 'Libs vow GPS tracking of radicals', *The Australian*, 15 November.

¹³⁶ *ibid.*

¹³⁷ J. Dowling & M. Johnston (2018) 'Coalition to turn spotlight on judges', *Geelong Advertiser*, 19 November.

¹³⁸ J. Taylor (2018) 'Putting the boots in: Liberals pledge camp for young offenders', *Bellarine Times*, 22 November.

¹³⁹ M. Guy (2018) 'Get back in control', *Sunday Herald Sun*, 18 November.

energy costs by \$250 to \$530 a year.¹⁴⁰ The private sector would also be involved in planning for a new power station that was estimated could lower household energy costs by up to \$350 a year.¹⁴¹

A reduction in annual household water bills of up to \$100 was promised under the Coalition's Water Rebate Bonus, which would require the state's water corporations to find operational savings initiatives.¹⁴²

At the Coalition campaign launch, Mr Guy pledged to cover the \$295 registration component of vehicle fees for P-plate drivers.¹⁴³ The commitment was projected to cost between \$31.8 to \$63.7 million over four years, depending on the take-up rate. There was also an announcement to provide free school books for public secondary school students, worth up to \$476 per student per year.¹⁴⁴

Towards the end of the campaign, Mr Guy pledged to lower electricity costs for eligible low income households by offering them the opportunity to replace their televisions and refrigerators for discounted energy efficient models.¹⁴⁵ The scheme was capped at \$40 million.

4.3 The Greens

The Victorian Greens leader, Dr Samantha Ratnam, declared that the Greens were out to 'make history' when the party launched their state election platform at Parliament House on 22 October 2018.¹⁴⁶ Five days later, the Greens held their election launch party at a café in Prahran, with their campaign slogan being 'A future for all of us'.¹⁴⁷ In her speech, Dr Ratnam said 'at this election, your vote is powerful', telling the crowd that the party had the chance to hold the balance of power in parliament and usher in the 'most progressive era of politics Victoria has ever seen'.¹⁴⁸ Dr Ratnam stressed the Greens' differences from the major parties on issues such as coal, logging and political donations reform.¹⁴⁹

At the launch party, the Greens' national leader, Richard Di Natale, said the Greens had 'an historic opportunity' to participate in 'multi-party government' and to influence core decisions about energy, transport and the environment.¹⁵⁰ Pollsters at the event told volunteers that they would need to have 24,000 one-on-one conversations with voters by election day for the party to retain their three lower house seats (Melbourne, Prahran and Northcote) and to win two more (Richmond and Brunswick).¹⁵¹

The Victorian Greens' extensive election platform contained policies for transport, energy, the environment, planning, housing, health, education, justice, integrity issues and finance.¹⁵² The party submitted their policies to the newly-established Victorian Parliamentary Budget Office for independent costing prior to the state election.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁰ Liberal Victoria (2018) [Car registration discount for Red P-Platers](#), media release, 28 October.

¹⁴¹ (2018) [Victorian Liberals pledge new power station to lower electricity bills](#), ABC News, 12 November.

¹⁴² N. Towell (2018) ['Coalition promises \\$100 off water bills'](#), *The Age*, 26 October.

¹⁴³ M. Hore (2018) ['Guy's poll pitch to P-platers'](#), *Herald Sun*, 28 October.

¹⁴⁴ Liberal Victoria (2018) [Car registration discount for Red P-Platers](#), media release, 28 October.

¹⁴⁵ M. Johnston (2018) ['Guy's whitegoods pledge'](#), *Geelong Advertiser*, 16 November.

¹⁴⁶ N. Towell (2018) ['Greens pitch for balance of power'](#), *The Age*, 23 October.

¹⁴⁷ See: Victorian Greens (2018) [2018 State Election Launch Party](#), Victorian Greens webpage.

¹⁴⁸ B. Preiss (2018) ['Greens make pitch as campaign heats up'](#), *Sunday Age*, 28 October.

¹⁴⁹ A. Yiu (2018) ['Vic Greens launch state election campaign'](#), *Newcastle Herald* (online), 27 October.

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*; B. Preiss (2018) *op. cit.*

¹⁵¹ A. Yiu (2018) *op. cit.*

¹⁵² See: Victorian Greens (2018) [Victorian State Policies](#), Victorian Greens State Policies webpage, Election 2018.

¹⁵³ See: Parliamentary Budget Office (2018) [Election Policy Costings](#), Parliamentary Budget Office webpage.

Transport

The Greens released a suite of policies designed to ‘transform transport’.¹⁵⁴ Their plans included an extension of Melbourne Metro to the west and south-east, along with \$100 million to start planning for Melbourne Metro 2, which would develop a new underground line from Clifton Hill to Newport and construct stations at Fishermans Bend and Fitzroy.¹⁵⁵ A key aspect of the Greens’ transport policy was the creation of a ‘transport super agency’ that would bring the public transport and roads portfolios under a single Minister for Transport, integrate land use and transport planning and involve local communities in decision-making processes.¹⁵⁶

In September 2018, the party announced their ‘SmartBus solution’, committing \$500 million to a network of bus routes across Melbourne with ten-minute frequencies and longer operating hours.¹⁵⁷ A \$6.4 billion commitment for trams included an upgrade of all tram routes over a ten-year period, along with the manufacture of 300 new high-capacity trams in the same time frame.¹⁵⁸ The Greens’ train policy aimed to increase the frequency and capacity of services by investing over \$8.5 billion in upgraded signalling, an additional 100 high-capacity trains over the next decade and further level crossing removals.¹⁵⁹ Sam Hibbins, the Greens’ transport spokesperson, announced the party’s plan for more ‘turn up and go’ services on key train and tram routes, with extended services during peak hours, seven days a week.¹⁶⁰ Further transport policies included initiatives to:

- extend the tram network to suburbs such as Williamstown, Sunshine, Brighton, Chadstone and Ormond, at a cost of \$700 million;¹⁶¹
- create the Eastern Metro Rapid Bus Network to ease road congestion in Melbourne’s east;¹⁶²
- commence planning for the Rowville Rail project, improving access to the Monash education and employment precinct;¹⁶³
- implement a transport master plan for the western suburbs, which would upgrade public transport options and reduce truck pollution with a Port Rail Shuttle, truck curfews and tighter emissions standards;¹⁶⁴
- build the Metropolitan Bike Network, with strategic routes connecting major destinations, and legislate to formalise the one-metre buffer between cars and bicycles on roads with speed limits up to 60 km/h;¹⁶⁵
- improve disability access across the tram network by upgrading all trams stops to provide level access;¹⁶⁶ and
- provide free public transport to all Victorian primary and secondary students, with a program costed at \$244 million.¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁴ Victorian Greens (2018) *Transforming transport*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁵⁵ Victorian Greens (2018) *Extended Melbourne Metro*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018;

Victorian Greens (2018) *Plan now for Melbourne Metro 2*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁵⁶ Victorian Greens (2018) *Transport governance reform*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁵⁷ Victorian Greens (2018) *The Greens’ Smartbus solution*, media release, 25 September.

¹⁵⁸ Victorian Greens (2018) *Transforming Melbourne’s tram network*, media release, 1 October.

¹⁵⁹ Victorian Greens (2018) *Transforming our train network*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁶⁰ Victorian Greens (2018) *More turn up and go services for trains and trams under Greens’ plan*, media release, 13 October.

¹⁶¹ Victorian Greens (2018) *We love trams*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁶² Victorian Greens (2018) *Eastern Metro Rapid Bus Network*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁶³ Victorian Greens (2018) *Rowville Rail*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁶⁴ Victorian Greens (2018) *Moving people, not cars*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁶⁵ Victorian Greens (2018) *Safer cycling*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁶⁶ Victorian Greens (2018) *A more inclusive Victoria*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁶⁷ Victorian Greens (2018) *New plan to provide free public transport to students*, media release, 21 November.

Energy

A proposal to transition Victoria to 100 per cent renewable energy by 2030 headlined the Greens' energy policy.¹⁶⁸ They planned to phase out coal plants by the same date and build \$9 billion worth of publicly owned large-scale renewable energy.¹⁶⁹ Stating that power 'privatisation has failed', a key aspect of the plan was the establishment of Power Victoria, a publicly owned electricity provider. Party modelling indicated that such an arrangement would save the average Victorian \$320 a year.¹⁷⁰ The Greens also committed to upgrading the transmission network to better distribute renewable energy resources.¹⁷¹

Other energy policies included an investment of \$500 million in battery storage and pumped hydro energy storage, based in the Latrobe Valley.¹⁷² Their 'solar for everyone' plan, estimated to cost \$820 million over ten years, sought to make solar power more widely available to rental properties, apartments, public housing and schools.¹⁷³ The Greens advocated for a permanent ban on all gas exploration in Victoria, proposing a \$25 million program of support to assist householders to phase out gas home heating, as well as requiring non-gas heating in all new buildings.¹⁷⁴

Environment

The party's environment platform called for an end to logging in Victoria's native forests and a transition to sustainable plantation timber. The Greens committed to create the Great Forest National Park in the Central Highlands and the Emerald Link in East Gippsland, at a cost of \$46 million.¹⁷⁵ They also pledged to increase funding to Parks Victoria by \$50 million in successive years.¹⁷⁶ The Greens proposed a new Climate Commissioner for Victoria who would head an independent Climate Commission.¹⁷⁷ Further commitments relating to the natural environment included increased protections for native animals, methods to deal with invasive species, the restoration of river health, and a waste transition plan designed to increase recycling and cut plastic pollution.¹⁷⁸

Planning and housing

The Greens announced that they would call for a royal commission into urban planning, rezoning and sales, proposing to examine contentious planning decisions dating back to the Kennett Government era.¹⁷⁹ The focus of this inquiry would be the expansion of Melbourne's urban growth boundary and a number of rezoning decisions.¹⁸⁰ The party indicated they would mandate a percentage of affordable housing in all new property developments, introducing environmental sustainability requirements for new buildings and reform the Victorian Planning Provisions to reduce discretionary controls. They also aimed to revise the Victorian Civil and Administrative Tribunal appeals process to restrict the influence

¹⁶⁸ Victorian Greens (2018) [100% renewable energy](#), Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ Victorian Greens (2018) [Power Victoria](#), Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁷¹ Victorian Greens (2018) [100% renewable energy](#), *op. cit.*

¹⁷² *ibid.*

¹⁷³ Victorian Greens (2018) [Solar for everyone](#), Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁷⁴ Victorian Greens (2018) [100% Renewable Victoria](#), *op. cit.* and Victorian Greens (2018) [A future free from gas pollution](#), Election 2018.

¹⁷⁵ Victorian Greens (2018) [Protect our forests](#), Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁷⁶ Victorian Greens (2018) [Save our parks](#), Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁷⁷ Victorian Greens (2018) [A Climate Commissioner](#), Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁷⁸ Victorian Greens (2018) [Love nature, protect nature](#), Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018; Victorian Greens (2018) [Stop invasive species](#), Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018; Victorian Greens (2018) [Ending plastic pollution](#), Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018; Victorian Greens (2018) [Clean, healthy rivers](#), Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018; Victorian Greens (2018) [Waste transition plan](#), Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018

¹⁷⁹ Victorian Greens (2018) [Cleaning up the system](#), Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁸⁰ R. Millar & B. Schneiders (2018) 'Greens call for probe into planning', *The Age*, 8 November.

of developers and better support the rights of local communities.¹⁸¹ The party's proposal to create a Housing Ombudsman was designed to ensure access to a free and fair dispute resolution service, particularly for renters and retirees.¹⁸² Annual rent increases would also be capped at 2.5 per cent.¹⁸³

Health and education

In the health arena, the Greens pledged to provide \$270 million to restore funding for community mental health services, including youth clinical services.¹⁸⁴ The party also planned to invest \$40 million each year to double the number of patients able to access public dental health services and to spend \$668 million to provide free ambulance cover to all Victorians.¹⁸⁵ With regard to education, the party pledged to 'restore and properly fund' TAFE with a guaranteed minimum 70 per cent government funding for TAFE institutions.¹⁸⁶ Over the course of the campaign, the Greens also committed to support the expansion of community childcare, increase school funding for Victorian students (to match the national average) and address outstanding school maintenance backlogs.¹⁸⁷

Justice, integrity and finance

The Greens sought to reform the justice system with the establishment of an Independent Centre for Justice Reinvestment, along with \$80 million for crime prevention programs.¹⁸⁸ They planned to improve access to justice with \$132 million increased funding to Legal Aid, Community Legal Centres and Aboriginal Legal Services.¹⁸⁹

The Greens committed \$110 million to a package of initiatives that would provide financial compensation and support to members of the Stolen Generation.¹⁹⁰ They also planned to advance the treaty process with a Treaty Negotiating Framework and a Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission, as part of a range of measures to deliver Aboriginal self-determination, rights and cultural respect.¹⁹¹

The Greens' \$10 million plan for integrity in politics included reforming freedom of information laws, requiring governments to table contracts and documents relating to significant projects, and the establishment of an independent Parliamentary Standards Commissioner.¹⁹² They also supported stronger anti-corruption laws for the Independent Broad-based Anti-Corruption Commission (IBAC), particularly the creation of a separate Police Corruption and Misconduct Division within IBAC.¹⁹³ The Greens wanted to set expenditure caps for political donations and to implement bans on donations from property developers, the gambling and coal industries, and big tobacco.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸¹ Victorian Greens (2018) *Planning for the people*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018; Victorian Greens (2018) *Restoring equity to Victoria's planning system*, media release, 30 August.

¹⁸² Victorian Greens (2018) *A Housing Ombudsman*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁸³ Victorian Greens (2018) *A better deal for renters*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁸⁴ Victorian Greens (2018) *Greens will restore funding to mental health*, media release, 30 October.

¹⁸⁵ *ibid.*; Victorian Greens (2018) *Free ambulance cover*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁸⁶ Victorian Greens (2018) *TAFE for all Victorians*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁸⁷ Victorian Greens (2018) *Affordable early education*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018;

Victorian Greens (2018) *More teachers and smaller class sizes*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018;

Victorian Greens, (2018) *Quality facilities for every school*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁸⁸ Victorian Greens (2018) *Justice reinvestment*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁸⁹ Victorian Greens (2018) *Victorian Greens' plan for a fairer, more effective justice system*, media release, 30 October.

¹⁹⁰ Victorian Greens (2018) *Redress for the Stolen Generations*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁹¹ Victorian Greens (2018) *Treaties, truth and justice*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁹² Victorian Greens (2018) *Strengthening our democracy*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁹³ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*

A key Greens finance policy was their plan to implement a Victorian Bank Levy on the biggest banks, which was forecast to generate \$345 million annually.¹⁹⁵ The party proposed a new ‘windfall rezoning tax’ on increases in land value due to rezoning, with the rate set at 75 per cent of the uplift in the assessed land value.¹⁹⁶ The Greens planned to phase out poker machines in Victoria over ten years, with no new licences issued after 2028, in tandem with harm minimisation measures and a \$200 million transition fund to assist hotels and clubs.¹⁹⁷ The party also intended to establish a parliamentary inquiry into sources of state revenue, such as stamp duty and gambling.¹⁹⁸

4.4 Fiona Patten’s Reason Party

Formerly known as the Australian Sex Party, the party officially changed its name to Reason Victoria in January 2018,¹⁹⁹ and then to Fiona Patten’s Reason Party in August 2018.²⁰⁰ Party leader, Fiona Patten, stated that the new name would offer ‘a lot more flexibility’ and that it ‘is a more user-friendly invitation’ for voters than the Australian Sex Party.²⁰¹ The Reason Party states that it pursues ‘effective, positive social change’ and supports personal freedoms and liberties, so long as these do not impede on the human rights of others.²⁰² The party adopted the slogans ‘it’s time for reason’ and ‘people before politics’.

The party was successful in the previous Parliament in influencing the implementation of some of its key policies, including voluntary assisted dying,²⁰³ the commencement of a trial medically supervised injecting centre in North Richmond, and the introduction of safe access zones around abortion clinics in Victoria.

Some key election policies for the FPRP in 2018 included: drug law reform; investment in mental health support; political accountability; decrease in regulation for, and investment in, small business; decriminalisation of sex work; introduction of an Ageing Strategy for Victoria; and criminal justice reform focused on the causes of crime and reduction of recidivism.

The party’s drug policy focused on the treatment of drugs as a ‘health issue, not a criminal issue’.²⁰⁴ Specific elements included the legalisation and regulation of cannabis; decriminalisation of personal drug use; the introduction of pill testing; and opening further medically supervised injecting centres. The Parliamentary Budget Office projected that the legalisation of cannabis would provide \$204.6 million to the state budget over forward estimates, with an additional \$168 million provided from decriminalising personal drug use.²⁰⁵

Ms Patten suggested that the funds delivered from the FPRP’s drug policy could be reinvested back into mental health services. The party’s plan for mental health centred around early intervention in

¹⁹⁵ Victorian Greens (2018) *Fairer taxes, better development*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁹⁶ Victorian Greens (2018) *Making banking better*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁹⁷ Victorian Greens (2018) *End the pokies pain*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018; M. Hore (2018) ‘Andrews, Guy support pokies’, *Herald Sun*, 11 October.

¹⁹⁸ Victorian Greens (2018) *A Victoria for all of us*, Victorian Greens policy document, Election 2018.

¹⁹⁹ Victorian Electoral Commission (2018) *Change of Australian Sex Party to Reason Victoria*, media release, 14 August.

²⁰⁰ Victorian Electoral Commission (2018) *Change of Reason Victoria to Fiona Patten’s Reason Party*, media release, 14 August.

²⁰¹ Australian Sex Party (2017) *Fiona Patten learns the art of the possible in euthanasia lawmaking*, media release, 25 September.

²⁰² Fiona Patten’s Reason Party Victoria (2018) *Policies*, extract from party’s webpage.

²⁰³ Fiona Patten MLC (2018) *Voluntary Assisted Dying Laws Threatened*, media release, 16 August.

²⁰⁴ Fiona Patten’s Reason Party Victoria (2018) *Policies*, extract from party’s webpage.

²⁰⁵ Fiona Patten MLC (2018) *Costed Drugs Policy will save \$349.3 million to Victoria*, media release, 4 November.

the initial stages of mental illness; reduction of waiting times for services; increased services for persons dealing with homelessness; and the creation of a ministerial portfolio for loneliness.²⁰⁶

The FPRP also campaigned heavily on the need for increased political accountability. They advocated for politicians to be legally required to act in the public interest; a ‘cooling-off’ period for outgoing Members of Parliament before they can work as lobbyists; and the replacement of parliamentary entitlements with office-based expenses.²⁰⁷ Ms Patten also advocated for increased public engagement with parliamentary processes, such as citizen juries and a more significant focus on public petitions. She stated that ‘Restoring integrity and honesty within politics is the Reason Party’s central policy platform. Our community simply deserves nothing less.’²⁰⁸

4.5 Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party Victoria

Formerly known as the Shooters and Fishers Party Victoria, the Victorian Electoral Commission accepted a change of name to the Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party Victoria (SFFPV) in July 2016.²⁰⁹

The SFFPV did not release any policy statements ahead of the 2018 Victorian election. A party advertisement that aired on public television stated that they ‘... champion the underdog, fight for our outdoor recreations and stand up for rural communities’.²¹⁰

Party how-to-vote cards promoted ‘fairer gun laws’; no further national parks; increased funding for boat ramps and recreational fishing facilities; increased support for farmers affected by drought; better funding for rural roads; better rural rail services; better management of water resources; and more funding for regional schools.²¹¹ In addition, Jeff Bourman, MLC for the Eastern Victoria Region, committed to reintroducing a private member’s bill to allow licenced shooters to access noise suppressors if re-elected.²¹²

These priorities broadly reflect the policies released by the SFFPV prior to the 2014 election. The party had emphasised its commitment to expanding recreational uses of public lands; pursuing a balance between environmental preservation and the sustainable use of natural resources; and the provision of training for government departments and agencies to support a new approach to environmental management in the state.²¹³ Their policy platform had also included amending firearms regulation, such as removal of the Victorian longarm registry and withdrawal from the 1996 uniform National Firearms Agreement; upgrading public fishing facilities; expansion of the role of, and job opportunities with, local government; and support for the role of certain introduced species in the Victorian economy and environment.²¹⁴

Candidate for the Legislative Assembly district of Morwell, Ricky Muir, promoted the wide interests of the party on a social media post on the day of the election:

Whether you work in the timber industry, industries supported by it, are a law abiding firearm owner, outdoors recreational enthusiast, pro public land access, a farmer, agricultural contractor supported by our

²⁰⁶ Fiona Patten’s Reason Party Victoria (2018) *Policies*, extract from party’s webpage.

²⁰⁷ Fiona Patten MLC (2018) *Can we just stop acting like dicks?*, media release, 16 August.

²⁰⁸ Fiona Patten MLC (2018) *Trust me, I’m a Politician?*, media release, 16 August.

²⁰⁹ Victorian Electoral Commission (2016) *Change of party’s name to Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party Victoria*, media release, 21 July.

²¹⁰ Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party Victoria (2018) *Public advertisement*, Twitter, 9 November.

²¹¹ Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party Victoria (2018) *How-to-vote cards*.

²¹² A. Thompson (2018) ‘*Bourman vows to keep making a noise over silencers*’, *Weekly Times*, 1 August.

²¹³ Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party Victoria (2014) *Policies for the 2014 Victorian State Election*, October, p. 7.

²¹⁴ Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party Victoria (2014) *Policies for the 2014 Victorian State Election*, October, pp. 3-6.

farmers or want someone to fight for jobs and industry in the Latrobe Valley, the Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party has your back.²¹⁵

4.6 Derryn Hinch's Justice Party

Derryn Hinch's Justice Party (DHJP) announced its intention to field candidates in the Victorian election more than a year prior to the election, on 6 October 2017. This constituted the first time the party had campaigned at a state level, following its success at the 2016 federal election. At its launch, party leader Senator Derryn Hinch highlighted a number of law and order issues that the party would focus on during its campaign:

Early parole, too much bail too easily, magistrates and judges still being too soft on child abuse and child pornography crimes. We need to be there so people's voices can be heard. With gangs, home invasions, the disgusting trade in child brides, it's never been more urgent.²¹⁶

One of the key policies promoted by the DHJP at both a federal and state level was establishment of a national public register of convicted sex offenders. The register would display the personal details of the offender, including a photograph and their known address, with a court able to exercise discretionary exemptions to certain cases not appropriate for publication, such as 'sexting' between teenagers. Further, any vigilante activity that occurs as a result of the publication of offenders' personal information would face criminal prosecution, 'the way any assault or property damage case is handled'.²¹⁷

The DHJP supports extensive bail and parole reform. This includes removal of a presumption of bail for persons convicted of committing an indictable offence involving an act of violence,²¹⁸ and increased restrictions on the granting of parole for violent offenders.²¹⁹

Further policies include domestic violence law reform; supporting increased funding for frontline services,²²⁰ and animal justice issues, such as increasing penalties for acts of animal cruelty.²²¹

The DHJP adopted the slogans, 'Working for Victoria' and 'Sick of them? Vote for us!', for the campaign.

4.7 Transport Matters Party

The Transport Matters Party was formally registered by the Victorian Electoral Commission on 30 April 2018, in order to contest the 2018 Victorian election. Its launch came primarily in response to the August 2017 deregulation of the taxi and hire car industry, and industry concerns around fair compensation following deregulation.²²²

The party released a number of policy documents in the lead-up to the election, focusing on key areas of the commercial passenger industry, road infrastructure and congestion, and public transport. In relation to the taxi industry, the party advocated for:

- fairer compensation for taxi drivers for compulsory acquisition of their licences;
- revision of how different types of commercial passenger vehicles are classified;
- introduction of minimum safety standards for all hire cars and 'on demand' vehicles;

²¹⁵ SOCIAL MEDIA REF – Ricky Muir SFFP Candidate for Morwell (2018) [Facebook post](#), 24 November.

²¹⁶ Derryn Hinch's Justice Party (2017) '[Victorian Justice Party Launch](#)', media release, 6 October.

²¹⁷ Derryn Hinch's Justice Party (date unknown) '[Policies: public register of convicted sex offenders](#)', DHJP website.

²¹⁸ Derryn Hinch's Justice Party (date unknown) '[Policies: bail reform](#)', DHJP website.

²¹⁹ Derryn Hinch's Justice Party (date unknown) '[Policies: parole reform](#)', DHJP website.

²²⁰ Derryn Hinch's Justice Party (date unknown) '[Policies: domestic violence law reform](#)', DHJP website.

²²¹ Derryn Hinch's Justice Party (date unknown) '[Policies: animal justice](#)', DHJP website.

²²² Rod Barton MLC (2019) '[Unfinished business for taxi and car hire industry](#)', media release, 5 February.

- introduction of permanent visible signage for ‘on demand’ vehicles; and
- the eventual replacement of commercial passenger vehicles (and public buses) with hybrid or electric vehicles.²²³

The Transport Matters Party’s roads policy focused on improving congestion, and promoted consideration of new road funding models, such as a ‘CBD congestion tax’; increased funding for road maintenance, particularly in rural and regional Victoria; and support for the North East Link and East West Link.²²⁴ With regard to domestic freight and heavy vehicles, the party supported increased policing in relation to driver fatigue; the introduction of more truck lanes for heavy vehicles; and fairer conditions of work for truck drivers.²²⁵

The party supported significant investment in Victoria’s public transport network, with a focus on the cost of public transport—advocating for all public transport services to be free for passengers under the age of 18 or over the age of 65, and lowering the cost of a ride to ‘a gold coin’ for all other passengers. It also supported the construction and public ownership of a Melbourne Airport rail link, as well as high-speed rail services between Geelong, Avalon airport and the Melbourne CBD.²²⁶ In terms of regional Victoria, the party has advocated for better synchronisation between bus and rail timetables to allow for greater regional connectivity, and extended hours for services.²²⁷

The party also supported bike storage facilities at train, bus and tram stops; resumption of state ownership of tram and train services; and placing commercial passenger vehicles under the jurisdiction of the Public Transport Ombudsman.²²⁸ The party further advocated for programs that encourage bicycle riding, and more active consideration for bike lanes in urban planning.²²⁹

4.8 Sustainable Australia Party

The Sustainable Australia Party’s primary platform is to ‘secure an economically, environmentally and socially sustainable Australia’, including implementing a ‘sustainable population policy’ that would cap the annual permanent immigration intake to 70,000 people. This immigration cap has flow-on effects for many of their other policy areas, such as planning and development, housing and jobs.

The Sustainable Australia Party pursued four main policy areas during its Victorian election campaign. These were better planning, affordable housing, secure jobs and a sustainable environment and population. The focal point was around planning to halt overdevelopment, with the party stating that they would pursue giving local communities more power in planning decisions (through use of citizen juries); improving public transport; increasing fees for land developers; planting and protecting biodiversity corridors; and prioritising ecological housing design.²³⁰

The party’s priorities for housing included encouraging developers to incorporate affordable housing elements into projects; providing more funding for public housing; improving renters’ rights; increasing taxes on foreign land purchases; and broadening land tax payments to replace stamp duty.²³¹

In pursuing ‘secure jobs’, the Sustainable Australia Party supported:

- further investment in education and skills training;

²²³ Transport Matters Party (2018) ‘[Our priorities: Taxis](#)’, TMP website.

²²⁴ Transport Matters Party (2018) ‘[Our priorities: Road congestion](#)’, TMP website.

²²⁵ Transport Matters Party (2018) ‘[Our priorities: Heavy vehicles](#)’, TMP website.

²²⁶ Transport Matters Party (2018) ‘[Our priorities: Heavy rail system improvement](#)’, TMP website.

²²⁷ Transport Matters Party (2018) ‘[Our priorities: Regional Victoria Infrastructure](#)’, TMP website.

²²⁸ Transport Matters Party (2018) ‘[Our priorities: Public transport](#)’, TMP website.

²²⁹ Transport Matters Party (2018) ‘[Our priorities: Bicycle infrastructure](#)’, TMP website.

²³⁰ Sustainable Australia Party (2018) ‘[Policies: planning & development](#)’, SAP website.

²³¹ Sustainable Australia Party (2018) ‘[Policies: housing affordability](#)’, SAP website.

- investment in regional areas, including in farms, factories and small businesses;
- a ‘simpler’ tax system, including reducing company tax for local manufacturing and preventing multinational tax avoidance;
- reducing regulation for small business; and
- increasing support for Australian-made products and support for Australian ownership of utilities, land and resources.²³²

Major policies in the environment portfolio include transitioning to renewable energies; instituting a moratorium on fracking; revising management of water security; increasing funding for conservation management; ending old growth forest logging and reducing waste production.²³³

4.9 Animal Justice Party

The Animal Justice Party (AJP) secured its first elected representative in the Victorian Parliament at the 2018 election (and only their second representation in an Australian parliament). Perhaps unsurprisingly, animal justice policies are the core focus of the party’s work, and the AJP has prepared an extensive range of policies in this area. However, during the campaign, one AJP candidate stated that the party’s ‘values of kindness and compassion spread across a lot of issues’, such as affordable housing.²³⁴

The AJP allocated its policy priorities into three key areas: animals, humans and the environment. In terms of animal justice, the party supported ending scientific experimentation on animals; banning the use of animals for entertainment, including in circuses and races, as well as recreational hunting, duck shooting and game fishing; changes to various aspects of the legal system in order to enshrine animal rights; and species-specific protections, including for dingoes, brumbies, kangaroos, bats and flying foxes. They also supported significant animal production reform, prioritising phasing out factory farming, with a view to transitioning to a focus on plant-based dietary industries in the long-term.²³⁵

In the ‘human policies’ category, the AJP promoted increased domestic violence services and refuges; inclusion of animal-positive programs in school curriculums, as well as experiential learning, such as community service; further restrictions on gun registration and use; universal publicly-funded healthcare; and human-animal interactions as part of mental health programs.²³⁶

In terms of the environment, the AJP supported a transition to clean energy sources; protection of forests and marine habitats; reforesting areas previously used for farming, following a long-term transition to plant-based diets; a ban on new coal and gas mines; promotion of a circular economy and investment in biodegradable materials; and a moratorium on land clearing for animal farming.²³⁷

4.10 Liberal Democrats

The Liberal Democrats support core principles of decreasing the power and influence of government, and protecting civil liberties while espousing personal and social responsibility. They adopted the slogan ‘less government, lower taxes and more freedom for Victoria’ for the 2018 election, and party social media advertising stated that their candidates ‘will never vote for an increase in taxes or a decrease in freedom’.

²³² Sustainable Australia Party (2018) ‘Policies: jobs & economy’, SAP website.

²³³ Sustainable Australia Party (2018) ‘Policies: environment’, SAP website.

²³⁴ Author unknown (2018) ‘2018 state elections – Q&A’, *Tarrangower Times*, 2 November.

²³⁵ Animal Justice Party (2019) *Animal Justice Party Policies Compendium*, AJP.

²³⁶ Animal Justice Party (2019) *Animal Justice Party Policies Compendium*, AJP.

²³⁷ Animal Justice Party (2019) *Animal Justice Party Policies Compendium*, AJP.

The Liberal Democrats did not release any policies specifically for the Victorian election. However, a number of policies on their national website fall under state responsibility. These include:

- introducing ‘safer’ (predominantly higher) speed limits;²³⁸
- privatising publicly-owned businesses and services, including schools and hospitals;²³⁹
- legalising drugs shown to cause less harm than alcohol and tobacco, including cannabis, and decriminalisation of all other drugs;²⁴⁰
- decriminalising ‘victimless crimes’, which the party deems to be crimes where the participant is likely to injure or affect only themselves, such as failing to wear a bicycle helmet;²⁴¹
- limiting state government responsibilities to provision of policing, courts and prisons, fire services, libraries, animal control, road and transport services, welfare services and local amenities;²⁴²
- abolishing income tax for low-income earners, as well as minimum employment conditions, wages, and other standards;²⁴³
- introducing sunset provisions (the automatic expiry after a certain period of time) for all legislation, with the support of a ‘super-majority’ (75 per cent of Members) needed in Parliament to circumvent this requirement;²⁴⁴ and
- supporting broader firearm ownership and deregulation, including by removing prohibitions on ownership of semi-automatic weapons, allowing for carrying concealed weapons and removal of requirements to register long-arm weapons.²⁴⁵

4.11 Independent—Suzanna Sheed

Suzanna Sheed was first elected to the Legislative Assembly seat of Shepparton at the 2014 election, following 47 years of Nationals representation in the district.²⁴⁶ On 19 October 2018, she announced her intention to nominate again in the 2018 election. The slogan for the campaign was ‘Keep Shepparton district proudly independent’.

Four policy areas were highlighted ahead of the election: health, infrastructure, education and agriculture and the environment.

Health priorities focused on completion of the redevelopment of the local hospital, Goulburn Valley Health, with an integrated cancer centre, a residential mother and baby unit and an allied health hub for easier community access to services.²⁴⁷

A number of infrastructure priorities were highlighted, in order to improve connectivity within and outside of the district. These include funding for a Shepparton Bypass; ongoing investment into passenger and freight rail services; new bus timetables to meet demand; and redevelopment of a local sports stadium.²⁴⁸

Agriculture and environment policy commitments included retaining a local voice in state water policy; preventing further hardship on the community in the context of the Murray Darling Basin Plan; and

²³⁸ Liberal Democrats (2018) ‘[Road safety](#)’, *Policies*, LD website.

²³⁹ Liberal Democrats (2018) ‘[Deregulation & Privatisation](#)’, *Policies*, LD website.

²⁴⁰ Liberal Democrats (2018) ‘[Drug reform](#)’, *Policies*, LD website.

²⁴¹ Liberal Democrats (2018) ‘[Victimless crimes](#)’, *Policies*, LD website.

²⁴² Liberal Democrats (2018) ‘[Taxation](#)’, *Policies*, LD website.

²⁴³ Liberal Democrats (2018) ‘[Industrial relations](#)’, *Policies*, LD website.

²⁴⁴ Liberal Democrats (2018) ‘[Small government](#)’, *Policies*, LD website.

²⁴⁵ Liberal Democrats (2018) ‘[Firearms](#)’, *Policies*, LD website.

²⁴⁶ Victorian Electoral Commission (2016) ‘[Shepparton District profile: Historical pattern](#)’, VEC website.

²⁴⁷ Suzanna Sheed MLA (2018) ‘[Our priorities: Health](#)’, Suzanna Sheed MLA website.

²⁴⁸ Suzanna Sheed MLA (2018) ‘[Our priorities: Infrastructure](#)’, Suzanna Sheed MLA website.

commitment to renewable energies while maintaining support for irrigated farming on key agricultural land.²⁴⁹

In terms of education policy, Ms Sheed stated that her focus in this area would be on partnering with La Trobe University, GOTAFE and industry to build a local education precinct; provision of funding for the Neighbourhood Schools Program; and completion of the Shepparton Education Plan in order to improve education in the district across the board.²⁵⁰

At the launch of her re-election campaign, Ms Sheed stated that ‘The major parties are clamouring to win this seat with promises and pledges but they delivered little for our community. With an independent voice we made them sit up and pay attention.’²⁵¹

4.12 Independent—Russell Northe

Russell Northe was first elected to the Legislative Assembly seat of Morwell for the Nationals in 2006. He resigned from the party in 2017 to stand as an independent Member of Parliament, and recontested his seat as an independent at the 2018 election. He formally launched his candidacy on 5 November 2018, stating that:

... If I have the opportunity to again represent the Morwell electorate over the next 4 years, then I will work with the Government of the day to implement not only their commitments but my policies that I have been releasing over the past months.²⁵²

The *Latrobe Valley Express* reported that jobs, cost of living pressures and infrastructure would be the key priorities in Mr Northe’s campaign.²⁵³

Mr Northe released a number of policy initiatives throughout 2018, not necessarily linked to the 2018 election. These included:

- building a recreational vehicle stopover in Latrobe City, to create tourism opportunities;²⁵⁴
- providing funding to support a prostate cancer specialist nurse at Latrobe Regional Hospital;²⁵⁵
- upgrading local sporting facilities in the Latrobe Valley, and establishment of a Latrobe Sports and Recreation Fund;²⁵⁶
- establishing a Latrobe Quarry Licence Policy Initiative, which would create a local licencing approval process for resource extraction applications;²⁵⁷
- planning and providing costings for a dedicated Gippsland line on the V/Line route;²⁵⁸ and
- making changes to public transport costs for seniors, with more support for rural and regional commuters.²⁵⁹

Ahead of the election, Mr Northe also reiterated a previously-announced three-pronged jobs policy for the region. This policy involved creating a fund to support local provision of essential services; more

²⁴⁹ Suzanna Sheed MLA (2018) ‘[Our priorities: Agriculture and environment](#)’, Suzanna Sheed MLA website.

²⁵⁰ Suzanna Sheed MLA (2018) ‘[Our priorities: Education](#)’, Suzanna Sheed MLA website.

²⁵¹ Suzanna Sheed MLA (2018) [Sheed launches campaign to keep Shepparton District independent](#), media release, 19 October.

²⁵² SOCIAL MEDIA REF – Russell Northe (2018) [Facebook post](#), 24 November.

²⁵³ J. Whittaker (2018) ‘[Northe to recontest Morwell](#)’, *Latrobe Valley Express*, 5 November.

²⁵⁴ Russell Northe MLA (2018) ‘[Yinnar recreational vehicle stopover policy initiative](#)’, Russell Northe MLA website.

²⁵⁵ Russell Northe MLA (2018) ‘[Prostate care nurse at LRH – seeking additional funding](#)’, Russell Northe MLA website.

²⁵⁶ Russell Northe MLA (2018) ‘[Latrobe Sports and Recreation Fund policy initiative](#)’, Russell Northe MLA website.

²⁵⁷ Russell Northe MLA (2018) ‘[The Latrobe Quarry licence policy initiative](#)’, Russell Northe MLA website.

²⁵⁸ Russell Northe MLA (2018) ‘[Dedicated Gippsland Line on the V/Line Route](#)’, Russell Northe MLA website.

²⁵⁹ Russell Northe MLA (2018) ‘[Seniors public transport travel costs policy initiative](#)’, Russell Northe MLA website.

focus on job retention; and a procurement policy that would encourage government departments and agencies to use local businesses and contractors.²⁶⁰

In interviews with local media outlets, Mr Northe reconfirmed his commitment to the local community, stating: 'I ... will continue to fight for better outcomes including in the area of secure jobs, cost of living, local infrastructure, education, health and mental health.'²⁶¹

4.13 Independent—Ali Cupper

In May 2018, Ali Cupper announced her intention to run for the seat of Mildura, held by the Nationals since 2006. This followed an unsuccessful campaign at the 2014 state election. She adopted the slogan 'change the game', and focused on the neglect of major parties in the area, stating that 'the big parties are failing us'. Ms Cupper cited the success of independent Suzanna Sheed in Shepparton as an example of how independents could secure a better financial outcome for their electorate, stating that:

For many years, Shepparton was in the same situation as Mildura, but since it has been a contest, they have had hoses of money coming in ...

The voters of our electorate need to start voting strategically. We need to put up good candidates and if that happens, over time, we will start to see marginal seat dynamics in our town.²⁶²

Ali Cupper released a number of policy priorities prior to the November election. The issue 'at the forefront' of her policy agenda was reinstatement of the public transport link between Melbourne and Mildura and the Mallee,²⁶³ noting the 'geographical isolation and social and economic vulnerability of North West Victoria'.²⁶⁴ She has also prioritised seeking support for *Mildura Future Ready*, a local sports and tourism infrastructure plan aimed at reviving the regional economy and benefiting the local community.²⁶⁵

Ms Cupper outlined three policies aimed at easing cost of living pressures. The first was structural reform of public funding mechanisms for metropolitan and regional councils, campaigning for 'isolation grants' to assist rural and regional councils to apply fairer and more sustainable rates.²⁶⁶ The others were the 'Super Baby Scheme', which proposes a \$1000 trust account for each Victorian baby, to be accessed when they turn 18;²⁶⁷ and the 'One Less Bill' stimulus package, which would provide a \$300 bill subsidy for isolated households in rural areas.²⁶⁸

Other policy areas of focus included ensuring Mildura Base Hospital is returned to public operation; seeking funding for roads in the region; support for a federal Independent Commission Against Corruption in response to the water crisis; and funding for fruit fly monitoring and eradication.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁰ Author unknown (2018) 'Morwell', *Latrobe Valley Express*, 19 November.

²⁶¹ Author unknown (2018) 'State election 2018: Morwell', *Latrobe Valley Express*, 12 November.

²⁶² J. Shields (2018) 'Voters must play game: Mildura's safe seat has hurt us for too long, Ali Cupper says', *Sunraysia Daily*, 2 May.

²⁶³ Ali Cupper (2018) 'Big plans for small towns: Game-changing priorities for our rural & remote communities', Ali Cupper website.

²⁶⁴ Ali Cupper (2018) '25 years of paying for everyone else's trains. Time to end the scandal', media release, 30 June.

²⁶⁵ Ali Cupper (2018) 'MFR: a game changer for local jobs', media release, 30 June.

²⁶⁶ Ali Cupper (2018) 'Isolation grants for lower rates', media release, 29 October.

²⁶⁷ Ali Cupper (2018) 'Super baby scheme', media release, 29 October.

²⁶⁸ Ali Cupper (2018) 'One less bill', media release, 29 October.

²⁶⁹ Ali Cupper (2018) 'Big plans for small towns: Game-changing priorities for our rural & remote communities', Ali Cupper website.

5. Opinion polls

Opinion polls conducted throughout 2018 predicted a Labor Party victory, but even the polls taken days before the election fell short of the mark. The most accurate of the polls was the Fairfax UComms/ReachTEL poll giving Labor 54 per cent and the Coalition 46 per cent on a two-party preferred basis. This contrasts with the last election, where the final polls closely mirrored the election result. In fact, even before the 2010 election, where poll after poll throughout the 56th Parliament predicted a return of the Labor government, there was a late swing against Labor in the polls immediately before the election.

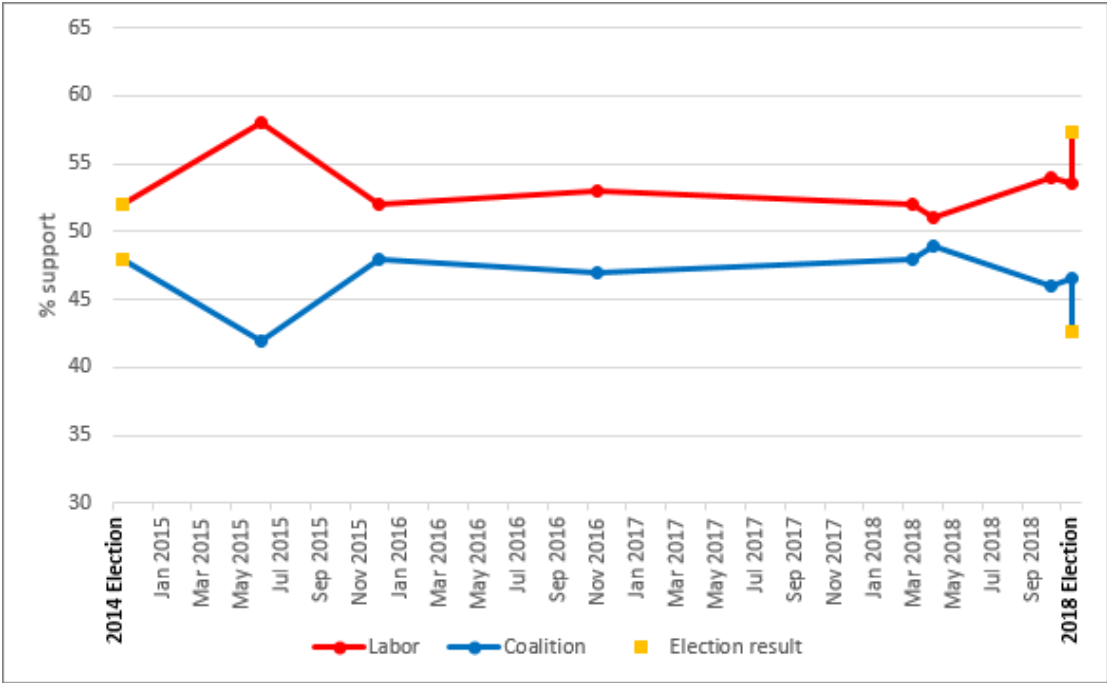
The polls listed below were conducted in the days leading up to the election, and each had a sample size over 1000.

Table 5.1a: Two-party preferred as predicted by selected polling groups

Polling organisation	Labor	Liberal/Nationals Coalition
Newspoll, <i>The Australian</i> ²⁷⁰	53.5	46.5
UComms/ReachTEL poll, Fairfax ²⁷¹	54	46
YouGov Galaxy poll, <i>Herald Sun</i> ²⁷²	53	47
2018 election result	57.3	42.7

Graph 5.1a shows the trend in the two-party preferred vote in Newspoll from the 2014 election results through to the 2018 election results. Newspoll shows Labor leading the Coalition for the entire 58th Parliament and increasing its lead throughout 2018.

Graph 5.1a: Two-party preferred vote, Newspoll 2014-2018



²⁷⁰ Poll conducted: 21-22 November. Sample size: 1077. See J. Ferguson (2018) ‘Labor on track for poll victory’, *Weekend Australian*, 24 November 2018.

²⁷¹ Poll conducted: 21 November. Sample size: 1239. B.Potter and P. Durkin (2018) ‘Labor set to smash Vic poll’, *Australian Financial Review*, 23 November.

²⁷² Poll conducted: 21-22 November. Sample size: 1061. M. Johnston and T. Minear (2018) ‘Dan’s to lose’, *Herald Sun*, 23 November.

The following table, Table 5.1b, shows primary voting intentions as predicted by widely published polls taken in the final days before the election.

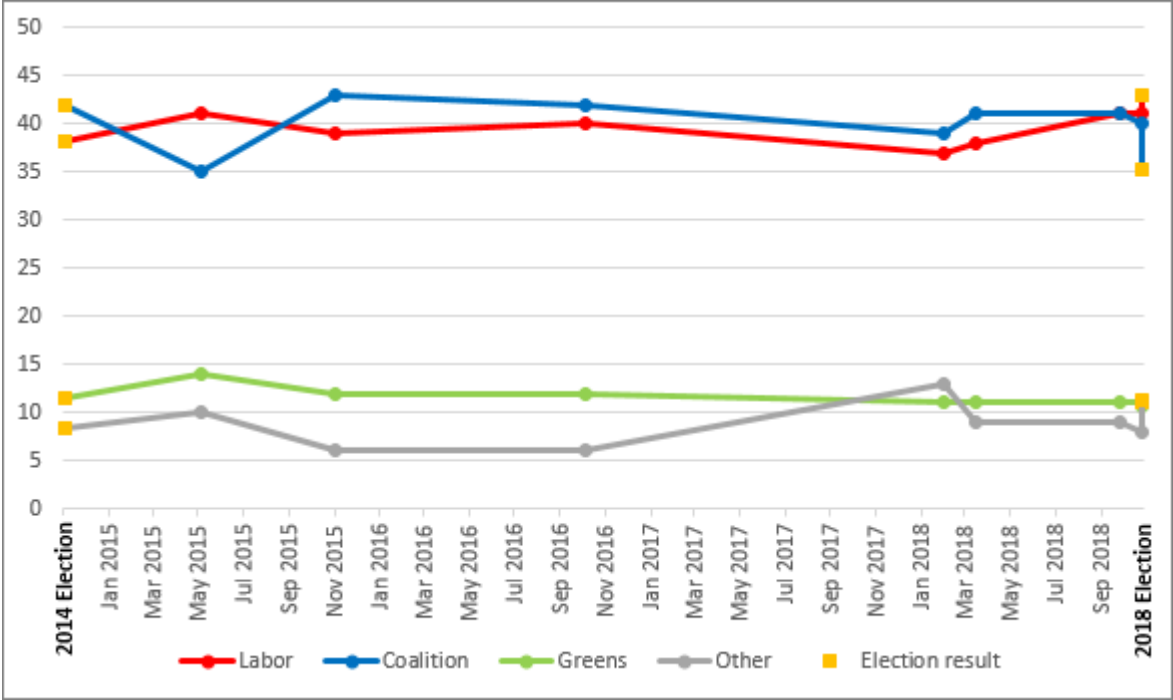
Table 5.1b: Primary voting intentions as predicted by selected polling organisations

Polling organisation	Labor	Liberal/Nationals Coalition	Greens	Other
Newspoll/ <i>The Australian</i> ²⁷³	41	40	11	8
UComms/ReachTEL poll, Fairfax ²⁷⁴	39	36	10.4	9.9*
YouGov Galaxy poll, <i>Herald Sun</i> ²⁷⁵	40	40	11	9
2018 election result	42.86	35.20 (30.43 LP + 4.77 Nat)	10.71	11.23

* The UComms/ReachTEL poll included an additional 'Undecided' cohort of 5.1 per cent.

Graph 5.1b, below, shows trends in primary voting intentions as predicted by Newspoll from the 2014 election results through to the 2018 election results. Notably it shows that throughout the duration of the 58th Parliament, the Coalition's primary vote languished in the vicinity of, or below, its losing primary vote at the 2014 election.

Graph 5.1b: Primary voting intentions, Newspoll



The following table, Table 5.1c, shows 'Preferred Premier' ratings as indicated by widely published polling groups, illustrating that in all the final polls, Mr Andrews retained a convincing lead.

²⁷³ Ferguson (2018) 'Labor on track for poll victory', *Weekend Australian*, op. cit.

²⁷⁴ Potter and P. Durkin (2018) 'Labor set to smash Vic poll', *Australian Financial Review*, op. cit.

²⁷⁵ M. Johnston and T. Minear (2018) 'Dan's to lose', *Herald Sun*, op. cit.

Table 5.1c: Preferred Premier as indicated by selected polling organisations

Polling organisation	Mr Andrews	Mr Guy	Uncommitted
Newspoll, <i>The Australian</i> ²⁷⁶	45	33	22
UComms/ReachTEL poll, Fairfax ²⁷⁷	54.2	45.8	- *
YouGov Galaxy poll, <i>Herald Sun</i> ²⁷⁸	47	35	18

* UComms/ReachTEL excluded 'uncommitted' responses from their poll. YouGov Galaxy did not specifically mention the number of 'uncommitted'.

Table 5.1d show the trends in 'Preferred Premier' from Newspoll. Mr Andrews' 'Preferred Premier' rating remained consistently solid throughout the election year.

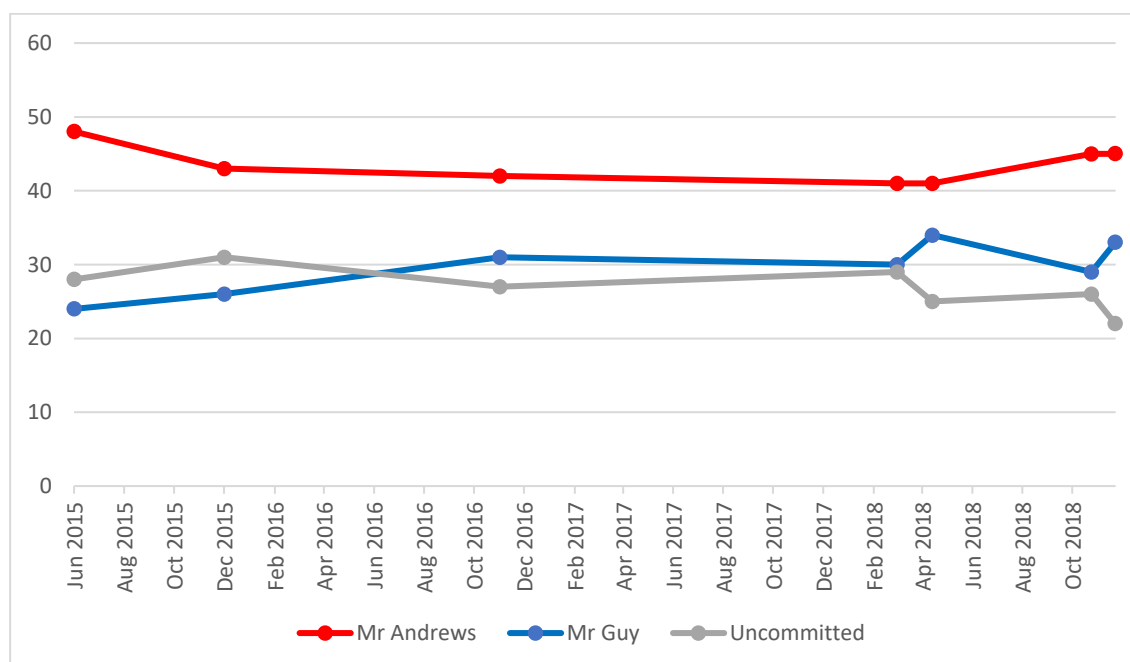
Table 5.1d: Newspoll results on 'Preferred Premier'²⁷⁹

Poll date	Mr Andrews	Mr Guy	Uncommitted
Feb-Mar 2018	41	30	29
13-16 Apr 2018	41	34	25
24-28 Oct 2018	45	29	26
21-22 Nov 2014	45	33	22

Source: J. Ferguson (2018) 'Labor on track for poll victory', *Weekend Australian*, 24 November.

The following graph illustrates the 'Preferred Premier' Newspoll polling throughout the 58th Parliament.

Graph 5.1c: 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.²⁸⁰ As the table below demonstrates, Mr Andrews' satisfaction rates exceeded his dissatisfaction rates for the entire period

²⁷⁶ Ferguson (2018) 'Labor on track for poll victory', *Weekend Australian*, op. cit.

²⁷⁷ Potter and P. Durkin (2018) 'Labor set to smash Vic poll', *Australian Financial Review*, op. cit.

²⁷⁸ M. Johnston and T. Minear (2018) 'Dan's to lose', *Herald Sun*, op. cit.

²⁷⁹ Question asked by Newspoll: *Who do you think would make the better Premier?*

²⁸⁰ Voters were asked: 'are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Mr Andrews/Mr Guy is doing his job as Premier/Leader of Opposition?'

of polling throughout the 58th Parliament, whereas Mr Guy's satisfaction rates remained fairly stable, while his dissatisfaction rates grew.

Table 5.1e: Satisfaction and dissatisfaction with Premier/Leader of the Opposition (Newspoll)

Mr Andrews			
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncommitted
May-Jun 2015	51	32	17
Nov-Dec 2015	43	39	18
Oct-Nov 2016	40	47	13
Feb-Mar 2018	46	41	13
Apr 13-16 2018	43	47	10
Oct 24-28 2018	45	40	15
Nov 21-22 2018	45	40	15
Mr Guy			
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncommitted
May-Jun 2015	35	29	36
Nov-Dec 2015	27	40	33
Oct-Nov 2016	34	38	28
Feb-Mar 2018	36	37	27
Apr 13-16 2018	32	45	23
Oct 24-28 2018	31	46	23
Nov 21-22 2018	34	46	20

Sources: J. Ferguson (2018) 'Labor on track for poll victory', *Weekend Australian*, 24 November and R. Wallace (2015) *Andrews defies bad press to notch surge in support*, *The Australian*, 23 May.

Overall, the polling groups examined above all predicted a Labor Party victory, but were well short of the higher level of accuracy for final polls experienced during the last couple of state elections.

6. Campaign snapshot

	COALITION	LABOR	GREENS
Launch location	Ivanhoe Town Hall	Monash University	Prahran
Slogan	<i>Get Back in ontrol</i>	<i>Delivering for All Victorians</i>	<i>A Future for All of Us</i>
Campaign themes	Crime, Congestion, Costs: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Law & order Population pressures Cost of living 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Infrastructure/Transport Environment/Energy Health Jobs Fairness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Transform transport Renewable energy Environment Planning & housing Health & education Justice, integrity & finance
Advertising images			
Some key policies²⁸¹	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> \$15 billion high speed rail between Melbourne and key regional cities \$4.1 billion to remove 55 congested intersections in Melbourne and Geelong \$1 billion to fix regional roads \$1 billion to establish a Decentralisation Fund Royal Commission into fire services Close the supervised drug injecting room in Richmond 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> \$16.5 billion for North East Link project \$300 million for a business case on the \$50 billion Suburban Rail Loop \$5 billion for Airport Rail link 25% of energy production in Victoria from renewable sources by 2020 \$1.34 billion for the Solar Homes Program \$1.5 billion for a new Footscray Hospital \$5 billion over ten years for 15 hours of three-year-old kinder 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 100% renewable energy by 2030 SmartBus network across Melbourne Upgrade all tram routes over a ten-year period End logging in Victoria's native forests Create the Great Forest National Park \$240 million to manage introduced species Mandate a percentage of affordable housing in all new property developments
Change in net position 2018-22²⁸²	\$1.687 billion decrease in net debt	\$6.996 billion increase in net debt	Total not available

²⁸¹ See Section 4 for further discussion on key policies for each party.

²⁸² Net position measures the gap between the government's revenue and expenses, and movements in financial and non-financial assets. The PBO provide the change to net position as an indicator of the ALP and Coalition policies overall impact on the state budget. A positive change indicates this policy would improve the net position

PART B: THE RESULTS

7. Outcome in the Legislative Assembly

7.1 Summary of the election result

The 2018 election saw Victorians vote the Labor Party firmly back into government. Mr Andrews will serve a second four-year term as Victoria's 48th Premier, a result of Labor winning 55 of 88 seats in the Legislative Assembly.

Since the 2014 election, the Labor Party gained nine seats: Bass, Bayswater, Box Hill, Burwood, Hawthorn, Mount Waverley, Nepean, Ringwood and South Barwon.

In contrast, the Coalition lost 11 seats in total: from 38 seats in 2014, down to 27 seats in 2018. Of these, the Liberal Party lost nine seats and the Nationals lost two.

In an historic first, the Greens won the seat of Brunswick, held by Labor since 1904. In addition, the party retained the seats of Prahran and Melbourne. This took their total seats in the Legislative Assembly up to three, a gain of one seat since the 2014 election. However, the seat of Northcote, which the Greens won just a year earlier, in a 2017 by-election, was regained by the Labor Party.

Table 7.1a: Overall Legislative Assembly result by party

Party	% share of first preference vote	Seats won
ALP	42.9	55
Liberal Party	30.4	21
The Nationals	4.8	6
Australian Greens	10.7	3
Others	11.2	3
Total	100	88

Source: State Election 2018 Results: Overall [Lower House Results](#) VEC website.

The Labor Party received 42.9 per cent of first preference votes, that is, 1,506,460 votes. The Coalition received 35.2 per cent of first preference votes, a combined total of 1,236,912 votes for the Liberal Party and the Nationals. The Greens received 10.7 per cent of first preference votes, that is, 376,470 votes. Of the remaining elected parties and independent members, only the Animal Justice Party received more than one per cent of first preference votes.

7.2 The Labor Party

According to the media, the Labor Party was expected to win the election, but would most likely face challenges from the Liberal Party for the sand-belt seats along Melbourne's south-east rail corridor (which it gained on wafer-thin margins at the 2014 election). Additional challenges, widely articulated, were expected from the rise in popularity of the Greens in inner Melbourne electorates.²⁸³

The Labor Party easily retained the hitherto marginal south-east rail-corridor seats of Frankston, Carrum, Bentleigh, and Mordialloc, with significant swings in every electorate and outright wins in Bentleigh, Carrum and Mordialloc via their primary vote, which were 50.2 per cent, 52.74 per cent and 50.15 per cent, respectively.

of the state budget. See Parliamentary Budget Office (2019) *Independent comparative budget impact assessment, 2018 state general election*, Melbourne, January, p. 1.

²⁸³ A. Green (2018) *The city seats, the regions and the train line that will decide Victoria's election*, ABC News online, 23 November, F. Tomazin, (2016) *What the election means for Victoria: five things to watch*, *The Age*, 10 July and M. Johnston and M. Hore (2018) 'Marginals down to the wire', *Herald Sun*, 13 November.

Notably, the Labor Party also won seats in areas considered to be the Liberal heartland: Hawthorn, formerly considered a safe blue-ribbon seat, fell to Labor for the first time in 63 years; as did Box Hill, Bass and Nepean, which had been Liberal Party seats for decades.

Over the past decade, the rise of the Greens in inner metropolitan Melbourne seats has been an increasing challenge for the Labor Party, with the Greens' share of votes increasing at each election.²⁸⁴ However there was a variation to this trend at the 2018 election. It is the first election since 2002 where the Greens' overall share of first preference votes decreased in the Legislative Assembly since the previous election, albeit only marginally.²⁸⁵ One reported explanation for the overall growth in support has been that gentrification has seen the face of the inner city change significantly, with an increasing predominance of young and progressive voters influenced by social issues, such as climate change.²⁸⁶ Another well-touted explanation is that dissatisfaction with the major parties has pushed voters who have traditionally voted for them towards minor and micro parties.²⁸⁷

As mentioned earlier, the Labor Party lost the seat of Brunswick to the Greens but regained the seat of Northcote that they had lost to the Greens at a by-election a year earlier. Moreover, it had been widely touted in the media that the Labor-held seat of Richmond was particularly vulnerable to the Greens because the Liberal Party did not field a candidate in the seat. However, Labor's primary vote in this electorate rose by 11.1 per cent since the previous election and sitting Member, Richard Wynne, won comfortably with 55.46 per cent, after the distribution of preferences.²⁸⁸

Table 7.2a below lists the seats gained by the Labor Party, the results after the distribution of preferences in the election and the swing.

Table 7.2a: Seats gained by the Labor Party at the 2018 election

District	2014 results Labor (%)	2018 results Labor (%)	Swing* 2014-2018 (%)	Post-Election Margin (%)
Bass	45.5	52.4	6.9	2.4
Bayswater	45.4	50.4	5.0	0.4
Box Hill	44.3	52.1	7.8	2.1
Burwood	46.8	53.3	6.5	3.3
Hawthorn	41.4	50.4	9.1	0.4
Mount Waverley	45.4	51.8	6.8	1.8
Nepean	42.4	50.9	8.5	0.9
Northcote*	56.0	51.7	-4.3	1.7
Ringwood	44.9	52.8	7.9	2.8
South Barwon	47.1	54.6	7.5	4.6

Source: Compiled from VEC data.

*Lidia Thorpe won Northcote from Labor for the Greens at a by-election in November 2017. The margin here is the Labor margin at the 2014 election (before the 2017 by-election).

Of the seats that were won or retained by the Labor Party, the top five largest swings since 2014 on a two-party preferred basis occurred in Footscray, Yan Yean, Carrum, Bentleigh and Dandenong. See Table 10d for a comprehensive list of swing data.

²⁸⁴ B. Lesman et al. (2015) *The 2014 Victorian state election*, Melbourne, Parliamentary Library, p. 30.

²⁸⁵ See [VEC state election results](#) for each election.

²⁸⁶ P. Gregoire (2015) 'What's Driving the Rising Support for the Australian Greens?', *VICE*, 13 April.

²⁸⁷ B. Potter (2014) 'Gridlock looms as vote count mixes gun, sex, drug policies', *Australian Financial Review*, 6 December; A. Clark (2017) 'One lost decade of Australian politics runs into another', *AFR Weekend*, 4 March.

²⁸⁸ S. Hutchinson and R. Baxendale (2018) 'Libs not running forces Wynne's loss to Greens', *The Australian*, 9 November.

7.3 The Liberal Party

The election results for the Liberal Party were worse than predicted by the opinion polls. This was despite some pre-election media commentary that suggested it was possible for the Coalition to win government.²⁸⁹

The outcome was broadly damaging for the party. It won 21 seats, nine less than the previous election and 14 less than the 2010 election. There was a significant decrease in the Liberal Party's primary vote, at only 30.34 per cent at the 2018 election, down from 36.47 per cent at the 2014 election and down from 38.03 per cent at the 2010 election.

Table 7.3a below lists the seats lost by the Liberal Party at the 2018 election with two-party preferred results at the 2014 and 2018 election.

Table 7.3a: Total seats lost by the Liberal Party on a two-party preferred basis

District	2014 results Liberal (%)	2018 results Liberal (%)	Won by
Bass	54.6	47.6	ALP
Bayswater	54.6	49.6	ALP
Box Hill	55.7	47.9	ALP
Burwood	53.2	46.7	ALP
Hawthorn	58.6	49.6	ALP
Mount Waverley	54.6	48.2	ALP
Nepean	57.6	49.1	ALP
Ringwood	55.1	47.2	ALP
South Barwon	52.9	45.4	ALP

Source: Compiled from VEC data.

The media had focused largely on the Liberal Party potentially winning back some of the marginal sandbelt seats which they had lost to Labor at the 2014 election. Table 7.3b below displays the primary vote for the Liberal Party in these seats, showing the significant falls experienced in Bentleigh, Carrum and Mordialloc since the 2014 election.

Table 7.3b: Liberal Party Primary Vote in Bentleigh, Carrum, Frankston and Mordialloc

District	% share of first preference vote Liberal 2014 election	% share of first preference vote Liberal 2018 election	Change in percentage points
Bentleigh	45.88	33.3	-12.58
Carrum	45.15	32.9	-12.25
Frankston	35.84	32.7	-3.4
Mordialloc	43.82	31.5	-12.32

Of the 21 seats won by the Liberal Party in the Legislative Assembly at the 2018 election, the six won on primary votes were: Bulleen, Malvern, Mornington, Narracan, Polwarth and Rowville.

At both the 2014 and 2018 election, Ripon was the Liberal Party's most marginal seat. Liberal MP Louise Staley retained the seat by only 15 votes. Labor initially challenged the result, but eventually withdrew the challenge six months later.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁹ P. Durkin (2018) 'Kennett, Kroger say Guy can win', *Australian Financial Review*, 14 November and T. Walker (2018) 'Election's too close to call', *The Age*, 6 November.

²⁹⁰ G. Gliddon & J. Gartlan (2019) 'Liberal MP's 15-vote win confirmed after Labor drops Ripon challenge', *The Age*, 7 May.

7.4 The Nationals

The Nationals received 4.77 per cent of the primary vote at the 2018 state election, winning six seats.²⁹¹ This was a poorer performance than the 2014 election, where the party won 5.53 per cent of the primary vote, and won eight seats.²⁹²

One loss occurred in the seat of Morwell. As discussed, the incumbent Member, Russell Northe, resigned from the Nationals in 2017 and sat as an independent for the remainder of the 58th Parliament. Mr Northe subsequently ran against the Nationals as an independent at the 2018 election and received 19.56 per cent of the primary vote. While the Labor Party candidate for the seat attracted the highest first preference vote, at 34.19 per cent, Mr Northe was successfully elected with 51.84 per cent of the vote after the distribution of preferences.²⁹³

Comparatively, the Nationals' candidate for the seat, Sheridan Bond, attracted only 10.67 per cent of the primary vote, while the Liberals also ran a candidate in the seat, who received 12.34 per cent.²⁹⁴ Former Australian Senator, Ricky Muir, also ran in the seat for the Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party Victoria, attracting 7.11 per cent of the primary vote.

Another loss occurred in the seat of Mildura, where incumbent Nationals MP, Peter Crisp, was defeated by the independent candidate, Ali Cupper. Mr Crisp, who had held the seat since 2006, received nearly 40 per cent of the primary vote, while Ms Cupper received nearly 33 per cent.²⁹⁵ This was a considerable increase on her primary vote for the seat in 2014, when she achieved 21.28 per cent to Mr Crisp's 46.09 per cent. After the distribution of preferences, Ms Cupper was successful—by just 253 votes—and was elected with 50.34 per cent of the vote.

Table 7.4a: Preference flows in Mildura

	% share of first preference vote		
	Nationals	Labor	Independent (Cupper)
Mildura	39.39	17.21	32.74
Progressive total of votes	14,654	6,404	12,180
<i>Elimination of Greens candidate (Milne) 1,414 votes - % share of preferences flowed to:</i>			
	Nationals	Labor	Independent (Cupper)
	17.96	32.46	37.27
Progressive total of votes	14,908	6,863	12,707
<i>Elimination of Independent candidate (Timmis) 2,729 votes - % share of preferences flowed to:</i>			
	Nationals	Labor	Independent (Cupper)
	25.69	21.73	52.58
Progressive total of votes	15,609	7,456	14,142
<i>Elimination of last excluded candidate - Labor (Alessi) 7,456 votes - % share of preferences flowed to:</i>			
	Nationals	Independent (Cupper)	
	38.47	61.53	
Final total of votes	18,477	18,730	

Source: State Election 2018: Mildura District Distribution of preference votes VEC website.

As reported in the media, several factors likely played into a reduced vote for the Nationals across the state. For example, in February 2018, the party was caught up in a financial controversy that later saw the Independent Broad-based Anti-corruption Commission called in to investigate claims that thousands of dollars went missing from its Morwell branch.²⁹⁶ The media also revealed in February

²⁹¹ Victorian Electoral Commission (date unknown) 'State Election 2018 results', VEC website.

²⁹² Victorian Electoral Commission (2015) 'State Election 2014 results', VEC website.

²⁹³ Victorian Electoral Commission (date unknown) 'State Election 2018: Morwell District', VEC website.

²⁹⁴ *ibid.*

²⁹⁵ Victorian Electoral Commission (date unknown) 'State Election 2018: Mildura District', VEC website.

²⁹⁶ A. White (2018) 'Watchdog to look at party', *Herald Sun*, 8 March.

2018 a scandal involving Nationals' federal party leader, Barnaby Joyce.²⁹⁷

The party was again in the spotlight, weeks out from the election in October 2018, when Nationals MP, Tim McCurdy, was charged with fraud and was committed to stand trial.²⁹⁸ Mr McCurdy's seat of Ovens Valley went down to preferences, for only the second time in 16 years.²⁹⁹

7.5 The Greens

The Greens received 10.71 per cent of the primary vote at the 2018 election.³⁰⁰ Although this was lower than the 11.48 per cent received in 2014,³⁰¹ the party managed to increase its numbers in the lower house to three seats, with the retention of Melbourne and Prahran, and an historic gain in Brunswick.

In the seat of Melbourne, incumbent MP, Ellen Sandell, received 38.85 per cent of the primary vote, and was elected with 51.33 per cent after the distribution of preferences.³⁰² However, this was a poorer performance than in 2014, when Ms Sandell received 41.44 per cent of the primary vote, and 52.44 per cent after preferences.³⁰³

In the seat of Prahran, incumbent MP, Sam Hibbins, again came from third place in the primary vote, at 28.07 per cent, to win the seat with 57.45 per cent after preferences.³⁰⁴ This was an improvement on the 2014 results, where Mr Hibbins received 24.75 per cent of the primary vote, narrowly winning the seat with 50.37 per cent after preferences.³⁰⁵ As in 2014, Mr Hibbins benefitted from preference flows from the Animal Justice Party candidate to overtake the Labor candidate, thus securing victory over the Liberal candidate.³⁰⁶

Additionally, the Greens were successful in the seat of Brunswick for the first time. Popular local Member, Jane Garrett, who had held Brunswick for the Labor Party since 2010, left the seat to contest a position in the Legislative Council.³⁰⁷ Greens candidate, Tim Read (who had also run at the previous election), was able to slightly increase his primary vote, from 39.65 per cent in 2014, to 40.06 per cent in 2018.³⁰⁸ Thanks to preference flows from other candidates, Dr Read was able to maintain his lead throughout the count and win the seat by 503 votes.

²⁹⁷ L. Barbour & A. Henderson (2018) 'The unravelling of Barnaby Joyce', *ABC News*, 13 March.

²⁹⁸ R. Tuffield (2018) 'Victorian Nationals MP Tim McCurdy facing fraud trial just weeks before election', *ABC News*, 4 October.

²⁹⁹ (2018) 'Lessons to be learned by all', *Wangaratta Chronicle*, 26 November.

³⁰⁰ Victorian Electoral Commission (date unknown) 'State Election 2018 results', VEC website.

³⁰¹ Victorian Electoral Commission (2015) 'State Election 2014 results', VEC website.

³⁰² Victorian Electoral Commission (date unknown) 'State Election 2018: Melbourne District', VEC website.

³⁰³ Victorian Electoral Commission (2015) 'State Election 2014: Melbourne District', VEC website.

³⁰⁴ Victorian Electoral Commission (date unknown) 'State Election 2018: Prahran District', VEC website.

³⁰⁵ Victorian Electoral Commission (2015) 'State Election 2014: Prahran District', VEC website.

³⁰⁶ Victorian Electoral Commission (date unknown) 'State Election 2018: Prahran District Distribution of preference votes', VEC website.

³⁰⁷ A. Sinnott (2018) 'Jane Garrett seeks Labor pre-selection for Eastern Victoria region', *Weekly Times*, 25 July.

³⁰⁸ Victorian Electoral Commission (date unknown) 'State Election 2018: Brunswick District', VEC website; Victorian Electoral Commission (2015) 'State Election 2014: Brunswick District', VEC website.

Table 7.5a: Preference flows in Brunswick

	% share of first preference vote		
	Liberal	Labor	Greens
Brunswick	10.13	38.02	40.06
Progressive total of votes	4,450	16,701	17,599
<i>Elimination of Independent candidate (Anderson) 250 votes - % share of preferences flowed to:</i>			
	Liberal	Labor	Greens
	2.80	8.4	34.0
Progressive total of votes	4,457	16,722	17,684
<i>Elimination of Independent candidate (Sourasis) 316 votes - % share of preferences flowed to:</i>			
	Liberal	Labor	Greens
	25.32	12.03	7.28
Progressive total of votes	4,537	16,760	17,707
<i>Elimination of Liberal Democrats candidate (Collins) 635 votes - % share of preferences flowed to:</i>			
	Liberal	Labor	Greens
	46.77	15.43	6.46
Progressive total of votes	4,834	16,858	17,748
<i>Elimination of Animal Justice Party candidate (Miles) 908 votes - % share of preferences flowed to:</i>			
	Liberal	Labor	Greens
	9.36	15.42	51.98
Progressive total of votes	4,919	16,998	18,220
<i>Elimination of Independent candidate (Georgiou) 1,584 votes - % share of preferences flowed to:</i>			
	Liberal	Labor	Greens
	12.75	18.50	22.10
Progressive total of votes	5,121	17,291	18,570
<i>Elimination of Reason Party candidate (Deveny) 2,945 votes - % share of preferences flowed to:</i>			
	Liberal	Labor	Greens
	10.08	46.15	43.77
Progressive total of votes	5,418	18,650	19,859
<i>Elimination of last excluded candidate - Liberal (Wojtonis) 5,418 votes - % share of preferences flowed to:</i>			
	Labor	Greens	
	56.52	43.48	
Final total of votes	21,712		22,215

Source: State Election 2018: [Brunswick District Distribution of preference votes](#) VEC website.

However, the Greens were unable to retain the seat of Northcote won at a 2017 by-election. The incumbent, Lidia Thorpe, achieved a primary vote of 39.52 per cent to Labor's 41.71 per cent. After the distribution of preferences, Labor candidate Kat Theophanous won the seat with 51.71 per cent of the vote to Ms Thorpe's 48.29 per cent.³⁰⁹

The media reported that the Greens were also optimistic about winning the seat of Richmond, held by the Labor Party with a margin of only 1.9 per cent, but they were ultimately unsuccessful.³¹⁰

7.6 Independents

Collectively, independent candidates garnered 6.07 per cent of the primary vote at the election.³¹¹ This was a substantial increase from the 2014 result, which saw independents receive only 3.35 per cent.³¹²

Suzanna Sheed, who won the seat of Shepparton at the 2014 election, increased her primary vote from 32.72 per cent in 2014, to 38.40 per cent in 2018, retaining her seat.³¹³ As already discussed, Russell

³⁰⁹ Victorian Electoral Commission (date unknown) 'State Election 2018: Northcote District', VEC website.

³¹⁰ S. Ilanbey (2018) 'Richmond: An easy Wynne', *Sunday Age*, 25 November.

³¹¹ Victorian Electoral Commission (date unknown) 'State Election 2018 results', VEC website.

³¹² Victorian Electoral Commission (2015) 'State Election 2014 results', VEC website.

³¹³ Victorian Electoral Commission (2015) 'State Election 2014: Shepparton District', and 'State Election 2018: Shepparton District', VEC website.

Northe ran as an independent in the seat of Morwell against his former party and was ultimately successful. Ali Cupper won the seat of Mildura from the Nationals.

In relation to independents who failed to win seats, in Pascoe Vale, former Moreland City Councillor, Oscar Yildiz, received 23.51 per cent of the primary vote. After the distribution of preferences, he finished second in the seat to Labor with 41.42 per cent of the vote.³¹⁴

In the seat of South-West Coast, former Member of the Legislative Council, James Purcell (who had given up his seat to run in the Legislative Assembly), attracted 16.47 per cent of the primary vote.³¹⁵ Liberal Party incumbent Roma Britnell, retained the seat.

Rachel-Carling Jenkins also gave up her seat in the Council to run in the seat of Werribee, attracting 5.40 per cent of the primary vote; however, Joe Garra was the strongest independent candidate in that race and received 19.90 per cent.³¹⁶ Neither were successful, with the seat being retained by Tim Pallas for the Labor Party.

Other strong performances by independent candidates included the seat of Geelong, where former Mayor, Darryn Lyons, received 24.67 per cent of the primary vote.³¹⁷ Similarly, in Ovens Valley, Tammy Atkins received 19.16 per cent;³¹⁸ in Benambra, Jacqui Hawkins received 16.14 per cent;³¹⁹ and Tony Hooper received 12.5 per cent in Altona.³²⁰

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	1,506,460	42.86
Liberal	1,069,287	30.43
Australian Greens	376,470	10.71
The Nationals	167,625	4.77
Animal Justice Party	63,970	1.82
Democratic Labour Party	24,097	0.69
Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party Victoria	24,257	0.69
Victorian Socialists	15,442	0.44
Fiona Patten's Reason Party	12,695	0.36
Transport Matters Party	10,313	0.29
Derryn Hinch's Justice Party	9,277	0.26
Sustainable Australia	8,183	0.23
Australian Country Party	6,566	0.19
Liberal Democrats	4,030	0.11
Aussie Battler Party	1,281	0.04
Australian Liberty Alliance	1,232	0.04
Other candidates	213,289	6.07
Total	3,514,474	100.0

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

³¹⁴ Victorian Electoral Commission (date unknown) 'State Election 2018: Pascoe Vale District', VEC website.

³¹⁵ Victorian Electoral Commission (date unknown) 'State Election 2018: South-West Coast District', VEC website.

³¹⁶ Victorian Electoral Commission (date unknown) 'State Election 2018: Werribee District', VEC website.

³¹⁷ Victorian Electoral Commission (date unknown) 'State Election 2018: Geelong District', VEC website.

³¹⁸ Victorian Electoral Commission (date unknown) 'State Election 2018: Ovens Valley District', VEC website.

³¹⁹ Victorian Electoral Commission (date unknown) 'State Election 2018: Benambra District', VEC website.

³²⁰ Victorian Electoral Commission (date unknown) 'State Election 2018: Altona District', VEC website.

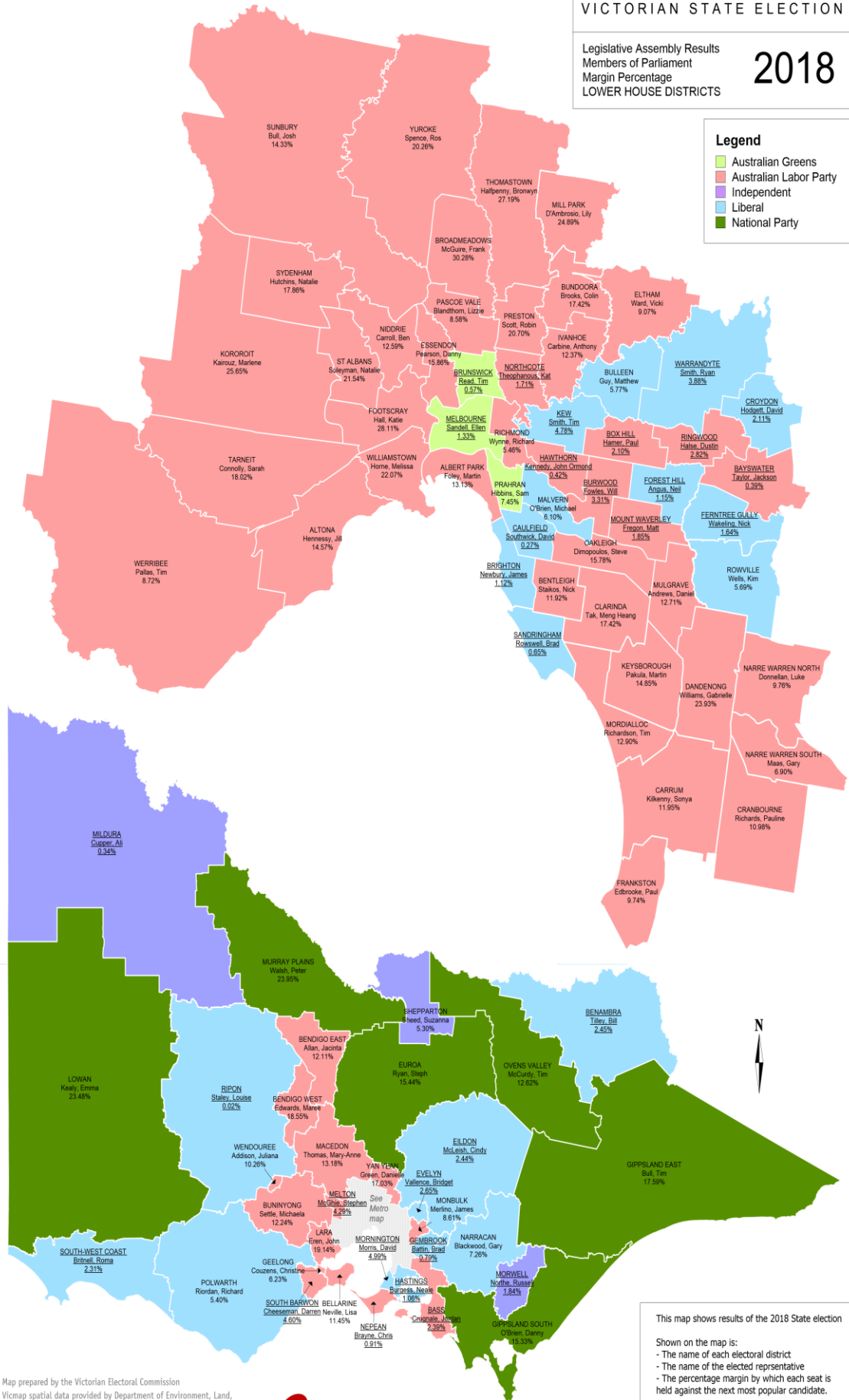
VICTORIAN STATE ELECTION

Legislative Assembly Results
Members of Parliament
Margin Percentage
LOWER HOUSE DISTRICTS

2018

Legend

- Australian Greens
- Australian Labor Party
- Independent
- Liberal
- National Party



Map prepared by the Victorian Electoral Commission
Vicmap spatial data provided by Department of Environment, Land, Water & Planning, Copyright © 2019 - State Government Victoria



This map shows results of the 2018 State election

Shown on the map is:

- The name of each electoral district
- The name of the elected representative
- The percentage margin by which each seat is held against the next most popular candidate.

(Margins of less than 5% are underlined.)

8. Outcome in the Legislative Council

8.1 Summary of the results

The 11 parties that won seats in the 59th Parliament are: the Australian Labor Party; the Liberal Party; the Nationals; the Australian Greens; Derryn Hinch's Justice Party; Fiona Patten's Reason Party; the Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party Victoria; the Animal Justice Party; the Transport Matters Party; the Liberal Democrats; and Sustainable Australia. Following the election, one member of Derryn Hinch's Justice Party was disendorsed and was instead sworn in as an independent Member of the Legislative Council.³²¹

Table 8.1a displays a breakdown of the parties elected to the Legislative Council for each of the eight regions. Where there is a change in representation in a particular region from the previous parliament, the 2014 result is displayed in brackets. Green text indicates an increase in seats for a party from the previous Parliament; red text indicates a decrease. Two regions produced exactly the same allocation of elected parties as at the 2014 election: Eastern Victoria and Northern Metropolitan.³²²

Table 8.1a: Legislative Council composition at the declaration of the polls by party and region³²³

Region	ALP	LIB	NAT	GRN	DHJP	FPRP	SFFPV	AJP	TM	LD	SA
Eastern Metropolitan	2 (1)	2 (3)	-	-(1)	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Eastern Victoria	2	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Northern Metropolitan	2	1		1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Northern Victoria	2	1	-(1)	-	1	-	-(1)	-	-	1	-
South-Eastern Metropolitan	3 (2)	1 (2)	-	-(1)	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Southern Metropolitan	2 (1)	2 (3)	-	-(1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Western Metropolitan	3 (2)	1	-	-(1)	1 ³²⁴	-	-	-	-	-	-
Western Victoria ³²⁵	2	1 (2)	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total (40)	18 (14)	10 (14) Coalition = 11 (16)	1 (2)	1 (5)	3	1	1 (2)	1	1	2	1

Source: Victorian Electoral Commission (2018) 'State Election 2018 results: Overall Upper House results', VEC website. Note: Only parties that won a seat in the Legislative Council have been included in this table.

³²¹ D. Hinch (2018) [Media release](#), 18 December.

³²² At both the 2014 and 2018 elections, the Eastern Victoria region elected two Labor Members, one Liberal Member, one Nationals Member and one Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party Member; and the Northern Metropolitan region elected two Labor Members, one Liberal Member, one Greens Member and one Member from the Sex Party/Fiona Patten's Reason Party.

³²³ Acronyms referred to in this table: ALP (Australian Labor Party); LIB (Liberal Party); NAT (National Party); GRN (Australian Greens); DHJP (Derryn Hinch's Justice Party); FPRP (Fiona Patten's Reason Party); SFFPV (Shooters, Fishers & Farmers Party Victoria); AJP (Animal Justice Party); TM (Transport Matters); LD (Liberal Democrats); SA (Sustainable Australia).

³²⁴ Following the election, Catherine Cumming resigned from Derryn Hinch's Justice Party, and was subsequently sworn in as an independent Member.

³²⁵ One seat in the Western Victoria region was previously held by the Vote 1 Local Jobs party.

A total of 3,731,191 votes were cast across the eight regions that make up the Legislative Council, which equated to 90.14 per cent of total enrolled voters. This was a slight decrease in voter participation from the 2014 election, which saw votes cast by 93 per cent of enrolled voters.³²⁶

Of the total votes cast, 147,713 were recorded as informal (equating to 3.96 per cent of total votes). This demonstrated a slight increase in the proportion of informal votes from the previous election (up from 3.4 per cent).

As the Labor Party did not secure a majority of Members in the Legislative Council, it will rely on support from the Opposition and/or the crossbench to pass its legislative program.

8.2 The Labor Party

The Labor Party increased its numbers in the Legislative Council from 14 to 18. This equates to 45 per cent of the composition of the house. Their primary vote across Victoria similarly increased from 33.46 per cent at the 2014 election to 39.22 per cent in 2018. The party now has at least two sitting Members in each upper house district.

The strongest result for Labor was in the South-Eastern Metropolitan region, where the party secured 49.91 per cent of the primary vote. The Western Metropolitan region also polled well, with 46.23 per cent of the primary vote and the Northern Metropolitan region followed at 42.58 per cent. Labor's lowest primary vote was in Northern Victoria, 31.82 per cent.

8.3 The Coalition

Comparable to its results in the Legislative Assembly, the Coalition suffered a number of losses in the Legislative Council. The Liberal Party lost four seats to retain only ten, with the Nationals losing half of its representation to now hold one seat. This equals 11 seats for the Coalition—five less than in the previous Parliament, and equivalent to the total seats won by the crossbench.

An increase in support for the Labor Party similarly saw a broad downturn in support for the Coalition. The primary vote, for both the Liberal and National parties combined, decreased across the state from 36.13 per cent in the 2014 election to 29.43 per cent in 2018. In three of the four regions where Labor won additional seats in the Legislative Council, the Liberal Party lost seats. These three regions were also metropolitan areas—Eastern Metropolitan, South-Eastern Metropolitan and Southern Metropolitan. In the fourth region, Western Victoria, the Liberal Party's loss led to one additional minor party winning a seat in the new Council (with minor parties now holding two seats in that region).

The Coalition's strongest performance was in the Southern Metropolitan region, where they polled 38.3 per cent of the primary vote. This was one of only two regions (with Northern Victoria) where the Coalition polled a higher primary vote than Labor. The weakest result was in the Northern Metropolitan region, where the Coalition received only 16.48 per cent of first preference votes, lower than both Labor (42.58 per cent) and the Greens (16.75 per cent).

The Liberal Party and the Nationals have a shared group voting ticket arrangement in three regions: Eastern Victoria, Northern Victoria and Western Victoria. Due to this arrangement, it is not possible to ascertain the true first preference vote for the Nationals, as many voters vote above the line on the ballot paper for the shared group ticket. (Group tickets are discussed further below).

8.4 The crossbench

The crossbench gained one seat at the election, expanding from ten seats to 11. Increased diversity of the minor parties came at the loss of a number of seats from the Greens and the Coalition. Eight minor

³²⁶ Victorian Electoral Commission (2018) 'State Election 2018 results', VEC website.

parties are now represented in the upper house, compared to the five represented in the previous Parliament.

As discussed earlier in this paper,³²⁷ a complex system of preference exchanges between a number of the minor parties resulted in several new parties each securing a seat in a different district in the upper house. This is possible in Victoria through ‘above the line’ voting: when electors number their preferred party (‘group’) above the line, that party allocates who and in what order they want these votes to flow to, often according to deals struck with other parties. These are known as ‘group voting tickets’.³²⁸ The majority of electors in Victoria generally vote above the line—in 2014, only 6.08 per cent of voters chose to vote below the line.³²⁹

Across Victoria overall, 22.1 per cent of voters gave their primary vote to minor parties (rather than Labor, the Coalition or the Greens), with those minor parties attaining 25 per cent of the seats in the Legislative Council.³³⁰ However, as displayed below at Table 8.5b, these parties all won their respective seats with very low primary votes, which many political commentators see as problematic.³³¹

The Greens lost a significant portion of their representation from the 58th Parliament, winning only one of their five previously held seats at the election. This is despite receiving similar (only slightly lower) percentages of first preference votes to those received in the 2014 election.³³² Preference deals played a large part in this, with many minor parties preferencing the Greens towards the bottom of their group tickets. The regional breakdown in Table 8.5b shows that a number of minor parties won seats on a primary vote of between 0.5–2 per cent in their respective regions, over the Greens who generally polled between 5.6–13.5 per cent in each region. For example, the Greens lost their seat in the Eastern Metropolitan region despite receiving 8.99 per cent of first preference votes—with the Transport Matters Party instead winning a seat with only 0.62 per cent of first preference votes.³³³

Of the new parties to the Victorian Parliament, Derryn Hinch’s Justice Party was the most successful, winning a total of three seats.

The Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party Victoria lost a previously-held seat in Northern Victoria, despite polling their best result out of all eight regions (at 7.85 per cent), and higher than the other minor parties in the region. This first preference vote was also an increase in support in Northern Victoria from the 2014 election, when the party only won 3.5 per cent of first preference votes. However, they retained their seat in Eastern Victoria on a primary vote of 5.01 per cent.

Both the Democratic Labour Party and the Vote 1 Local Jobs Party lost their seats in the Legislative Council at the election, and are no longer represented in the Victorian Parliament.

³²⁷ See, Chapter 3: the campaign.

³²⁸ See, Victorian Electoral Commission (2019) ‘[Group voting tickets](#)’, VEC website.

³²⁹ In the 2014 election, ‘the total number of ATL [above the line] votes vastly outnumbered BTL [below the line] votes’; the total percentage of below the line voters ‘increased from 4.04% in 2010 to 6.08% in 2014’. Victorian Electoral Commission (2015) [Report to Parliament on the 2014 Victorian State Election](#), Melbourne, VEC, pp. 58, 60.

³³⁰ See below, Table 8.5a. See, also, P. Rodan (2018) ‘[Has the preference whisperer sealed his own fate?](#)’, *Inside Story*, 14 December.

³³¹ See, for example, P. Rodan (2018) ‘[Has the preference whisperer sealed his own fate?](#)’, *Inside Story*, 14 December, and A. Beaumont (2018) ‘[Victorian upper house greatly distorted by group voting tickets; federal Labor still dominant in Newspann](#)’, *The Conversation*, 11 December.

³³² See, table 8.5b below, compared with table 8.9b in B. Lesman, R. Macreadie, C. Ross and P. Darby (2015) ‘[The 2014 Victorian State Election](#)’, *Research Paper*, No. 1, Parliamentary Library, Melbourne, Parliament of Victoria.

³³³ Victorian Electoral Commission (2018) ‘[State Election 2018: Eastern Metropolitan Region](#)’, VEC website.

According to Paul Rodan, Adjunct Professor at Swinburne University of Technology, the diverse selection of minor parties on the crossbench provides the Labor Government with a good chance of consistently achieving the three additional votes needed for a majority on an issue-by-issue basis.³³⁴

8.5 Composition of the Legislative Council

Table 8.5a below displays the percentage of first preference votes obtained by each party for both the 2014 and 2018 elections, and how this has translated into the number of seats each party has won in the Legislative Council.

Table 8.5a: First preference votes and composition of the Legislative Council, 2014 and 2018

Party	2014 election		2018 election	
	First preference vote (%)	Seats won	First preference vote (%)	Seats won
Labor	33.46	14	39.22	18
Liberal	20.82	10	17.16	7
Liberal/Nationals (joint tickets)	15.32	6	12.27	4
Greens	10.75	5	9.25	1
Derryn Hinch's Justice Party	-	-	3.75	3
Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party Victoria	1.65	2	3.02	1
Liberal Democrats	3.06	0	2.50	2
Animal Justice Party	1.70	0	2.47	1
Democratic Labour Party	2.32	1	2.10	0
Fiona Patten's Reason Party	2.63	1	1.37	1
Voluntary Euthanasia Party (Victoria)	0.49	0	1.19	0
Aussie Battler Party	-	-	0.93	0
Victorian Socialists	-	-	0.91	0
Sustainable Australia	-	-	0.83	1
Health Australia Party	-	-	0.79	0
Australian Country Party	0.68	0	0.68	0
Transport Matters	-	-	0.62	1
Australian Liberty Alliance	-	-	0.56	0
Hudson 4 NV	-	-	0.18	0
Vote 1 Local Jobs	0.21	1	0.15	0
Palmer United Party	1.95	0	-	-
Family First	1.83	0	-	-
Australian Christians	1.03	0	-	-
Australian Cyclists Party	0.61	0	-	-
Rise Up Australia Party	0.52	0	-	-
People Power Victoria/No Smart Meters	0.35	0	-	-
Voice for the West	0.32	0	-	-
The Basics Rock 'N' Roll Party	0.19	0	-	-
Other Candidates	0.13	0	0.07	0
Total	100	40	100	40

Source: Victorian Electoral Commission (2018) 'State Election 2018 results: Overall Upper House results', VEC website.

Table 8.5b breaks down the first preference votes by party and Legislative Council region for the 2018 election. This shows that a number of seats were won through preference flows—rather than won on the percentage of first preference votes.

³³⁴ P. Rodan (2018) 'Has the preference whisperer sealed his own fate?', *Inside Story*, 14 December.

Table 8.5b: First preference vote percentages by Legislative Council region

Region	ALP	LIB	NAT	GRN	DHJP	FPRP	SFFPV	AJP	TM	LD	SA
Eastern Metropolitan	36.97	36.13	-	8.99	2.53	1.2	1.25	2.4	0.62	4.17	0.82
Eastern Victoria*	33.58	34.1		6.73	4.47	0.81	5.01	3.23	0.56	4.03	0.87
Northern Metropolitan	42.58	16.48	-	16.75	2.02	3.35	1.20	2.03	0.58	1.38	0.69
Northern Victoria*	31.82	31.21		6.58	4.86	0.69	7.85	2.29	0.42	3.78	0.9
South-Eastern Metropolitan	49.91	28.97	-	5.57	3.04	0.84	1.44	2.22	1.27	0.85	0.7
Southern Metropolitan	34.57	38.3	-	13.46	1.43	2.01	0.63	2.17	0.32	1.38	1.32
Western Metropolitan	46.23	21.25	-	8.71	6.82	1.15	1.92	2.59	0.66	1.71	0.76
Western Victoria*	38.18	29.92		7.49	4.44	0.91	4.44	2.77	0.53	2.63	0.64

Source: Victorian Electoral Commission (2018) 'State Election 2018 results: Overall Upper House results', VEC website.

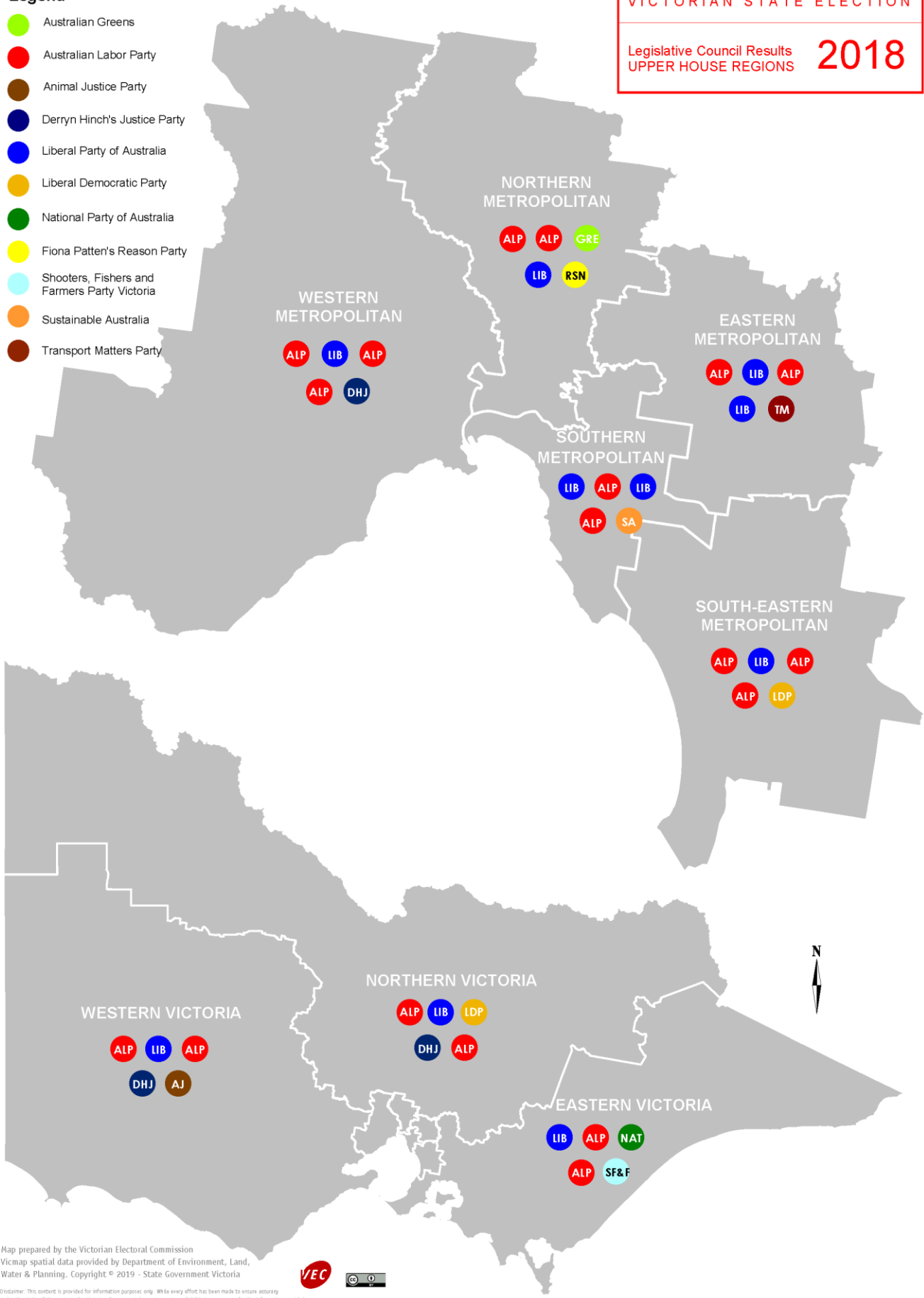
* Joint Liberal/Nationals ticket. Cells highlighted pale blue indicate the parties that won seats in that region.

Note: Only parties that won a seat in the Legislative Council have been included in this table.

VICTORIAN STATE ELECTION
 Legislative Council Results
 UPPER HOUSE REGIONS 2018

Legend

- Australian Greens
- Australian Labor Party
- Animal Justice Party
- Derryn Hinch's Justice Party
- Liberal Party of Australia
- Liberal Democratic Party
- National Party of Australia
- Fiona Patten's Reason Party
- Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party Victoria
- Sustainable Australia
- Transport Matters Party



Map prepared by the Victorian Electoral Commission
 Vicmap spatial data provided by Department of Environment, Land,
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9. Further results

9.1 Women Parliamentarians

The number of women in Parliament has steadily increased over the last few parliaments. The 2018 election saw 53 women elected to the Victorian Parliament, which is an increase of five since the 2014 election. Table 9.1a shows the number of women elected to the last four parliaments and that number represented as a percentage of the total number of Members.

Table 9.1a: Women in Parliament

Election	Number of women	Percentage of women (%)
2006	38	29.7
2010	42	32.8
2014	48	37.5
2018	53	41.4

Source: [VEC data](#).

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

Party	Number of women	Party total	Percentage of women by party
Labor	35	73	47.9
Liberal	8	31	25.8
Nationals	3	7	42.9
Greens	2	4	50.0
Reason Party	1	1	100.0
Derryn Hinch's Justice Party	2	3	66.7
Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party Victoria	0	1	0.0
Transport Matters	0	1	0.0
Sustainable Australia	0	1	0.0
Liberal Democrats	0	2	0.0
Animal Justice Party	0	1	0.0
Independent	2	3	66.7
Total	53	128	41.4

Source: A. Hough (2019) *Composition of Australian parliaments by party and gender: a quick guide*, Research Paper Series, 2018-19, 15 January.

Table 9.1c: Composition of other Australian Parliaments by gender as at 15 January 2019

Parliament	Males (total)	Females (total)	Percentage of females (total)
Victoria	75	53	41.4
Commonwealth	151	75	33.3
New South Wales	97	37	27.6
Queensland	63	30	32.3
Western Australia	65	30	31.6
South Australia	49	18	26.9
Tasmania	20	20	50.0
Australian Capital Territory	11	14	56.0
Northern Territory	13	12	48.0
TOTAL	544	289	34.7

Source: A. Hough (2019) *Composition of Australian parliaments by party and gender: a quick guide*, Research Paper Series, 2018-19, 15 January.

Table 9.1d: Composition of Victorian parliament by gender and chamber

Chamber	Males	Females	Percentage of women by chamber
Legislative Assembly	54	34	38.6
Legislative Council	21	19	47.5

Source: [VEC data](#).

The number of women in Cabinet also increased following the election, with 11 women in the 22-member ministry, or 50 per cent of the membership (as reflected in the blue highlights in Table 9.1e below). This is the first time in Victoria's history that the Government has achieved gender equality in cabinet.³³⁵ The ministers are: Jill Hennessy, Jaclyn Symes, Jenny Mikakos, Marlene Kairouz, Lily D'Ambrosio, Jaala Pulford, Gayle Tierney, Lisa Neville, Melissa Horne, Gabrielle Williams, and Jacinta Allan. The number of women in the Cabinet has increased since the previous Parliament, where nine women in a 21-member ministry made up 43 per cent of the membership.

Table 9.1e: The Andrews Ministry

Minister	Portfolios
Daniel Andrews	Premier
James Merlino	Deputy Premier; Minister for Education
Tim Pallas	Treasurer; Minister for Economic development; Minister for Industrial Relations
Jill Hennessy	Attorney-General; Minister for Workplace Safety
Gavin Jennings	Special Minister of State; Minister for Aboriginal Affairs; Minister for Priority Precincts
Robin Scott	Assistant Treasurer; Minister for Veterans
Jaclyn Symes	Minister for Agriculture; Minister for Regional Development; Minister for Resources
Jenny Mikakos	Minister for Ambulance Services; Minister for Health
Luke Donnellan	Minister for Child Protection; Minister for Disability, Ageing and Carers
Marlene Kairouz	Minister for Consumer Affairs, Gaming and Liquor regulation; Minister for Suburban Development
Ben Carroll	Minister for Corrections; Minister for Crime Prevention; Minister for Victim Support; Minister for Youth Justice
Martin Foley	Minister for Creative Industries; Minister for Equality; Minister for Mental Health
Lily D'Ambrosio	Minister for Energy, Environment and Climate Change; Minister for Solar Homes
Jaala Pulford	Minister for Fishing and Boating; Minister for Road Safety and the TAC; Minister for Roads
Gayle Tierney	Minister for Higher Education; Minister for Training and Skills
Richard Wynne	Minister for Housing; Minister for Multicultural Affairs; Minister for Planning
Martin Pakula	Minister for Jobs, Innovation and Trade; Minister for Racing; Minister for Tourism, Sport and Major Events
Adem Somyurek	Minister for Local Government; Minister for Small Business
Lisa Neville	Minister for Police and Emergency Services; Minister for Water
Melissa Horne	Minister for Ports and Freight; Minister for Public Transport
Gabrielle Williams	Minister for Prevention of Family Violence; Minister for Women; Minister for Youth
Jacinta Allan	Minister for Transport Infrastructure

³³⁵ A. Carey (2018) 'Labor makes history with first cabinet that is 50 per cent women', *The Age*, 27 November.

9.2 New and departing Members

The 2018 election saw 38 new MPs enter Parliament with 24 new Members elected to the Assembly and 14 new Members to the Council. The new Members constituted 29.68 per cent of the total membership of the Parliament, which was a slightly higher turnover than the 2014 election (28.13 per cent).

The below two tables display the new Members in each house, the districts/regions they represent, and their party affiliations.

Table 9.2a: New Members in the Legislative Assembly

Member	District	Party
Jordan Crugnale	Bass	Labor
Jackson Taylor	Bayswater	Labor
Paul Hamer	Box Hill	Labor
James Newbury	Brighton	Liberal
Tim Read	Brunswick	Greens
Michaela Settle	Buninyong	Labor
Will Fowles	Burwood	Labor
Meng Tak	Clarinda	Labor
Pauline Richards	Cranbourne	Labor
Bridget Vallence	Evelyn	Liberal
Katie Hall	Footscray	Labor
John Kennedy	Hawthorn	Labor
Stephen McGhie	Melton	Labor
Ali Cupper	Mildura	Independent
Matt Fregon	Mount Waverley	Labor
Gary Maas	Narre Warren South	Labor
Chris Brayne	Nepean	Labor
Kat Theophanous	Northcote	Labor
Dustin Halse	Ringwood	Labor
Brad Rowswell	Sandringham	Liberal
Darren Cheeseman	South Barwon	Labor
Sarah Connolly	Tarneit	Labor
Juliana Addison	Wendouree	Labor
Melissa Horne	Williamstown	Labor

Table 9.2b: New Members in the Legislative Council

Member	Region	Party
Sonja Terpstra	Eastern Metropolitan	Labor
Rodney Barton	Eastern Metropolitan	Transport Matters
Tim Quilty	Northern Victoria	Liberal Democrats
Tania Maxwell	Northern Victoria	Derryn Hinch's Justice Party
Tien Kieu	South Eastern Metropolitan	Labor
David Limbrick	South Eastern Metropolitan	Liberal Democrats
Nina Taylor	Southern Metropolitan	Labor
Clifford Hayes	Southern Metropolitan	Sustainable Australia
Ingrid Stitt	Western Metropolitan	Labor
Kaushaliya Vaghela	Western Metropolitan	Labor
Catherine Cumming	Western Metropolitan	Independent
Beverley McArthur	Western Victoria	Liberal
Stuart Grimley	Western Victoria	Derryn Hinch's Justice Party
Andy Meddick	Western Victoria	Animal Justice Party

In addition, former Member of the Legislative Assembly, Jane Garrett, successfully stood for the upper house region of Eastern Victoria.

Seventeen Members of the Victorian Parliament chose not to renominate and announced they would retire at the 2018 state election. This included 13 Members of the Legislative Assembly and four Members of the Legislative Council. The number of Members retiring at this election was less than the 23 who retired at the 2014 election, but more than the ten Members who retired at the 2010 election. The following table lists the 17 Members who retired in 2018, the districts and regions they represented and their party membership.

Table 9.2c: Members who retired at the election

Member	District or Region	Party
Louise Asher	Monash (Council, 1992-1999) Brighton (Assembly, 1999-2018)	Liberal
Richard Dalla-Riva	East Yarra (Council, 2002-2006) Eastern Metropolitan (Council, 2006-2018)	Liberal
Martin Dixon	Dromana (Assembly, 1996-2002) Nepean (Assembly, 2002-2018)	Liberal
Khalil Eideh	Western Metropolitan (Council, 2006-2018)	Labor
Christine Fyffe	Evelyn (Assembly, 1999-2002, 2006-2018)	Liberal
Judith Graley	Narre Warren South (Assembly, 2006-2018)	Labor
Geoff Howard	Ballarat East (Assembly, 1999-2014) Buninyong (Assembly, 2014-2018)	Labor
Sharon Knight	Ballarat West (Assembly, 2010-2014) Wendouree (Assembly, 2014-2018)	Labor
Telmo Languiller	Sunshine (Assembly, 1999-2002) Derrimut (Assembly, 2002-2014)	Labor
Hong Lim	Clayton (Assembly, 1996-2014) Clarinda (Assembly, 2014-2018)	Labor
Daniel Mulino	Eastern Victoria (Council, 2014-2018)	Labor
Don Nardella	Melbourne North (Council, 1992-1999) Melton (Assembly, 1999-2018)	Independent
Wade Noonan	Williamstown (Assembly, 2007-2018)	Labor
Jude Perera	Cranbourne (Assembly, 2002-2018)	Labor
Simon Ramsay	Western Victoria (Council, 2010-2018)	Liberal
Murray Thompson	Sandringham (Assembly, 1992-2018)	Liberal
Marsha Thomson	Melbourne North (Council, 1999-2006) Footscray (Assembly, 2006-2018)	Labor

Upper house Member Daniel Mulino retired at the election after being selected to stand for the newly-created seat of Fraser at the 2019 federal election.³³⁶

Two former Speakers of the Legislative Assembly retired at the 2018 election: Christine Fyffe (February to December 2014) and Telmo Languiller (December 2014 until February 2017).

³³⁶ S. Hutchinson (2018) 'Captain's pick set to fit the bill', *The Australian*, 24 July, p. 4.

Louise Asher retired as the longest-serving female Member of Parliament after 26 years of service, after having been the first female deputy leader of the Liberal Party, first female Leader of the House and the first woman to reach 20 years of continuous service as a Member of Parliament.³³⁷

9.3 Voter turnout

At the 2018 election, 3,732,066 votes were counted, which consisted of 3,514,474 formal votes and 217,592 informal votes (5.83 per cent of votes counted) in the Legislative Assembly.³³⁸ In the Legislative Council, there were 3,583,478 votes counted and 121,482 informal votes (3.43 per cent of votes counted). There were 4,139,326 voters enrolled at the close of the roll. This represented a participation rate of 90.16 per cent in the Legislative Assembly and 90.14 per cent in the Legislative Council.

Early voting

A record number of electors cast their ballots before election day at the 2018 election. The final figure for pre-poll voting at early voting centres was 1,391,284 and the reported number of postal votes received was 250,403. The total of pre-poll voting was 1,641,687, which is an increase of approximately 36.5 per cent from the previous number of votes recorded in 2014.

Table 9.3a: Trend in early voting

Election	Pre-poll in person	Total number of early votes
2018	1,391,284	1,641,687
2014	898,552	1,201,346
2010	559,857	817,263

Source: [State Election results VEC data](#).

By-elections

There were four by-elections during the 58th Parliament in the following districts: Northcote, Polwarth, South-West Coast and Gippsland South. Voter participation was lowest in Northcote with 79.04 per cent of eligible voters voting. The table below provides information on the date of the by-election, the rate of voter turnout and the outcome.

Table 9.3b: By-elections in the 58th Parliament

By-election	By-election date	Voter turnout (%)	Outcome
Northcote	18 November 2017	79.04	Greens defeat Labor
Polwarth	31 October 2015	86.18	Liberal retained
South-West Coast	31 October 2015	91.09	Liberal retained
Gippsland South	14 March 2015	87.06	Nationals retained

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

Northcote by-election

The death of Labor Minister Fiona Richardson in August 2017 triggered a by-election for the seat of Northcote, which took place on 18 November 2017. Held by Labor since 1927, the seat was won by Greens' candidate Lidia Thorpe with 45.22 per cent of first preference votes, defeating Labor's Clare

³³⁷ S. Luddon (2019?) 'Louise Asher: A woman of many firsts', in *FIRST: Women of the Victorian Parliament*, Melbourne, Parliament of Victoria (publication pending).

³³⁸ 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.

Burns.³³⁹ The Greens' victory solidified a place in Victorian history for Thorpe, who became the first female Aboriginal Member elected to Parliament.³⁴⁰

Polwarth by-election

On 3 September 2015, Liberal MP and Transport Minister Terry Mulder announced his resignation, triggering a by-election for the Polwarth district.³⁴¹ The seat of Polwarth has been held by the Liberal Party since 1950 and was retained by Liberal candidate Richard Riordan, who was elected to the Assembly on 31 October 2015 after receiving 49.65 per cent of first preference votes.³⁴²

South-West Coast by-election

The former Premier of Victoria, Dr Denis Napthine, who had represented the South-West Coast district since 2002, announced his resignation in August 2015.³⁴³ The announcement came after Dr Napthine lost the election to Daniel Andrews on 29 November 2014, despite the former Premier having stated that he intended to see out the four-year term.³⁴⁴ The by-election was held on 31 October 2015 and won by Liberal candidate Roma Britnell, who was elected to the Assembly after receiving 40.0 per cent of first preference votes.³⁴⁵

Gippsland South by-election

On 2 February 2015, former leader of The Nationals, Peter Ryan, who had represented the district of Gippsland South since 1992, announced his resignation.³⁴⁶ This resignation triggered a by-election, which was held on 14 March 2015 and won by Nationals candidate Danny O'Brien.³⁴⁷ Mr O'Brien vacated his seat in Eastern Victoria region in the Legislative Council to stand, winning the seat of Gippsland South with 45.22 per cent of first preference votes. Mr O'Brien's vacancy in the Eastern Victoria region was filled by Melina Bath.³⁴⁸

Informal voting

The rate of informal voting was 5.83 per cent for the Assembly and 3.96 per cent for the Council. As illustrated in Table 9.3.a below, the rate of informal voting has increased.

Table 9.3c: Percentage of informal votes in the Assembly and Council

Election year	LA informal votes (%)	LC informal votes (%)
2018	5.83	3.96
2014	5.22	3.43
2010	4.96	3.38
2006	4.56	4.28
2002	3.41	3.67

³³⁹ *Research Note: The 2017 Northcote by-election*, Victorian Parliamentary Library (2016), p 6.

³⁴⁰ R. Willingham (2017) 'Northcote by-election: 'Greens win inner-city seat, Thorpe to become first female Aboriginal MP'', *The Age*, 19 November.

³⁴¹ V. Taffa (2015) 'Terry Mulder Resigns from Parliament', *The Southern Thunderer*, 31 August.

³⁴² Victorian Electoral Commission (2016) *Report on the Polwarth District By-Election held on 31 October 2015*, final report, Melbourne, The Committee, May, p. 1.

³⁴³ (2015) 'Former Victorian premier Denis Napthine, senior MP Terry Mulder both retire from politics triggering by-elections', *ABC News*, 31 August.

³⁴⁴ (2015) 'Former Victorian premier Denis Napthine to quit politics after 27 years', *The Guardian*, 28 August.

³⁴⁵ Victorian Electoral Commission (2015) 'South-West Coast District', VEC website.

³⁴⁶ A. Savage (2015) 'Former Victorian Nationals leader Peter Ryan quits politics', *ABC News*, 2 February.

³⁴⁷ Victorian Electoral Commission (2015) *Report on the Gippsland South District held on 14 March 2015*, final report, Melbourne, The Committee, August, p. 3.

³⁴⁸ ABC News, (2018) 'Victoria Votes: Eastern Victoria Region', ABC website.

9.4 Number of candidates contesting the election

The number of candidates that contested the 2018 election was down nine candidates from the record number of 896 candidates in 2014, to the second highest at 887. Table 9.4a below shows the trend over the last two decades.

Table 9.4a: Number of candidates contesting the election

Election year	Number of candidates
2018	887
2014	896
2010	711
2006	707
2002	477
1999	406
1996	421
1992	444

Source: [State Government election statistics VEC data](#).

Out of the 887 candidates contesting the election, there were 507 candidates for the 88 seats in the Legislative Assembly and 380 candidates for the eight Legislative Council regions. The number of candidates contesting the Legislative Assembly was down from the record number of 545 candidates in 2014 to the second highest, at 507 candidates. On average, there were 5.5 candidates per Legislative Assembly district (down from 6.2 candidates in 2014). Table 9.4b below, shows the total number of candidates standing for the Legislative Assembly since 1992.

Table 9.4b: Number of candidates contesting Legislative Assembly districts since 1992

Election year	Number of candidates contesting the Legislative Assembly elections since 1992
2018	507
2014	545
2010	502
2006	459
2002	372
1999	321
1996	310
1992	362

Source: [VEC data](#)

The Assembly districts with the highest number of candidates were Melton (12), Morwell (11), Bentleigh (ten), Mordialloc (ten), and Ripon (ten). Nine electorates had three candidates: Liberal, Labor and the Greens. Those electorates were Box Hill, Bulleen, Evelyn, Ferntree Gully, Gembrook, Gippsland South, Mount Waverley, Ringwood and Sunbury. Table 9.4c below shows the number of candidates contesting the Assembly districts, illustrating how many districts had two candidates, three candidates and so forth in the election period 1992-2018.

Table 9.4c: Number of candidates per Legislative Assembly seat 1992-2018

Election year	Number of candidates												
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	14	16
2018	..	9	20	19	13	7	10	5	3	1	1	..	..
2014	..	3	11	22	17	16	11	5	1	1	..	1	..
2010	..	2	17	26	19	14	5	4	1	..	..	..	..
2006	..	..	23	35	19	10	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
2002	..	23	36	20	5	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
1999	25	26	16	10	7	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
1996	5	48	22	10	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1992	13	24	18	18	10	2	1	1	..	1	..	..	..

Source: ABC News (2018) [Summary of Candidates and Parties Contesting the 2018 Victorian Election](#), 9 November, ABC Website.

The number of candidates contesting the Legislative Council reached a new record, rising from 351 candidates in 2014 to 380 in 2018. This is an average of 9.5 candidates per seat, up from 8.8 in 2014. Table 9.4.d below, shows the total number of candidates standing for the Legislative Council since 2006.

Table 9.4.d: Number of candidates contesting vacancies in the Legislative Council

Election year	Number of candidates for Legislative Council elections since 1992
2018	380
2014	351
2010	209
2006	248

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 2014 election results
ALP	1,506,460	42.86	55	8
Liberal Party	1,069,287	30.43	21	-9
Australian Greens	376,470	10.71	3	1
The Nationals	167,625	4.77	6	-2
Animal Justice Party	63,970	1.82	0	-
Shooters, Fishers & Farmers Vic	24,257	0.69	0	-
Democratic Labour Party	24,097	0.69	0	-
Victorian Socialists	15,442	0.44	0	-
Fiona Patten's Reason Party	12,695	0.36	0	-
Transport Matters	10,313	0.29	0	-
Derryn Hinch's Justice Party	9,277	0.26	0	-
Sustainable Australia	8,183	0.23	0	-
Australian Country Party	6,566	0.19	0	-
Liberal Democrats	4,030	0.11	0	-
Aussie Battler Party	1,281	0.04	0	-
Australian Liberty Alliance	1,232	0.04	0	-
Other candidates	213,289	6.07	3	2
Total	3,514,474	100	88	-

Source: State Election 2018 Results [Overall Lower House results](#), VEC website.

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

District	ALP	Lib	Nat	Greens	Others	Seat won by
Albert Park	17,287	12,457	-	6,601	3,513	ALP
Altona	24,112	11,194	-	4,217	7,383	ALP
Bass	19,954	20,315	-	2,821	6,499	ALP
Bayswater	15,548	17,650	-	3,228	1,700	ALP
Bellarine	21,948	15,619	-	3,957	2,489	ALP
Benambra	7,467	16,515	-	1,565	15,888	LP
Bendigo East	21,693	8,987	6,864	3,465	2,079	ALP
Bendigo West	21,004	10,641	-	5,127	2,504	ALP
Bentleigh	18,443	12,232	-	2,763	3,301	ALP
Box Hill	15,360	17,352	-	5,639	-	ALP
Brighton	12,193	17,597	-	5,854	3,115	LP
Broadmeadows	22,047	5,321	-	2,612	2,307	ALP
Brunswick	16,701	4,450	-	17,599	5,177	GRN
Bulleen	13,597	19,441	-	4,219	-	LP
Bundoora	19,716	9,958	-	2,790	2,634	ALP
Buninyong	18,965	11,921	-	3,542	4,166	ALP
Burwood	14,924	16,138	-	4,604	2,101	ALP
Carrum	21,844	13,608	-	2,432	3,536	ALP
Caulfield	13,054	17,861	-	5,387	1,818	LP
Clarinda	20,421	9,083	-	3,870	3,387	ALP
Cranbourne	25,725	16,483	-	2,008	6,942	ALP
Croydon	14,307	18,108	-	3,468	1,863	LP
Dandenong	21,823	7,608	-	2,483	1,150	ALP

Eildon	13,850	18,717	-	4,035	2,113	LP
Eltham	19,831	15,639	-	4,208	614	ALP
Essendon	19,173	11,414	-	6,971	3,914	ALP
Euroa	12,003	-	24,749	2,198	3,035	NAT
Evelyn	15,166	18,566	-	3,786	-	LP
Ferntree Gully	14,618	17,614	-	3,414	-	LP
Footscray	23,877	7,753	-	6,996	3,177	ALP
Forest Hill	14,164	16,970	-	3,083	696	LP
Frankston	16,844	12,005	-	2,781	5,104	ALP
Geelong	16,680	8,327	-	3,922	12,387	ALP
Gembrook	18,065	21,202	-	4,667	-	LP
Gippsland East	8,589	-	22,438	2,455	6,068	NAT
Gippsland South	10,464	-	22,813	3,573	-	NAT
Hastings	16,916	20,361	-	3,811	2,880	LP
Hawthorn	12,646	17,231	-	7,167	2,212	ALP
Ivanhoe	18,800	13,084	-	5,962	2,629	ALP
Kew	11,960	19,098	-	5,961	1,750	LP
Keysborough	20,800	10,919	-	1,882	4,488	ALP
Kororoit	26,769	8,584	-	3,615	3,180	ALP
Lara	22,951	9,559	-	2,966	4,148	ALP
Lowan	7,681	-	25,562	2,040	2,904	NAT
Macedon	19,251	12,836	-	3,936	4,110	ALP
Malvern	11,141	19,003	-	4,659	2,277	LP
Melbourne	14,568	6,920	-	15,755	3,314	GRN
Melton	14,691	7,844	-	1,980	17,540	ALP
Mildura	6,404	-	14,654	1,414	14,735	IND
Mill Park	24,729	8,421	-	2,088	4,195	ALP
Monbulk	15,912	13,823	-	5,826	2,427	ALP
Mordialloc	19,991	12,535	-	3,135	4,198	ALP
Mornington	14,204	20,963	-	4,060	2,208	LP
Morwell	13,725	4,955	4,283	1,460	15,719	IND
Mount Waverley	14,722	15,495	-	3,444	-	ALP
Mulgrave	19,649	11,390	-	2,154	1,441	ALP
Murray Plains	7,790	-	24,234	1,706	6,438	NAT
Narracan	15,946	23,207	-	2,679	3,038	LP
Narre Warren North	18,790	13,474	-	2,313	2,914	ALP
Narre Warren South	20,797	15,822	-	2,714	2,317	ALP
Nepean	15,835	18,570	-	5,080	2,772	ALP
Niddrie	21,042	13,121	-	2,629	1,615	ALP
Northcote	17,748	4,570	-	16,816	3,418	ALP
Oakleigh	19,202	10,946	-	3,897	1,802	ALP
Ovens Valley	7,703	-	16,646	1,687	11,401	NAT
Pascoe Vale	15,904	4,812	-	5,451	15,973	ALP
Polwarth	13,338	20,629	-	3,949	2,424	LP
Prahran	11,702	13,956	-	11,347	3,417	GRN
Preston	19,409	6,083	-	5,636	6,218	ALP
Richmond	19,705	-	-	15,197	9,492	ALP
Ringwood	15,121	15,883	-	4,926	-	ALP
Ripon	15,280	15,594	-	1,667	7,514	LP
Rowville	11,940	17,551	-	3,483	1,858	LP
Sandringham	12,918	16,770	-	3,201	6,385	LP
Shepparton	4,772	10,967	5,382	999	19,170	IND
South Barwon	18,003	18,180	-	4,164	7,987	ALP
South-West Coast	10,074	13,297	-	2,540	15,154	LP
St Albans	22,355	9,116	-	4,600	1,393	ALP
Sunbury	22,749	13,178	-	3,028	-	ALP

Sydenham	26,264	12,303	-	2,754	1,780	ALP
Tarneit	25,084	11,460	-	3,398	4,693	ALP
Thomastown	21,397	5,420	-	1,474	6,394	ALP
Warrandyte	13,395	18,852	-	3,927	1,710	LP
Wendouree	18,616	13,270	-	3,647	2,158	ALP
Werribee	17,539	6,641	-	2,522	11,920	ALP
Williamstown	21,839	7,832	-	6,960	6,739	ALP
Yan Yean	26,717	13,324	-	3,354	5,809	ALP
Yuroke	28,519	12,692	-	3,070	3,714	ALP
Total	1,506,460	1,069,287	167,625	376,470	394,632	

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	43.37	31.25	-	16.56	8.82	ALP
Altona	51.40	23.86	-	8.99	15.75	ALP
Bass	40.24	40.97	-	5.69	13.10	ALP
Bayswater	40.78	46.29	-	8.47	4.46	ALP
Bellarine	49.87	35.49	-	8.99	5.65	ALP
Benambra	18.02	39.86	-	3.78	38.34	LP
Bendigo East	50.35	20.86	15.93	8.04	4.82	ALP
Bendigo West	53.48	27.09	-	13.05	6.38	ALP
Bentleigh	50.20	33.29	-	7.52	8.99	ALP
Box Hill	40.05	45.25	-	14.70	-	ALP
Brighton	31.46	45.40	-	15.10	8.04	LP
Broadmeadows	68.28	16.48	-	8.09	7.15	ALP
Brunswick	38.02	10.13	-	40.06	11.79	GRN
Bulleen	36.50	52.18	-	11.32	-	LP
Bundoora	56.17	28.37	-	7.95	7.51	ALP
Buninyong	49.14	30.89	-	9.18	10.79	ALP
Burwood	39.52	42.73	-	12.19	5.56	ALP
Carrum	52.74	32.85	-	5.87	8.54	ALP
Caulfield	34.24	46.85	-	14.13	4.78	LP
Clarinda	55.55	24.71	-	10.53	9.21	ALP
Cranbourne	50.29	32.22	-	3.93	13.56	ALP
Croydon	37.90	47.97	-	9.19	4.94	LP
Dandenong	66.00	23.01	-	7.51	3.48	ALP
Eildon	35.77	48.35	-	10.42	5.46	LP
Eltham	49.22	38.81	-	10.44	1.53	ALP
Essendon	46.23	27.52	-	16.81	9.44	ALP
Euroa	28.59	-	58.95	5.24	7.22	NAT
Evelyn	40.42	49.49	-	10.09	-	LP
Ferntree Gully	41.01	49.41	-	9.58	-	LP
Footscray	57.12	18.55	-	16.74	7.60	ALP
Forest Hill	40.57	48.61	-	8.83	1.99	LP
Frankston	45.85	32.68	-	7.57	13.90	ALP
Geelong	40.37	20.15	-	9.49	29.99	ALP
Gembrook	41.12	48.26	-	10.62	-	LP
Gippsland East	21.72	-	56.73	6.21	15.34	NAT
Gippsland South	28.40	-	61.91	9.70	-	NAT
Hastings	38.47	46.31	-	8.67	6.55	LP
Hawthorn	32.21	43.89	-	18.26	5.64	ALP
Ivanhoe	46.45	32.33	-	14.73	6.49	ALP
Kew	30.85	49.26	-	15.38	4.51	LP
Keysborough	54.61	28.67	-	4.94	11.78	ALP
Kororoit	63.51	20.37	-	8.58	7.54	ALP
Lara	57.92	24.12	-	7.49	10.47	ALP
Lowan	20.11	-	66.94	5.34	7.61	NAT
Macedon	47.97	31.98	-	9.81	10.24	ALP
Malvern	30.05	51.25	-	12.56	6.14	LP
Melbourne	35.92	17.06	-	38.85	8.17	GRN
Melton	34.93	18.65	-	4.71	41.71	ALP
Mildura	17.21	-	39.39	3.80	39.60	IND
Mill Park	62.71	21.36	-	5.30	10.63	ALP
Monbulk	41.89	36.39	-	15.34	6.38	ALP
Mordialloc	50.15	31.45	-	7.87	10.53	ALP

Mornington	34.28	50.59	-	9.80	5.33	LP
Morwell	34.19	12.34	10.67	3.64	39.16	IND
Mount Waverley	43.74	46.03	-	10.23	-	ALP
Mulgrave	56.73	32.89	-	6.22	4.16	ALP
Murray Plains	19.39	-	60.33	4.25	16.03	NAT
Narracan	35.54	51.72	-	5.97	6.77	LP
Narre Warren North	50.12	35.94	-	6.17	7.77	ALP
Narre Warren South	49.93	37.99	-	6.52	5.56	ALP
Nepean	37.47	43.95	-	12.02	6.56	ALP
Niddrie	54.79	34.16	-	6.85	4.20	ALP
Northcote	41.71	10.74	-	39.52	8.03	ALP
Oakleigh	53.57	30.54	-	10.87	5.02	ALP
Ovens Valley	20.58	-	44.46	4.51	30.45	NAT
Pascoe Vale	37.74	11.42	-	12.94	37.90	ALP
Polwarth	33.06	51.14	-	9.79	6.01	LP
Prahran	28.95	34.53	-	28.07	8.45	GRN
Preston	51.97	16.29	-	15.09	16.65	ALP
Richmond	44.39	-	-	34.23	21.38	ALP
Ringwood	42.08	44.21	-	13.71	-	ALP
Ripon	38.15	38.93	-	4.16	18.76	LP
Rowville	34.28	50.39	-	10.00	5.33	LP
Sandringham	32.89	42.70	-	8.15	16.26	LP
Shepparton	11.56	26.56	13.03	2.42	46.43	IND
South Barwon	37.25	37.61	-	8.62	16.52	ALP
South-West Coast	24.53	32.38	-	6.19	36.90	LP
St Albans	59.67	24.33	-	12.28	3.72	ALP
Sunbury	58.40	33.83	-	7.77	-	ALP
Sydenham	60.94	28.54	-	6.39	4.13	ALP
Tarneit	56.20	25.67	-	7.61	10.52	ALP
Thomastown	61.69	15.63	-	4.25	18.43	ALP
Warrandyte	35.36	49.76	-	10.37	4.51	LP
Wendouree	49.39	35.21	-	9.68	5.72	ALP
Werribee	45.41	17.19	-	6.53	30.87	ALP
Williamstown	50.36	18.06	-	16.05	15.53	ALP
Yan Yean	54.30	27.08	-	6.82	11.80	ALP
Yuroke	59.42	26.44	-	6.40	7.74	ALP
Total	42.86	30.43	4.77	10.71	11.23	

Source: [VEC data](#).

Table 10d: Legislative Assembly result by seat: two-party preferred or two-candidate preferred (2CP) vote as relevant 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	25,161	14,696	63.13	36.87	10.17	ALP retain
Altona	30,264	16,607	64.57	35.43	2.01	ALP retain
Bass	25,982	23,607	52.39	47.61	6.94	ALP gain
Bayswater	19,211	18,915	50.39	49.61	5.01	ALP gain
Bellarine	27,049	16,966	61.45	38.55	6.61	ALP retain
Benambra – 2CP	19,703 ⁱ	21,732	47.55 ⁱ	52.45	n/a	LP retain
Bendigo East	26,776	16,332	62.11	37.89	6.96	ALP retain
Bendigo West	26,917	12,349	68.55	31.45	6.37	ALP retain
Bentleigh	22,811	14,031	61.92	38.08	11.14	ALP retain
Box Hill	19,982	18,369	52.10	47.90	7.79	ALP gain
Brighton	18,947	19,812	48.88	51.12	8.65	LP retain
Broadmeadows	25,957	6,375	80.28	19.72	2.45	ALP retain
Brunswick - 2CP	21,712	22,215 ^G	49.43	50.57 ^G	2.79 ^G	GRN gain
Bulleen	16,518	20,826	44.23	55.77	4.78	LP retain
Bundoora	23,722	11,462	67.42	32.58	5.19	ALP retain
Buninyong	24,108	14,627	62.24	37.76	5.85	ALP retain
Burwood	20,132	17,635	53.31	46.69	6.48	ALP gain
Carrum	25,660	15,761	61.95	38.05	11.32	ALP retain
Caulfield	18,958	19,162	49.73	50.27	4.61	LP retain
Clarinda	24,788	11,976	67.42	32.58	1.57	ALP retain
Cranbourne	31,291	20,021	60.98	39.02	8.64	ALP retain
Croydon	18,075	19,671	47.89	52.11	7.18	LP retain
Dandenong	24,476	8,632	73.93	26.07	11.05	ALP retain
Eildon	18,410	20,296	47.56	52.44	1.31	LP retain
Eltham	23,802	16,490	59.07	40.93	6.38	ALP retain
Essendon	27,315	14,157	65.86	34.14	7.19	ALP retain
Euroa	14,547	27,544 ^N	34.56	65.44 ^N	0.97 ^N	NAT retain
Evelyn	17,765	19,753	47.35	52.65	6.94	LP retain
Ferntree Gully	17,239	18,407	48.36	51.64	6.1	LP retain
Footscray	32,642	9,147	78.11	21.89	13.62	ALP retain
Forest Hill	17,055	17,858	48.85	51.15	3.67	LP retain
Frankston	21,972	14,805	59.74	40.26	9.26	ALP retain
Geelong - 2CP	23,250	18,098 ⁱ	56.23	43.77 ⁱ	n/a	ALP retain
Gembrook	21,621	22,313	49.21	50.79	8.16	LP retain
Gippsland East	12,859	26,819 ^N	32.41	67.59 ^N	0.32	NAT retain
Gippsland South	12,797	24,110 ^N	34.67	65.33 ^N	0.34	NAT retain
Hastings	21,516	22,452	48.94	51.06	6.59	LP retain
Hawthorn	19,793	19,463	50.42	49.58	9.01	ALP gain
Ivanhoe	25,244	15,231	62.37	37.63	8.96	ALP retain
Kew	17,528	21,231	45.22	54.78	5.86	LP retain
Keysborough	24,725	13,399	64.85	35.15	2.95	ALP retain
Kororoit	31,719	10,212	75.65	24.35	5.67	ALP retain
Lara	27,430	12,244	69.14	30.86	2.03	ALP retain
Lowan	10,129	28,067 ^N	26.52	73.48 ^N	2.22 ^N	NAT retain
Macedon	25,384	14,794	63.18	36.82	9.30	ALP retain
Malvern	16,285	20,814	43.90	56.10	10.15	LP retain
Melbourne - 2CP	19,741	20,816 ^G	48.67	51.33 ^G	1.11	GRN retain
Melton	22,830	19,225	54.29	45.71	-6.93	ALP retain
Mildura - 2CP	18,730 ⁱ	18,477 ^N	50.34 ⁱ	49.66 ^N	8.47 ⁱ	IND gain
Mill Park	29,588	9,918	74.89	25.11	5.04	ALP retain

Monbulk	22,266	15,722	58.61	41.39	3.63	ALP retain
Mordialloc	25,159	14,838	62.90	37.10	10.80	ALP retain
Mornington	18,638	22,775	45.01	54.99	7.62	LP retain
Morwell - 2CP	19,334	20,808 ⁱ	48.16	51.84 ⁱ	n/a	IND gain
Mount Waverley	17,453	16,208	51.85	48.15	6.44	ALP gain
Mulgrave	21,708	12,911	62.71	37.29	8.23	ALP retain
Murray Plains	10,461	29,703 ^N	26.05	73.95 ^N	1.58 ^N	NAT retain
Narracan	19,203	25,724	42.74	57.26	4.03	LP retain
Narre Warren North	22,426	15,103	59.76	40.24	5.20	ALP retain
Narre Warren South	23,690	17,948	56.90	43.10	1.41	ALP retain
Nepean	21,512	20,745	50.91	49.09	8.54	ALP gain
Niddrie	24,021	14,358	62.59	37.41	4.88	ALP retain
Northcote - 2CP	22,004	20,548 ^G	51.71	48.29 ^G	-4.33	ALP gain
Oakleigh	23,587	12,268	65.78	34.22	7.60	ALP retain
Ovens Valley	14,025	23,500 ^N	37.38	62.62 ^N	3.95	NAT retain
Pascoe Vale - 2CP	24,684	17,456	58.58	41.42 ⁱ	n/a	ALP retain
Polwarth	17,999	22,360	44.60	55.40	5.24	LP retain
Prahran - 2CP	23,224 ^G	17,198	57.45 ^G	42.55	7.08 ^G	GRN retain
Preston - 2CP	26,372	10,928 ^G	70.70	29.30 ^G	n/a	ALP retain
Richmond - 2CP	24,620	19,774 ^G	55.46	44.54 ^G	3.60	ALP retain
Ringwood	18,978	16,952	52.82	47.18	7.89	ALP gain
Ripon	20,020	20,035	49.98	50.02	0.73	LP retain
Rowville	15,416	19,373	44.31	55.69	2.72	LP retain
Sandringham	19,383	19,891	49.35	50.65	6.68	LP retain
Shepparton - 2CP	22,833 ⁱ	18,457	55.30 ⁱ	44.70	2.67 ⁱ	IND retain
South Barwon	26,389	21,945	54.60	45.40	7.46	ALP gain
South-West Coast	19,582	21,483	47.69	52.31	8.66	LP retain
St Albans	26,326	10,475	71.54	28.46	4.04	ALP retain
Sunbury	25,011	13,868	64.33	35.67	10.03	ALP retain
Sydenham	29,018	13,743	67.86	32.14	1.60	ALP retain
Tarneit	30,525	14,350	68.02	31.98	3.44	ALP retain
Thomastown	26,639	7,873	77.19	22.81	-1.24	ALP retain
Warrandyte	17,464	20,402	46.12	53.88	7.72	LP retain
Wendouree	22,751	15,005	60.26	39.74	4.47	ALP retain
Werribee - 2CP	22,701	15,921 ⁱ	58.78	41.22 ⁱ	n/a	ALP retain
Williamstown	31,273	12,118	72.07	27.93	5.53	ALP retain
Yan Yean	32,999	16,234	67.03	32.97	13.38	ALP retain
Yuroke	33,730	14,278	70.26	29.74	1.74	ALP retain

Source: [VEC data](#). *Swings to the Nationals, Greens or Independent candidates are marked with an N, G, and i.

Notes: 'Other' refers to a Liberal candidate (unmarked), Nationals candidate (marked with an ^N), Greens candidate (marked with a ^G), or independent candidates (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 four seats: Benambra (Liberal v independent); Mildura (Nationals v independent); Prahran (Greens v Liberal); and Shepparton (independent v Liberal). n/a stands for not applicable, insofar as it not possible to determine a swing if the same two parties (or same independent candidates) were not competing in the same electorate at both the 2014 and 2018 elections.

The term 'two-party preferred' (2PP) refers to a distribution of preferences between the two major parties—the ALP and the Coalition (Liberal/Nationals). '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, Preston and Richmond (Greens); Benambra, Geelong, Mildura, Morwell, Pascoe Vale, Shepparton and Werribee (independent).³⁴⁹

Table 10e: Overall Legislative Council result by party

Party	First preference vote (no.)	First preference vote (%)	Seats won
Animal Justice Party	88,520	2.47	1
Aussie Battler Party	33,172	0.93	0
Australian Country Party	24,295	0.68	0
Australian Greens	331,479	9.25	1
Australian Labor Party	1,405,475	39.22	18
Australian Liberty Alliance	20,065	0.56	0
Derryn Hinch's Justice Party	134,266	3.75	3
Fiona Patten's Reason Party	49,013	1.37	1
Health Australia Party	28,132	0.79	0
Hudson 4 NV	6,363	0.18	0
Democratic Labour Party	75,221	2.10	0
Liberal Party	614,968	17.16	7
Liberal Democrats	89,428	2.50	2
Liberal/The Nationals	439,811	12.27	4
Shooters, Fishers & Farmers Vic	108,280	3.02	1
Sustainable Australia	29,831	0.83	1
Transport Matters	22,051	0.62	1
Victorian Socialists	32,603	0.91	0
Voluntary Euthanasia Party (Victoria)	42,611	1.19	0
Vote 1 Local Jobs	5,338	0.15	0
Other Candidates	2,556	0.07	0
Total	3,583,478	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	151,315	36.15	Shaun Leane (Labor)
	149,448	35.71	Mary Wooldridge (Liberal)
	1,462	0.35	Sonja Terpstra (Labor)
	749	0.18	Bruce Atkinson (Liberal)
	2,508	0.60	Rodney Barton (Transport Matters)
Eastern Victoria	157,232	33.62	Edward O'Donohue (Liberal)
	153,088	32.74	Jane Garrett (Labor)
	806	0.17	Melina Bath (Nationals)
	1,697	0.36	Harriet Shing (Labor)
	22,896	4.90	Jeff Bourman (Shooters, Fishers & Farmers Vic)
Northern Metropolitan	187,358	41.61	Jenny Mikakos (Labor)
	1,192	0.26	Nazih Elasmr (Labor)
	73,102	16.24	Samantha Ratnam (Greens)
	72,855	16.18	Craig Ondarchie (Liberal)
	14,875	3.30	Fiona Patten (Fiona Patten's Reason Party)
Northern Victoria	141,662	31.02	Mark Gepp (Labor)
	140,522	30.77	Wendy Lovell (Liberal)
	17,187	3.76	Tim Quilty (Liberal Democrats)

³⁴⁹ See Australian Electoral Commission (2015) 'Glossary', AEC website.

	21,993	4.82	Tania Maxwell (Derryn Hinch's Justice Party)
	1,973	0.43	Jaclyn Symes (Labor)
South-Eastern Metropolitan	214,730	49.14	Gavin Jennings (Labor)
	124,909	28.58	Gordon Rich-Phillips (Liberal)
	1,012	0.23	Adem Somyurek (Labor)
	829	0.19	Tien Kieu (Labor)
	3,653	0.84	David Limbrick (Liberal Democrats)
Southern Metropolitan	161,767	37.65	David Davis (Liberal)
	143,443	33.39	Philip Dalidakis (Labor)
	1,016	0.24	Georgie Crozier (Liberal)
	2,290	0.53	Nina Taylor (Labor)
	5,404	1.26	Clifford Hayes (Sustainable Australia)
Western Metropolitan	209,635	45.25	Cesar Melhem (Labor)
	96,858	20.91	Bernie Finn (Liberal)
	1,444	0.31	Ingrid Stitt (Labor)
	430	0.09	Kaushaliya Vaghela (Labor)
	31,354	6.77	Catherine Cumming# (Derryn Hinch's Justice Party)
Western Victoria	173,174	37.61	Jaala Pulford (Labor)
	135,001	29.32	Beverley McArthur (Liberal)
	1,307	0.28	Gayle Tierney (Labor)
	20,277	4.40	Stuart Grimley (Derryn Hinch's Justice Party)
	12,476	2.71	Andy Meddick (Animal Justice Party)

Source: VEC data. # Catherine Cumming is now an independent.

Table 10g: Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council voting statistics

Election	House	Enrolled	Turnout (no.)	Turnout (%)	Formal (no.)	Formal (%)	Informal (no.)	Informal (%)
2018	LA	4,139,326	3,732,066	90.16	3,514,474	94.17	217,592	5.83
	LC		3,731,191	90.14	3,583,478	96.04	147,713	3.96
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 1992 – 2018

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL																
Party	Total formal vote share (%)								Seats won*							
	1992	1996	1999	2002	2006	2010	2014	2018	1992	1996	1999	2002	2006	2010	2014	2018
Liberal	43.49	43.87	39.70	34.51	34.55	43.04	20.82	17.16	14	14	11	3	15	18	14	10
Labor	38.56	40.49	42.23	47.49	41.45	35.36	33.46	39.22	5	5	8	17	19	16	14	18
Greens	-	-	2.23	10.87	10.58	12.01	10.75	9.25	0	0	0	0	3	3	5	1
Nationals	8.74	6.63	7.28	4.37	4.43	0.11#	^	^	3	3	3	2	2	3	2	1
Liberal/Nationals	-	-	-	-	-	-	15.32^	12.27^	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Total Coalition</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>29.43</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>11</i>
Animal Justice Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.47	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Democratic Labour Party	4.54	1.58	-	-	1.97	2.33	2.32	2.10	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Derryn Hinch's Justice Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Fiona Patten's Reason Party (formerly Sex Party)	-	-	-	-	-	1.91	2.63	1.37	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Liberal Democrats	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Shooters, Fishers & Farmers Vic (formerly SFPV)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.65	3.02	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
Sustainable Australia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.83	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Transport Matters	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.62	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Vote 1 Local Jobs	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.21	0.15	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Others	4.66	7.43	8.57	2.76	7.02	5.22	12.84	7.55	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

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY																
Party	Total formal vote share (%)								Seats won							
	1992	1996	1999	2002	2006	2010	2014	2018	1992	1996	1999	2002	2006	2010	2014	2018
Liberal	44.00	44.00	42.22	33.91	34.44	38.03	36.46	30.43	52	49	36	17	23	35	30	21
Labor	38.67	43.10	45.57	47.95	43.06	36.25	38.10	42.86	27	29	42	62	55	43	47	55
Greens	-	-	1.15	9.73	10.04	11.21	11.48	10.71	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3
Nationals	7.75	6.70	4.80	4.30	5.17	6.75	5.53	4.77	9	9	7	7	9	10	8	6
Others	9.40	6.20	5.98	3.97	3.01	5.48	8.42	11.23	0	1	3	2	1	0	1	3

2018 Post Election Victorian Pendulum

Labor 55		Liberal 21 - Nationals 6	
Electoral district	Margin (%)	Electoral district	Margin (%)
Bayswater	0.39	Ripon	0.02
Hawthorn	0.42	Caulfield	0.27
Nepean	0.91	Sandringham	0.65
Northcote (v GRN)	1.71	Gembrook	0.79
Mount Waverley	1.85	Hastings	1.06
Box Hill	2.10	Brighton	1.12
Bass	2.39	Forest Hill	1.15
Ringwood	2.82	Ferntree Gully	1.64
Burwood	3.31	Croydon	2.11
Melton	4.29	South-West Coast	2.31
South Barwon	4.60	Eildon	2.44
Richmond (v GRN)	5.46	Benambra (v IND)	2.45
Geelong (v IND)	6.23	Evelyn	2.65
Narre Warren South	6.90	Warrandyte	3.88
Pascoe Vale (v IND)	8.58	Kew	4.78
Monbulk	8.61	Mornington	4.99
Werribee (v IND)	8.78	Polwarth	5.40
Eltham	9.07	Rowville	5.69
Frankston	9.74	Bulleen	5.77
Narre Warren North	9.76	Malvern	6.10
Wendouree	10.26	Narracan	7.26
Cranbourne	10.98	Ovens Valley (NAT)	12.62
Bellarine	11.45	Gippsland South (NAT)	15.33
Bentleigh	11.92	Euroa (NAT)	15.44
Carrum	11.95	Gippsland East (NAT)	17.59
Bendigo East	12.11	Lowan (NAT)	23.48
Buninyong	12.24	Murray Plains (NAT)	23.95
Ivanhoe	12.37		
Niddrie	12.59		
Mulgrave	12.71		
Mordialloc	12.90		
Albert Park	13.13		
Macedon	13.18		
Sunbury	14.33		
Altona	14.57		
Keysborough	14.85		
Oakleigh	15.78		
Essendon	15.86		
Yan Yean	17.03		
Bundoora	17.42		
Clarinda	17.42		
Sydenham	17.86		
Tarneit	18.02		
Bendigo West	18.55		
Lara	19.14		
Yuroke	20.26		
Preston (v GRN)	20.70		
St Albans	21.54		
Williamstown	22.07		
Dandenong	23.93		
Mill Park	24.89		
Kororoit	25.65		
Thomastown	27.19		
Footscray	28.11		
Broadmeadows	30.28		

Greens 3 – Independents 3	
Mildura (v NAT) IND held	0.34
Brunswick (v ALP) Greens held	0.57
Melbourne (v ALP) Greens held	1.33
Morwell (v ALP) IND held	1.84
Shepparton (v LIB) IND held	5.30
Prahran (v LIB) Greens held	7.45

The pendulum shows two-party preferred (2PP) or two-candidate preferred (2CP) margins as applicable.

The equivalent 2PP swings for the 2CP seats shown in the pendulum are: the notionally Labor seats of Brunswick 34.38 per cent, Northcote 33.23 per cent, Preston 28.50 per cent, Melbourne 25.25 per cent, Pascoe Vale 18.32 per cent, Werribee 12.55 per cent, Geelong 10.14 per cent, Prahran 7.55 per cent and Morwell 5.61 per cent. According to the VEC, the absence of a Liberal Party candidate at the election in the seat of Richmond precludes 2PP calculations for that seat; the notionally Liberal seat of Shepparton 11.72 per cent; Benambra 8.91 per cent, and the notionally Nationals seat of Mildura 5.61 per cent.

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