

**Submission
No 25**

**ADMINISTRATION OF THE 2023 NSW STATE ELECTION AND OTHER
MATTERS**

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**Submission to the NSW Parliament's Joint Standing Committee on Electoral
Matters**

Inquiry into the Conduct of the 2022 Victorian Election

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Scope of this Submission

This submission concerns two issues within the scope of the Committee’s inquiry into the conduct of the 2023 New South Wales election.

This first concerns the inadequate progress of the count on election night. Reported first preference votes reached only 50.2% of enrolment on election night. Count progress for polling place results was acceptable with 96.1% of first preferences reported. In contrast, the progress of pre-poll vote counting was poor with only 20.8% of first preference votes reported on election night.

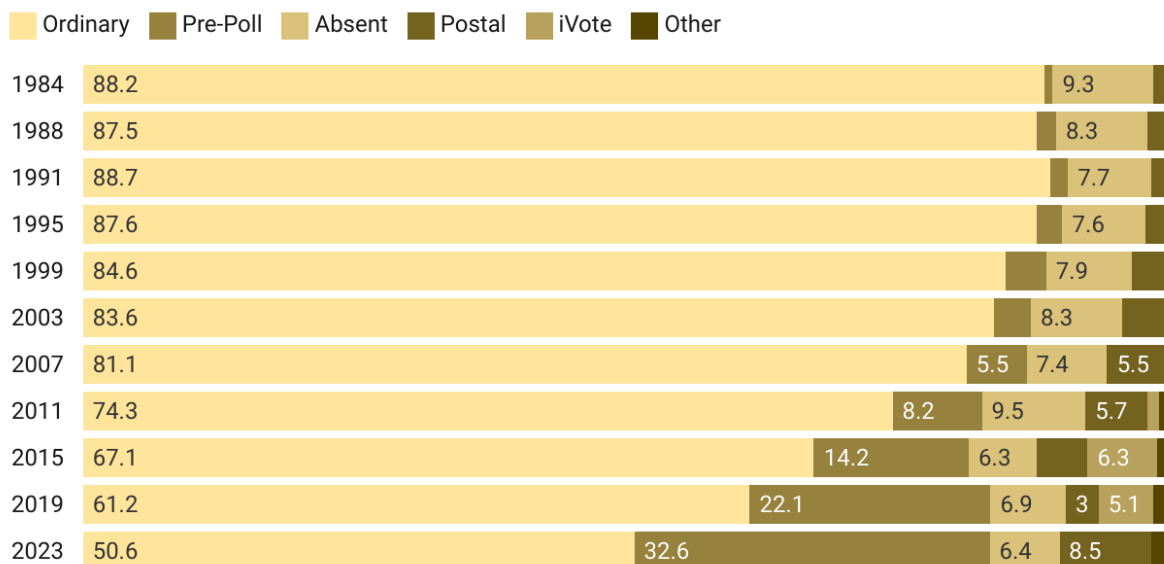
The second issue concerns post-election counting and the failure to undertake indicative preference counts for certain categories of declaration votes.

On both of these issues I make recommendations concerning how to improve counting procedures for future elections.

The Surge in Pre-Poll Voting

The chart below shows the dramatic change in the voting options selected by voters at New South Wales elections since 1984. The table is based on the table in Appendix A.

Legislative Assembly - % Vote by Type - 1984-2023



Percentages calculated based on total votes, not enrolment or formal votes.

Chart: Antony Green

Within district polling day votes made up 88.2% of all votes in 1984. By 2023 this proportion had declined to 50.6%. Pre-poll votes, which made up less than one percent of all votes in 1984, had surged to represent 32.6% of total votes in 2023.

A change to electoral law several elections ago removed the requirement that within district pre-poll votes be taken as declaration votes. As a result, within district pre-poll votes are now treated as ordinary votes. Like polling day votes, in-district pre-polls are now placed directly into ballot boxes without requiring declaration envelopes.

In theory this change makes pre-poll votes available for counting on election night. In practice the NSW Electoral Commission has struggled to count pre-poll votes.

As will be outlined later in this submission, more than 95% of polling day votes were counted and reported on election night. The equivalent figure for pre-poll votes was just over 20%.

Providing sufficient staff and adequate facilities for counting polling place results is dealt with by long standing practice. Polling places are allocated sufficient staff to conduct voting on election day, and to count votes after 6pm. Polling places are also selected to be of sufficient size to accommodate electors voting during the day, and to undertake counting after 6pm.

The problem faced by all Electoral Commissions in Australia is that staff required to conduct election night pre-poll vote counts must be hired in addition to staff running polling places. The NSWEC must also obtain leases on premises to conduct pre-poll counts. Given the volume of votes taken by Early Vote Centres (EVCs), acquiring sufficient staff and space for election night counting is a significant issue.

Comparing statistics on the number of votes taken at polling places compared to Early Vote Centres (EVCs) reveals the problem faced by the NSWEC. (The figures below and in Appendix B separately identify polling places and EVCs used as joint voting facilities.)

- In 2023 there were 2,620 polling places. On average each polling place took 940 votes, the median number of votes 870. There were only 160 polling places that took more than 2,000 votes, and only four that took more than 3,000.
- In contrast the smaller number of EVCs took huge numbers of votes. There were 364 EVCs and they took an average of 4,320 votes, the median number 3,800. There were 272 EVCs that took more than 2,000 votes, 227 more than 3,000, 170 more than 4,000 and 134 EVCs took more than 5,000.

The counting of EVCs is clearly a significant logistical problem. The number of separate EVC counts to be conducted, either sequentially or in parallel counts, requires large numbers of additional staff and leased premises with sufficient space for counting..

At the end of election night in 2023, reported first preferences votes represented only 50.2% of enrolment. Indicative two-candidate preferred counts represented only 44.9% of enrolment. The final turnout for the election 88.0%. The election night counts fell well short of this figure.

Of votes in each category –

- Roughly half of all votes were taken on polling day with 96.1% of first preference votes reported, and 88.4% of two-candidate preferred votes.
- Around a third of votes were taken at EVCs. Only 20.8% of these votes were reported as first preferences on election night and 14.4% as two-candidate preferred counts.
- Problems with counting of pre-poll votes taken at EVCs is clearly responsible for the low election night count.

The Performance of Polling Place Reporting in 2023

Appendix B of this submission provides details on how many polling places were counted and reported in each district, as well as what proportion of the first preference vote and two-candidate preferred vote was reported on election night.

The details in Appendix B have been calculated by comparing the NSW Electoral Commission's 'Final for Election Night' data file against the total votes at the final declaration of the poll.

- Overall 2,539 of 2,620 polling places reported their first preference result. Only 81 polling places failed to report a tally of first preference results. The missing polling places represented 3.9% of polling day votes, 96.1% of votes reported.
- 173 of the 2,620 polling places did not report a two-candidate preferred count. The missing two-candidate preferred results represented 11.5% of polling day votes with 88.5% of two-candidate preferred votes reporting.
- Of the 93 districts, 51 reported first preference results for all polling places, 26 reported two-candidate preferred counts for all polling places.
- 80 of the 93 districts finished with more than 90% of polling place first preference votes reported. A lower 51 of 93 districts reported a final two-candidate preferred count above 90%.

Similar detail to the figures above is provided for all 93 districts in Appendix B.

The Performance of Early Vote Centre Reporting in 2023

Appendix C contains detail on how much of the pre-poll vote cast at Early Vote Centres (EVCs) was counted on election night. The data is set out in a similar way to the polling place result tables in Appendix B, except the statistics have been reversed to highlight how few EVCs were counted and the low percentage of pre-poll votes counted.

Before polling day, the NSW Electoral Commission advised that only a limited number of EVCs would be counted on election night. There were a total of 364 EVCs conducted at the election. A list of 111 EVCs to be counted was released ahead of election day.

- Of the 111 EVCs nominated for counting before election day, only 75 reported. Another five EVCs not on the released list were counted and reported. Overall, 80 of the 364 EVCs reported some votes on election night, 22% of the total EVCs.
- Only 20.8% of Pre-Poll votes were reported for first preferences on election night, and a lower 14.4% of the two-candidate preferred vote was reported. Of the 93 electoral districts, 26 reported no pre-poll primary votes and 42 reported no two-candidate preferred pre-poll vote.
- Some districts where there was a significant interest in the result reported very few pre-poll votes – Balmain (nil), Drummoyne (nil), East Hills (6.0%), Goulburn (8.2%), Holsworthy (17.9%), Kiama (1.5%), Upper Hunter (nil) and Willoughby (14.5%).

Election Night Postal Vote Counting

The NSWEC processed and then counted returned postal votes at a centralised scrutiny centre. Votes processed before polling day were available for counting on election night. On advice from the media and parties, the NSWEC began the count with votes from districts viewed as being of most interest or importance for the election outcome.

The Electoral Commission continued to apply a priority test to daily count of declaration votes through the subsequent two weeks of central scrutiny counting.

The NSW Electoral Commission should be congratulated in taking this approach to ordering daily counts at the central scrutiny centre. It greatly assisted daily coverage of the count by the media and would no doubt have assisted candidates and parties in allocating scrutineers to count.

A record of the postal votes counted on election night by district compared to the final declared postal vote total can be found in Appendix F.

- Of the 93 districts, 57 counted and reported postal votes on election night. Fifty-six reported both first preferences and two-candidate preferred results. Kiama reported first preferences results but not a two-candidate result.
- The postal votes counted represented 16.6% of the total postal eventually admitted to the count. They also represented 1.2% of enrolment.
- Given only 57 districts were counted, a better measure would be as a comparison of the postal vote in those districts. The election night count represented 26.6% of postal votes in the districts and about 2.0% of enrolment in those districts.

How to Improve EVC Counting and Reporting

It is my view that the counting and reporting of pre-poll votes could have been improved with two changes to counting procedures. Both changes would adopt procedures already used for counting EVCs at Federal and Victorian elections.

(1) - Don't Open Pre-poll Legislative Council Ballot Boxes

The rule applied for counting EVCs at the 2023 NSW election was that EVC for which Legislative Assembly ballot boxes were opened for counting, should also have its Legislative Council ballot boxes opened and counted.

Given the much larger Legislative Council ballot paper, and the time required to unfold, sort and count Council votes by party, many staff that could have been allocated to counting more Assembly EVCs were instead required to count Legislative Council ballot papers.

The justification for counting both Assembly and Council ballot papers in polling places is so a record of the result can be recorded before all ballot papers are transferred to the Returning Officer. That the polling place result is independently available on election night can be used as an audit check against the official count to ensure ballot papers have not been interfered with while being moved. Missing Assembly ballot papers placed in the wrong ballot box can also be located on the night by opening the Council ballot boxes.

Result security is less of an issue with pre-poll voting as ballot papers are already on secure premises. The pre-poll Council ballot boxes do not leave the premises and can be left unopened on election night.

Neither the Australian Electoral Commission nor the Victorian Electoral Commission open upper house ballot boxes on election night. All the attention is placed on maximising the lower house pre-poll count on election night.

Had this approach been adopted for the NSW Election, I am certain that more Assembly pre-poll votes would have been counted on election night. The decision on which pre-poll centres would be counted on election night for each districts was based on how long it would take to count the ballot papers for both the Assembly and the Council. It is certain that more Assembly votes could have been counted if Council ballot boxes had been left unopened.

My understanding is the Electoral Commissioner's decision to open ballot boxes for both chambers stemmed from the report of the Electoral Matters Committee's Inquiry into the 2019 election. The Committee recommended that Council ballot papers be properly counted on election night rather than the abbreviated count of only some ballot paper columns in 2019.

To clarify how the Commission should conduct election night EVC counts, I advise the Committee to make the following recommendations.

Recommendation 1:

The counting of Early Voting Centres on election night should aim to maximise the number of Legislative Assembly votes counted. To achieve this, and following Federal and Victorian count practice, Legislative Council ballot boxes from EVCs should remain sealed on election night.

Recommendation 2:

As a consequence of Recommendation 1, an extra check should be added to the post-election scrutiny to ensure Assembly ballot papers found in EVC Council ballot boxes can be re-united with the appropriate Assembly count.

(2) - Opening Pre-Poll Ballot Boxes Before 6pm

Both the Commonwealth Electoral Act and the Victorian Electoral Act now permit the opening of pre-poll ballot boxes before 6pm on polling day. The opening is done under secure conditions with scrutineers and staff locked-in and phone and communication devices handed over before entry to the count centre.

The Commonwealth Electoral Act permits the opening of pre-poll ballot boxes from 4pm on the Saturday afternoon. Lower house pre-poll ballot boxes are opened, ballot papers unfolded, and a check done to verify that the number of ballot papers match the number of ballot papers issued. Ballot papers may also be sorted at this stage, though counting by candidate does not begin until after the close of polls at 6pm.

The Victorian Electoral Act also permits early opening of pre-poll ballot boxes. Depending on the number of ballot papers and the complexity of the count, the Victorian Electoral Act permits ballot boxes to be opened from 9am on election day. As with the Commonwealth rules, the opening and unfolding is done under lockdown conditions.

In Victoria, there is no distinction between in-district and out-of-district pre-polls, meaning pre-poll ballot boxes may contain ballot papers from multiple districts. Only within district pre-polls are counted on election night so the Victorian Electoral Commission must sort pre-poll ballot papers by district before counting can start. Out-of-district pre-polls are transferred to a central scrutiny centre for later counting.

The reason for the very early start to pre-poll processing in Victoria is to sort ballot papers by district. This is not required in NSW because pre-poll ballot boxes only contain ballot papers for a single district. Adopting procedures in line with the Commonwealth's later start time may be more appropriate.

I make the following recommendation –

Recommendation 3:

The NSW Electoral Act be amended to permit the opening of Early Voting Centre ballot boxes before 6pm on election day under secure conditions. The purpose of the early start is to unfold and sort ballot papers and to check the number of ballot papers against the number of ballot papers issued. The Committee may recommend early counting be allowed or restrict the early opening to unfolding and sorting, with actual counting to begin after 6pm.

Indicative Preference Counting for Sundry Declaration Counts

In the post-election period at centralised declaration vote count centres, NSWEC staff continued to undertake indicative preference counts for Postal Votes and Absent Votes, but did not do indicative preference counts for several smaller categories of declaration votes.

In very close seats, the missing votes for these categories made it hard to be certain of the final result until the check count was complete. In the case of Ryde in 2023, there were 1,092 declaration votes from the first count with no indicative preference count out of 55,281 ballot papers. Given the final margin of 54 votes, this lack of preference count added to uncertainty about the result.

Conducting preference counts on all first preference votes at the centralised scrutiny adds significantly to the complexity of counting. As well as checking of declaration envelopes, there has to be a first preference count and an indicative preference count before the batches of ballot papers move to the data entry and check count.

As a trade-off for more complete preference counts in close seats, it may be possible to abandon the indicative preference counts in districts where the result is clear. This would speed up the process of ballot paper batches being moved to the data entry stage.

The NSW Electoral Act requires an accurate first preference count and a final preference distribution for all districts. Indicative preference counts are for information purposes only. Accurate two-candidate (and two-party) counts are made available by polling place after the election through the data entry and check count.

A possible trade-off for getting declaration vote indicative preference counts in close seats would be to limit the number of seats where central scrutiny centre indicative preference counts are continued after election night. The staff resources devoted to carrying out unneeded indicative preference counts could instead be devoted to speeding up the transfer of ballot paper batches to data entry and check counting.

However, **indicative counts must continue to be performed for all election night counting of polling place and pre-poll centre votes**. Once election night results are available, it would be possible to decide on whether to abandon further indicative preference counting in clearly decided seats.

In the past both Queensland and Western Australia have abandoned post-election indicative preference counting in districts where the outcome is clear. Final and accurate two-candidate preferred results by polling place are undertaken after the result has been declared.

Recommendation 4:

Post-election night indicative two-candidate preferred counts should be undertaken for all categories of declaration votes in all clearly decided seats.

Recommendation 5:

If recommendation 4 is adopted, and assuming the current data entry check count is continued, the Electoral Commissioner could consider whether indicative preference counts should continue to be done in clearly decided districts.

Appendix A: Vote by Type – NSW Elections 1984 to 2023

Election	Polling Day	Pre-Poll	Absent	Postal	iVote	Other
1984	88.2	0.8	9.3	1.4	..	0.3
1988	87.5	1.8	8.3	1.9	..	0.5
1991	88.7	1.7	7.7	1.5	..	0.4
1995	87.6	2.3	7.6	1.8	..	0.7
1999	84.6	3.8	7.9	3.2	..	0.5
2003	83.6	3.4	8.3	4.2	..	0.5
2007	81.1	5.5	7.4	5.5	..	0.5
2011	74.3	8.2	9.5	5.7	1.1	1.2
2015	67.1	14.2	6.3	4.6	6.3	1.5
2019	61.2	22.1	6.9	3.0	5.1	1.7
2023	50.6	32.6	6.4	8.5	..	1.9

Appendix B: NSW 2023 Election – Polling Place and Vote Reporting Percentages by District

Note: Columns are of polling places and votes **NOT** counted.

Polling Place Counts Reported - District	Polling Places	PPs NOT Counted Primary	PPs NOT Counted Preferences	% Vote NOT Counted Primary	% Vote NOT Counted Preferences
Albury	31	..	..	..	..
Auburn	22	4	5	11.6	40.7
Badgerys Creek	29	..	1	..	7.1
Ballina	21	1	..	6.3	..
Balmain	26	..	3	..	17.2
Bankstown	27	1	3	6.2	29.0
Barwon	45	5	5	16.0	27.1
Bathurst	40	1	..	1.2	..
Bega	33	..	3	..	8.7
Blacktown	24	..	1	..	7.2
Blue Mountains	24	..	..	..	..
Cabramatta	23	1	7	9.4	37.5
Camden	24	1	3	0.1	14.0
Campbelltown	26	2	5	11.1	27.7
Canterbury	24	..	1	..	3.9
Castle Hill	29	2	3	5.7	8.7
Cessnock	28	..	1	..	4.1
Charlestown	29	..	..	..	..
Clarence	39	..	4	..	14.2
Coffs Harbour	23	..	1	..	8.1
Coogee	26	..	3	..	13.4
Cootamundra	48	..	4	..	18.0
Cronulla	24	1	1	4.7	8.5
Davidson	28	..	..	..	..
Drummoyne	22	1	4	3.9	27.4
Dubbo	23	1	2	5.9	23.4
East Hills	23	..	..	..	..
Epping	24	2	4	9.5	21.9
Fairfield	25	2	2	6.5	19.2
Gosford	30	..	..	..	..
Goulburn	38	..	5	..	13.6

Polling Place Counts Reported - District	Polling Places	PPs NOT Counted Primary	PPs NOT Counted Preferences	% Vote NOT Counted Primary	% Vote NOT Counted Preferences
Granville	27	1	2	6.0	16.4
Hawkesbury	37	..	1	..	5.3
Heathcote	27	..	..	..	..
Heffron	30	1	1	6.3	6.9
Holsworthy	26	2	1	2.0	7.1
Hornsby	34	..	1	..	0.4
Keira	31	..	1	..	0.4
Kellyville	23	1	..	7.4	..
Kiama	24	1	2	6.4	19.9
Kogarah	31	..	..	..	..
Lake Macquarie	28	..	2	..	6.4
Lane Cove	29	..	1	..	5.9
Leppington	25	2	3	10.9	24.8
Lismore	48	1	..	0.9	..
Liverpool	24	6	3	26.4	50.0
Londonderry	29	1	1	5.3	13.0
Macquarie Fields	24	..	2	..	5.8
Maitland	23	..	..	..	..
Manly	21	..	2	..	13.2
Maroubra	20	..	2	..	18.9
Miranda	30	2	3	10.7	23.3
Monaro	28	..	2	..	9.1
Mount Druitt	23	7	1	34.7	36.8
Murray	44	2	3	4.9	12.6
Myall Lakes	33	..	..	..	..
Newcastle	29	1	1	5.0	9.8
Newtown	33	2	3	9.5	22.2
North Shore	27	..	1	..	1.7
Northern Tablelands	41	1	5	0.7	10.8
Oatley	24	..	..	..	..
Orange	39	..	..	..	..
Oxley	42	..	3	..	6.8
Parramatta	26	1	6	4.0	27.5
Penrith	24	..	..	..	..
Pittwater	21	..	1	..	3.8

Polling Place Counts Reported - District	Polling Places	PPs NOT Counted Primary	PPs NOT Counted Preferences	% Vote NOT Counted Primary	% Vote NOT Counted Preferences
Port Macquarie	28	2	2	14.8	28.6
Port Stephens	26	2	3	7.7	18.1
Prospect	24	3	3	15.0	28.6
Riverstone	20	..	..	..	..
Rockdale	25	1	2	3.3	13.0
Ryde	27	..	..	..	..
Shellharbour	21	..	..	..	..
South Coast	26	..	1	..	1.6
Strathfield	27	2	1	10.5	17.6
Summer Hill	24	..	..	..	..
Swansea	25	..	..	..	..
Sydney	22	2	..	11.1	..
Tamworth	36	..	3	..	5.9
Terrigal	24	..	2	..	6.7
The Entrance	26	3	6	15.9	33.7
Tweed	22	..	..	..	..
Upper Hunter	41	..	4	..	11.6
Vaucluse	26	1	4	5.6	25.6
Wagga Wagga	29	1	2	5.7	16.1
Wahroonga	30	..	..	..	..
Wakehurst	26	..	2	..	10.4
Wallsend	30	3	1	12.7	15.4
Willoughby	25	..	..	..	..
Winston Hills	28	..	3	..	9.6
Wollondilly	26	..	3	..	14.7
Wollongong	28	1	5	3.3	20.6
Wyong	26	3	1	17.2	20.9
State Totals	2620	81	173	3.9	11.5

Source: Calculations by author based on NSWEC's 'Final for Night' Assembly data file. Percentages calculated against final declared polling place totals.

Appendix C: NSW 2023 Election – Early Voting Centre and Vote Reporting Percentages by District

Note: Totals are of Early Vote Centres and votes **COUNTED**, which is the opposite of polling place data in Appendix B.

Early Vote Centres (EVCs) Reporting - District	EVCs	EVCs Counted Primary	EVCs Counted Preferences	% Vote Counted Primary	% Vote Counted Preferences
Albury	5	1	1	44.3	44.3
Auburn	3	..	..	..	..
Badgerys Creek	4	1	1	5.5	5.5
Ballina	3	1	1	18.8	18.8
Balmain	7	..	..	..	..
Bankstown	3	2	2	36.0	36.0
Barwon	9	..	..	..	..
Bathurst	6	..	..	..	..
Bega	6	1	1	16.0	16.0
Blacktown	3	..	..	..	..
Blue Mountains	3	..	..	..	..
Cabramatta	3	..	..	..	..
Camden	4	1	..	31.7	..
Campbelltown	2	1	..	38.1	..
Canterbury	4	1	1	20.7	20.7
Castle Hill	3	1	1	54.4	54.4
Cessnock	3	..	..	..	..
Charlestown	4	3	3	67.2	67.2
Clarence	3	..	..	..	..
Coffs Harbour	3	1	1	30.4	30.4
Coogee	3	1	1	26.2	26.2
Cootamundra	7	..	..	..	..
Cronulla	3	1	1	40.7	40.7
Davidson	4	2	2	21.0	21.0
Drummoyne	3	..	..	..	..
Dubbo	5	1	1	5.8	5.8
East Hills	4	1	1	6.0	6.0
Epping	3	..	..	..	..
Fairfield	4	..	..	..	..
Gosford	3	2	1	37.2	34.6

Early Vote Centres (EVCs) Reporting - District	EVCs	EVCs Counted Primary	EVCs Counted Preferences	% Vote Counted Primary	% Vote Counted Preferences
Goulburn	4	1	1	8.2	8.2
Granville	4	1	1	42.9	42.9
Hawkesbury	2	1	..	45.1	..
Heathcote	5	..	..	..	..
Heffron	6	..	..	..	..
Holsworthy	4	1	..	17.9	..
Hornsby	3	1	..	25.4	..
Keira	3	1	1	16.5	16.5
Kellyville	3	1	..	76.5	..
Kiama	4	1	1	1.5	1.5
Kogarah	3	1	..	63.6	..
Lake Macquarie	3	1	..	42.5	..
Lane Cove	3	1	1	47.8	47.8
Leppington	2	..	..	..	..
Lismore	5	1	1	37.6	37.6
Liverpool	4	3	3	47.5	47.5
Londonderry	4	1	1	11.6	11.6
Macquarie Fields	4	..	..	..	..
Maitland	3	2	2	36.0	36.0
Manly	3	..	..	..	..
Maroubra	3	1	..	35.5	..
Miranda	5	1	..	21.4	..
Monaro	6	1	1	23.0	23.0
Mount Druitt	2	..	..	..	..
Murray	7	2	2	20.8	20.8
Myall Lakes	3	1	1	16.0	16.0
Newcastle	4	1	1	32.6	32.6
Newtown	7	1	1	35.5	35.5
North Shore	6	1	1	24.1	24.1
Northern Tablelands	4	1	1	13.7	13.7
Oatley	2	1	1	27.5	27.5
Orange	4	1	1	19.5	19.5
Oxley	5	1	1	12.7	12.7
Parramatta	3	..	..	..	..
Penrith	3	1	1	25.8	25.8

Early Vote Centres (EVCs) Reporting - District	EVCs	EVCs Counted Primary	EVCs Counted Preferences	% Vote Counted Primary	% Vote Counted Preferences
Pittwater	3	1	..	29.5	..
Port Macquarie	4	..	..	..	..
Port Stephens	3	1	1	10.7	10.7
Prospect	4	..	..	..	..
Riverstone	4	1	..	24.1	..
Rockdale	2	1	1	83.3	83.3
Ryde	4	1	1	35.3	35.3
Shellharbour	4	1	..	23.0	..
South Coast	3	1	1	24.4	24.4
Strathfield	5	..	..	..	..
Summer Hill	2	1	1	57.2	57.2
Swansea	5	2	1	48.0	16.9
Sydney	5	1	1	39.9	39.9
Tamworth	4	1	..	20.3	..
Terrigal	4	1	1	36.2	36.2
The Entrance	3	1	1	10.2	10.2
Tweed	4	1	1	24.3	24.3
Upper Hunter	7	..	..	..	..
Vaucluse	3	1	..	41.4	..
Wagga Wagga	3	1	1	19.7	19.7
Wahroonga	4	1	1	39.9	39.9
Wakehurst	4	1	1	31.6	31.6
Wallsend	4	1	..	26.6	..
Willoughby	5	2	2	14.5	14.5
Winston Hills	5	1	1	30.0	30.0
Wollondilly	3	..	..	..	..
Wollongong	4	2	1	56.4	36.9
Wyong	3	..	..	..	..
Grand Total	364	79	60	20.8	14.4

Source: Calculations by author based on NSWEC's 'Final for Night' Assembly data file. Percentages calculated against final declared pre-poll totals.

Appendix D: NSW 2023 Election – Postal Votes Counted as Percentage of Total Postal Votes and of Enrolment

Note: All counts reported both primary and two-candidate preferred except for Kiama where only primary votes were reported.

Election Night Postal Vote Counting by District	Postal Votes Counted on Election Night	Total Postal Votes	Election Night Count as % of Total Postals	Election Night Count as % of Enrolment
Albury	..	5,251	..	..
Auburn	..	4,083	..	..
Badgerys Creek	..	4,379	..	..
Ballina	355	3,301	10.8	0.6
Balmain	1,509	3,896	38.7	2.6
Bankstown	697	3,643	19.1	1.2
Barwon	635	4,319	14.7	1.2
Bathurst	302	2,997	10.1	0.5
Bega	991	4,876	20.3	1.7
Blacktown	..	3,852	..	..
Blue Mountains	..	3,885	..	..
Cabramatta	1,123	3,709	30.3	1.8
Camden	..	4,350	..	..
Campbelltown	..	3,046	..	..
Canterbury	672	3,566	18.8	1.1
Castle Hill	..	5,433	..	..
Cessnock	531	2,855	18.6	0.9
Charlestown	567	5,914	9.6	0.9
Clarence	244	3,371	7.2	0.4
Coffs Harbour	571	3,718	15.4	1.0
Coogee	..	3,962	..	..
Cootamundra	596	3,521	16.9	1.1
Cronulla	..	4,773	..	..
Davidson	582	6,248	9.3	1.0
Drummoyne	986	4,781	20.6	1.7
Dubbo	371	2,595	14.3	0.6
East Hills	2,135	5,007	42.6	3.6
Epping	663	6,992	9.5	1.1
Fairfield	..	3,661	..	..
Gosford	..	3,202	..	..

Election Night Postal Vote Counting by District	Postal Votes Counted on Election Night	Total Postal Votes	Election Night Count as % of Total Postals	Election Night Count as % of Enrolment
Goulburn	1,066	4,804	22.2	1.9
Granville	..	5,176	..	..
Hawkesbury	..	3,898	..	..
Heathcote	2,159	4,483	48.2	3.7
Heffron	..	4,236	..	..
Holsworthy	1,961	4,370	44.9	3.4
Hornsby	..	5,569	..	..
Keira	529	3,444	15.4	0.9
Kellyville	..	5,633	..	..
Kiama	2,237	4,346	51.5	3.7
Kogarah	2,241	4,397	51.0	3.8
Lake Macquarie	718	4,664	15.4	1.2
Lane Cove	1,070	5,870	18.2	1.8
Leppington	985	4,842	20.3	1.6
Lismore	840	4,264	19.7	1.5
Liverpool	505	3,443	14.7	0.8
Londonderry	..	4,836	..	..
Macquarie Fields	..	3,351	..	..
Maitland	785	3,218	24.4	1.3
Manly	2,006	4,301	46.6	3.3
Maroubra	..	3,954	..	..
Miranda	..	5,024	..	..
Monaro	1,508	4,620	32.6	2.5
Mount Druitt	..	3,206	..	..
Murray	1,558	4,752	32.8	2.6
Myall Lakes	546	3,944	13.8	0.9
Newcastle	739	3,598	20.5	1.2
Newtown	566	3,771	15.0	0.9
North Shore	2,350	5,287	44.4	4.2
Northern Tablelands	588	4,012	14.7	1.0
Oatley	2,494	5,498	45.4	4.3
Orange	628	2,584	24.3	1.1
Oxley	556	3,741	14.9	0.9
Parramatta	2,007	5,742	35.0	3.5
Penrith	2,302	4,967	46.3	3.9

Election Night Postal Vote Counting by District	Postal Votes Counted on Election Night	Total Postal Votes	Election Night Count as % of Total Postals	Election Night Count as % of Enrolment
Pittwater	1,987	4,039	49.2	3.5
Port Macquarie	975	4,788	20.4	1.6
Port Stephens	..	3,688	..	..
Prospect	..	4,952	..	..
Riverstone	2,250	5,126	43.9	3.5
Rockdale	..	3,778	..	..
Ryde	2,064	7,794	26.5	3.3
Shellharbour	..	2,825	..	..
South Coast	2,199	5,183	42.4	3.6
Strathfield	..	5,144	..	..
Summer Hill	..	3,722	..	..
Swansea	..	3,968	..	..
Sydney	541	4,519	12.0	0.9
Tamworth	439	3,065	14.3	0.7
Terrigal	..	5,272	..	..
The Entrance	..	4,580	..	..
Tweed	1,876	4,367	43.0	3.3
Upper Hunter	1,310	3,884	33.7	2.1
Vaucluse	1,161	5,588	20.8	2.0
Wagga Wagga	..	3,191	..	..
Wahroonga	..	6,712	..	..
Wakehurst	2,080	4,822	43.1	3.6
Wallsend	..	4,083	..	..
Willoughby	2,078	7,411	28.0	3.4
Winston Hills	2,080	6,973	29.8	3.4
Wollondilly	962	5,204	18.5	1.6
Wollongong	..	3,988	..	..
Wyang	..	4,186	..	..
State Totals	68,476	411,883	16.6	1.2

Source: Calculations by author based on NSWEC's 'Final for Night' Assembly data file. Percentages calculated against final declared postal totals.