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**NSW Elections 1984 to 1991:
A Comparative Analysis**

by

Antony Green

Background Paper No 1994/2

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New South Wales Parliamentary Library cataloguing-in-publication data:

Green, Antony

NSW Elections, 1984 to 1991 : a comparative analysis / by Antony Green.
-- [Sydney, N.S.W.] : New South Wales Parliamentary Library, 1993. -- 1 v.
(various pagings) : ill. ; 30 cm. (Current issues : background paper, ISSN 0817-3796 / New South Wales Parliamentary Library ; 1994/2)

ISSN 0817-3796

ISBN 724095632

1. Elections--New South Wales--History (LCSH)
- [1. STATE-GOVERNMENT-ELECTIONS-NEW-SOUTH-WALES-HISTORICAL-ASPECTS (Parliamentary thesaurus)]
- I. Title
- II. Series: Current issues : background paper (New South Wales. Parliamentary Library) ; 1994/2

324.9944 (DDC20)

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Following the 1990 election, Antony was employed by the ABC to re-design their election night computer software. Used at five elections since the 1992 Queensland State election, it has set new standards in election night predictions. With the aid of the computer, Antony was the first to predict the return of the Keating Government on election night in 1993.

Acknowledgments

I wish to thank several people for their assistance with this publication. From the NSW Parliamentary Library, David Clune for assistance with sources, and Philip Dixon for his efforts on the layout. John Ashe and Therese Iverach from the NSW Electoral Office provided valuable documents on the 1986/7 redistribution. Lynette Thrift, Secretary to the 1990/1 Redistribution Commission, assisted greatly with access to submissions. Funding assistance for work on the 1984 election results and 1986/7 Redistribution came through Dr James Forrest of the Macquarie University School of Earth Sciences. Thanks also to Matthew Moore from the Sydney Morning Herald, and Quentin Dempster and Ian Carroll from ABC-TV.

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NEW SOUTH WALES ELECTORAL PENDULUM (FEB 94)

Electoral Pendulums have been designed to show elections as a contest between the Labor Party, and the Liberal/National Coalition. This is difficult in New South Wales following the 1991 election owing to 4 Independents winning seats and holding the balance of power, as well as Independents finishing second in 9 other electorates.

The Pendulum at right has been modified to take account of this situation and to reflect the current position of the Legislative Assembly. In most seats, the margin indicates the swing for the sitting member to lose to their major contestant in 1991.

Owing to by-elections and the nature of Independent contests, a number of points need to be emphasised:

The Entrance is shown on the Labor side of the pendulum with its new margin following the Labor win in the January 1992 by-election. North Shore has been moved up the pendulum to reflect the result of the February 1994 by-election. However, Gordon, Ku-ring-gai, Davidson and The Hills have been left in the same position on the pendulum as at the 1991 election, though I have used a new swing figure. All by-elections are indicated with Footnote (D).

In line with the agreement between the non-aligned Independents and the Premier, I have placed Tamworth on the Liberal/National side of the pendulum, and Bligh, Manly and South Coast on the opposite side. In each seat, the swing indicates the margin of the sitting Independent member against a Liberal or National opponent and is shown with Footnote (C).

Where an electorate is labelled with Footnote (A), the swing figure is for the sitting Liberal or National member against an Independent. Where an electorate is labelled with Footnote (B), the swing figure is for the sitting Labor member against an Independent.

1 Introduction

There have been nine elections for the New South Wales Legislative Assembly since 1968. Remarkably, these elections have been fought on six different sets of electoral boundaries. Even more remarkably, four of the six redistributions involved changes to the size of the parliament.

Much of this was due to Sir Robert Askin, who between 1965 and 1973 contested four elections on four sets of boundaries. But since 1984, the last occasion boundaries were re-used, there have also been two massive redistributions. In 1986/87 the size of the Legislative Assembly was increased to 109, only to be reduced to 99 again by the 1990/91 redistribution.

These redistributions have made analysis of the 1988 and 1991 elections extremely difficult. This is unfortunate, as both elections had significant historic outcomes.

In 1988, the Labor government of Barrie Unsworth was swept from office by an enormous electoral swing, Labor being reduced to its lowest first preference vote since the 1930s. 1991 saw the Coalition government of Nick Greiner returned, but without an overall majority, relying on the votes of Independents on the floor of the Legislative Assembly, a situation that had not occurred since 1950.

The boundary changes produced some quite misleading analysis of the 1988 and 1991 elections. For me the best example has been regular reference to a 25% swing in Cessnock between 1984 and 1988. This was not the case, as one cannot compare the 1984 coalfields seat of Cessnock with the 1988 semi-rural seat of the same name.

In an attempt to correct the problem, I approached the NSW Parliamentary Library with an idea for a publication comparing the 1984, 1988 and 1991 elections after converting the results to the same set of electoral boundaries. It has two basic aims.

First, by providing a simple comparison between the three elections, it will both serve as a reference for other scholars of NSW politics, and be of vital interest to players in the political game. Second, it will look at the question of the effect of the boundary changes on election results, as well as the increasing number of significant Independents contesting seats.

I have not set out to produce a complete authoritative study on NSW politics or on electoral geography. For this reason I have dispensed with full academic referencing, though I do at various points refer the reader to other books and articles.

The book is made up of a number of parts. Chapter 2 examines the 1984 NSW election, and re-calculates the results to conform with the boundaries used at the 1988 and 1991 elections.

Chapter 3 repeats the format, assessing the 1988 election, examining the swings

between 1984 and 1988, and analysing the effect of the 1991 redistribution. Chapter 4 examines the 1991 election, and looks at the swings between 1988 and 1991. It also examines the swings between 1984 and 1991, and suggests that 1984 is a more appropriate base from which to compare the 1991 election.

Chapter 5 looks at the effect of electoral boundaries on the fortunes of the political parties. Its conclusion points to the Labor Party's gaining significant advantage from the operation of these boundaries in 1984 and 1988, but not in 1991. It also questions the use of 2-party preferred results for examining NSW election results.

Chapter 6 examines the extraordinary rise in informal voting at the 1991 election. As the chapter shows, the evidence points directly to confusion in the formality criteria as the primary cause of the increase in the informal vote.

Most of the detail of the analysis is contained in the appendices. APPENDIX A sets out the results of the 1984 election on the actual boundaries in place at the time. It also includes the results of by-elections held on the boundaries between 1984 and 1988. APPENDIX B contains the same details for the 1988 election, as well as the 1988-1991 by-elections.

APPENDIX C is the most substantial part of the book, containing the results of the 1991 election in each electorate, as well as the results of the 1984 and 1988 elections adjusted to fit the boundaries used in 1991. Since the next election will be fought on the same boundaries, APPENDIX C provides a useful resource for the 1995 election.

APPENDIX D provides a simple estimate of two-party preferred vote in each 1991 electorate for all three elections. APPENDIX E shows the informal vote recorded at each election, converted to the 1991 boundaries.

Calculating redistributions

Re-calculating election results to compensate for a redistribution is relatively straightforward, though tediously repetitive.

Initially, I used a computer database package to store the votes for all candidates in each polling place across the state. Using the distribution of preferences (or estimates of preferences) for the electorate as a whole, I wrote software to calculate an estimated 2-candidate preferred vote for each polling place.

From examination of electoral maps, each polling place was allocated to a new electorate, or split between electorates where necessary. Further software was then used to produce an estimated result for each new electorate by adding up the polling place results. Declaration votes were distributed in proportion to the transfer of voters.

While the calculations are quite easy, there are two assumptions underlying the transfer of booths that need to be understood.

First, there is an assumption that voters will vote for a party irrespective of who is the party's local candidate. This is not always the case, and in APPENDIX C I draw attention to several cases where such an assumption is doubtful. Usually these cases are rural electorates with a prominent local member, or any seat contested by a significant Independent.

Second, I am making an assumption that the population in an electorate is relatively stable. In fact, some electorates undergo massive demographic change in a short period of time. These electorates, mainly areas of rapid population growth, are pointed out in APPENDIX C. The best example is Badgerys Creek, which at the 1991 election had more than doubled its enrolment since 1984.

However, the above cautions affect interpretation rather than calculation. Most electorates are not affected by these factors, though their influence should be remembered.

2-party preferred or 2-candidate preferred vote

Much of this book uses analysis based on comparing 2-party preferred vote in electorates across elections. This is a standard procedure in Australian political science, and while it has some weakness, it is the best available method.

The traditional weakness with 2-party preferred vote is that preferences were not distributed in every electorate. However, in both 1988 and 1991 the NSW Electoral Office performed a full distribution of preferences in every electorate. While preferences were not calculated in 1984, the small number of non-major party votes means that any errors in estimated distribution will not significantly alter the analysis.

However, there are two peculiarities in NSW electoral politics that make the use of 2-party preferred vote problematical. These are the use of Optional Preferential Voting, and the presence of independent candidates in the final distribution of preferences.

Given that a large number of voters do not distribute preferences such that they are still current in the final count, should exhausted preferences be considered in the final totals? With 2-party preferred analysis, exhausted preferences are treated in the same way as informal votes; they are excluded from the total vote in calculating percentages. This tends to inflate the percentage vote for the winning candidate in an electorate, but should not significantly affect the state-wide totals.

The more significant issue is the presence of independent candidates after the distribution of preferences. This means that in the published results, we have what I will term 2-candidate preferred votes (2CP) rather than 2-party preferred votes (2PP).

Two approaches can be used to electorates where an Independent is present in the final count. One is to exclude the electorate from the analysis. The other is to estimate a 2-party preferred count for the electorate. Given the increasing number of Independent contests, I have adopted this second approach throughout this

book.

More fundamentally however, is it correct to still use 2-party preferred vote when an increasing number of Independents are present in the final count? In 1984, only 4 (or possibly 6) electorates would have produced a 2CP rather than a 2PP vote.

In 1988, this had increased to 11 electorates, and in 1991, 13 electorates, more than 1 in 8 of all contests.

With such a large number of electorates where only one major party remained after the distribution of preferences, is it meaningful to produce a state-wide 2-party preferred vote? I believe this is a valid criticism, and in Chapter 5 I explain why the use of 2PP has confused understanding of the 1991 result.

However, in much of this book I am examining the vote for Labor and the Coalition over the three elections. It is valid to compare 2PP rather than 2CP in this case as we are looking at the sides of politics competing for government office, and the distribution of swing across electorates.

I could not use 2CP votes in this analysis as the electorates contested by Independents vary from election to election. As well, the fact I am using redistribution figures makes 2CP figures almost meaningless, as by definition they exclude the personal vote of Independents.

In general, where I feel 2PP figures are doubtful because of the presence of an Independent, I have indicated this in tables. I will also return to this matter in Chapter 5.

At the general election for the New South Wales Legislative Assembly on 24 March 1984, the Labor government of Premier Neville Wran was returned, winning 58 of the 99 electorates, a majority of 17. Table 2.1 summarises the results. (See APPENDIX A for results in all electorates.)

Table 2.1: Results of 1984 NSW Election

	Votes	%Vote	% Change in vote	Candi- dates	Seats won	Change in seats
Labor	1,465,957	48.75	-6.98	99	58	-11
Liberal	967,395	32.17	+4.55	81	22	+ 8
National	326,057	10.84	} +0.47	23	15	+ 1
Independent Country Party	25,227	0.84		1	1	+ 1
Australian Democrats	85,604	2.85	+0.42	52	..	..
Independents	130,013	4.32	} +1.54	39	3	+ 1
Other Parties	6,657	0.22		5	..	..
Formal	3,006,910			300		
Informal	74,316	2.41				
Total Votes	3,081,226					
Estimated two-party preferred percentage and swing						
Labor	52.4%		-6.3%			
Non-Labor	47.6%		+6.3%			

Note: Sitting ex-National MP Bruce Duncan retained the seat of Lismore as an Independent without being challenged by the National Party. The Liberal Party regained Northcott from ex-Liberal Jim Cameron, who had resigned from the party in 1983. 1981 figures taken from Malcolm Mackerras, *New South Wales Elections 1978, 1981: Statistical Analysis*.

The Labor Party lost eleven seats, eight to the Liberal Party (Bligh, Burwood, Camden, Cronulla, Hurstville, Manly, Miranda, Wakehurst), two to the National Party (Clarence and Murrumbidgee) and the seat of Wollongong was lost to Independent Frank Arkell.

Note: For a full discussion of the results of the 1984 election, see Ernie Chaples '24 March 1984 : What happened and why?' in Chaples, Nelson and Turner, *The Wran Model*.

On the basis of the Coalition's 37 seats, and assuming the National Party regained Lismore from the Independent Country Party member, the coalition needed to gain 12 seats on a uniform swing of 5.3% to win in 1988. If it could gain 9 seats on a 4.9% swing, it would be enough to produce a hung Parliament. However, these figures would alter, as a redistribution of electoral boundaries was due.

Thirteen by-elections were conducted between 1984 and 1988 (See APPENDIX A). Two resulted in losses for the Labor government, the Liberal Party gaining Bass Hill and the National Party Northern Tablelands. However, in the analysis that follows, by-election results have not been used, and tables are based on 1984 election results.

The 1987 Redistribution

Under provisions of the **Parliamentary Electorates and Elections Act**, a redistribution of the 99 electorates had to occur following the 1984 election. The complexity of the redistribution was increased when Premier Wran announced the Government would legislate to increase the Legislative Assembly to 109 seats. The redistribution took place between May 1986 and March 1987.

Using the results of the 1984 election, Table 2.2 summarises the political outcome of the redistribution.

Table 2.2: Estimated results of the 1984 Election based on 1988 Electoral Boundaries

State of Parties	ALP	Lib	Nat	Ind
1984 Boundaries	58	22	16	3
1988 Boundaries	64	24	19	2

For Labor to lose majority	Seats	Swing
1984 Boundaries	9	4.9%
1988 Boundaries	10	5.4%

For Coalition Majority	Seats	Swing
1984 Boundaries	12	5.3%
1988 Boundaries	12	5.9%

Note: The above is based on the National Party regaining Lismore, and Labor notionally regaining Wollongong after the redistribution.

The redistribution was criticised by the Coalition as a blatant gerrymander. In the run-up to the 1988 election the electoral boundaries were cited as one of the Coalition's main obstacles to forming government (eg David Armstrong in the Daily Telegraph, 6.2.1988) Yet, as Table 2.2 shows, the improvement for the Labor Party was only 0.5%. On its own, this is not enough to claim a gerrymander had been created.

However, there were some peculiar aspects to the new boundaries. For instance, the number of Coalition seats with a margin of more than 20% increased from 5 to 7, while the number of Labor seats with similar margin decreased from 7 to 4.

Labor's position in the key marginal seats was also strengthened. While none were made unwinnable for the Coalition, the changes were such that the Coalition needed substantial increases in its vote before beginning to win seats, as Table 2.3 shows.

Table 2.3: 1984 results: number of seats gained by Coalition for given swing against Labor

Size of swing	Seats gained on Boundaries	
	1984 Boundaries	1988 Boundaries
1%	0	0
2%	3	2
3%	3	2
4%	6	2
5%	10	6
6%	15	13

So while the new boundaries could not stop the Coalition winning government in 1988, Table 2.3 shows that they could produce a situation where a newly elected Coalition government would take office with a large number of marginal seats, despite a clear majority in the popular vote. As will be shown when discussing the 1988 election result, this is exactly what occurred.

The 1991 Redistribution

Following the 1988 election, the Greiner government implemented its policy to reduce the Legislative Assembly to 99 seats. Reducing the number of seats automatically forced a redistribution, one that would not normally have been due. The redistribution was carried out between July 1990 and April 1991.

With the rapid population changes in the period between the two elections, converting the 1984 election results to the 1991 boundaries can be misleading. If 99 electorates had been drawn on 1984 enrolment figures, they would not have produced the 1991 boundaries, especially for rapidly growing electorates such as Badgerys Creek and Camden. However, this problem is a warning in interpreting the results rather than a technical difficulty.

Given this reservation, Table 2.4 summarises the possible results, had the 1984 election been conducted on the boundaries in place for the 1991 election.

Table 2.4: Estimated results of the 1984 Election based on 1991 Electoral Boundaries

State of Parties	ALP	Lib	Nat	Ind
1984 Boundaries	58	22	16	3
1991 Boundaries	59	22	17	1

For Labor to lose majority	Seats	Swing
1984 Boundaries	9	4.9%
1991 Boundaries	10	4.4%

For Coalition Majority	Seats	Swing
1984 Boundaries	12	5.3%
1991 Boundaries (a)	11	5.4%
1991 Boundaries (b)	12	6.0%

(a) based on the Liberal Party retaining North Shore, and (b) on North Shore being regained by an Independent.

Note: Party seat totals are based on the National Party regaining Lismore, and the notional regaining following the redistribution of Wollongong and North Shore by the Labor and Liberal Parties respectively.

On these figures, the changes in boundaries between 1984 and 1991 had only marginal impact on the relative positions of the political parties. However,

repeating the analysis on the vulnerability of marginal seats, the 1991 boundaries weakened the Labor Party in marginal seats compared to the 1988 boundaries, as Table 2.5 shows.

Table 2.5: 1984 results: number of seats gained by Coalition for given swing against Labor

Size of swing	Seats gained on Boundaries		
	1984 Boundaries	1988 Boundaries	1991 Boundaries
1%	0	0	2
2%	3	2	4
3%	3	2	6
4%	6	2	7
5%	10	6	10
6%	15	13	12

Based on the 1984 results, the 1991 boundaries returned the Coalition parties to the position where they received a fair return of seats for size of swing. More seats were likely to fall, and assuming a uniform swing, a Coalition government elected would have faced fewer marginal seats once in office.

Electoral Bias and the 1984 Election

The remarkable feature in analysing the 1984 election results is the imbalance between Labor's majority in the estimated statewide 2-party preferred vote, and the size of the uniform swing required for it to lose office.

Labor's overall majority in the statewide vote was 2.4%. Yet in terms of uniform swing, on the 1984 boundaries its margin was 4.9%, on the 1988 boundaries 5.4%, and on the 1991 boundaries, 4.4%. Similarly, the swing for the Coalition to win a majority was 5.3% on 1984 boundaries, 5.9% on 1988 boundaries, and 5.4% on those in 1991.

These swings are derived from boundaries drawn up by three redistribution commissions, two appointed by Labor Party governments, and one by a Coalition government. On all three sets of boundaries, there was a clear advantage for Labor of between 2% and 3%.

Some of this imbalance can be explained by the Labor Party's ability to hang on to marginal seats in 1984. In unexpected circumstances, Labor candidates were

returned in Bathurst, Gosford and Northern Tablelands.

However, there also seems to be an over-concentration of Coalition votes, particularly Liberal votes. Labor had only two seats with margins of greater than 22.5%. The Coalition seats of Ku-ring-gai, Gordon, Vacluse, Murray and the Independent seat of Lismore all exceeded this margin. Labor's strength in marginal seat campaigning can also be seen in the eight Coalition seats with margins under 2%, all but one gained from Labor at the election.

Historically, the overconcentration of Liberal voters in Sydney's North Shore, and the greater spread of Labor voters through the State has been pointed to as a factor in Labor's success in NSW politics. This is a point that will be returned to in Chapter 5.

Certainly the 1984 results point to this being the cause of the Coalition's disadvantage, coupled with Labor's better marginal seats results. However, it appears the disadvantage was to be reinforced by the 1987 redistribution. This is a point for further discussion in analysing the 1988 results.

3 Election 1988

At the general election for the New South Wales Legislative Assembly on 19 March 1988, the Labor government of Premier Barrie Unsworth was swept from office by a 2-party preferred swing of 8.4%. Table 3.1 summarises the results (See Appendix B for the results in all electorates.)

Table 3.1: Results of 1988 NSW Election

	Votes	%Vote	% Change in vote	Candi- dates	Seats won	Change in seats
Labor	1,233,703	38.49	-10.26	109	43	-21
Liberal	1,147,613	35.80	+3.63	90	39	+15
National	440,391	13.74	+2.06	26	20	+ 1
Australian Democrats	58,163	1.81	-1.04	34	..	..
Independent EFF	39,194	1.22	+1.22	11	..	..
Call to Australia	14,205	0.44	+0.44	8	..	..
Independents	259,297	8.09	+3.77	82	7	+ 5
Other Parties	12,958	0.41	+0.19	6	..	..
Formal	3,205,524			366		
Informal	108,705	3.28				
Total Votes	3,314,229					
Estimated two-party preferred percentage and swing						
Labor	44.0%		-8.4%			
Non-Labor	56.0%		+8.4%			

Note: Based on the Independents regaining Wollongong, notionally lost in the redistribution. Change in seats column based on notional 1984 results adjusted to 1988 boundaries. (See Table 2.2)

Based on the new electoral boundaries, Labor lost twenty-one seats. Sixteen were gained by the Liberal Party (Albury, Bathurst, Blue Mountains, Burrinjuck, Cessnock, Earlwood, Georges River, Gladesville, Gosford, Heathcote, Minchinbury, Parramatta, Penrith, Ryde, Sutherland, The Entrance), one by the National Party (Monaro), and three by Independents (Balmain, Newcastle, Swansea). Labor also lost Wollongong to the sitting Independent, Frank Arkell after technically regaining it in the redistribution.

The Liberal Party had one loss: Bligh to Independent, Clover Moore. The sitting Liberal MP for Bass Hill, a seat gained in the 1986 by-election to replace Neville Wran, was also defeated.

The 8.4% swing was one of the largest seen in Australia since 1945. In New South Wales, only the 1978 'Wranslide' election swing of 9.1% was larger. The 1989 Queensland and 1979 South Australian elections saw incumbent governments defeated with swings of 8.3% and 8.4% respectively. The two largest post-war swings were the 1974 Queensland election, which saw an anti-Labor swing of 10.2%, and the post ALP-split 1955 Victorian election, in which the Cain government was defeated by a 14.6% swing.

Note: Figures from Colin Hughes, 'The Results', Whip and Hughes (eds), *Political Crossroads: the 1989 Queensland Election*.

Labor's defeat was remarkable for more than the size of the 2-party preferred swing. Equally unprecedented was the loss of Labor first preference votes to Independent candidates. Joining Wollongong with an Independent Member in Parliament were the Labor heartland seats of Newcastle, Swansea and Balmain. Lake Macquarie and Canterbury very nearly joined them. The Liberals also came close to winning such Labor bastions as Maitland, Keira, Charlestown and the new seat of Port Stephens.

The variation in swing had a strong regional component. Inner suburban seats swung less dramatically, enabling Labor to hang-on in Waverley, Coogee and Kogarah, while less marginal seats fell elsewhere. Labor also retained Camden, yet they struggled in safe seats, losing Cessnock, the rapidly growing western Sydney suburban seats of Minchinbury and Penrith, and suffering huge swings in the similar seats of Fairfield and Smithfield.

Seven ministers lost their seats, Bob Debus in Blue Mountains, Terry Sheahan in Burrinjuck, Rod Cavalier in Gladesville, Ken Gabb in Earlwood, Frank Walker in Georges River, John Akister in Monaro and Peter Anderson in Penrith. The retirement of Pat Hills, Peter Cox and Ron Muloch further denuded Labor of front bench talent.

For the Coalition, a surprise was the success of the Liberal Party in a number of rural seats. The Liberal Party won Bathurst, Burrinjuck and Cessnock, all seats where they had been outpolled by the National Party in 1984. The situation was reversed in Monaro, with the Nationals winning a seat in which they had trailed the Liberals in 1984.

The effect of retiring rural members was illustrated by the largest and smallest swings. In Northern Tablelands, the sitting Labor MP elected in 1984, Bill McCarthy, had since died, and the seat was lost for Labor at a by-election. The loss of his personal support meant that the 1984-88 swing against Labor was the State's largest at 18.5%. Lismore, where Independent Country MP Bruce Duncan retired, experienced the smallest anti-Labor swing, 0.2%. Clearly Duncan had attracted many voters who would normally have voted Labor. (Both figures based on 1988 boundaries.)

The boundaries used in 1988 produced exactly the result that Table 2.3 predicted. Despite a huge swing and a 56% two-party preferred vote, the Coalition had a majority over Labor and the Independents of only 9 seats or 1.3% based on the majorities in marginal seats. For Labor to pick up the 12 seats needed to win a majority required only a 2.5% swing, even less if Labor could regain some of the 4 seats lost to Independents in 1988.

The 1991 Redistribution

The Government's promise to cut the Parliament back to 99 members was really an attempt to improve its majority. It was hoped a redistribution would be able to release some of the Coalition's vote locked in safe seats by the previous redistribution. Table 3.2 shows the new boundaries clearly achieved this objective.

Table 3.2: 1988 Results adjusted to 1991 boundaries

State of Parties	ALP	Lib	Nat	Ind
1988 Boundaries	43	39	20	7
1991 Boundaries	37	39	19	4

For Coalition to lose majority	Seats	Swing
1988 Boundaries	5	1.3%
1991 Boundaries	9	2.9%

For Labor Majority	Seats	Swing
1988 Boundaries	12	2.5%
1991 Boundaries	13	5.3%

Note: The above is based on the Liberal Party notionally regaining Bligh and North Shore from incumbent Independents, and Labor notionally winning the new seat of Port Jackson.

The sweeping nature of the new boundaries can be seen by the number of sitting MPs whose seats notionally became the property of their political opponents. Labor members in Broken Hill, Camden, Drummoyne, Maitland and Port Stephens saw their seats transformed into Coalition seats. Liberal members in Hurstville and Parramatta suffered the reverse fate. However, all calculations of this type ignore the impact of local members. Each seat's notional margin has to be assessed taking into account the nature of the local contest.

Despite the redistribution, the Government continued to be disadvantaged by the

electoral boundaries. Their 6.0% statewide 2-party preferred majority still only delivered a 2.9% margin in terms of seats. However, Labor now needed 5.3% to gain government in its own right, a figure nearer its statewide 2-party preferred vote.

However, both these swing figures are potentially misleading. They ignore the effect of Independents winning or losing seats. If Independents could regain the notional Liberal seats of North Shore and Bligh, the government's margin became 7 seats, a swing of only 2.5%.

Similarly, if Labor could pick up the seats of Newcastle, Swansea and Wollongong, all won by Independents in 1988, then they would only need to win 10 seats on a swing of 3.7% to form government.

So even with a landslide election win and a favourable electoral redistribution, the Coalition parties continued to lack a majority commensurate with their level of state-wide vote. As in 1984, they appeared to be disadvantaged by 2-3% in the electoral boundaries compared to the overall state vote.

Analysing the Swing: 1984 to 1988

The range of swings between 1984 and 1988 was consistent in the sense that no seat recorded a swing to Labor. However, the range of swings was enormous. Most significantly, there were two regional extremes of swing.

As Table 3.3 shows, the Rural areas, and the Hunter/Illawarra regions demonstrated particularly large anti-Labor swings.

Table 3.3: Regional Change in Vote: 1984 - 1988

	Statewide	Hunter/Illawarra	Rural
Primary vote	% Change	% Change	% Change
Labor	-10.3%	-13.6%	-10.4%
Liberal	+ 3.6%	+ 3.0%	+ 3.2%
National	+ 2.9%	- 1.0%	+12.1%
Democrat	- 1.0%	- 2.7%	+ 0.7%
Others	+ 4.8%	+14.4%	- 5.5%
2-Party Preferred			
Labor	- 8.4%	- 9.1%	-10.5%
Non-Labor	+ 8.4%	+ 9.1%	+10.5%

All comment since the 1988 election has identified one issue as the cause of the rural swing: gun control. Labor's decision to run with an anti-gun campaign cost it dearly in rural areas. It is the factor to which defeated sitting rural Labor MPs pointed, though in reality guns were merely the catalyst for a deeper dissatisfaction with the government.

The swing in the Hunter and Illawarra is more complex. In both areas, there seems to have been an outbreak among Labor voters of the view that the Labor Party was taking its heartland for granted, that traditional Labor voters were being ignored. This explains much of the swing to Independents, for while Labor voters could not bring themselves to vote for the Liberal Party, Independents promising to put the Hunter or Illawarra before party had strong appeal.

To carry out an analysis of the swings that occurred, all results from both the 1984 and 1988 elections have been converted to the same boundaries as applied for the 1991 election.

While this detracts from the analysis by losing the effects of particular local contests, it provides a better framework for analysing the swings between the three elections. (Full details of the results of all three elections applied to the 1991 boundaries is provided in APPENDICES C and D.)

Tables 3.4 and 3.5 show the largest and smallest swings against Labor between the two elections. (All swings more than one standard deviation from the average.)

Table 3.4: Largest 2PP swings against Labor: 1984 - 1988 based on 1991 boundaries

Electorate	Swing	Region	1984 Status
Northern Tablelands	-18.7%	Rural	Marginal National
Monaro	-15.8%	Rural	Safe Labor
Murrumbidgee	-15.8%	Rural	Marginal National
Southern Highlands	-15.0%	Rural	Marginal National
Broken Hill	-14.9%	Rural	Safe Labor
Albury	-13.8%	Rural	Marginal Labor
Swansea (*)	-13.8%	Hunter	Very Safe Labor
Smithfield	-13.5%	Metropolitan	Very Safe Labor
Tamworth	-13.1%	Rural	Safe National
Orange	-13.0%	Rural	Safe National
Bankstown	-12.5%	Metropolitan	Very Safe Labor
Bega	-12.1%	Rural	Marginal Liberal
Fairfield	-12.1%	Metropolitan	Very Safe Labor
Barwon	-12.0%	Rural	Safe National
Keira	-11.9%	Illawarra	Very Safe Labor

(*) 2PP swing calculation affected by presence of Independent

Table 3.5: Smallest 2PP swings against Labor: 1984 - 1988 based on 1991 boundaries

Electorate	Swing	Region	1984 Status
Northcott	-4.3%	Metropolitan	Very Safe Liberal
Kiama	-4.1%	Illawarra	Safe Labor
The Hills	-3.8%	Metropolitan	Very Safe Liberal
Lane Cove	-3.7%	Metropolitan	Very Safe Liberal
Maroubra	-3.5%	Metropolitan	Safe Labor
Eastwood	-3.4%	Metropolitan	Safe Liberal
Ku-ring-gai	-2.9%	Metropolitan	Very Safe Liberal
North Shore (*)	-2.7%	Metropolitan	Safe Lib (Ind)
Ballina	-2.5%	Rural	Safe Nat (Ind)
Hawkesbury	-2.1%	Metropolitan	Very Safe Liberal
Vaucluse	-1.9%	Metropolitan	Safe Liberal
Gordon	-0.9%	Metropolitan	Very Safe Liberal
Lismore	-0.0%	Rural	Very Safe Nat (Ind)

(*) 2PP swing calculation affected by presence of Independent

Tables 3.4 and 3.5 reinforce the point that the largest swings against the Government occurred in rural areas, and in the Hunter and Illawarra. Of the 26 rural seats, 19 swung against Labor by more than the average statewide swing. Similarly, 9 of the 14 Hunter and Illawarra seats swung by more than the average anti-Labor swing.

Looking at very safe party seats (margins greater than 15%), 13 of the 20 very safe Labor seats swung more than the average, including 9 metropolitan seats. In contrast, none of the 9 very safe Liberal seats swung against Labor by greater than the average swing.

The two National seats classified as very safe, Lismore and Ballina, recorded two of the smallest anti-Labor swings. This is due to both seats containing large numbers of voters from the Lismore seat in 1984, won by Bruce Duncan. The loss of his personal support dampened the anti-Labor swing.

Historically, the 1988 result was exceptional. It was the Coalition's best result since 1932. But as the above analysis of swing shows, there were anomalies in terms of the collapse in Labor vote. A number of seats won by the Coalition in 1988 were surprise victories.

So in the lead up to the 1991 election, the peculiar nature of the 1988 result made predictions difficult. Even with the early polls showing a swing to the Government, it was still possible for them to lose former Labor seats like Penrith and Cessnock, and the seats of Drummoyne and Broken Hill were only Liberal if you ignored the possible influence of their strong Labor local members.

But even with these caveats, the polls indicated that the Government would be returned in 1991. What no-one had considered was the impact of a decline in Government support at the election, and how that would shape the make-up of the new parliament.

4 Election 1991

The general election for the New South Wales Legislative Assembly on 25 May 1991 produced an unexpected result. The Coalition Government of Liberal Premier Nick Greiner was returned, but forced to rely on the Speaker's vote, lacking a majority on the floor of the Parliament. Table 4.1 summarises the results :

Table 4.1: Results of 1991 NSW Election

	Votes	%Vote	% Change in vote	Candi- dates	Seats won	Change in seats
Labor	1,204,066	39.05	+0.56	99	46	+ 9
Liberal	1,053,100	34.16	-1.64	81	32	- 7
National	324,214	10.52	-3.22	20	17	- 2
Australian Democrats	165,229	5.36	+3.55	85	..	..
Call to Australia	36,807	1.19	+0.75	38	..	..
Citizens Electoral Council	5,198	0.17	+0.17	9	..	..
Greens	16,556	0.54	+0.54	8	..	..
Country Residents	16,557	0.54	+0.54	7	..	..
Independent EFF	3,135	0.10	-1.12	2	..	..
Independents	255,943	8.30	+0.21	87	4	..
Other Parties	2,455	0.08	-0.33	4	..	..
Formal	3,083,260			440		
Informal	316,832	9.3				
Total Votes	3,400,092					
Estimated two-party preferred percentage and swing						
Labor	47.3%		+3.3%			
Non-Labor	52.7%		-3.3%			

Note: Table based on Liberal Party regaining Bligh and North Shore following the redistribution, and Port Jackson becoming a Labor seat. Change in seats column based on notional 1988 results adjusted to 1991 boundaries. (See Table 3.2)

The Labor Party gained nine seats, five from the Liberal Party (Bathurst, Cessnock, Drummoynes, Penrith, Port Stephens), three from Independents (Newcastle, Swansea, Wollongong) and the seat of Broken Hill that had notionally been lost to the National Party in the redistribution.

The Coalition also lost two seats to Independents, the Liberal seat of Manly and the National seat of Tamworth. They also lost Bligh, notionally gained in the redistribution.

In fact, if the election had been fought on the old boundaries, the result might have been a minority Labor government. On my calculations, the 1991 results on the 1988 election boundaries would have produced 53 Labor seats, 51 Coalition, and 5 Independents in normally Coalition seats.

To describe the result as unexpected is no understatement. Most if not all commentators predicted a clear majority for the Government, possibly even a swing in its favour. No one had believed there would be a 3.3% swing to Labor.

In these days of ubiquitous opinion polls, such a mood shift in the electorate would normally be detected. But this was an election devoid of published polls, and those that did appear indicated a clear Government win. Critically, only one poll was carried out in the last fortnight of the campaign.

In the election post-mortems, several pollsters pointed to the need to poll up until election day. But given the financial position of all media outlets at the time, it seemed no-one was prepared to commission late polls when the result already seemed clear. As Gary Morgan put it, "No one wanted to pay for more polls, so they weren't done". (See Bruce McDougall, 'Why surveys blew the poll', *Telegraph Mirror*, 28 May 1991)

Table 4.2 summarises the five main polls published during the campaign. (Three other polls were published in the *Sun-Herald*, conducted by Quadrant Research, but the high level of undecided vote makes them difficult to analyse.)

Table 4.2: 1991 Pre-election polls

Poll and Date	%Party Vote			
	Lib/Nat	ALP	Dem	Other
Morgan April	47	38	6	9
Saulwick May 2	46.8	31.7	6.6	14.9
Newspoll May 3-5	50	36	6	8
Saulwick May 13-14	50	34	5	11
Newspoll May 22-23	45	37	5.5	12.5

Source: Morgan (*The Bulletin*) May 14, Saulwick (*Sydney Morning Herald*) May 4 and 18, Newspoll (*The Australian*) May 7 and 25. Table is of results as published in the press. No indication was given as to the size of the undecided vote.

The only poll that detected the late shift away from the Government was the May 22-23 Newspoll. Published on polling day, it was headlined "Greiner could lose up to 6 seats". But *The Australian's* confidence in the poll was betrayed by its placement. No lead item treatment for a potential election upset. The story was published as a small item on Page 1, continued on Page 10.

Given the early huge lead in the polls, it is an understandable assumption that the Government would have been returned easily. Modern campaigning is not so much about attracting voters as about reinforcing the mood of the electorate. With the size of the Government's lead going into the campaign, it was logical that it should be maintained through to polling day.

In hindsight, the result showed that the 1991 election was one of the rare elections where the campaign actually had an effect. The Liberal Party's campaign strategy did not maintain the support for the Government evident at the start of the campaign. This was subsequently the main criticism raised by the internal party task force appointed after the election.

The other remarkable feature of the election was the Labor Party's ability to achieve a 2-party preferred swing of 3.3% after only increasing its primary vote by 0.56%. As with the 1990 Federal Election, the ALP were better able to attract preferences than the Coalition parties.

It is also remarkable that the Coalition's 2-party preferred result of 52.7% was better than Labor's 52.4% in 1984, yet the result in terms of seats was in no way comparable. Using the 1991 boundaries, Labor's result in 1984 produced 58 seats, and the 1991 result for the Coalition produced 49 seats, or 53 if you include the Independents who all held conservative seats. Labor's 1984 margin based on seats was 4.9%, the Coalition's in 1991, even including the Independents, was only 2.5%.

Regional trends in 1991 were the reverse of 1988. Where Rural areas, the Hunter and Illawarra swung strongly against Labor in 1988, they swung back to Labor by more than the state average in 1991.

Table 4.3: Regional Changes in Vote 1988-91

% Swing	Statewide	Hunter/Illawarra	Rural
Primary Vote			
Labor	+0.6	+7.3	+0.5
Liberal	-1.6	-3.1	+1.9 (*)
National	-3.2	-2.2	-13.2 (*)
Democrat	+3.6	+5.0	+2.4
Others	+0.7	-7.1	+8.4
2-Party Preferred			
Labor	+3.3	+8.0	+5.1
Non-Labor	-3.3	-8.0	-5.1

(*) In 1991, the National Party did not contest Albury, Bathurst, Burrinjuck, Cessnock and Southern Highlands, and the Liberal Party did not contest Monaro. If these changes in party contests are taken into account, the Liberal vote would have declined 3.4% and the National vote by 7.9% in rural areas. Across the state, the Liberal decline would have been 3.0% and the National decline 1.9%.

The likely reason for this trend is that the 1988 election produced an abnormally

low Labor vote. Given Labor were no longer in power (and therefore in place to be blamed for all ills), there was a rebound in the Labor vote. In fact, in the Hunter and Illawarra, Labor's vote almost returned to its 1984 levels.

Tables 4.4 and 4.5 show the electorates with the most divergent swings. (All swings greater than one standard deviation from the average.)

Table 4.4: Largest 2PP swings against Labor 1988-1991 based on 1991 boundaries

Electorate	Swing	Region	1988 Status
Murray	-5.5%	Rural	Very Safe National
Willoughby (*)	-5.3%	Metropolitan	Very Safe Liberal
Vaucluse (*)	-5.2%	Metropolitan	Very Safe Liberal
Ermington	-5.2%	Metropolitan	Marginal Liberal
Monaro	-4.9%	Rural	Safe National
North Shore (*)	-4.9%	Metropolitan	Very Safe Liberal (*)
Ku-ring-gai	-3.9%	Metropolitan	Very Safe Liberal
Albury	-3.6%	Rural	Safe Liberal
Wakehurst	-3.2%	Metropolitan	Safe Liberal
Northcott	-2.9%	Metropolitan	Very Safe Liberal
Manly (*)	-2.7%	Metropolitan	Safe Liberal
Blue Mountains	-2.1%	Metropolitan	Marginal Liberal
Burrinjuck	-2.1%	Rural	Safe Liberal
Georges River	-2.0%	Metropolitan	Safe Liberal
Hawkesbury	-1.8%	Metropolitan	Very Safe Liberal
Eastwood	-1.5%	Metropolitan	Very safe Liberal
Gordon	-1.4%	Metropolitan	Very Safe Liberal
Strathfield	-1.4%	Metropolitan	Safe Liberal
Bligh (*)	-1.3%	Metropolitan	Safe Liberal (*)

(*) 2PP swing calculation affected by presence of Independent.

Table 4.5: Largest 2PP swings to Labor 1988-1991 based on 1991 boundaries

Electorate	Swing	Region	1988 Status
Lismore	+8.0%	Rural	Very Safe National
Barwon	+8.6%	Rural	Very Safe National
Murrumbidgee	+8.8%	Rural	Very Safe National
Swansea (*)	+8.8%	Hunter	Safe Labor (*)
Wollongong (*)	+8.9%	Illawarra	Safe Labor (*)
Oxley	+9.1%	Rural	Very Safe National
Auburn	+9.2%	Metropolitan	Safe Labor
Londonderry	+9.4%	Metropolitan	Marginal Labor
Waratah	+9.7%	Hunter	Safe Labor
Tamworth (*)	+9.8%	Rural	Very Safe National
Bathurst	+10.3%	Rural	Safe Liberal
Cabramatta	+10.4%	Metropolitan	Safe Labor
Southern Highlands	+10.5%	Rural	Very Safe Liberal
Charlestown	+10.7%	Hunter	Marginal Labor
Illawarra	+11.7%	Illawarra	Safe Labor
Broken Hill	+12.1%	Rural	Marginal National
Port Stephens	+13.0%	Hunter	Marginal Liberal
Coffs Harbour	+15.0%	Rural	Very Safe National

(*) 2PP swing calculation affected by presence of Independent.

In the Hunter and Illawarra, all 14 seats swung to Labor by more than the average swing. So did 18 of the 26 rural seats, 7 of the 9 Marginal Labor seats, 17 of the 26 safe or very safe Labor seats, and 14 of the 18 safe or very safe National Party seats. Not one Labor seat recorded a swing to the Coalition.

In contrast, of the 30 safe or very safe Liberal seats, 25 swung less than the statewide average, including 20 that actually swung to the Liberal Party.

In all, 20 of the Liberal's notional 39 seats recorded a swing against Labor. The only other seats to record such a swing against Labor were Murray and Monaro.

Most of the rural seats that deviated from the state-wide trend had particular local factors. The swing to the Liberals in Albury and Burrinjuck, and to the Nationals in Monaro can be explained by the loss of the personal vote for sitting Labor members defeated in 1988. Similarly, the swings against the Nationals in Tamworth and Coffs Harbour can be explained by the loss of sitting MPs. The swing in Southern Highlands may also relate to the loss of sitting National Robert Webster and the ensuing Coalition squabbles.

The Hunter and Illawarra results can be seen as particular successes for Labor Leader Bob Carr. On becoming leader, he stated that one of his aims was to win

back the support lost in these areas in 1988. The State election results were repeated in the September local government elections, confirming that Labor had won back its traditional heartland.

The regional trends may help explain the errors in the polls. The Morgan and Saulwick polls under-reported the National Vote, which indicates a lack of non-metropolitan representation in the sample. If this was the case, then it explains why the reported swing was less than that which occurred.

But for all the peculiarities in the safe seats, it was the behaviour of the marginal seats that decided the election. Labor improved its margin in all its pre-election marginals. The Coalition's performance was not nearly so impressive.

Table 4.6 shows all marginal government seats before the 1991 election, and what happened to them.

Table 4.6: Outcome in marginal Coalition seats 1988-1991 based on 1991 electoral boundaries

Electorate held by Coalition	Estimated 1988 Margin	Swing 1988-91	Won by
Cessnock	0.4%	+ 4.8%	Labor
Blue Mountains	0.5%	- 2.1%	Liberal
Drummoyne	0.9%	+ 4.5%	Labor
Penrith	1.2%	+ 5.8%	Labor
Broken Hill	2.0%	+12.1%	Labor
Gladesville	2.4%	- 0.5%	Liberal
The Entrance	2.7%	+ 2.5%	Liberal
Badgerys Creek	2.8%	+ 0.3%	Liberal
Port Stephens	2.9%	+13.0%	Labor
Sutherland	3.7%	+ 0.7%	Liberal
Ermington	4.5%	- 5.2%	Liberal
Bathurst	5.2%	+10.3%	Labor
Camden	5.3%	+ 3.8%	Liberal
Burrinjuck	6.7%	- 2.1%	Liberal
Maitland	7.0%	+ 6.4%	Liberal

Note: Labor also recovered the seats of Newcastle, Swansea and Wollongong from Independents. Negative numbers indicate a swing against Labor, positive a swing to Labor.

Of the nine seats regained by the ALP, three were Liberal seats with Labor sitting members. (Bill Beckroge in Broken Hill, John Murray in Drummoyne and Bob Martin in Port Stephens). It appears incumbency, and the extra pulling power of a strong local candidate are factors for which redistribution calculations cannot account.

Three of the seats were also won by sitting members who lost in 1988 and re-contested against their conquerors. (Mick Clough in Bathurst, Stan Neilly in Cessnock and Don Bowman in Swansea.)

The remaining three electorates were in areas that had previously been seen as safe Labor. (Newcastle and Wollongong from Independents, Penrith from the Liberal Party.) It was a surprise that Labor had lost these seats in 1988.

In contrast, incumbency seemed to offer little benefit to the Liberal Party. Sitting Liberal MPs were defeated contesting the notional Labor seats of Parramatta and Hurstville. The result in Parramatta was particularly remarkable, given the Labor Party had been unable to finalise their candidate until the last moment. Another sitting Liberal MP, Allan Andrews, lost after moving across the city to contest the Labor seat of Coogee.

The Liberal Party's best performance came in North Shore, where in a contest between sitting Liberal and Independent MPs, the Liberal Party's Phillip Smiles won. However, this was balanced by the notional loss of Bligh to the incumbent Independent Clover Moore. As well, Manly was lost to Independent Peter MacDonald, and the National Party lost Tamworth to Independent Tony Windsor.

In the end this was the crucial factor in the election result. The ALP targeted a series of marginal electorates that it had previously held. Their concentration was richly rewarded. In contrast, the Liberal Party's slick advertising campaign was rewarded with swings in seats they already held with too comfortable a margin.

Comparing 1984 and 1991

In some senses it is misleading to analyse the 1991 election by comparing it with the 1988 election. As has already been pointed out, 1988 was an unusual NSW election in being a Coalition landslide.

To understand the 1991 result, we are better off looking at the 1984 result. It is my belief that the 1991 result is a simple flow on of the application of uniform swing to the 1984 results. 1988 is an aberration in this sequence. Table 4.7 summarises the comparison of 1984 and 1991.

Table 4.7: Results of 1991 NSW Election compared with 1984 adjusted for 1991 boundaries

	Seats won	Change in seats	% Vote	%Change in vote	2PP %	% Change in 2PP
Labor	46	-13	39.05	-9.70	47.3	-5.1
Liberal	32	+10	34.16	+1.99	52.7	+5.1
National	17	.	10.52	-1.16		
Australian Democrats	..	..	5.36	+2.51		
Independents	4	+3	8.30	+3.98		
Other Parties	..		2.62	+2.40		

Note: See Tables 2.1, 2.4 and 4.1. If the change in Coalition candidates is taken into account, the Liberal vote was up 0.3%, and the National vote 2.0%.

Between 1984 and 1991, the Labor Party lost twelve seats to the Liberal Party and one to the National Party. Independents gained 3 seats, Bligh and Manly from the Liberal Party, and Tamworth from the National Party. As well, Southern Highlands may have changed from a National to a Liberal seat.

Table 4.8 Summarises Labor's marginal 1984 electorates, and the results in each over the three elections.

Table 4.8: Marginal Labor seats 1984 based on 1991 boundaries

Electorate	1984 Margin	Swing 1984-88	Swing 1988-91	Swing 1984-91	Result 1988	Result 1991
Camden (*)	0.5	- 5.8	+ 3.8	- 2.0	Lost	Lost
Ermington	0.5	- 5.0	- 5.2	-10.2	Lost	Lost
Gosford	1.2	- 8.6	+ 0.7	- 7.9	Lost	Lost
Strathfield	1.3	- 9.2	- 1.4	-10.6	Lost	Lost
Albury	2.1	-13.8	- 3.6	-17.4	Lost	Lost
Burrinjuck	2.8	- 9.5	- 2.1	-11.6	Lost	Lost
Sutherland	3.6	- 7.3	+ 0.7	- 6.6	Lost	Lost
Blue Mountains	4.3	- 4.8	- 2.1	- 6.9	Lost	Lost
Maitland	4.3	-11.3	+ 6.4	- 4.9	Lost	Lost
Bathurst	4.4	- 9.6	+10.3	+ 0.7	Lost	Regained
Gladesville	5.4	- 7.8	- 0.5	- 8.3	Lost	Lost
Coogee	6.0	- 5.1	+ 0.7	- 4.4	Won	Won
Parramatta	6.2	- 5.9	+ 2.3	- 3.6	Won	Won
Kogarah	6.5	- 4.8	+ 1.6	- 3.2	Won	Won
Badgerys Creek	6.5	- 9.3	+ 0.3	- 9.0	Lost	Lost
Drummoyne (*)	6.8	- 7.7	+ 4.5	- 3.2	Lost	Regained
The Entrance	6.9	- 9.6	+ 2.5	- 7.1	Lost	Lost
Port Stephens (*)	7.7	-10.6	+13.0	+ 2.4	Lost	Regained
Monaro	8.0	-15.8	- 4.9	-20.7	Lost	Lost
Cessnock	9.3	- 9.7	+ 4.8	- 4.9	Lost	Regained
Penrith	9.7	-10.9	+ 5.8	- 5.1	Lost	Regained
Broken Hill (*)	12.9	-14.9	+12.1	- 2.8	Lost	Regained

(*) indicates seats held by Labor on 1988 boundaries, but notionally lost following redistribution. Negative numbers indicate a swing against Labor, positive numbers a swing to Labor.

In Table 2.4, I estimated that the Coalition needed to win 11 seats on a swing of 5.4% in 1984 using the 1991 boundaries. As the above table shows, they won 13 seats on a swing of 5.1% between 1984 and 1991.

The only seat with a 1984 margin under 5.1% not won in 1991 was Bathurst, and the seats beyond 5.1% which they did win were Gladesville, Badgerys Creek and Monaro. All other seats with 1984 margins above 5.1% that fell to the Liberals in 1988 reverted to the Labor Party in 1991.

In fact, as Table 4.7 shows, the loss for the Coalition in 1991 compared to 1984 was created by losing three seats, Bligh, Manly and Tamworth to Independents between 1984 and 1991. The swing between 1984 and 1991 was enough to achieve office, except that the Coalition lost 3 safe seats, bringing its net gain to only 10 seats. Significantly, all the seats Labor had lost to Independents since

1981 were recovered in the 1991 election.

In terms of swings, there were some significant movements at the electorate level between 1984 and 1991. Tables 4.9 and 4.10 show the most divergent of these swings. (All swings greater than one standard deviation from the mean.)

Table 4.9: Largest Anti-Labor 2-Party Preferred Swings 1984-1991 based on 1991 boundaries

Electorate	Swing	Region	1984 Status
Monaro	-20.7%	Rural	Safe ALP
Albury	-17.4%	Rural	Marginal ALP
Smithfield	-11.9%	Metropolitan	Very Safe ALP
Burrinjuck	-11.6%	Rural	Marginal ALP
Northern Tablelands	-11.3%	Rural	Marginal National
Murray	-11.1%	Rural	Very Safe National
Cronulla	-10.6%	Metropolitan	Marginal Liberal
Strathfield	-10.6%	Metropolitan	Marginal ALP
Ermington	-10.2%	Metropolitan	Marginal ALP
Willoughby (*)	-10.1%	Metropolitan	Very Safe Liberal (*)
Miranda	- 9.8%	Metropolitan	Marginal Liberal
Bligh (*)	- 9.8%	Metropolitan	Marginal Liberal (*)
Wakehurst	- 9.7%	Metropolitan	Marginal Liberal
Bega (*)	- 9.5%	Rural	Marginal Liberal (*)

(*) 2PP swing calculation affected by presence of Independent.

Table 4.9 is very revealing for what happened in 1991. The seats which had the largest anti-Labor swings nearly all have an explanation.

The swing in Monaro, Albury, Burrinjuck and Northern Tablelands was produced by the loss of sitting Labor members. The personal vote for a rural MP is quite significant, and the size of the swing in all these seats between 1984 and 1991 indicates the strength of previous as well as current members.

Six of the metropolitan seats correspond to marginal ALP seats, following the 1981 election, that were either lost by Labor or involved a strong battle in 1984. These are Cronulla, Strathfield (formerly Burwood), Ermington (formerly Ryde), Miranda, Bligh and Wakehurst.

All six of these seats were won by Labor in their 'Wranslide' elections in 1978 and 1981. That they have moved further away from the ALP than most is an indication that in 1988 and 1991, the ALP ceased to campaign strongly in them.

Table 4.10: Largest Pro-Labor 2-Party Preferred Swings 1984-1991 based on 1991 boundaries

Electorate	Swing	Region	1984 Status
Charlestown	+0.2%	Hunter	Safe ALP
Bulli	+0.3%	Illawarra	Safe ALP
Bathurst	+0.7%	Rural	Marginal ALP
Oxley	+1.0%	Rural	Safe National
Ballina	+1.4%	Rural	Safe National
Illawarra	+1.4%	Illawarra	Very Safe ALP
Cabramatta	+1.5%	Metro	Safe ALP
Wollongong (*)	+1.6%	Illawarra	Very Safe ALP (*)
Port Stephens	+2.4%	Hunter	Safe ALP
Port Jackson (*)	+2.4%	Metro	Very Safe ALP (*)
Waratah	+2.5%	Hunter	Very Safe ALP
Londonderry	+2.9%	Metro	Safe ALP
Kiama	+3.5%	Illawarra	Safe ALP
Coffs Harbour	+6.0%	Rural	Safe National
Lismore	+8.0%	Rural	Very Safe National

(*) 2PP swing calculation affected by presence of Independent.

The largest pro-Labor swings between 1984 and 1991 are dominated by safe Labor seats where the 1988-91 swing cancelled out the 1984-88 swing. Again there are 3 seats where the loss of a sitting National member has enhanced the ALP swing. Ballina and Lismore are affected by the loss of Bruce Duncan, and Coffs Harbour by the loss of Matt Singleton.

In terms of variation from the average swing between 1984 and 1991, few regional differences occur, nor does the swing depend on the marginality or party status of seats. It appears that the peculiar swing in the 1984-88 and 1988-91 period cancelled out over the 7 years. Overall the swing between 1984 and 1988 was far more even, proving the point that 1984 is a better election with which to compare the result than 1988.

5 The 1991 Election and Electoral Bias

While the 1991 election returned the Government, the Coalition failed to receive the clear mandate it had hoped for when calling the election. Given the Government's tenuous position on the floor of the Legislative Assembly, it needed to justify a new mandate without reference to seats in Parliament.

As a result, the Government pointed to its level of state-wide vote. As was shown in Table 4.1, the Coalition's primary vote was 44.7% to Labor's 39.1%, and the two-party preferred vote for the Coalition was estimated at 52.7% against 47.3% for Labor.

But if the Coalition's performance in the vote was so good, why was this not translated into seats in the Assembly? This was a question not addressed in the post-election analysis, as most commentators concentrated on the more interesting problem of explaining the surprise swing to Labor.

As Chapters 2 and 3 pointed out, there was evidence that in 1984 and 1988, the Coalition was disadvantaged by its inability to effectively turn voter support into seats in Parliament. In addition, the electoral boundaries in 1988 also conspired against the Coalition.

On the surface, a similar argument could be made regarding the 1991 result. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the Coalition's estimated 2-party preferred result of 52.7% was better than Labor's 1984 result, yet the Coalition scraped into office in 1991 where Labor was comfortably returned in 1984.

It is the aim of this chapter to examine this question. Was the Coalition disadvantaged by the electoral boundaries in 1991? Should they have won a clear majority given their level of state-wide voter support?

As R S Parker has written, there is a long history in New South Wales of the manipulation of electoral laws for political advantage. (See R S Parker, *The Government of NSW*, pp 25-34.) Prominent in this was the malapportionment of electoral districts by the definition of electoral zones with different enrolment quotas. The use of zones has been indulged in by both sides of politics to gain advantage, though the size of the malapportionment and its overall political effect has been mild by interstate comparison.

The Wran government's 1979 constitutional amendment entrenching one-vote one-value now means malapportionment is no longer available to political parties. Under the current rules, electorates must be equal in enrolment, within limits set down in the Constitution and the *Parliamentary Electorates and Elections Act*.

The four elections since 1979 have been conducted with the most equal electoral enrolments in New South Wales history. On my calculations, the Gini coefficients for these elections have been 0.039 (1981), 0.050 (1984), 0.022 (1988) and 0.014 (1991), compared to the 1950-78 average of 0.101, with a lowest value of 0.94 in 1968. (Gini coefficients measure inequality of enrolment, with values nearer zero being more equal. See articles by Colin Hughes in Bibliography.)

However, it is a mistake to confuse equality of enrolment with the question of fair electoral boundaries. Vote equality concerns insuring all votes have the same value. Fairness in electoral boundaries is an assessment of whether political parties are able to return members of parliament in proportion to their level of state-wide vote.

Without the use of a system of proportional representation, it is not possible to ensure seats are won in proportion to primary vote. For instance, the Australian Democrats do not elect members of Parliament in lower house elections, while the National Party wins more seats than its vote would suggest. This occurs because in electoral systems of single member electorates, the ability of parties to elect members is related to the geographic concentration of party support. The Democrats vote is dispersed whereas the National Party's is geographically concentrated and therefore able to elect members.

To analyse whether the Coalition has been disadvantaged by the electoral system, I will use an analysis based on 2-party preferred percentages in each electorate. This sets up the election as a 2-way contest between Labor and the Coalition comparing vote with notional seats won. For the moment I will ignore the presences of Independents. (A full list of 2-party preferred estimates is contained in APPENDIX D.)

To assess the fairness of the electoral system, I will use methods that compare the swing required for the Coalition to achieve a majority in the state-wide 2-party vote, and the swing required to win enough seats to achieve a majority on the floor of the Legislative Assembly. This was a technique used in earlier chapters which indicated that in 1984 and 1988 the Coalition appeared to be disadvantaged.

Discrepancies between these swings can have several causes. It may be caused by political manipulation of the boundaries, or gerrymandering. This is the process of drawing political boundaries to take account of past voting behaviour. In particular, a party engaged in a gerrymander would attempt to spread its own vote evenly across electorates, while locking up its opponent's votes in safe seats.

Even without deliberate gerrymandering, a political party may 'waste' votes in safe seats. This is one of the major faults of systems of single-member electorates. If the Coalition suffers disadvantage on this basis, then it is a problem of electoral geography that their campaign strategies need to address.

As well, discrepancies can be caused by specific campaign factors. One party may win a disproportionate number of key seats because of good campaigning. Parties win government by winning enough seats, not by winning the state-wide vote.

Colin Hughes has used the comparison of swing to devise a "Bias Measure". Table 5.1 shows these values for New South Wales elections over the past four decades.

Table 5.1: Bias Measure at NSW Elections 1949-91

Election	Bias Measure
1950	-2.0
1953	-1.8
1956	-0.5
1959	-2.7
1962	-3.2
1965	-2.0
1968	+2.0
1971	+6.0
1973	+4.9
1976	+1.4
1978	+3.8
1981	-6.1
1984	-5.1
1988	-7.9
1991	-0.5

Negative values indicate a pro-Labor bias, positive values a pro-Coalition bias. Values for 1950-81 taken from Colin Hughes, "Fair and Equal Electoral Districts - the Problem at State Level", Third Federalism Conference, 10 Feb 1983.

As Hughes has noted, the significance of Table 5.1 is that historically bias has assisted the party responsible for the drawing of the boundaries. In his paper, Hughes examined all State and Federal elections between 1950 and 1982. In 65 of these 74 elections, bias favoured the governing party. In NSW, the bias favoured Labor from 1950 to 1965 and again from 1981 to 1988, when they were responsible for the boundaries, and the Coalition had its turn from 1968 to 1978.

Note that these discrepancies may not be entirely due to the drawing of the boundaries. One of the advantages of any government is incumbency and the access to the public purse. Many a government MP has secured his or her majority by being able to upgrade local public services. Hanging on to the key marginal seats can help explain the pro-government bias evident in Table 5.1.

Based on Table 5.1, it appears there was little electoral bias in the 1991 election. What does this imply about the Coalition's performance?

It does not appear the Coalition was damaged by over-concentration of support. In part this was caused by the large swing against the Coalition in Labor's traditional heart-land. This resulted in Labor 'wasting' more vote than in 1984 or 1988. However, given that the Coalition had managed to create a bias for itself in 1968-78, it suggests that one-vote one-value boundaries make it harder for the Coalition to achieve any better than fair boundaries.

It also suggests that the Coalition were unable to win key marginal seats despite

having the benefits of office. As was pointed out in Chapter 4, it was the Coalition's performance in the key marginal seats that created many of its problems in 1991.

My second measure of electoral bias is a modification of one suggested by Joan Rydon, and uses a technique that analyses the distribution of 2-party preferred margins in seats.

A key assumption of electoral pendulums and ideas of uniform swing is that margins are distributed evenly about the average margin. If this is not the case, and there are a number of very safe seats on one side of the pendulum, then the average will be biased by the small number of extreme values. (Note that bias is used here in its correct statistical sense.)

When dealing with biased distributions, it is common to use another measure of central tendency, the median or the middle value, rather than the average. In the case of the 1991 election, the median would be the 50th electorate, if all 99 were ordered from lowest to highest ALP 2-party vote.

(You will be familiar with the median value from analysis of Sydney house prices. Because the small number of very expensive houses bias the average upwards, it is more common to use the median.)

In an unbiased distribution, the average and the median would be the same value. Where a distribution is skewed to one side, the average will move away from the median towards the skewed end of the distribution. Our bias estimate is made by comparing the difference between the average and median. These values for elections since 1984 are shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Alternative Bias Measures 1984-91

Election	Boundaries	Average ALP 2PP	Median ALP 2PP	Bias
1984 Election	1984 Boundaries	52.6%	55.1%	-2.5
	1988 Boundaries	52.5%	55.6%	-3.1
	1991 Boundaries	52.3%	54.4%	-2.1
1988 Election	1988 Boundaries	44.4%	47.9%	-3.5
	1991 Boundaries	44.2%	46.3%	-2.1
1991 Election	1991 Boundaries	47.5%	47.5%	0.0

Negative values indicate a pro-Labor bias, positive values a pro-Coalition bias.

Table 5.2 verifies the conclusion drawn from Table 5.1 that the electoral boundaries at the 1991 election did not unfairly disadvantage the Coalition. In 1991, there did not appear to be any systematic bias working against the Coalition. However, using both bias measures, the 1984 and 1988 elections show

some disadvantage for the Coalition, even adjusting for the 1991 boundaries. This suggests that in both 1984 and 1988, the problem for the Coalition was that their vote was poorly distributed across the State.

However, both tables 5.1 and 5.2 provide further evidence that the 1988 electoral boundaries systematically disadvantaged the Coalition. Together with Tables 2.3 and 2.5, and my calculations that the 1991 election conducted on the 1988 boundaries would likely have produced a minority Labor government, this suggests that the 1988 boundaries were severely biased, and perhaps even gerrymandered.

But there is one major fault in all this analysis. It is based on the state-wide 2-party preferred votes, calculated by ignoring the vote for Independents. It compares the Coalition's 52.7% 2PP vote with a notional 53 seats, based on its 49 seats plus the four Independent held conservative seats.

As pointed out in Chapter 4, the Coalition would have governed comfortably in 1991, based on the swing since 1984, if it had not lost 3 seats to Independents in the same period. This suggests that the Coalition's problems on the floor of the Legislative Assembly are not caused by their level of 2-party vote. Rather we need to examine the nature of Independent contests.

In 1984 there were 4 contests where an Independent significantly intruded on the final count. Two were normally Labor seats, with Labor winning Campbelltown and losing Wollongong to an Independent. The other two were seats that would normally be Liberal held, North Shore and South Coast, and both were won by Independents.

In 1988 there were 11 contests where an Independent finished as one of the final candidates after the distribution of preferences. Six were in Labor seats, with Labor winning 2 (Canterbury, McKell) and losing 4 (Balmain, Newcastle, Swansea, Wollongong). Five were Coalition seats, with the Liberal party winning 2 (Davidson, Pittwater) and losing 3 (Bligh, North Shore, South Coast).

By 1991, the number of Independent contests had risen to 13, and most were now occurring in Coalition seats. Four occurred in seats retained by Labor (Newcastle, Port Jackson, Swansea, Wollongong). Now 9 were Coalition seats, with 5 retained (North Shore, Orange, The Hills, Vacluse, Willoughby) and 4 lost (Bligh, Manly, South Coast, Tamworth).

These Independent contests are not revealed in the state-wide analysis based on 2-party preferred vote. In 9 Coalition seats, the Liberal 2-party preferred estimate was considerably higher than the actual 2-candidate preferred vote. This incorrectly inflates the state-wide 2-party preferred estimate.

In Table 5.3, I have attempted to come up with a State-wide measure of 2-candidate preferred vote.

Table 5.3 Estimated State-wide 2-Candidate Preferred Votes 1984-91

Election	Labor	Lib/Nat	Independent	Exhausted
1984	51.1%	45.6%	2.4%	0.9%
1988	40.5%	51.5%	4.8%	3.1%
1991	42.0%	47.6%	5.7%	4.7%

Excluding Exhausted Votes

Election	Labor	Lib/Nat	Independent
1984	51.5%	46.1%	2.4%
1988	41.8%	53.2%	5.0%
1991	44.1%	50.0%	5.9%

On these figures, the Coalition won 49 out of 99 electorates with 50% of the vote, Labor won 46 seats with 44.1%, and the Independents 4 seats with 5.9%. On this analysis, the result of the election in seats very closely reflects the actual results of the election. Note also that on this analysis the Coalition in 1991 in fact did less well in State-wide vote than Labor in 1984.

Between 1984 and 1991, Labor retained and maybe improved its vote in its heart-land, but became increasingly uncompetitive in safe Coalition seats, particularly on Sydney's North Shore. At the same time, the Coalition was losing votes in its safe seats to Independents.

However, the loss of Labor support between 1984 and 1991 may be slightly illusory. As Table 4.9 showed, the greatest loss of Labor support between 1984 and 1991 occurred in rural seats it lost in 1988, and in seats it held between 1978 and 1984 at the high point of Labor Party support. So much of the loss of Labor support may partially be put down to tactical withdrawal from contest.

Whatever the argument over political boundaries, the simple fact is that between 1984 and 1991 the Coalition increased its vote by enough to win a comfortable working majority. Their lack of such a majority after the 1991 election is solely due to the loss of seats to Independents.

The presence of Independent vote confuses any attempt to fully analyse if the Coalition are disadvantaged by one-vote one-value electoral arrangements compared to Labor. However, if Labor did do better than expected given its vote in 1991, it is easier to put the case for this being due to superior local campaigns than to any argument over inherent bias in the boundaries.

For even if it could be proved that the Coalition are disadvantaged by over

concentration of vote in the country and on Sydney's North Shore, that should not be an excuse for the Coalition to complain about the electoral system. Rather, recognition of such a problem suggest the Coalition should adopt electoral strategies to appeal to voters outside of its heart-land, even if it costs them votes in their safe seats.

In the 1991 NSW election, the Coalition singularly failed to do this. It was defeated in the key marginal electorates at the same time as it improved its vote in its safest seats.

Over-concentration was a problem that historically affected the Labor Party, especially in Victoria. The success of Labor over the past decade in Federal and Victorian elections has partly been by adopting policies and tactics that enable them to win marginal electorates, even at the expense of vote in its traditional working class heart-land.

To repeat this strategy in New South Wales , the Coalition would need to meet two pre-conditions. First the Coalition needs to dramatically improve its campaigning ability in marginal seats, and second, it needs to ensure that it can hold its own safe seats.

The evidence provided in this Chapter is that the Coalition's safe seats may be under threat from Independents in a way not previously considered possible. Evidence from the past three elections suggests that parties are most at risk from Independents in safe seats, and that the risk is generally associated with the safe seats of the government.

The problem for the Coalition at the next election will be that it may be too late to adopt a strategy trading-off votes in safe seats for votes in key marginals. In 1995, rather than facing a traditional battle with Labor, the Coalition will find itself fighting a two-front war, with Labor in the marginal seats, and with Independents in its own heartland seats. After seven difficult years in office, it will be a difficult battle for the Coalition.

6 Informal Voting

Of all the features of the 1991 election, the most remarkable, and certainly the most disturbing, was the enormous increase in informal voting.

In 1991, the number of informal votes was 316,832 or 9.3% of all votes cast, compared with 108,705 or 3.3% in 1988, and 74,316 or 2.4% in 1984. Records in the area are uncertain, but it is definitely the highest informal vote percentage in a lower house election in Australia since the 1920s, and may well be the highest ever recorded at a democratic election anywhere in the world.

The explanation for the increase was a change of formality criteria introduced before the election. The change meant votes with only a tick or cross indicating a first preference were to be classed as informal.

The informal vote was further increased by a referendum being held jointly with the election. For the referendum, a formal vote was a tick in the "Yes" or "No" box. Yet the same mark if made on a Legislative Assembly ballot paper produced an informal vote.

This was most clearly demonstrated in electorates with only two candidates, where the similarity of ballot papers seems to have increased voter confusion.

Four electorates had only two candidates. These were Bankstown where the informal vote was 23.5%, Londonderry 22.2%, Burrinjuck 13.9% and Wagga Wagga 14.9%. Other high informal votes occurred in Fairfield 19.1% and Cabramatta 17.8%, both electorates with high concentrations of migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds.

At the polling place level, the highest informal vote occurred at the Bankstown Central booth, where it reached 31.5%. In 5 of the 17 Bankstown booths, the informal vote was higher than the Liberal Party vote, as also occurred in 9 of the 21 Londonderry booths. In Cabramatta, where 7 candidates contested the election, the informal vote finished second to the Labor candidate in 8 of the 15 booths.

There does appear to have been a general rise in informal voting at Australian elections over the past decade, often put down to a general dissatisfaction with politics in the community. This could explain the rise in informal vote in all NSW electorates between 1984 and 1988. But the rise between 1988 and 1991 is far too large for a protest vote explanation.

Literature on informal voting is readily available. At the 1984 Federal election, when informal voting increased from 2.1% to 6.4% following changes to the Commonwealth Electoral Act, the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) carried out extensive research on informal voting. A similar study was carried out following the 1987 election.

Among the findings were :

* The proportion of people in any particular electorate who will render their ballot-papers informal appears to be associated with an inter-related set of socio-economic and demographic factors. (AEC 1984 report p3)

* On the basis of historical evidence, it appears likely that the level of informal voting will be higher when 2 different methods of voting are used simultaneously for 2 ballots. (AEC 1984 report p3.)

* Overall the two-candidate Division will have fewer informal ballot-papers because it avoids the substantial category of insufficient numbers, but some of the benefit is lost by the increase in the frequency of ticks and crosses which, it would seem, is an inevitable consequence of having only 2 candidates standing. (AEC 1987 Report p27).

The first point can be explained better by several observations. First, informal voting tends to be higher in city electorates compared with rural electorates. Second, it tends to be higher in electorates where the population has lower levels of education, and thirdly, it is higher in electorates with a high concentration of voters from non-English speaking backgrounds. As all these factors tend to be correlated to the level of Labor vote, it often appears that the level of informal voting is related to the level of Labor voting.

The second and third points are highly relevant to the 1991 NSW election as it was conducted with two voting systems that were not only different but contradictory.

Following the 1991 election, the Liberal Party also pointed to Labor how-to-vote cards as another cause of the increase. Labor used how to vote cards with only the number "1" shown, rather than a full list of preferences. The claim was that if Labor had indicated a full list of preferences, then fewer voters would have used ticks and crosses.

To try and explain the informal vote, I have constructed a model using a statistical technique called linear regression. The model attempts to explain the 1991 percentage informal vote in each electorate by reference to the following variables.

INF88 : the percentage informal vote in each electorate at the 1988 election. This has been calculated taking into account the redistribution.

TWOCANDS : A variable that takes the value 1 in electorates with only two candidates, and 0 in all other cases.

PREFS : A variable that takes the value 1 in electorates where the ALP did not direct preferences, and 0 where they did direct preferences. This was calculated with reference to the ALP's state-wide how to vote card.

I have not used census data on non-English speaking populations, levels of education, or to take account of rural electorates. This is because these factors are already highly correlated with the level of 1988 informal voting. If the 1991

informal vote was caused by the same factors, then INF88 would immediately explain most of the variation, including the socio-demographic factors.

The following table summarises the results.

Table 6.1: 1991 Informal Voting - Linear Regression Output

STEP 1 : Variable added : INF88

Coefficient	Value	Signif		
INF88	2.83732	0.0000	Adjusted R ²	0.56024
Constant	0.02469	0.9773		

Step 2 : Variable added : TWOCAND

Coefficient	Value	Signif		
INF88	2.78969	0.0000	Adjusted R ²	0.78821
TWOCANDS	9.33694	0.0000		
Constant	-0.19689	0.7441		

Step 3 : Variable added : PREFS

Coefficient	Value	Signif		
INF88	2.67149	0.0000	Adjusted R ²	0.79877
TWOCANDS	8.93968	0.0000		
PREFS	0.91340	0.0158		
Constant	-0.31115	0.5979		

NOTE : Regression carried out using SPSS-PC.

With linear regression, the aim is to try to predict the value of the dependent variable, which in this case is the 1991 level of informal voting in an electorate. We measure how successful the model is by the amount of variance we explain in the predicted variable, that is, how much of the difference in informal voting between electorates is explained by the model.

This is measured with the Adjusted R² value. Here, with the value of INF88 on its own, we were able to explain 56% of the variance. By adding TWOCANDS, we were able to explain another 22%, and by adding PREFS we could explain another 1%. Overall, these three variables explain nearly 80% of the variance in 1991 informal voting, which is a highly significant result.

The resulting equation is that the level of 1991 informal voting can be predicted

by multiplying the 1988 percentage by 2.7, adding 8.9% if only two candidates contested the seat, and adding 0.9% if the ALP did not recommend the distribution of preferences. These three factors alone explain 80% of the variance in informal voting, with preferences on ALP how-to-vote cards being the least significant factor.

Expressing the equation in clearer english, it can be translated as follows. If you look at the 1988 level of informal voting in any electorate, then the changes in formality criteria and the presence of a referendum on average multiplied the level of informal vote by 2.7. Having only two candidates increased confusion by an average 8.9%. Finally, the Labor Party not directing preferences added a further 0.9% to the 1991 informal vote.

The conclusion from this model is that informal voting in 1991 was not unusual in its distribution. The model shows that informal voting was high or low in electorates in exactly the same way it was high or low in the past. It appears to have had the same social causes as has traditionally been seen. The difference was that the confusion between ballot papers increased the numbers of voters who were likely to mark their ballots incorrectly.

While we can thus explain the level of informal voting in 1991, we still have no answer as to what political effect it had.

Without work on the actual ballot papers it would be impossible to estimate what percentage of the 316,832 informal votes were informal because of the use of ticks and crosses, and what percentage of these were cast for each of the political parties.

Such a study was carried out in 1984 and 1987 by the AEC. By examining informal ballot papers, the AEC was able to categorise types of informal votes, as well as count for which party the votes were cast.

Table 6.2 summarises the types of informal votes found by the report in NSW electorates in the AEC's 1984 and 1987 studies.

Table 6.2: Informal Voting in NSW at the 1984 and 1987 Federal Elections

Reason for Informality	1984		1987	
	Votes	%	Votes	%
(1) Administrative	635	0.3	1,241	0.8
(2) Blank ballots	33,787	18.3	24,533	16.1
(3) Marks and writing	15,174	8.2	14,047	9.2
(4) Numbering past Senate ballot	99	0.0	128	0.1
(5) Multiple ticks and crosses	18,401	10.0	16,932	11.1
(6) Ticks, crosses and numbers	1,103	0.6	857	0.6
(7) Ticks and crosses only	49,203	26.7	30,237	19.8
(8) Incorrect Numbering	66,161	35.8	64,721	42.4
	<u>184,563</u>		<u>152,696</u>	

Of the above, categories (4), (6) and (8) would have been valid under the 1991 NSW formality criteria. So would some of category (5), though exactly what proportion is impossible to determine. If categories (4), (6) and (8) are excluded from the total, then category (7), ticks and crosses, would have made up 42% of all informal votes in 1984, and 35% in 1987.

In its 1991-92 Annual Report, the NSW State Electoral Office suggested that about 60% of the informal vote in the Legislative Assembly resulted from ballot papers marked with ticks and crosses. Clearly this higher occurrence compared with the 1984 and 1987 Federal elections is another indicator that the confusion created by the referendum ballot paper was the cause of the increased use of ticks and crosses.

The AEC reports also counted the party for which tick and cross votes were cast. The following table summarises these findings.

Table 6.3 Summary of Ticks and Crosses Votes in NSW at the 1984 and 1987 Federal Elections

Party	1984		1987	
	Total	%	Total	%
Labor	27,749	56.4	15,826	52.3
Lib/Nat	15,863	32.2	11,216	37.1
Others	5,591	11.4	3,195	10.6
	<u>49,203</u>		<u>30,237</u>	

Using the 1987 party vote for ticks and crosses, and an estimate of 60% for 1991 votes being ticks and crosses, the overall vote could have been affected as set out in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4: Estimated 1991 Party Vote Adjusted for Ticks and Crosses

Party	Vote	%	Extras	New Vote	%
Labor	1,204,066	39.1	99,442	1,303,508	39.8
Lib/Nat	1,377,314	44.7	70,527	1,447,841	44.2
Others	501,880	16.2	20,151	522,031	16.0

Table 6.4 is only speculative of the possible effect of the informal vote. It may incorrectly reflect the actual distribution of party vote in 1991 compared to the 1987 election result. But it still demonstrates that it was Labor that was most likely to have been harmed by the level of informal voting, possibly depressing the size of the swing by up to 1%.

The true effect of informal voting could only have been assessed by examining the ballot papers in the closest electorates. This was carried out by the AEC, but a similar exercise does not appear to have taken place by the SEO.

The closest electorate was The Entrance. Party scrutineers have suggested that if ticks and crosses had been included in the count, then the Labor Party candidate would have won the seat. Labor party scrutineers claimed the same for the electorate of Maitland, though this is disputed. As well, margins in Camden and Badgerys Creek were small compared to the level of informal voting.

However, without a full analysis such as that carried out by the AEC, it would be impossible to know how much the final result was affected by informal voting. The evidence suggests that it was the Labor Party that was most disadvantaged. Whether it was enough to change the result we will never know.

As there will be a referendum on fixed four year terms conducted at the same time as the next State election, it is important that the government move to correct the problem that saw so many votes wasted in 1991. Two solutions are available.

One is the removal of the clause that defines ticks and crosses as informal votes, making clear indication of intent the criteria for formality. This was the case before 1991, and also at the 1992 Queensland election where optional preferential voting was introduced for the first time. Ticks and crosses are also formal in South Australia, with specific procedures that allow preferences to be inferred, and in Western Australia in electorates with only two candidates.

The second solution is to alter the way referenda are conducted. In bringing the rest of the formality criteria in line with the Commonwealth Electoral Act, the Government failed to align the referenda ballot papers. At Commonwealth

referenda, a formal vote is cast by writing the word "YES" or "NO" in a box on the ballot paper. Such a change for NSW would greatly reduce the incidence of ticks and crosses in the Legislative Assembly by removing the confusion created by the referenda ballot paper.

In my opinion, whichever solution is adopted, it is important that the legislation be amended. It would be wrong to conduct another election under the current rules. There should never again be the situation where voters, after making their intent clear on the ballot paper, have their votes discarded because of a confusion created by poorly designed legislation.

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APPENDIX A : ACTUAL RESULTS OF 1984 ELECTION

The following table shows the results in the 99 electorates contested at the 24 March 1984 Legislative Assembly election.

The table shows primary and 2-party preferred percentages for parties. Where a 2-candidate preferred statistic is more appropriate (i.e. an independent finished first or second), this is indicated with an appropriate footnote.

In 42 electorates, an exact 2-candidate preferred result is available. In 31 seats, only 2 candidates contested, and in 11 others there was a full distribution of preferences. (Bligh, Blue Mountains, Burwood, Byron, Gosford, Murrumbidgee, North Shore, Oxley, Waratah, Waverley and Wollongong).

In four other seats (Gladesville, Goulburn, Parramatta and Wakehurst), distribution of preferences ceased with more than 2 candidates remaining. An estimate of preferences was made beyond the actual preference count published.

In the remaining 53 seats, a full estimate of preferences was made.

For all Democrats, minor parties and most independents, I have assumed a 10% rate of exhausted preferences, with 45% of preferences going to Labor, and 45% to the Liberal or National Party. This was varied slightly where a donkey vote may have applied, making the division 50% to the candidate higher on the ballot paper, and 40% to the lower candidate.

There are five minor exceptions to these rules. The 2 Socialist Labor League candidates have been distributed 60% to Labor, and 30% to Liberal. Three other independents had minor variation. In Elizabeth, Matthews has been distributed 40% to Labor, 30% to Liberal and 30% exhausted. In Gladesville, Lardelli has been distributed 50% to Liberal and 30% to ALP, with 20% exhausted. In Parramatta, Hale has been distributed 55% to Liberal, 35% to Labor, and 10% exhausted.

In 4 electorates (Bathurst with 2 Nationals, Broken Hill, Maitland and Monaro), 2 coalition candidates contested. Preferences were estimated by distributing 90% to the other coalition candidate, 5% to the ALP, and 5% exhausted.

In 5 seats, a separate 2-party preferred estimate needed to be calculated. In Lismore, this was done by treating Duncan as a National Party candidate. In Campbelltown, Fetterplace's vote was distributed 50% to Liberal, 25% to Labor, and 25% exhausted. In North Shore, Mack was distributed 30% to Liberal, 40% to Labor and 30% exhausted. In South Coast, Hatton was distributed 40% to Liberal, 30% to Labor and 30% exhausted. In Wollongong, after the elimination of 3 independents, Arkell's vote was distributed 50% to Liberal, 25% to Labor and 25% exhausted.

ACTUAL 1984 ELECTION RESULTS

ELECTORATE	PARTY PRIMARY %					2PP %	
	Labor	Liberal	National	Democrat	Other	Labor	Non-Labor
Albury	50.8	47.0	..	2.1	..	<u>51.9</u>	<u>48.1</u>
Ashfield	59.9	40.1	..	..	..	59.9	40.9
Auburn	66.8	33.2	..	..	..	66.8	33.2
Balmain	60.7	24.0	..	7.1	8.2	<u>69.0</u>	<u>31.0</u>
Bankstown	64.5	35.5	..	..	..	64.5	35.5
Barwon	32.8	..	58.6	..	8.6	<u>37.0</u>	<u>63.0</u>
Bass Hill	64.1	29.4	..	..	6.5	<u>67.3</u>	<u>32.7</u>
Bathurst	52.9	..	44.5	2.6	..	<u>55.3</u>	<u>44.7</u>
Blacktown	66.6	33.4	..	..	..	66.6	33.4
Bligh	45.3	48.5	..	6.2	..	48.8	51.2
Blue Mountains	48.4	37.3	..	7.5	6.8	53.5	46.5
Broken Hill	68.7	15.8	15.4	..	..	<u>70.1</u>	<u>29.9</u>
Burrinjuck	52.8	..	44.5	2.7	..	<u>54.3</u>	<u>45.7</u>
Burwood	47.1	49.9	..	3.0	..	48.4	51.6
Byron	41.8	..	45.4	4.7	8.1	49.2	50.8
Cabramatta	65.1	34.9	..	..	..	65.1	34.9
Camden	44.8	55.2	..	..	..	44.8	55.2
Campbelltown (1)	53.0	19.1	..	..	27.9	<u>65.3</u>	<u>34.7</u>
Canterbury	67.9	32.1	..	..	..	67.9	32.1
Castlereagh	41.1	..	56.1	2.8	..	<u>42.7</u>	<u>57.3</u>
Cessnock	76.2	23.8	..	..	..	76.2	23.8
Charlestown	59.0	41.0	..	..	..	59.0	41.0
Clarence	42.9	..	52.1	..	5.0	<u>45.7</u>	<u>54.3</u>
Coffs Harbour	38.7	..	61.3	..	..	38.7	61.3
Coogee	52.8	40.6	..	6.6	..	<u>56.8</u>	<u>43.2</u>
Corrimal	68.9	31.1	..	..	..	68.9	31.1
Cronulla	49.5	50.5	..	..	..	49.5	50.5
Davidson	31.7	63.0	..	5.2	..	<u>34.5</u>	<u>65.5</u>
Drummoyne	59.0	41.0	..	..	..	59.0	41.0
Dubbo	35.1	..	64.9	..	..	35.1	64.9
Earlwood	53.7	43.3	..	3.0	..	<u>55.2</u>	<u>44.8</u>
East Hills	62.8	31.0	..	6.1	..	<u>66.0</u>	<u>34.0</u>
Eastwood	31.5	60.0	..	8.5	..	<u>35.2</u>	<u>64.8</u>
Elizabeth	58.1	17.6	..	7.7	16.6	<u>72.2</u>	<u>27.8</u>
Fairfield	66.4	24.9	..	..	8.6	<u>71.8</u>	<u>28.2</u>
Georges River	55.0	45.0	..	..	..	55.0	45.0
Gladesville	47.8	36.5	..	2.9	12.8	<u>55.5</u>	<u>45.5</u>
Gloucester	38.1	..	61.9	..	..	38.1	61.9
Gordon	17.3	77.7	..	5.0	..	<u>19.7</u>	<u>80.3</u>
Gosford	46.5	30.2	17.5	5.8	..	51.9	48.1
Goulburn	45.0	..	49.7	..	5.3	<u>47.7</u>	<u>52.3</u>
Granville	68.9	31.1	..	..	..	68.9	31.1
Hawkesbury	32.0	68.0	..	..	..	32.0	68.0
Heathcote	55.6	33.7	..	10.7	..	<u>61.1</u>	<u>38.9</u>
Heffron	65.6	34.4	..	..	..	65.6	34.4
Hornsby	38.5	56.7	..	4.7	..	<u>40.8</u>	<u>59.2</u>
Hurstville	49.1	50.9	..	..	..	49.1	50.9
Illawarra	65.6	26.7	..	7.7	..	<u>69.6</u>	<u>30.4</u>
Ingleburn	63.0	37.0	..	..	..	63.0	37.0
Kiama	58.7	41.3	..	..	..	58.7	41.3
Kogarah	53.0	41.1	..	5.9	..	<u>56.3</u>	<u>43.7</u>
Ku-ring-gai	16.3	77.8	..	5.9	..	<u>19.1</u>	<u>80.9</u>
Lachlan	34.1	..	65.9	..	..	34.1	65.9
Lake Macquarie	57.8	33.5	..	8.7	..	<u>62.2</u>	<u>37.8</u>

Underlining indicates an estimated 2-party preferred result

ACTUAL 1984 ELECTION RESULTS

ELECTORATE	PARTY PRIMARY %					2PP %	
	Labor	Liberal	National	Democrat	Other	Labor	Non-Labor
Lakemba	61.8	38.2	..	..	..	61.8	38.2
Lane Cove	27.6	65.6	..	6.8	..	<u>30.8</u>	<u>69.2</u>
Lismore (2)	22.0	..	..	2.3	75.7	<u>23.1</u>	<u>76.9</u>
Liverpool	68.6	24.5	..	..	6.9	<u>72.2</u>	<u>27.8</u>
Maitland	56.9	30.4	12.7	..	..	<u>58.9</u>	<u>41.1</u>
Manly	41.7	50.7	..	3.2	4.4	<u>45.5</u>	<u>54.5</u>
Maroubra	63.2	36.8	..	..	..	63.2	36.8
Marrickville	66.3	21.3	..	12.4	..	<u>73.4</u>	<u>26.6</u>
Merrylands	63.7	29.1	..	..	7.1	<u>67.4</u>	<u>32.6</u>
Miranda	46.8	50.3	..	2.9	..	<u>48.2</u>	<u>51.8</u>
Monaro	55.3	37.5	7.1	..	..	<u>55.9</u>	<u>44.1</u>
Mosman	20.3	58.6	..	4.8	16.3	<u>30.5</u>	<u>69.5</u>
Murray	23.4	..	67.9	2.6	6.1	<u>27.4</u>	<u>72.6</u>
Murrumbidgee	38.7	9.3	25.2	..	26.9	48.5	51.5
Newcastle	57.0	28.9	..	11.7	2.4	<u>64.4</u>	<u>35.6</u>
North Shore (3)	16.6	41.2	..	..	42.2	<u>38.3</u>	<u>61.7</u>
Northcott	26.6	66.9	..	6.5	..	<u>30.0</u>	<u>70.0</u>
Northern Tablelands	51.6	..	48.4	..	..	51.6	48.4
Orange	42.0	..	58.0	..	..	42.0	58.0
Oxley	29.1	..	43.9	2.8	24.2	37.2	62.8
Parramatta	49.5	36.3	..	2.6	11.6	<u>55.3</u>	<u>44.7</u>
Peats	59.7	33.4	..	6.9	..	<u>63.2</u>	<u>36.8</u>
Penrith	58.8	31.1	..	6.9	3.1	<u>64.3</u>	<u>35.7</u>
Pittwater	27.6	58.1	..	4.2	10.1	<u>34.5</u>	<u>65.5</u>
Riverstone	64.9	35.1	..	..	..	64.9	35.1
Rockdale	63.3	34.1	..	..	2.7	<u>64.6</u>	<u>35.4</u>
Ryde	51.5	40.9	..	7.7	..	<u>54.9</u>	<u>45.1</u>
Seven Hills	60.1	39.9	..	..	..	60.1	39.9
South Coast (4)	19.7	18.9	..	..	61.4	<u>46.7</u>	<u>53.3</u>
St Marys	66.6	28.9	..	4.5	..	<u>69.0</u>	<u>31.0</u>
Swansea	65.0	22.9	..	5.9	6.3	<u>72.2</u>	<u>27.8</u>
Tamworth	33.1	..	59.1	7.8	..	<u>36.6</u>	<u>63.4</u>
The Hills	24.6	62.0	..	4.2	9.2	<u>31.1</u>	<u>68.9</u>
Tuggerah	55.8	31.7	..	4.4	8.1	<u>61.8</u>	<u>38.2</u>
Upper Hunter	40.5	..	59.5	..	..	40.5	59.5
Vaucluse	23.5	72.4	..	4.0	..	<u>25.4</u>	<u>74.6</u>
Wagga Wagga	33.5	61.3	..	5.2	..	<u>36.0</u>	<u>64.0</u>
Wakehurst	46.6	49.2	..	2.1	2.2	<u>48.8</u>	<u>51.2</u>
Wallsend	64.3	35.7	..	..	..	64.3	35.7
Waratah	46.8	25.1	..	3.7	24.4	63.2	36.8
Waverley	49.1	41.1	..	7.0	2.9	54.0	46.0
Wentworthville	50.9	41.7	..	7.4	..	<u>54.6</u>	<u>45.4</u>
Willoughby	32.6	63.2	..	4.2	..	<u>34.6</u>	<u>65.4</u>
Wollongong (5)	43.5	9.4	..	..	47.1	<u>63.2</u>	<u>36.8</u>
Woronora	51.2	44.5	..	4.3	..	<u>53.3</u>	<u>46.7</u>
Totals	48.8	32.2	10.8	2.8	5.4	52.4	47.6

NOTES

- (1) Estimated 2-candidate preferred, ALP 58.7%, Fetterplace 41.3%
- (2) 2-party vote calculated by treating Independent Bruce Duncan as the National candidate.
- (3) Actual 2-candidate preferred, Mack 57.7%, Liberal 42.3%
- (4) Estimated 2-candidate preferred, Hatton 76.0%, ALP 24.0%
- (5) Actual 2-candidate preferred, Arkell 54.1%, ALP 45.9%

Underlining indicates an estimated 2-party preferred result

BY-ELECTIONS 1984-1991

ELECTORATE	PARTY PRIMARY %					2PP %	
	Labor	Liberal	National	Democrat	Other	Labor	Non-Labor
Murray (Resignation of Tim Fischer)							
2 February 1985	..	..	63.0	..	37.0	(No ALP)	
Peats (Death of Paul Landa)							
2 February 1985	48.9	41.1	..	4.8	5.2	<u>53.9</u>	<u>46.1</u>
Gloucester (Resignation of Leon Punch)							
12 October 1985	..	..	68.3	..	31.7	(No ALP)	
Cabramatta (Resignation of Eric Bedford)							
1 February 1986	49.4	33.2	..	4.6	12.8	<u>58.8</u>	<u>41.2</u>
Canterbury (Resignation of Kevin Stewart)							
1 February 1986	53.2	36.1	..	7.9	2.8	<u>58.6</u>	<u>41.4</u>
Kiama (Resignation of Bill Knott)							
1 February 1986	51.8	32.0	..	2.2	14.0	<u>60.4</u>	<u>39.6</u>
Pittwater (Resignation of Max Smith)							
31 May 1986	..	42.8	..	4.9	52.3	(No ALP)	
2-candidate Preferred : Liberal 53.1%, Nat Young 46.9%							
Vaucluse (Resignation of Rosemary Foot)							
31 May 1986	..	72.6	..	10.9	16.5	(No ALP)	
Bass Hill (Resignation of Neville Wran)							
2 August 1986	42.0	33.3	..	5.4	19.3	49.8	50.2
Rockdale (Resignation of Brian Bannon)							
2 August 1986	46.2	40.6	..	..	13.2	50.1	49.9
Bankstown (Resignation of Rick Mochalski)							
31 January 1987	43.8	23.2	..	2.1	30.9	61.4	38.6
Heathcote (Resignation of Rex Jackson)							
31 January 1987	37.4	31.6	..	3.7	27.3	52.8	47.2
Northern Tablelands (Resignation of Bill McCarthy)							
23 May 1987	47.4	..	52.6	..	..	47.4	52.6

Underlining indicates an estimated 2-party preferred result

APPENDIX B : ACTUAL RESULTS OF 1988 ELECTION

The following table shows the results in the 109 electorates contested in the 1988 Legislative Assembly election.

The table shows primary and 2-party preferred percentages for parties. Where a 2-candidate preferred statistic is more appropriate (i.e. an independent finished first or second), this is indicated with an appropriate footnote.

In all 109 electorates, an exact 2-candidate preferred vote was available. However, in 11 electorates an estimate of preferences needed to be made to calculate a 2-party preferred vote.

This was done in all cases by eliminating the independent candidate at the last preference count, when only 3 candidates remained. The following preference distributions were applied.

In Canterbury, Newcastle, Swansea and Wollongong, the preferences of the independent were distributed 25% to Labor, 50% to Liberal and 25% exhausted. In Balmain, Davidson, McKell and North Shore, the estimate was 40% to ALP, 30% to Liberal and 30% exhausted. In Bligh and Pittwater, the estimate was 30% to ALP, 30% to Liberal and 40% exhausted. In South Coast, the estimate was 30% to ALP, 40% to Liberal, and 30% exhausted.

ACTUAL 1988 ELECTION RESULTS

ELECTORATE	PARTY PRIMARY %					2PP %	
	Labor	Liberal	National	Democrat	Other	Labor	Non-Labor
Albury	34.5	38.4	27.1	..	..	38.3	61.7
Ashfield	41.9	39.4	..	2.3	16.4	51.2	48.8
Auburn	48.3	22.5	..	..	29.2	60.7	39.3
Ballina	28.1	..	61.5	4.3	6.1	32.0	68.0
Balmain (1)	39.3	19.1	..	2.0	39.6	<u>63.8</u>	<u>36.2</u>
Bankstown	49.7	31.6	..	..	18.7	59.2	40.8
Barwon	22.9	..	68.4	..	8.7	25.7	74.3
Bass Hill	50.1	41.0	..	..	8.9	54.3	45.7
Bathurst	41.5	29.1	22.8	6.7	..	47.8	52.2
Bega	20.9	39.4	21.9	1.2	16.6	31.3	68.7
Blacktown	59.2	40.8	..	..	..	59.2	40.8
Bligh (2)	26.6	44.0	..	1.6	27.8	<u>40.0</u>	<u>60.0</u>
Blue Mountains	43.7	45.6	..	10.7	..	49.7	50.3
Broken Hill	47.4	14.9	37.7	..	..	52.0	48.0
Burratorang	56.6	43.4	..	..	..	56.6	43.4
Burrinjuck	43.2	31.4	25.4	..	..	46.3	53.7
Cabramatta	52.9	40.3	..	..	6.8	56.6	43.4
Camden	40.7	34.0	..	..	25.3	50.1	49.9
Campbelltown	47.8	35.0	..	..	17.2	55.7	44.3
Canterbury (3)	47.7	24.1	..	..	28.2	<u>59.9</u>	<u>40.1</u>
Carlingford	31.8	68.2	..	..	..	31.8	68.2
Castlereagh	25.6	..	67.0	7.4	..	28.1	71.9
Cessnock	45.1	32.7	22.1	..	..	49.5	50.5
Charlestown	43.7	34.8	..	..	21.5	50.1	49.9
Clarence	35.0	..	65.0	..	..	35.0	65.0
Coffs Harbour	24.1	..	67.3	8.6	..	28.6	71.4
Coogee	42.1	41.0	..	3.1	13.8	51.2	48.8
Cronulla	29.2	52.7	..	..	18.1	38.4	61.6
Davidson (4)	19.1	61.3	..	..	19.5	<u>28.6</u>	<u>71.4</u>
Drummoyne	41.6	41.4	..	1.5	15.5	52.1	47.9
Dubbo	28.7	..	71.3	..	..	28.7	71.3
Earlwood	48.7	51.3	..	..	..	48.7	51.3
East Hills	57.4	42.6	..	..	..	57.4	42.6
Eastwood	26.7	63.3	..	10.0	..	32.4	67.6
Fairfield	48.4	40.2	..	6.8	4.7	53.9	46.1
Georges River	41.9	39.9	..	..	18.2	47.9	52.1
Gladesville	40.4	40.2	..	..	19.4	47.0	53.0
Gordon	12.6	77.9	..	9.4	..	17.1	82.9
Gosford	36.1	50.2	..	5.6	8.1	42.2	57.8
Goulburn	30.7	..	69.3	..	..	30.7	69.3
Granville	56.8	33.0	..	..	10.2	60.9	39.1
Hawkesbury	27.9	72.1	..	..	..	27.9	72.1
Heathcote	39.3	47.0	..	5.6	8.1	48.2	51.8
Heffron	56.2	35.4	..	..	8.5	59.2	40.8
Hornsby	32.0	61.5	..	..	6.5	35.3	64.7
Hurstville	37.7	54.0	..	..	8.3	43.4	56.6
Illawarra	42.5	34.2	..	..	23.3	54.4	45.6
Keira	38.9	34.7	..	..	26.4	50.8	49.2
Kiama	61.4	38.6	..	..	..	61.4	38.6
Kogarah	44.4	43.7	..	..	11.9	52.2	47.8
Ku-ring-gai	20.3	79.7	..	..	..	20.3	79.7
Lachlan	26.4	..	73.6	..	..	26.4	73.6
Lake Macquarie	40.4	23.5	..	..	36.1	56.4	43.6
Lakemba	43.9	37.6	..	..	18.5	52.6	47.4

Underlining indicates an estimated 2-party preferred result

ACTUAL 1988 ELECTION RESULTS

ELECTORATE	PARTY PRIMARY %					2PP %	
	Labor	Liberal	National	Democrat	Other	Labor	Non-Labor
Lane Cove	27.4	72.6	..	..	..	27.4	72.6
Lismore	25.6	..	65.0	7.0	2.4	30.1	69.9
Liverpool	64.1	35.9	..	..	..	64.1	35.9
Londonderry	47.1	37.5	..	..	15.4	53.0	47.0
Macquarie Fields	45.4	35.1	..	6.0	13.5	54.9	45.1
Maitland	40.5	31.7	..	1.6	26.1	50.8	49.2
Manly	34.1	57.6	..	8.3	..	37.8	62.2
Manning	26.1	..	73.9	..	..	26.1	73.9
Maroubra	54.7	36.1	..	6.2	3.0	60.4	39.6
Marrickville	47.7	26.9	..	12.9	12.5	65.5	34.5
McKell (5)	50.2	17.8	..	4.5	27.5	<u>70.2</u>	<u>29.8</u>
Middle Harbour	28.8	71.2	..	..	..	28.8	71.2
Minchinbury	38.6	40.0	..	..	21.4	47.5	52.5
Miranda	38.5	61.5	..	..	..	38.5	61.5
Monaro	41.5	27.0	31.5	..	..	46.1	53.9
Mosman	26.1	73.9	..	..	..	26.1	73.9
Mulgoa	52.0	40.9	..	..	7.1	55.5	45.5
Murray	23.0	..	77.0	..	..	23.0	77.0
Murrumbidgee	31.6	..	68.4	..	..	31.6	68.4
Murwillumbah	36.5	..	56.1	..	7.5	39.9	60.1
Myall Lakes	22.7	..	52.6	6.1	18.6	30.1	69.9
Newcastle (6)	37.8	18.4	..	..	43.8	<u>56.8</u>	<u>43.2</u>
North Shore (7)	11.2	37.0	..	..	51.8	<u>37.2</u>	<u>62.8</u>
Northcott	24.0	76.0	..	..	..	24.0	76.0
Northern Tablelands	26.8	..	65.8	7.4	..	31.0	69.0
Orange	27.5	..	72.5	..	..	27.5	72.5
Parramatta	46.5	47.1	..	6.4	..	49.5	50.5
Peats	48.8	33.9	..	..	17.3	57.5	42.5
Penrith	42.2	41.7	..	..	16.1	47.8	52.2
Pittwater (8)	14.3	56.5	..	3.0	26.3	<u>26.0</u>	<u>74.0</u>
Port Macquarie	30.6	..	69.4	..	..	30.6	69.4
Port Stephens	42.2	40.4	..	..	17.4	50.2	49.8
Riverstone	57.2	42.8	..	..	..	57.2	42.8
Rockdale	53.6	33.6	..	..	12.8	57.0	43.0
Ryde	46.1	45.9	..	8.0	..	49.8	50.2
Seven Hills	44.7	33.3	..	..	22.0	55.0	45.0
Smithfield	60.8	39.2	..	..	..	60.8	39.2
South Coast (9)	18.9	31.4	..	..	49.6	<u>39.0</u>	<u>61.0</u>
Southern Highlands	24.0	51.2	..	6.4	18.4	33.2	66.8
Strathfield	34.2	59.6	..	6.2	..	37.2	62.8
Sutherland	39.6	48.3	..	..	12.1	47.5	52.5
Swansea (10)	38.6	19.6	..	3.1	38.7	<u>55.0</u>	<u>45.0</u>
Tamworth	21.9	..	70.0	8.1	..	24.6	75.4
The Entrance	48.0	52.0	..	..	..	48.0	52.0
The Hills	24.1	75.9	..	..	..	24.1	75.9
Upper Hunter	32.2	..	67.8	..	..	32.2	67.8
Vaucluse	22.8	77.2	..	..	..	22.8	77.2
Wagga Wagga	27.4	72.6	..	..	..	27.4	72.6
Wakehurst	34.9	52.2	..	..	12.9	42.5	57.5
Wallsend	59.4	40.6	..	..	..	59.4	40.6
Waratah	61.4	38.6	..	..	..	61.4	38.6
Waverley	46.2	45.1	..	8.7	..	50.5	49.5
Wentworthville	47.7	33.6	..	2.0	16.7	53.9	46.1
Wollongong (11)	38.8	9.7	..	..	51.5	<u>61.6</u>	<u>38.4</u>

Underlining indicates an estimated 2-party preferred result

ACTUAL 1988 ELECTION RESULTS

ELECTORATE	PARTY PRIMARY %					2PP %	
	Labor	Liberal	National	Democrat	Other	Labor	Non-Labor
Wyong	54.5	45.5	..	..	..	54.5	45.5
Total	38.5	35.8	13.7	1.8	10.2	44.0	56.0

NOTES

The following are the actual 2-candidate preferred results

(1)	Balmain	51.7%	Fraser (Ind)	48.3%	Crawford (ALP)
(2)	Bligh	50.6%	Moore (Ind)	49.4%	Yabsley (Lib)
(3)	Canterbury	53.4%	Moss (ALP)	46.6%	Papadakis(EFF)
(4)	Davidson	64.0%	Metherell (Lib)	36.0%	Sutton (Ind)
(5)	McKell	56.6%	Nori (ALP)	43.4%	Sartor (Ind)
(6)	Newcastle	55.3%	Keegan (Ind)	44.7%	Nichols (ALP)
(7)	North Shore	59.9%	Mack (Ind)	40.1%	Skinner (Lib)
(8)	Pittwater	60.1%	Longley (Lib)	39.9%	Green (Ind)
(9)	South Coast	64.7%	Hatton (Ind)	35.3%	Hurst (Lib)
(10)	Swansea	58.4%	Welsh (Ind)	41.6%	Bowman (ALP)
(11)	Wollongong	55.5%	Arkell (Ind)	44.5%	Kelly (ALP)

BY-ELECTIONS 1988 - 1991

ELECTORATE	PARTY PRIMARY %					2PP %	
	Labor	Liberal	National	Democrat	Other	Labor	Non-Labor
Vaucluse (Death of Ray Aston)							
18 June 1988 (Nominated polling day)							
Michael Yabsley (Lib) returned unopposed							
North Shore (Resignation of Ted Mack)							
5 November 1988	7.3	35.6	..	3.2	53.9	n.a.	n.a.
2CP Read 63.0%, Lib 37.0%							
Port Stephens (Court of Disputed Returns Verdict)							
5 November 1988	53.6	30.0	..	..	16.4	63.0	37.0
Wallsend (Death of Ken Booth)							
17 December 1988	55.8	..	..	..	44.2		(No Lib)
2CP ALP 63.4%, Ind 36.6%							
Liverpool (Resignation of George Paciullo)							
29 April 1989	45.6	..	..	..	54.4		(No Lib)
2CP ALP 60.7%, Ind 39.3%							
Granville (Resignation of Laurie Ferguson)							
23 June 1990	59.4	..	..	..	40.6		(No Lib)
2CP ALP 71.6%, Ind 28.4%							
Heffron (Resignation of Laurie Brereton)							
23 June 1990	65.6	..	..	16.2	18.2		(No Lib)
2CP ALP 74.2%, Dem 25.8%							
Smithfield (Resignation of Janice Crosio)							
23 June 1990	68.5	..	..	14.3	17.2		(No Lib)
2CP ALP 80.2%, Dem 19.8%							

Underlining indicates an estimated 2-party preferred result

BY-ELECTIONS 1988 - 1991

ELECTORATE	PARTY PRIMARY %					2PP %	
	Labor	Liberal	National	Democrat	Other	Labor	Non-Labor
The Hills (Resignation of Fred Caterson)							
1 September 1990	14.4	49.9	..	5.8	29.9	n.a.	n.a.
2CP Lib 57.3%, Ind 42.7%							
Coffs Harbour (Resignation of Matt Singleton)							
3 November 1990	32.1	..	37.4	6.1	24.4	44.6	55.4
Macquarie Fields (Resignation of Stan Knowles)							
3 November 1990	55.0	..	..	14.1	30.9	(No Lib)	
2CP ALP 60.4%, Ind 39.6%							

Underlining indicates an estimated 2-party preferred result

APPENDIX C : RESULTS OF 1984, 1988 AND 1991 ELECTIONS BASED ON 1991 BOUNDARIES

The following table includes the results of the 1984, 1988 and 1991 elections adjusted to fit the electoral boundaries used at the 1991 election.

For each electorate, individual notes are included where certain cautions should be attached to the use of the figures from early elections. These warnings are generally for the following reasons.

- (1) Where there has been significant growth in population since 1984, the estimated vote from 1984 may be severely distorted by the arrival of new voters. This is particularly the case with Badgerys Creek and Camden.
- (2) Changes in boundaries ignore the significant vote of individual candidates. Votes have generally been transferred on the basis of vote for parties. In some seats, this ignores the significant vote pulling power of the party candidate. A particular example pointed to in this paper has been Broken Hill.
- (3) The problem in (2) above is worse where the personal vote is for an independent. It is not possible to make a sensible estimate for an independent candidate in areas they did not contest prior to the boundary changes. For this error, particular attention is drawn to Bligh and North Shore.

The table is in six columns. These are

- (1) Percentage of vote received at the 1984 election.
- (2) Percentage of vote received at the 1988 election.
- (3) Percentage of vote received at the 1991 election.
- (4) Percentage change in vote between 1984 and 1988.
- (5) Percentage change in vote between 1988 and 1991.
- (6) Percentage change in vote between 1984 and 1991 (i.e. over 2 elections)

With the 2-candidate preferred votes, there are some occasions when a swing is not calculated. This is because 2-candidate preferred swing is not an appropriate measure to use when there has been a change in the final two candidates compared to the previous election. For example, it is not appropriate to compare Labor's 1984 2CP against their 1988 vote in Swansea, as in 1984 the contest was against the Liberal Party, and in 1988 against an independent.

1991 results are all exact 2-candidate preferred figures. See Appendix D for estimated 2-party preferred figures for each seat.

RESULTS ADJUSTED TO 1991 BOUNDARIES

		1984	%Vote 1988	1991	1984-88	% Change 1988-91 1984-91	
ALBURY							
	ALP	51.0	34.6	33.0	-16.4	-1.6	-18.0
	Liberal	46.8	38.4	61.6	-8.4	+23.2	+14.8
	National	..	27.0	..	+27.0	-27.0	..
	Democrat	2.1	..	..	-2.1	..	-2.1
	Other	..	..	5.4	..	+5.4	+5.4
2CP	ALP	52.1	38.3	34.7	-13.8	-3.6	-17.4
	Liberal	47.9	61.7	65.3	+13.8	+3.6	+17.4
ASHFIELD							
	ALP	60.9	42.9	49.2	-18.0	+6.3	-11.7
	Liberal	35.7	34.4	33.2	-1.3	-1.2	-2.5
	Democrat	2.5	4.1	7.7	+1.6	+3.6	+5.2
	Other	1.0	18.6	9.9	+17.6	-8.7	+8.9
2CP	ALP	62.8	55.8	59.9	-7.0	+4.1	-2.9
	Liberal	37.2	44.2	40.1	+7.0	-4.1	+2.9
1988 2CP figures adjusted to distribute 5.1% received by Dawn Fraser in Balmain							
AUBURN							
	ALP	68.6	48.8	61.8	-19.8	+13.0	-6.8
	Liberal	30.4	27.3	28.0	-3.1	+0.7	-2.4
	Democrat	..	..	5.7	..	+5.7	+5.7
	Other	1.0	23.9	4.5	+22.9	-19.4	+3.5
2CP	ALP	69.1	58.9	68.1	-10.2	+9.2	-1.0
	Liberal	30.9	41.1	31.9	+10.2	-9.2	+1.0
BADGERYS CREEK							
	ALP	54.7	40.5	42.8	-14.2	+2.3	-11.9
	Liberal	41.7	43.4	48.9	+1.7	+5.5	+7.2
	Democrat	2.9	0.2	..	-2.7	-0.2	-2.9
	Other	0.7	15.9	8.3	+15.2	-7.6	+7.6
2CP	ALP	56.5	47.2	47.5	-9.3	+0.3	-9.0
	Liberal	43.5	52.8	52.5	+9.3	-0.3	+9.0
1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.							
BALLINA							
	ALP	30.0	28.6	25.4	-1.4	-3.2	-4.6
	National	60.4	60.7	56.2	+0.3	-4.5	-4.2
	Democrat	2.8	4.4	4.8	+1.6	+0.4	+2.0
	Other	6.8	6.3	13.5	-0.5	+7.2	+6.7
2CP	ALP	35.3	32.8	36.7	-2.5	+3.9	+1.4
	National	64.7	67.2	63.3	+2.5	-3.9	-1.4
1984 National primary vote includes 39.9% for Bruce Duncan. 1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.							

RESULTS ADJUSTED TO 1991 BOUNDARIES

		1984	%Vote 1988	1991	1984-88	% Change 1988-91 1984-91	
BANKSTOWN							
	ALP	65.6	48.4	60.1	-17.2	+11.7	-5.5
	Liberal	30.6	38.0	39.9	+7.4	+1.9	+9.3
	Other	3.9	13.6	..	+9.7	-13.6	-3.9
2CP	ALP	67.4	54.9	60.1	-12.5	+5.2	-7.3
	Liberal	32.6	45.1	39.9	+12.5	-5.2	+7.3
BARWON							
	ALP	34.6	24.5	24.9	-10.1	+0.4	-9.7
	National	57.9	70.1	50.9	+12.2	-19.2	-7.0
	Democrat	1.7	1.5	9.9	-0.2	+8.4	+8.2
	Other	5.8	3.9	14.4	-1.9	+10.5	+8.6
2CP	ALP	38.3	26.3	34.9	-12.0	+8.6	-3.4
	National	61.7	73.7	65.1	+12.0	-8.6	+3.4
BATHURST							
	ALP	52.1	39.6	48.2	-12.5	+8.6	-3.9
	Liberal	..	24.5	38.7	+24.5	+14.2	+38.7
	National	45.5	30.2	..	-15.3	-30.2	-45.5
	Democrat	2.3	5.7	6.5	+3.4	+0.8	+4.2
	Other	..	..	6.7	..	+6.7	+6.7
2CP	ALP	54.4	44.8	55.1	-9.6	+10.3	+0.7
	Liberal	..	55.2	44.9	..	-10.3	..
	National	45.6	..	..	..	..	..
BAULKHAM HILLS							
	ALP	29.8	29.3	26.2	-0.5	-3.1	-3.6
	Liberal	59.4	70.7	65.2	+11.3	-5.5	+5.8
	Democrat	5.1	..	8.6	-5.1	+8.6	+3.5
	Other	5.7	..	..	-5.7	..	-5.7
2CP	ALP	35.1	29.3	30.3	-5.8	+1.0	-4.8
	Liberal	64.9	70.7	69.7	+5.8	-1.0	+4.8
BEGA							
	ALP	28.8	21.2	30.2	-7.6	+9.0	+1.4
	Liberal	28.4	36.3	58.7	+7.9	+22.4	+30.3
	National	2.4	15.5	..	+13.1	-15.5	-2.4
	John Hatton	40.4	10.9	..	-29.5	-10.9	-40.4
	Democrat	..	1.0	11.1	+1.0	+10.1	+11.1
	Other	..	15.2	..	+15.2	-15.2	..
2CP	ALP	46.7	34.6	37.2	-12.1	+2.6	-9.5
	Liberal	53.3	65.4	62.8	+12.1	-2.6	+9.5

On 1984 figures, Bega would have been won by John Hatton, which then was included in his seat of South Coast. As Hatton cannot win both seats, Bega has been calculated as a 2-party contest. 1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.

RESULTS ADJUSTED TO 1991 BOUNDARIES

		1984	%Vote 1988	1991	1984-88	% Change 1988-91 1984-91	
BLACKTOWN							
	ALP	60.0	48.5	50.2	-11.5	+1.7	-9.8
	Liberal	36.6	35.1	32.1	-1.5	-3.0	-4.5
	Democrat	2.0	0.9	3.9	-1.1	+3.0	+1.9
	Other	1.4	15.5	13.8	+14.1	-1.7	+12.4
2CP	ALP	61.7	55.0	58.3	-6.7	+3.3	-3.4
	Liberal	38.3	45.0	41.7	+6.7	-3.3	+3.4
BLIGH							
	ALP	41.4	25.8	16.1	-15.6	-9.7	-25.3
	Liberal	51.6	49.7	40.2	-1.9	-9.5	-11.4
	Clover Moore	..	22.1	43.7	+22.1	+21.6	+43.7
	Democrat	6.0	1.4	..	-4.6	-1.4	-6.0
	Other	1.0	0.9	..	-0.1	-0.9	-1.0
2CP	ALP	45.2	..	..	..	..	..
	Liberal	54.8	54.1	43.9	..	..	..
	Clover Moore	..	45.9	56.1	..	..	..

The 1988 estimated 2-candidate preferred vote for Clover Moore is not reliable as the boundaries include areas from Vaucluse which were not included in the electorate in 1988.

BLUE MOUNTAINS

	ALP	49.4	43.4	36.3	-6.0	-7.1	-13.1
	Liberal	36.6	45.1	41.9	+9.5	-3.2	+5.3
	Democrat	7.5	10.0	8.7	+2.5	-1.3	+1.2
	Other	6.5	1.4	13.1	-5.1	+11.7	+6.6
2CP	ALP	54.3	49.5	47.4	-4.8	-2.1	-6.9
	Liberal	45.7	50.5	52.6	+4.8	+2.1	+6.9

Liberal primary vote in 1984 includes 0.7% National Party vote transferred from Bathurst. 1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.

BROKEN HILL

	ALP	61.5	44.1	53.2	-17.4	+9.1	-8.3
	Liberal	11.9	12.4	9.3	+0.5	-3.1	-2.6
	National	25.9	43.0	28.8	+17.1	-14.2	+2.9
	Democrat	0.2	0.5	3.6	+0.3	+3.1	+3.4
	Other	0.6	..	5.1	-0.6	+5.1	+4.5
2CP	ALP	62.9	48.0	60.1	-14.9	+12.1	-2.8
	National	37.1	52.0	39.9	+14.9	-12.1	+2.8

The estimated National Party victory in 1988 should be treated with caution, as it excludes a significant personal vote for ALP candidate Bill Beckroge in areas added to the electorate.

BULLI

	ALP	57.7	50.1	52.2	-7.6	+2.1	-5.5
	Liberal	32.1	41.3	31.0	+9.2	-10.3	-1.1
	Democrat	10.2	3.7	5.6	-6.5	+1.9	-4.6
	Other	..	4.9	11.2	+4.9	+6.3	+11.2
2CP	ALP	62.9	55.8	63.2	-7.1	+7.4	+0.3
	Liberal	37.1	44.2	36.8	+7.1	-7.4	-0.3

RESULTS ADJUSTED TO 1991 BOUNDARIES

		1984	%Vote 1988	1991	1984-88	% Change 1988-91 1984-91	
BURRINJUCK							
	ALP	51.2	40.5	41.2	-10.7	+0.7	-10.0
	Liberal	..	25.5	58.8	+25.5	+33.3	+58.8
	National	45.9	34.0	..	-11.9	-34.0	-45.9
	Democrat	2.2	..	..	-2.2	..	-2.2
	Other	0.7	..	..	-0.7	..	-0.7
2CP	ALP	52.8	43.3	41.2	-9.5	-2.1	-11.6
	Liberal	..	56.7	58.8	..	+2.1	..
	National	47.2	..	..	..	..	..
CABRAMATTA							
	ALP	64.3	51.6	51.7	-12.7	+0.1	-12.6
	Liberal	35.2	40.8	21.8	+5.6	-19.0	-13.4
	Democrat	..	1.2	1.7	+1.2	+0.5	+1.7
	Other	0.5	6.4	24.8	+5.9	+18.4	+24.3
2CP	ALP	64.5	55.6	66.0	-8.9	+10.4	+1.5
	Liberal	35.5	44.4	34.0	+8.9	-10.4	-1.5
1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.							
CAMDEN							
	ALP	47.5	37.8	42.6	-9.7	+4.8	-4.9
	Liberal	44.9	43.6	47.8	-1.3	+4.2	+2.9
	Democrat	..	0.6	..	+0.6	-0.6	..
	Other	7.6	18.0	9.6	+10.4	-8.4	+2.0
2CP	ALP	50.5	44.7	48.5	-5.8	+3.8	-2.0
	Liberal	49.5	55.3	51.5	+5.8	-3.8	+2.0
1984 2CP figures adjusted to distribute 11.0% received by Gordon Fetterplace in Campbelltown. 1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.							
CAMPBELLTOWN							
	ALP	53.1	47.6	55.0	-5.5	+7.4	+1.9
	Liberal	18.6	31.7	36.0	+13.1	+4.3	+17.4
	Fetterplace/EFF	23.5	13.2	..	-10.3	-13.2	-23.5
	Democrat	..	..	9.0	..	+9.0	+9.0
	Other	4.8	7.5	..	+2.7	-7.5	-4.8
2CP	ALP	58.6	56.2	59.9	..	+3.7	..
	Fetterplace	41.4	..	..	..	..	..
	Liberal	..	43.8	40.1	..	-3.7	..
1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.							
CANTERBURY							
	ALP	63.1	49.3	52.6	-13.8	+3.3	-10.5
	Liberal	35.4	35.7	40.5	+0.3	+4.8	+5.1
	Democrat	1.5	..	6.9	-1.5	+6.9	+5.4
	Other	..	15.0	..	+15.0	-15.0	..
2CP	ALP	63.9	55.7	56.8	-8.2	+1.1	-7.1
	Liberal	36.1	44.3	43.2	+8.2	-1.1	+7.1
1988 2CP figures adjusted to distribute 23.0% received by Victoria Papadakis.							

RESULTS ADJUSTED TO 1991 BOUNDARIES

		1984	%Vote 1988	1991	1984-88	% Change 1988-91 1984-91	
CESSNOCK							
	ALP	59.3	45.2	50.7	-14.1	+5.5	-8.6
	Liberal	14.4	32.7	41.4	+18.3	+8.7	+27.0
	National	26.3	21.9	..	-4.4	-21.9	-26.3
	Democrat	..	..	4.3	..	+4.3	+4.3
	Other	..	0.2	3.5	+0.2	+3.3	+3.5
2CP	ALP	59.3	49.6	54.4	-9.7	+4.8	-4.9
	National	40.7	..	..	..	..	..
	Liberal	..	50.4	45.6	..	-4.8	..
CHARLESTOWN							
	ALP	59.8	46.0	54.5	-13.8	+8.5	-5.3
	Liberal	34.9	34.0	29.3	-0.9	-4.7	-5.6
	Democrat	2.9	0.3	5.9	-2.6	+5.6	+3.0
	Other	2.4	19.7	10.3	+17.3	-9.4	+7.9
2CP	ALP	62.9	52.4	63.1	-10.5	+10.7	+0.2
	Liberal	37.1	47.6	36.9	+10.5	-10.7	-0.2
1988 2PP figures adjusted to distribute 4.6% received by Ivan Welsh in Swansea.							
CLARENCE							
	ALP	42.5	33.6	28.9	-8.9	-4.7	-13.6
	National	52.0	65.2	53.5	+13.2	-11.7	+1.5
	Democrat	..	0.8	12.0	+0.8	+11.2	+12.0
	Other	5.5	0.3	5.6	-5.2	+5.3	+0.1
2CP	ALP	45.6	34.2	39.4	-11.4	+5.2	-6.2
	National	54.4	65.8	60.6	+11.4	-5.2	+6.2
1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.							
COFFS HARBOUR							
	ALP	37.0	24.1	36.1	-12.9	+12.0	-0.9
	National	63.0	68.5	52.5	+5.5	-16.0	-10.5
	Democrat	..	7.4	6.7	+7.4	-0.7	+6.7
	Other	..	..	4.7	..	+4.7	+4.7
2CP	ALP	37.0	28.0	43.0	-9.0	+15.0	+6.0
	National	63.0	72.0	57.0	+9.0	-15.0	-6.0
1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.							
COOGEE							
	ALP	51.6	43.4	43.5	-8.2	+0.1	-8.1
	Liberal	40.5	42.4	41.0	+1.9	-1.4	+0.5
	Democrat	6.7	5.3	5.0	-1.4	-0.3	-1.7
	Other	1.2	8.9	10.5	+7.7	+1.6	+9.3
2CP	ALP	56.0	50.9	51.6	-5.1	+0.7	-4.4
	Liberal	44.0	49.1	48.4	+5.1	-0.7	+4.4

RESULTS ADJUSTED TO 1991 BOUNDARIES

		1984	%Vote 1988	1991	1984-88	% Change 1988-91 1984-91	
CRONULLA							
	ALP	49.0	31.1	33.8	-17.9	+2.7	-15.2
	Liberal	50.5	54.1	57.8	+3.6	+3.7	+7.3
	Democrat	0.5	..	8.4	-0.5	+8.4	+7.9
	Other	..	14.8	..	+14.8	-14.8	..
2CP	ALP	49.3	38.7	38.7	-10.6	0.0	-10.6
	Liberal	50.7	61.3	61.3	+10.6	0.0	+10.6
DAVIDSON							
	ALP	28.6	19.4	19.0	-9.2	-0.4	-9.6
	Liberal	66.0	66.9	65.4	+0.9	-1.5	-0.6
	Democrat	5.2	1.5	15.6	-3.7	+14.1	+10.4
	Other	0.2	12.3	..	+12.1	-12.3	-0.2
2CP	ALP	31.4	26.0	27.3	-5.4	+1.3	-4.1
	Liberal	68.6	74.0	72.7	+5.4	-1.3	+4.1
1988 2CP figures adjusted to distribute 21.3% received by Julie Sutton.							
DRUMMOYNE							
	ALP	56.4	40.5	47.1	-15.9	+6.6	-9.3
	Liberal	42.8	44.9	42.5	+2.1	-2.4	-0.3
	Democrat	0.8	2.8	2.4	+2.0	-0.4	+1.6
	Other	..	11.8	8.1	+11.8	-3.7	+8.1
2CP	ALP	56.8	49.1	53.6	-7.7	+4.5	-3.2
	Liberal	43.2	50.9	46.4	+7.7	-4.5	+3.2
The 1988 2CP should be treated with caution as it excludes the personal vote for ALP candidate John Murray in areas added to the electorate.							
DUBBO							
	ALP	36.8	28.1	28.9	-8.7	+0.8	-7.9
	National	62.5	70.8	60.5	+8.3	-10.3	-2.0
	Democrat	0.7	1.1	6.2	+0.4	+5.1	+5.5
	Other	..	..	4.3	..	+4.3	+4.3
2CP	ALP	37.2	28.4	33.1	-8.8	+4.7	-4.1
	National	62.8	71.6	66.9	+8.8	-4.7	+4.1
EAST HILLS							
	ALP	62.5	55.4	54.1	-7.1	-1.3	-8.4
	Liberal	31.6	41.2	36.1	+9.6	-5.1	+4.5
	Democrat	5.4	..	3.1	-5.4	+3.1	-2.3
	Other	0.5	3.4	6.6	+2.9	+3.2	+6.1
2CP	ALP	65.5	57.1	58.7	-8.4	+1.6	-6.8
	Liberal	34.5	42.9	41.3	+8.4	-1.6	+6.8

RESULTS ADJUSTED TO 1991 BOUNDARIES

		1984	%Vote 1988	1991	1984-88	% Change 1988-91 1984-91	
EASTWOOD							
	ALP	32.5	27.7	24.9	-4.8	-2.8	-7.6
	Liberal	59.2	63.2	62.4	+4.0	-0.8	+3.2
	Democrat	8.3	9.1	8.8	+0.8	-0.3	+0.5
	Other	..	..	4.0	..	+4.0	+4.0
2CP	ALP	36.2	32.8	31.3	-3.4	-1.5	-4.9
	Liberal	63.8	67.2	68.7	+3.4	+1.5	+4.9
ERMINGTON							
	ALP	46.4	42.7	35.4	-3.7	-7.3	-11.0
	Liberal	44.3	51.1	56.0	+6.8	+4.9	+11.7
	Democrat	6.0	6.2	8.7	+0.2	+2.5	+2.7
	Other	3.3	..	..	-3.3	..	-3.3
2CP	ALP	50.5	45.5	40.3	-5.0	-5.2	-10.2
	Liberal	49.5	54.5	59.7	+5.0	+5.2	+10.2
FAIRFIELD							
	ALP	67.0	54.7	55.2	-12.3	+0.5	-11.8
	Liberal	27.6	38.2	32.5	+10.6	-5.7	+4.9
	Democrat	..	4.2	5.2	+4.2	+1.0	+5.2
	Other	5.4	2.9	7.1	-2.5	+4.2	+1.7
2CP	ALP	70.3	58.2	61.3	-12.1	+3.1	-9.0
	Liberal	29.7	41.8	38.7	+12.1	-3.1	+9.0
GEORGES RIVER							
	ALP	46.7	35.0	31.3	-11.7	-3.7	-15.4
	Liberal	53.3	51.1	52.5	-2.2	+1.4	-0.8
	Democrat	..	..	3.2	..	+3.2	+3.2
	Other	..	13.9	12.9	+13.9	-1.0	+12.9
2CP	ALP	46.7	40.6	38.6	-6.1	-2.0	-8.1
	Liberal	53.3	59.4	61.4	+6.1	+2.0	+8.1
GLADESVILLE							
	ALP	48.4	41.4	41.8	-7.0	+0.4	-6.6
	Liberal	37.4	41.2	48.0	+3.8	+6.8	+10.6
	Democrat	3.8	1.4	7.8	-2.4	+6.4	+4.0
	Other	10.4	16.0	2.5	+5.6	-13.5	-7.9
2CP	ALP	55.4	47.6	47.1	-7.8	-0.5	-8.3
	Liberal	44.6	52.4	52.9	+7.8	+0.5	+8.3
GORDON							
	ALP	16.4	15.4	11.2	-1.0	-4.2	-5.2
	Liberal	78.6	79.3	74.5	+0.7	-4.8	-4.1
	Democrat	4.9	5.3	10.4	+0.4	+5.1	+5.5
	Other	..	..	3.9	..	+3.9	+3.9
2CP	ALP	18.8	17.9	16.5	-0.9	-1.4	-2.3
	Liberal	81.2	82.1	83.5	+0.9	+1.4	+2.3

RESULTS ADJUSTED TO 1991 BOUNDARIES

		1984	%Vote 1988	1991	1984-88	% Change 1988-91 1984-91	
GOSFORD							
	ALP	45.7	36.5	32.1	-9.2	-4.4	-13.6
	Liberal	29.9	49.8	48.9	+19.9	-0.9	+19.0
	National	18.7	..	..	-18.7	..	-18.7
	Democrat	5.7	5.6	4.7	-0.1	-0.9	-1.0
	Other	..	8.1	14.3	+8.1	+6.2	+14.3
2CP	ALP	51.2	42.6	43.3	-8.6	+0.7	-7.9
	Liberal	48.8	57.4	56.7	+8.6	-0.7	+7.9

1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.

GRANVILLE

	ALP	66.4	56.0	56.4	-10.4	+0.4	-10.0
	Liberal	30.0	32.0	31.1	+2.0	-0.9	+1.1
	Democrat	..	0.1	3.4	+0.1	+3.3	+3.4
	Other	3.6	11.8	9.1	+8.2	-2.7	+5.5
2CP	ALP	68.2	61.1	61.9	-7.1	+0.8	-6.3
	Liberal	31.8	38.9	38.1	+7.1	-0.8	+6.3

HAWKESBURY

	ALP	31.1	28.7	20.8	-2.4	-7.9	-10.3
	Liberal	68.9	70.2	63.2	+1.3	-7.0	-5.7
	Democrat	..	..	7.2	..	+7.2	+7.2
	Other	..	1.1	8.8	+1.1	+7.7	+8.8
2CP	ALP	31.1	29.0	27.2	-2.1	-1.8	-3.9
	Liberal	68.9	71.0	72.8	+2.1	+1.8	+3.9

1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.

HEFFRON

	ALP	65.1	56.1	58.0	-9.0	+1.9	-7.1
	Liberal	32.3	32.1	30.3	-0.2	-1.8	-2.0
	Democrat	0.9	0.8	4.2	-0.1	+3.4	+3.3
	Other	1.7	11.0	7.5	+9.3	-3.5	+5.8
2CP	ALP	66.6	61.5	65.7	-5.1	+4.2	-0.9
	Liberal	33.4	38.5	34.3	+5.1	-4.2	+0.9

1988 2CP figures adjusted to distribute 6.8% received by Frank Sartor in McKell.

HURSTVILLE

	ALP	58.5	46.0	48.8	-12.5	+2.8	-9.7
	Liberal	41.1	42.5	42.1	+1.4	-0.4	+1.0
	Democrat	0.4	..	3.7	-0.4	+3.7	+3.3
	Other	..	11.5	5.5	+11.5	-6.0	+5.5
2CP	ALP	58.7	51.3	54.6	-7.4	+3.3	-4.1
	Liberal	41.3	48.7	45.4	+7.4	-3.3	+4.1

RESULTS ADJUSTED TO 1991 BOUNDARIES

		1984	%Vote 1988	1991	1984-88	% Change 1988-91	1984-91
ILLAWARRA							
	ALP	65.0	48.5	61.3	-16.5	+12.8	-3.7
	Liberal	28.6	33.6	23.7	+5.0	-9.9	-4.9
	Democrat	6.4	..	10.0	-6.4	+10.0	+3.6
	Other	..	17.9	5.0	+17.9	-12.9	+5.0
2CP	ALP	68.3	58.0	69.7	-10.3	+11.7	+1.4
	Liberal	31.7	42.0	30.3	+10.3	-11.7	-1.4
KEIRA							
	ALP	62.0	44.7	52.3	-17.3	+7.6	-9.7
	Liberal	27.5	34.7	33.1	+7.2	-1.6	+5.6
	Democrat	..	..	9.0	..	+9.0	+9.0
	Other	10.5	20.6	5.6	+10.1	-15.0	-4.9
2CP	ALP	66.2	54.3	60.5	-11.9	+6.2	-5.7
	Liberal	33.8	45.7	39.5	+11.9	-6.2	+5.7
1984 2CP figures adjusted to distribute 11.5% received by Frank Arkell in Wollongong.							
KIAMA							
	ALP	57.6	50.6	53.6	-7.0	+3.0	-4.0
	Liberal	41.8	42.3	32.8	+0.5	-9.5	-9.0
	Democrat	0.4	1.2	8.4	+0.8	+7.2	+8.0
	Other	0.2	5.9	5.3	+5.7	-0.6	+5.1
2CP	ALP	57.9	53.8	61.4	-4.1	+7.6	+3.5
	Liberal	42.1	46.2	38.6	+4.1	-7.6	-3.5
1984 Liberal primary vote includes 2.2% cast for National Party in Goulburn. 1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.							
KOGARAH							
	ALP	53.7	44.4	49.5	-9.3	+5.1	-4.2
	Liberal	41.3	43.7	44.7	+2.4	+1.0	+3.4
	Democrat	4.7	..	5.9	-4.7	+5.9	+1.2
	Other	0.2	11.8	..	+11.6	-11.8	-0.2
2CP	ALP	56.5	51.7	53.3	-4.8	+1.6	-3.2
	Liberal	43.5	48.3	46.7	+4.8	-1.6	+3.2
KU-RING-GAI							
	ALP	31.7	28.6	18.3	-3.1	-10.3	-13.4
	Liberal	63.3	66.3	62.4	+3.0	-3.9	-0.9
	Democrat	5.0	..	9.1	-5.0	+9.1	+4.1
	Other	..	5.1	10.2	+5.1	+5.1	+10.2
2CP	ALP	34.1	31.2	27.3	-2.9	-3.9	-6.8
	Liberal	65.9	68.8	72.7	+2.9	+3.9	+6.8

RESULTS ADJUSTED TO 1991 BOUNDARIES

		1984	%Vote 1988	1991	1984-88	% Change 1988-91 1984-91	
LACHLAN							
	ALP	35.3	27.8	28.3	-7.5	+0.5	-7.0
	National	63.2	72.2	56.7	+9.0	-15.5	-6.5
	Democrat	0.1	..	3.6	-0.1	+3.6	+3.5
	Other	1.4	..	11.4	-1.4	+11.4	+10.0
2CP	ALP	35.8	28.0	33.8	-7.8	+5.8	-2.0
	National	64.2	72.0	66.2	+7.8	-5.8	+2.0

1984 National primary vote includes 0.3% cast for Liberal in Murrumbidgee. 1988 National primary vote includes 1.4% cast for Liberal in Burrinjuck.

LAKE MACQUARIE

	ALP	62.1	41.9	53.3	-20.2	+11.4	-8.8
	Liberal	30.1	24.4	27.9	-5.7	+3.5	-2.2
	Democrat	7.8	..	6.9	-7.8	+6.9	-0.9
	Other	..	33.7	12.0	+33.7	-21.7	+12.0
2CP	ALP	66.2	57.0	62.7	-9.2	+5.7	-3.5
	Liberal	33.8	43.0	37.3	+9.2	-5.7	+3.5

1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.

LAKEMBA

	ALP	64.2	48.1	51.6	-16.1	+3.5	-12.6
	Liberal	35.8	32.6	32.0	-3.2	-0.6	-3.8
	Democrat	..	..	8.6	..	+8.6	+8.6
	Other	..	19.3	7.7	+19.3	-11.6	+7.7
2CP	ALP	64.2	57.3	59.4	-6.9	+2.1	-4.8
	Liberal	35.8	42.7	40.6	+6.9	-2.1	+4.8

1988 2CP figures adjusted to distribute 7.2% received by Victoria Papadakis in Canterbury.

LANE COVE

	ALP	26.6	25.3	18.2	-1.3	-7.1	-8.4
	Liberal	66.4	72.6	67.5	+6.2	-5.1	+1.1
	Democrat	6.5	1.6	14.3	-4.9	+12.7	+7.8
	Other	0.5	0.5	..	..	-0.5	-0.5
2CP	ALP	30.0	26.3	26.3	-3.7	0.0	-3.7
	Liberal	70.0	73.7	73.7	+3.7	0.0	+3.7

LISMORE

	ALP	28.6	25.5	27.9	-3.1	+2.4	-0.7
	National	69.1	65.4	57.6	-3.7	-7.8	-11.5
	Democrat	1.5	6.5	6.3	+5.0	-0.2	+4.8
	Other	0.8	2.6	8.3	+1.8	+5.7	+7.5
2CP	ALP	29.8	29.8	37.8	0.0	+8.0	+8.0
	National	70.2	70.2	62.2	0.0	-8.0	-8.0

1984 National Party primary vote includes 51.7% cast for Bruce Duncan.

RESULTS ADJUSTED TO 1991 BOUNDARIES

		1984	%Vote 1988	1991	1984-88	% Change 1988-91 1984-91	
LIVERPOOL							
	ALP	68.8	60.2	57.6	-8.6	-2.6	-11.2
	Liberal	25.8	34.3	23.8	+8.5	-10.5	-2.0
	Democrat	..	2.0	3.2	+2.0	+1.2	+3.2
	Other	5.3	3.5	15.4	-1.8	+11.9	+10.1
2CP	ALP	71.6	63.1	66.5	-8.5	+3.4	-5.1
	Liberal	28.4	36.9	33.5	+8.5	-3.4	+5.1
LONDONDERRY							
	ALP	60.1	49.8	64.0	-10.3	+14.2	+3.9
	Liberal	38.0	38.1	36.0	+0.1	-2.1	-2.0
	Democrat	1.2	0.1	..	-1.1	-0.1	-1.2
	Other	0.6	12.0	..	+11.4	-12.0	-0.6
2CP	ALP	61.1	54.6	64.0	-6.5	+9.4	+2.9
	Liberal	38.9	45.4	36.0	+6.5	-9.4	-2.9
1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.							
MAITLAND							
	ALP	52.6	33.5	36.5	-19.1	+3.0	-16.1
	Liberal	24.3	26.3	36.7	+2.0	+10.4	+12.4
	National	23.1	13.2	..	-9.9	-13.2	-23.1
	Democrat	..	2.8	3.3	+2.8	+0.5	+3.3
	Other	..	24.3	23.5	+24.3	-0.8	+23.5
2CP	ALP	54.3	43.0	49.4	-11.3	+6.4	-4.9
	Liberal	45.7	57.0	50.6	+11.3	-6.4	+4.9
MANLY							
	ALP	36.7	32.3	15.8	-4.4	-16.5	-20.9
	Liberal	53.6	61.5	45.7	+7.9	-15.8	-7.9
	Democrat	3.7	6.1	3.6	+2.4	-2.5	-0.1
	Peter MacDonald	..	..	34.9	..	+34.9	+34.9
	Other	6.0	..	..	-6.0	..	-6.0
2CP	ALP	41.5	35.1	..	-6.4	..	..
	Liberal	58.5	64.9	49.3	+6.4	..	..
	Peter MacDonald	..	..	50.7	..	..	..
MAROUBRA							
	ALP	62.3	53.3	57.3	-9.0	+4.0	-5.0
	Liberal	36.9	36.7	37.1	-0.2	+0.4	+0.2
	Democrat	0.8	5.6	5.6	+4.8	0.0	+4.8
	Other	..	4.4	..	+4.4	-4.4	..
2CP	ALP	62.8	59.3	60.8	-3.5	+1.5	-2.0
	Liberal	37.2	40.7	39.2	+3.5	-1.5	+2.0

RESULTS ADJUSTED TO 1991 BOUNDARIES

		1984	%Vote 1988	1991	1984-88	% Change 1988-91 1984-91	
MARRICKVILLE							
ALP		64.4	47.5	54.8	-16.9	+7.3	-9.6
Liberal		20.3	22.8	24.9	+2.5	+2.1	+4.6
Democrat		10.5	10.0	7.3	-0.5	-2.7	-3.2
Other		4.8	19.7	13.0	+14.9	-6.7	+8.2
2CP	ALP	73.2	67.2	69.8	-6.0	+2.6	-3.4
	Liberal	26.8	32.8	30.2	+6.0	-2.6	+3.4

1988 2CP figures adjusted to distribute 16.8% received by Frank Sartor in McKell.

MIRANDA							
ALP		47.9	37.9	35.0	-10.0	-2.9	-12.9
Liberal		49.0	58.9	56.9	+9.9	-2.0	+7.9
Democrat		3.1	..	8.1	-3.1	+8.1	+5.0
Other		..	3.2	..	+3.2	-3.2	..
2CP	ALP	49.5	40.0	39.7	-9.5	-0.3	-9.8
	Liberal	50.5	60.0	60.3	+9.5	+0.3	+9.8

MONARO							
ALP		57.2	36.7	32.0	-20.5	-4.7	-25.2
Liberal		30.1	32.9	..	+2.8	-32.9	-30.1
National		12.2	27.6	59.2	+15.4	+31.6	+47.0
Democrat		..	0.2	8.8	+0.2	+8.6	+8.8
Other		0.5	2.6	..	+2.1	-2.6	-0.5
2CP	ALP	58.0	42.2	37.3	-15.8	-4.9	-20.7
	Liberal	42.0	..	..	..	..	..
	National	..	57.8	62.7	..	+4.9	..

1988 shown as a National win owing to presence of a sitting member. 1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.

MOOREBANK							
ALP		60.7	46.2	45.1	-14.5	-1.1	-15.6
Liberal		36.0	37.6	33.1	+1.6	-4.5	-2.9
Democrat		..	3.2	2.9	+3.2	-0.3	+2.9
Other		3.3	13.0	19.0	+9.7	+6.0	+15.7
2CP	ALP	62.2	54.0	54.4	-8.2	+0.4	-7.8
	Liberal	37.8	46.0	45.6	+8.2	-0.4	+7.8

1984 2CP figures adjusted to distribute 5.3% received by Gordon Fetterplace in Campbelltown. 1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.

MOUNT DRUITT							
ALP		65.9	57.5	54.8	-8.4	-2.7	-11.1
Liberal		32.8	39.0	28.9	+6.2	-10.1	-3.9
Democrat		1.3	..	2.6	-1.3	+2.6	+1.3
Other		..	3.5	13.6	+3.5	+10.1	+13.6
2CP	ALP	66.6	59.1	63.0	-7.5	+3.9	-3.6
	Liberal	33.4	40.9	37.0	+7.5	-3.9	+3.6

1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.

RESULTS ADJUSTED TO 1991 BOUNDARIES

		1984	%Vote 1988	1991	1984-88	% Change 1988-91	1984-91
MURRAY							
ALP		25.3	24.1	16.1	-1.2	-8.0	-9.2
National		64.9	75.9	74.4	+11.0	-1.5	+9.5
Democrat		2.4	..	4.0	-2.4	+4.0	+1.6
Other		7.4	..	5.4	-7.4	+5.4	-2.0
2CP	ALP	29.7	24.1	18.6	-5.6	-5.5	-11.1
	National	70.3	75.9	81.4	+5.6	+5.5	+11.1

1984 National primary vote includes 1.7% cast for Liberal Party in Albury, Broken Hill and Murrumbidgee.

1988 National vote includes 0.4% cast for Liberal Party in Albury and Broken Hill.

MURRUMBIDGEE

ALP		37.2	29.4	29.3	-7.8	-0.1	-7.9
Liberal		12.5	..	..	-12.5	..	-12.5
National		28.4	70.6	47.7	+42.2	-22.9	+19.3
Democrat		0.6	..	2.1	-0.6	+2.1	+1.5
Other		21.2	..	20.9	-21.2	+20.9	-0.3
2CP	ALP	45.2	29.4	38.2	-15.8	+8.8	-7.0
	National	54.8	70.6	61.8	+15.8	-8.8	+7.0

1988 National primary vote includes 4.1% cast for Liberal Party in Wagga Wagga.

MURWILLUMBAH

ALP		43.8	36.6	29.7	-7.2	-6.9	-14.1
National		45.8	55.9	36.8	+10.1	-19.1	-9.0
Democrat		5.5	..	2.5	-5.5	+2.5	-3.0
Other		5.0	7.5	30.9	+2.5	+23.4	+25.9
2CP	ALP	49.8	40.4	46.9	-9.4	+6.5	-2.9
	National	50.2	59.6	53.1	+9.4	-6.5	+2.9

1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.

MYALL LAKES

ALP		38.4	23.4	27.4	-15.0	+4.0	-11.0
National		61.6	61.2	61.4	-0.4	+0.2	-0.2
Democrat		..	3.7	6.1	+3.7	+2.4	+6.1
Other		..	11.7	5.1	+11.7	-6.6	+5.1
2CP	ALP	38.4	27.8	31.4	-10.6	+3.6	-7.0
	National	61.6	72.2	68.6	+10.6	-3.6	+7.0

1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.

RESULTS ADJUSTED TO 1991 BOUNDARIES

		1984	%Vote 1988	1991	1984-88	% Change 1988-91 1984-91	
NEWCASTLE							
	ALP	60.7	39.7	50.1	-21.0	+10.4	-10.6
	Liberal	30.6	20.5	20.6	-10.1	+0.1	-10.0
	Democrat	6.5	..	5.8	-6.5	+5.8	-0.7
	George Keegan	..	26.8	21.0	+26.8	-5.8	+21.0
	Other	2.2	13.0	2.5	+10.8	-10.5	+0.3
2CP	ALP	65.4	46.9	62.4	..	+15.5	..
	Liberal	34.6	..	..	..	..	..
	Keegan	..	53.1	37.6	..	-15.5	..
NORTH SHORE							
	ALP	17.4	15.3	7.9	-2.1	-7.4	-9.5
	Liberal	46.8	49.4	51.1	+2.6	+1.7	+4.3
	Mack/Read	26.3	33.6	41.0	+7.3	+7.4	+14.7
	Democrat	2.0	..	..	-2.0	..	-2.0
	Other	7.6	1.6	..	-6.0	-1.6	-7.6
2CP	Liberal	52.3	51.6	52.5	-0.7	+0.9	+0.2
	Mack/Read	47.7	48.4	47.5	+0.7	-0.9	-0.2
NORTHCOTT							
	ALP	27.7	26.1	17.2	-1.6	-8.9	-10.5
	Liberal	66.2	73.0	67.9	+6.8	-5.1	+1.7
	Democrat	6.2	..	11.3	-6.2	+11.3	+5.1
	Other	..	0.8	3.5	+0.8	+2.7	+3.5
2CP	ALP	30.8	26.5	23.6	-4.3	-2.9	-7.2
	Liberal	69.2	73.5	76.4	+4.3	+2.9	+7.2
NORTHERN TABLELANDS							
	ALP	49.0	27.1	31.6	-21.9	+4.5	-17.4
	National	49.4	64.5	54.6	+15.1	-9.9	+5.2
	Democrat	..	5.4	4.1	+5.4	-1.3	+4.1
	Other	1.6	3.0	9.7	+1.4	+6.7	+8.1
2CP	ALP	49.8	31.1	38.5	-18.7	+7.4	-11.3
	National	50.2	68.9	61.5	+18.7	-7.4	+11.3
ORANGE							
	ALP	40.8	27.8	15.5	-13.0	-12.3	-25.3
	National	59.2	72.2	50.3	+13.0	-21.9	-8.9
	Tom Sullivan	..	..	30.0	..	+30.0	+30.0
	Other	..	..	4.2	..	+4.2	+4.2
2CP	ALP	40.8	27.8	..	-13.0	..	..
	National	59.2	72.2	55.3	+13.0	..	..
	Tom Sullivan	..	..	44.7	..	..	..

The estimated 2-candidate preferred votes are highly suspect owing to large areas of Mosman being included which were not contested by Ted Mack in 1984 or 1988.

RESULTS ADJUSTED TO 1991 BOUNDARIES

		1984	%Vote 1988	1991	1984-88	% Change 1988-91 1984-91	
OXLEY							
	ALP	33.8	28.5	33.6	-5.3	+5.1	-0.2
	National	53.9	69.7	57.4	+15.8	-12.3	+3.5
	Democrat	1.8	1.9	7.3	+0.1	+5.4	+5.5
	Other	10.5	..	1.7	-10.5	+1.7	-8.8
2CP	ALP	37.5	29.4	38.5	-8.1	+9.1	+1.0
	National	62.5	70.6	61.5	+8.1	-9.1	-1.0
1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.							
PARRAMATTA							
	ALP	51.2	47.0	44.3	-4.2	-2.7	-6.9
	Liberal	37.4	44.5	42.6	+7.1	-1.9	+5.2
	Democrat	4.8	4.2	4.6	-0.6	+0.4	-0.2
	Other	6.6	4.3	8.5	-2.3	+4.2	+1.9
2CP	ALP	56.2	50.3	52.6	-5.9	+2.3	-3.6
	Liberal	43.8	49.7	47.4	+5.9	-2.3	+3.6
PEATS							
	ALP	60.1	48.8	54.9	-11.3	+6.1	-5.2
	Liberal	33.1	34.3	32.6	+1.2	-1.7	-0.5
	Democrat	6.9	..	4.5	-6.9	+4.5	-2.4
	Other	..	16.8	8.0	+16.8	-8.8	+8.0
2CP	ALP	63.6	57.3	61.0	-6.3	+3.7	-2.6
	Liberal	36.4	42.7	39.0	+6.3	-3.7	+2.6
PENRITH							
	ALP	54.6	43.7	47.7	-10.9	+4.0	-6.9
	Liberal	34.7	42.3	40.4	+7.6	-1.9	+5.7
	Democrat	6.7	..	3.7	-6.7	+3.7	-3.0
	Other	4.0	14.0	8.3	+10.0	-5.7	+4.3
2CP	ALP	59.7	48.8	54.6	-10.9	+5.8	-5.1
	Liberal	40.3	51.2	45.4	+10.9	-5.8	+5.1
PITTWATER							
	ALP	28.2	16.3	17.5	-11.9	+1.2	-10.7
	Liberal	57.8	56.1	66.3	-1.7	+10.2	+8.5
	Democrat	4.1	2.7	16.2	-1.4	+13.5	+12.1
	Eric Green	..	23.0	..	+23.0	-23.0	..
	Other	9.9	1.9	..	-8.0	-1.9	-9.9
2CP	ALP	35.0	..	26.6	..	..	-8.4
	Liberal	65.0	59.9	73.4	..	..	+8.4
	Eric Green	..	40.1	..	..	..	..

RESULTS ADJUSTED TO 1991 BOUNDARIES

		1984	%Vote 1988	1991	1984-88	% Change 1988-91	1984-91
PORT JACKSON							
	ALP	59.6	42.5	50.7	-17.1	+8.2	-8.9
	Liberal	20.8	18.9	17.3	-1.9	-1.6	-3.5
	Democrat	8.2	2.9	2.7	-5.3	-0.2	-5.5
	Fraser/Sartor	..	23.2	18.9	+23.2	-4.3	+18.9
	Other	11.5	12.5	10.4	+1.0	-2.1	-1.1
2CP	ALP	70.6	50.7	63.7	..	+13.0	..
	Liberal	29.4	..	..	..	..	..
	Fraser/Sartor	..	49.3	36.3	..	-13.0	..

1988 2CP figures calculated by adding Dawn Fraser's 2CP in Balmain to Frank Sartor's 2CP in McKell.

PORT MACQUARIE

	ALP	30.4	29.6	22.5	-0.8	-7.1	-7.9
	National	41.1	70.3	54.8	+29.2	-15.5	+13.7
	Democrat	2.3	..	3.0	-2.3	+3.0	+0.7
	Other	26.2	0.1	19.7	-26.1	+19.6	-6.5
2CP	ALP	39.2	29.7	32.3	-9.5	+2.6	-6.9
	National	60.8	70.3	67.7	+9.5	-2.6	+6.9

National primary vote in both 1984 and 1988 includes 0.3% cast for Liberal Party on Lord Howe Island, then in McKell. 1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.

PORT STEPHENS

	ALP	48.4	39.4	54.5	-9.0	+15.1	+6.1
	Liberal	30.7	37.4	28.7	+6.7	-8.7	-2.0
	National	4.4	5.1	11.4	+0.7	+6.3	+7.0
	Democrat	6.9	0.7	5.4	-6.2	+4.7	-1.5
	Other	9.5	17.4	..	+7.9	-17.4	-9.5
2CP	ALP	57.7	47.1	60.1	-10.6	+13.0	+2.4
	Liberal	42.3	52.9	39.9	+10.6	-13.0	-2.4

The estimated Liberal Party victory in 1988 should be treated with caution, as it excludes a significant personal vote for ALP candidate Bob Martin. 1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.

RIVERSTONE

	ALP	60.6	48.5	51.6	-12.1	+3.1	-9.0
	Liberal	39.4	41.1	35.5	+1.7	-5.6	-3.9
	Democrat	..	..	3.2	..	+3.2	+3.2
	Other	..	10.4	9.7	+10.4	-0.7	+9.7
2CP	ALP	60.6	53.3	57.5	-7.3	+4.2	-3.1
	Liberal	39.4	46.7	42.5	+7.3	-4.2	+3.1

ROCKDALE

	ALP	60.2	52.2	50.7	-8.0	-1.5	-9.5
	Liberal	37.3	37.4	39.8	+0.1	+2.4	+2.5
	Democrat	0.6	..	3.4	-0.6	+3.4	+2.8
	Other	1.9	10.4	6.2	+8.5	-4.2	+4.3
2CP	ALP	61.5	55.1	56.8	-6.4	+1.7	-4.7
	Liberal	38.5	44.9	43.2	+6.4	-1.7	+4.7

RESULTS ADJUSTED TO 1991 BOUNDARIES

		1984	%Vote 1988	1991	1984-88	% Change 1988-91 1984-91	
SMITHFIELD							
	ALP	64.3	52.3	52.1	-12.0	-0.2	-12.2
	Liberal	27.7	39.7	33.8	+12.0	-5.9	+6.1
	Democrat	0.3	0.9	..	+0.6	-0.9	-0.3
	Other	7.8	7.2	14.1	-0.6	+6.9	+6.3
2CP	ALP	68.9	55.4	57.0	-13.5	+1.6	-11.9
	Liberal	31.1	44.6	43.0	+13.5	-1.6	+11.9

1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.

SOUTH COAST

	ALP	22.0	19.1	17.4	-2.9	-1.7	-4.6
	Liberal	24.5	34.0	28.5	+9.5	-5.5	+4.0
	John Hatton	53.5	40.1	51.4	-13.4	+11.3	-2.1
	Democrat	..	0.9	..	+0.9	-0.9	..
	Other	..	5.9	2.7	+5.9	-3.2	+2.7
2CP	John Hatton	73.3	60.5	68.3	..	..	..
	Liberal	26.7	39.5	31.7	..	..	..

2CP figures slightly inaccurate owing to areas added to the electorate not previously included in South Coast.

1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.

SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS

	ALP	46.0	27.8	37.6	-18.2	+9.8	-8.4
	Liberal	18.2	27.9	48.1	+9.7	+20.2	+29.9
	National	31.8	30.1	..	-1.7	-30.1	-31.8
	Democrat	..	3.6	9.4	+3.6	+5.8	+9.4
	Other	4.0	10.5	5.0	+6.5	-5.5	+1.0
2CP	ALP	48.1	33.1	43.6	-15.0	+10.5	-4.5
	Liberal	..	66.9	56.4	..	-10.5	..
	National	51.9	..	..	..	..	..

1988 shown as a Liberal win owing to presence of a sitting Liberal member

ST MARYS

	ALP	67.7	53.7	61.1	-14.0	+7.4	-6.6
	Liberal	26.9	35.1	30.4	+8.2	-4.7	+3.5
	Democrat	4.5	..	8.5	-4.5	+8.5	+4.0
	Other	0.9	11.2	..	+10.3	-11.2	-0.9
2CP	ALP	70.7	58.9	66.4	-11.8	+7.5	-4.3
	Liberal	29.3	41.1	33.6	+11.8	-7.5	+4.3

STRATHFIELD

	ALP	50.6	37.0	36.5	-13.6	-0.5	-14.1
	Liberal	47.8	51.6	55.4	+3.8	+3.8	+7.6
	Democrat	1.6	3.9	8.1	+2.3	+4.2	+6.5
	Other	..	7.5	..	+7.5	-7.5	..
2CP	ALP	51.3	42.1	40.7	-9.2	-1.4	-10.6
	Liberal	48.7	57.9	59.3	+9.2	+1.4	+10.6

RESULTS ADJUSTED TO 1991 BOUNDARIES

		1984	%Vote 1988	1991	1984-88	% Change 1988-91 1984-91	
SUTHERLAND							
	ALP	51.1	37.9	39.4	-13.2	+1.5	-11.7
	Liberal	43.9	49.2	49.3	+5.3	+0.1	+5.4
	Democrat	4.9	1.8	5.3	-3.1	+3.5	+0.4
	Other	..	11.0	6.0	+11.0	-5.0	+6.0
2CP	ALP	53.6	46.3	47.0	-7.3	+0.7	-6.6
	Liberal	46.4	53.7	53.0	+7.3	-0.7	+6.6
SWANSEA							
	ALP	61.8	39.1	45.6	-22.7	+6.5	-16.2
	Liberal	27.2	22.1	18.3	-5.1	-3.8	-8.9
	Democrat	6.6	2.8	5.0	-3.8	+2.2	-1.6
	Ivan Welsh	..	35.9	24.1	+35.9	-11.8	+24.1
	Other	4.4	..	6.9	-4.4	+6.9	+2.5
2CP	ALP	68.1	41.9	56.4	..	+14.5	..
	Liberal	31.9	..	..	..	..	..
	Ivan Welsh	..	58.1	43.6	..	-14.5	..
1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.							
TAMWORTH							
	ALP	34.9	22.3	15.6	-12.6	-6.7	-19.3
	National	58.1	69.6	31.9	+11.5	-37.7	-26.2
	Democrat	7.0	7.6	2.1	+0.6	-5.5	-4.9
	Tony Windsor	..	..	36.2	..	+36.2	+36.2
	Other	..	0.6	14.1	+0.6	+13.5	+14.1
2CP	ALP	38.0	24.9	..	-13.1	..	..
	National	62.0	75.1	40.2	+13.1	..	..
	Tony Windsor	..	..	59.8	..	..	..
THE ENTRANCE							
	ALP	50.9	46.6	43.1	-4.3	-3.5	-7.8
	Liberal	31.2	51.9	46.1	+20.7	-5.8	+14.9
	National	8.1	..	..	-8.1	..	-8.1
	Democrat	5.6	0.6	5.9	-5.0	+5.3	+0.3
	Other	4.2	0.9	4.9	-3.3	+4.0	+0.7
2CP	ALP	56.9	47.3	49.8	-9.6	+2.5	-7.1
	Liberal	43.1	52.7	50.2	+9.6	-2.5	+7.1

1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.

RESULTS ADJUSTED TO 1991 BOUNDARIES

		1984	%Vote 1988	1991	1984-88	% Change 1988-91 1984-91	
THE HILLS							
	ALP	21.2	21.9	12.4	+0.7	-9.5	-8.8
	Liberal	69.6	78.1	62.5	+8.5	-15.6	-7.1
	Democrat	4.1	..	4.2	-4.1	+4.2	+0.1
	Roy Potter	..	..	20.8	..	+20.8	+20.8
	Other	5.0	..	..	-5.0	..	-5.0
2CP	ALP	25.7	21.9	..	-3.8	..	..
	Liberal	74.3	78.1	67.4	+3.8	..	..
	Roy Potter	..	..	32.6	..	..	..

1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.

UPPER HUNTER

	ALP	40.5	31.2	31.9	-9.3	+0.7	-8.6
	National	58.2	65.1	58.2	+6.9	-6.9	0.0
	Democrat	1.3	3.7	..	+2.4	-3.7	-1.3
	Other	..	..	9.9	..	+9.9	+9.9
2CP	ALP	41.3	32.7	35.3	-8.6	+2.6	-6.0
	National	58.7	67.3	64.7	+8.6	-2.6	+6.0

1988 National primary vote includes 2.2% cast for Liberal Party in Bathurst.

VAUCLUSE

	ALP	32.8	32.2	17.4	-0.6	-14.8	-15.4
	Liberal	61.1	64.5	55.1	+3.4	-9.4	-6.0
	Democrat	5.1	3.3	3.4	-1.8	+0.1	-1.7
	Rose Watson	..	..	14.5	..	+14.5	+14.5
	Other	1.0	..	9.6	-1.0	+9.6	+8.6
2CP	ALP	35.6	33.7	..	-1.9	..	..
	Liberal	64.4	66.3	63.0	+1.9	..	..
	Rose Watson	..	..	37.0	..	..	..

WAGGA WAGGA

	ALP	34.3	29.3	34.2	-5.0	+4.9	-0.1
	Liberal	60.4	70.7	65.8	+10.3	-4.9	+5.4
	Democrat	5.2	..	..	-5.2	..	-5.2
	Other	0.1	..	..	-0.1	..	-0.1
2CP	ALP	36.9	29.6	34.2	-7.3	+4.6	-2.7
	Liberal	63.1	70.4	65.8	+7.3	-4.6	+2.7

Liberal primary vote in 1984 and 1988 includes 3% cast for National Party in Burrinjuck and Murray.

WAKEHURST

	ALP	44.7	32.3	26.1	-12.4	-6.3	-18.6
	Liberal	50.8	53.1	55.3	+2.3	+2.2	+4.5
	Democrat	2.8	0.2	7.5	-2.6	+7.3	+4.7
	Other	1.8	14.4	11.1	+12.6	-3.3	+9.3
2CP	ALP	47.0	40.5	37.3	-6.5	-3.2	-9.7
	Liberal	53.0	59.5	62.7	+6.5	+3.2	+9.7

1988 2CP figures adjusted to distribute 10.0% received by Eric Green in Pittwater.

RESULTS ADJUSTED TO 1991 BOUNDARIES

		1984	%Vote 1988	1991	1984-88	% Change 1988-91 1984-91	
WALLSEND							
	ALP	61.7	56.3	56.0	-5.4	-0.3	-5.7
	Liberal	33.8	38.7	29.8	+4.9	-8.9	-4.0
	Democrat	0.8	..	9.4	-0.8	+9.4	+8.6
	Other	3.6	5.0	4.8	+1.4	-0.2	+1.2
2CP	ALP	64.2	58.2	63.2	-6.0	+5.0	-1.0
	Liberal	35.8	41.8	36.8	+6.0	-5.0	+1.0
WARATAH							
	ALP	60.6	58.6	65.1	-2.0	+6.5	+4.5
	Liberal	26.6	34.6	24.5	+8.0	-10.1	-2.1
	Democrat	1.7	0.7	..	-1.0	-0.7	-1.7
	Other	11.2	6.1	10.4	-5.1	+4.3	-0.8
2CP	ALP	68.5	61.3	71.0	-7.2	+9.7	+2.5
	Liberal	31.5	38.7	29.0	+7.2	-9.7	-2.5

1984 Liberal primary vote includes 0.4% cast for National Party in Cessnock. 1988 Liberal primary vote includes 1.7% cast for National Party in Cessnock.

WILLOUGHBY

	ALP	27.9	26.6	12.6	-1.3	-14.0	-15.3
	Liberal	58.6	66.6	57.4	+8.0	-9.2	-1.2
	Democrat	3.2	..	2.8	-3.2	+2.8	-0.4
	Louise Weingarth	..	..	25.0	..	+25.0	+25.0
	Other	10.3	6.8	2.2	-3.5	-4.6	-8.1
2CP	ALP	34.6	29.8	..	-4.8	..	..
	Liberal	65.4	70.2	61.9	+4.8	..	..
	Louise Weingarth	..	..	38.1	..	..	..

Both 1984 and 1988 2CP votes include distribution of votes for Ted Mack.

WOLLONGONG

	ALP	52.4	38.9	50.2	-13.5	+11.3	-2.2
	Liberal	12.0	12.3	10.5	+0.3	-1.8	-1.5
	Frank Arkell	32.2	39.6	29.7	+7.4	-9.9	-2.5
	Democrat	1.5	..	3.0	-1.5	+3.0	+1.5
	Other	2.1	9.2	6.6	+7.1	-2.6	+4.5
2CP	ALP	55.2	45.3	58.6	..	..	..
	Frank Arkell	44.8	54.7	41.4	..	..	..

1984 2PP for Frank Arkell is very doubtful owing to addition of areas from Corrimal.

WYONG

	ALP	58.0	53.3	53.1	-4.7	-0.2	-4.9
	Liberal	31.1	46.7	37.3	+15.6	-9.4	+6.2
	Democrat	4.1	..	4.2	-4.1	+4.2	+0.1
	Other	6.7	..	5.4	-6.7	+5.4	-1.3
2CP	ALP	63.4	53.3	59.0	-10.1	+5.7	-4.4
	Liberal	36.6	46.7	41.0	+10.1	-5.7	+4.4

1984 figures must be treated with caution owing to rapid population growth.

APPENDIX D : ESTIMATED 2-PARTY PREFERRED RESULTS FOR 1984, 1988 AND 1991 ELECTIONS BASED ON 1991 BOUNDARIES

The following table contains the estimated 2-party preferred results for the 1984, 1988 and 1991 elections adjusted to fit the electoral boundaries used at the 1991 election. The first table shows a notional Labor and Non-Labor percentage for each electorate at each election. The second table shows notional Labor 2-party percentages and 2-party swings between the elections, in a similar format to that used in Appendix C.

For most electorates, these 2-party preferred percentages are the same as the 2-candidate preferred percentages used in Appendix C. However, in all electorates where an independent finished first or second, an estimate 2-party preferred percentage has been calculated.

The preferences used for the 1984 election are those as set out in Appendix A. The preferences used for the 1988 election are those set out in Appendix B.

At the 1991 election, an estimated 2-party preferred percentage needed to be calculated in 13 electorates where an Independent finished either first or second. This was done in all cases by eliminating the independent candidate at the last preference count, when only 3 candidates remained. The following preference distributions were applied.

In Newcastle, Swansea and Wollongong, the estimate was 25% to Labor, 50% to Liberal and 25% exhausted. In Bligh, Manly, The Hills, Vacluse and Willoughby, the estimate was 30% to Labor, 30% to Liberal, and 40% exhausted. In North Shore, Orange and Port Jackson, the estimate was 40% Labor, 30% to Liberal or National, and 30% exhausted. In South Coast, the estimate was 30% to Labor, 40% to Liberal and 30% exhausted. In Tamworth it was 25% Labor, 50% National and 25% exhausted.

LABOR AND COALITION 2-PARTY PREFERRED %

ELECTORATE	1984		1988		1991	
	Labor	Lib/Nat	Labor	Lib/Nat	Labor	Lib/Nat
Albury	52.1	47.9	38.3	61.7	34.7	65.3
Ashfield	62.8	37.2	55.8	44.2	59.9	40.1
Auburn	69.1	30.9	58.9	41.1	68.1	31.9
Badgerys Creek	56.5	43.5	47.2	52.8	47.5	52.5
Ballina	35.3	64.7	32.8	67.2	36.7	63.3
Bankstown	67.4	32.6	54.9	45.1	60.1	39.9
Barwon	38.3	61.7	26.2	73.8	34.9	65.1
Bathurst	54.4	45.6	44.8	55.2	55.1	44.9
Baulkham Hills	35.1	64.9	29.3	70.7	30.3	69.7
Bega	46.7	53.3	34.6	65.4	37.2	62.8
Blacktown	61.7	38.3	55.0	45.0	58.3	41.7
Bligh	45.2	54.8	36.7	63.3	35.4	64.6
Blue Mountains	54.3	45.7	49.5	50.5	47.4	52.6
Broken Hill	62.9	37.1	48.0	52.0	60.1	39.9
Bulli	62.9	37.1	55.8	44.2	63.2	36.8
Burrinjuck	52.8	47.2	43.3	56.7	41.2	58.8
Cabramatta	64.5	35.5	55.6	44.4	66.0	34.0
Camden	50.5	49.5	44.7	55.3	48.5	51.5
Campbelltown	65.6	34.4	56.2	43.8	59.9	40.1
Canterbury	63.9	36.1	55.7	44.3	56.8	43.2
Cessnock	59.3	40.7	49.6	50.4	54.4	45.6
Charlestown	62.9	37.1	52.4	47.6	63.1	36.9
Clarence	45.6	54.4	34.2	65.8	39.4	60.6
Coffs Harbour	37.0	63.0	28.0	72.0	43.0	57.0
Coogee	56.0	44.0	50.9	49.1	51.6	48.4
Cronulla	49.3	50.7	38.7	61.3	38.7	61.3
Davidson	31.4	68.6	26.0	74.0	27.3	72.7
Drummoyne	56.8	43.2	49.1	50.9	53.6	46.4
Dubbo	37.2	62.8	28.4	71.6	33.1	66.9
East Hills	65.5	34.5	57.1	42.9	58.7	41.3
Eastwood	36.2	63.8	32.8	67.2	31.3	68.7
Ermington	50.5	49.5	45.5	54.5	40.3	59.7
Fairfield	70.3	29.7	58.2	41.8	61.3	38.7
Georges River	46.7	53.3	40.6	59.4	38.6	61.4
Gladesville	55.4	44.6	47.6	52.4	47.1	52.9
Gordon	18.8	81.2	17.9	82.1	16.5	83.5
Gosford	51.2	48.8	42.6	57.4	43.3	56.7
Granville	68.2	31.8	61.1	38.9	61.9	38.1
Hawkesbury	31.1	68.9	29.0	71.0	27.2	72.8
Heffron	66.6	33.4	61.5	38.5	65.7	34.3
Hurstville	58.7	41.3	51.3	48.7	54.6	45.4
Illawarra	68.3	31.7	58.0	42.0	69.7	30.3
Keira	66.2	33.8	54.3	45.7	60.5	39.5
Kiama	57.9	42.1	53.8	46.2	61.4	38.6
Kogarah	56.5	43.5	51.7	48.3	53.3	46.7
Ku-ring-gai	34.1	65.9	31.2	68.8	27.3	72.7
Lachlan	35.8	64.2	28.0	72.0	33.8	66.2
Lake Macquarie	66.2	33.8	57.0	43.0	62.7	37.3
Lakemba	64.2	35.8	57.3	42.7	59.4	40.6
Lane Cove	30.0	70.0	26.3	73.7	26.3	73.7
Lismore	29.8	70.2	29.8	70.2	37.8	62.2
Liverpool	71.6	28.4	63.1	36.9	66.5	33.5
Londonderry	61.1	38.9	54.6	45.4	64.0	36.0
Maitland	54.3	45.7	43.0	57.0	49.4	50.6

LABOR AND COALITION 2-PARTY PREFERRED %

ELECTORATE	1984		1988		1991	
	Labor	Lib/Nat	Labor	Lib/Nat	Labor	Lib/Nat
Manly	41.5	58.5	35.1	64.9	32.4	67.6
Maroubra	62.8	37.2	59.3	40.7	60.8	39.2
Marrickville	73.2	26.8	67.2	32.8	69.8	30.2
Miranda	49.5	50.5	40.0	60.0	39.7	60.3
Monaro	58.0	42.0	42.2	57.8	37.3	62.7
Moorebank	62.2	37.8	54.0	46.0	54.4	45.6
Mount Druitt	66.6	33.4	59.1	40.9	63.0	37.0
Murray	29.7	70.3	24.1	75.9	18.6	81.4
Murrumbidgee	45.2	54.8	29.4	70.6	38.2	61.8
Murwillumbah	49.8	50.2	40.4	59.6	46.9	53.1
Myall Lakes	38.4	61.6	27.8	72.2	31.4	68.6
Newcastle	65.4	34.6	56.9	43.1	64.0	36.0
North Shore	35.3	64.7	32.6	67.4	27.7	72.3
Northcott	30.8	69.2	26.5	73.5	23.6	76.4
Northern Tablelands	49.8	50.2	31.1	68.9	38.5	61.5
Orange	40.8	59.2	27.8	72.2	31.6	68.4
Oxley	37.5	62.5	29.4	70.6	38.5	61.5
Parramatta	56.2	43.8	50.3	49.7	52.6	47.4
Peats	63.6	36.4	57.3	42.7	61.0	39.0
Penrith	59.7	40.3	48.8	51.2	54.6	45.4
Pittwater	35.0	65.0	27.7	72.3	26.6	73.4
Port Jackson	70.6	29.4	65.7	34.3	73.0	27.0
Port Macquarie	39.2	60.8	29.7	70.3	32.3	67.7
Port Stephens	57.7	42.3	47.1	52.9	60.1	39.9
Riverstone	60.6	39.4	53.3	46.7	57.5	42.5
Rockdale	61.5	38.5	55.1	44.9	56.8	43.2
Smithfield	68.9	31.1	55.4	44.6	57.0	43.0
South Coast	45.3	54.7	37.9	62.1	39.6	60.4
Southern Highlands	48.1	51.9	33.1	66.9	43.6	56.4
St Marys	70.7	29.3	58.9	41.1	66.4	33.6
Strathfield	51.3	48.7	42.1	57.9	40.7	59.3
Sutherland	53.6	46.4	46.3	53.7	47.0	53.0
Swansea	68.1	31.9	54.3	45.7	63.1	36.9
Tamworth	38.0	62.0	24.9	75.1	34.7	65.3
The Entrance	56.9	43.1	47.3	52.7	49.8	50.2
The Hills	25.7	74.3	21.9	78.1	22.4	77.6
Upper Hunter	41.3	58.7	32.7	67.3	35.3	64.7
Vaucluse	35.6	64.4	33.7	66.3	28.5	71.5
Wagga Wagga	36.9	63.1	29.6	70.4	34.2	65.8
Wakehurst	47.0	53.0	40.5	59.5	37.3	62.7
Wallsend	64.2	35.8	58.2	41.8	63.2	36.8
Waratah	68.5	31.5	61.3	38.7	71.0	29.0
Willoughby	34.6	65.4	29.8	70.2	24.5	75.5
Wollongong	67.9	32.1	60.6	39.4	69.5	30.5
Wyong	63.4	36.6	53.3	46.7	59.0	41.0

LABOR 2-PARTY PREFERRED % AND CHANGE

ELECTORATE	ALP 2PP%			% Change		
	1984	1988	1991	1984-88	1988-91	1984-91
Albury	52.1	38.3	34.7	-13.8	-3.6	-17.4
Ashfield	62.8	55.8	59.9	-7.0	+4.1	-2.9
Auburn	69.1	58.9	68.1	-10.2	+9.2	-1.0
Badgerys Creek	56.5	47.2	47.5	-9.3	+0.3	-9.0
Ballina	35.3	32.8	36.7	-2.5	+3.9	+1.4
Bankstown	67.4	54.9	60.1	-12.5	+5.2	-7.3
Barwon	38.3	26.2	34.9	-12.1	+8.7	-3.4
Bathurst	54.4	44.8	55.1	-9.6	+10.3	+0.7
Baulkham Hills	35.1	29.3	30.3	-5.8	+1.0	-4.8
Bega	46.7	34.6	37.2	-12.1	+2.6	-9.5
Blacktown	61.7	55.0	58.3	-6.7	+3.3	-3.4
Bligh	45.2	36.7	35.4	-8.5	-1.3	-9.8
Blue Mountains	54.3	49.5	47.4	-4.8	-2.1	-6.9
Broken Hill	62.9	48.0	60.1	-14.9	+12.1	-2.8
Bulli	62.9	55.8	63.2	-7.1	+7.4	+0.3
Burrinjuck	52.8	43.3	41.2	-9.5	-2.1	-11.6
Cabramatta	64.5	55.6	66.0	-8.9	+10.4	+1.5
Camden	50.5	44.7	48.5	-5.8	+3.8	-2.0
Campbelltown	65.6	56.2	59.9	-9.4	+3.7	-5.7
Canterbury	63.9	55.7	56.8	-8.2	+1.1	-7.1
Cessnock	59.3	49.6	54.4	-9.7	+4.8	-4.9
Charlestown	62.9	52.4	63.1	-10.5	+10.7	+0.2
Clarence	45.6	34.2	39.4	-11.4	+5.2	-6.2
Coffs Harbour	37.0	28.0	43.0	-9.0	+15.0	+6.0
Coogee	56.0	50.9	51.6	-5.1	+0.7	-4.4
Cronulla	49.3	38.7	38.7	-10.6	0.0	-10.6
Davidson	31.4	26.0	27.3	-5.4	+1.3	-4.1
Drummoyne	56.8	49.1	53.6	-7.7	+4.5	-3.2
Dubbo	37.2	28.4	33.1	-8.8	+4.7	-4.1
East Hills	65.5	57.1	58.7	-8.4	+1.6	-6.8
Eastwood	36.2	32.8	31.3	-3.4	-1.5	-4.9
Ermington	50.5	45.5	40.3	-5.0	-5.2	-10.2
Fairfield	70.3	58.2	61.3	-12.1	+3.1	-9.0
Georges River	46.7	40.6	38.6	-6.1	-2.0	-8.1
Gladesville	55.4	47.6	47.1	-7.8	-0.5	-8.3
Gordon	18.8	17.9	16.5	-0.9	-1.4	-2.3
Gosford	51.2	42.6	43.3	-8.6	+0.7	-7.9
Granville	68.2	61.1	61.9	-7.1	+0.8	-6.3
Hawkesbury	31.1	29.0	27.2	-2.1	-1.8	-3.9
Heffron	66.6	61.5	65.7	-5.1	+4.2	-0.9
Hurstville	58.7	51.3	54.6	-7.4	+3.3	-4.1
Illawarra	68.3	58.0	69.7	-10.3	+11.7	+1.4
Keira	66.2	54.3	60.5	-11.9	+6.2	-5.7
Kiama	57.9	53.8	61.4	-4.1	+7.6	+3.5
Kogarah	56.5	51.7	53.3	-4.8	+1.6	-3.2
Ku-ring-gai	34.1	31.2	27.3	-2.9	-3.9	-6.8
Lachlan	35.8	28.0	33.8	-7.8	+5.8	-2.0
Lake Macquarie	66.2	57.0	62.7	-9.2	+5.7	-3.5
Lakemba	64.2	57.3	59.4	-6.9	+2.1	-4.8
Lane Cove	30.0	26.3	26.3	-3.7	0.0	-3.7
Lismore	29.8	29.8	37.8	0.0	+8.0	+8.0
Liverpool	71.6	63.1	66.5	-8.5	+3.4	-5.1
Londonderry	61.1	54.6	64.0	-6.5	+9.4	+2.9
Maitland	54.3	43.0	49.4	-11.3	+6.4	-4.9

LABOR 2-PARTY PREFERRED % AND CHANGE

ELECTORATE	ALP 2PP%			% Change		
	1984	1988	1991	1984-88	1988-91	1984-91
Manly	41.5	35.1	32.4	-6.4	-2.7	-9.1
Maroubra	62.8	59.3	60.8	-3.5	+1.5	-2.0
Marrickville	73.2	67.2	69.8	-6.0	+2.6	-3.4
Miranda	49.5	40.0	39.7	-9.5	-0.3	-9.8
Monaro	58.0	42.2	37.3	-15.8	-4.9	-20.7
Moorebank	62.2	54.0	54.4	-8.2	+0.4	-7.8
Mount Druitt	66.6	59.1	63.0	-7.5	+3.9	-3.6
Murray	29.7	24.1	18.6	-5.6	-5.5	-11.1
Murrumbidgee	45.2	29.4	38.2	-15.8	+8.8	-7.0
Murwillumbah	49.8	40.4	46.9	-9.4	+6.5	-2.9
Myall Lakes	38.4	27.8	31.4	-10.6	+3.6	-7.0
Newcastle	65.4	56.9	64.0	-8.5	+7.1	-1.4
North Shore	35.3	32.6	27.7	-2.7	-4.9	-7.6
Northcott	30.8	26.5	23.6	-4.3	-2.9	-7.2
Northern Tablelands	49.8	31.1	38.5	-18.7	+7.4	-11.3
Orange	40.8	27.8	31.6	-13.0	+3.8	-9.2
Oxley	37.5	29.4	38.5	-8.1	+9.1	+1.0
Parramatta	56.2	50.3	52.6	-5.9	+2.3	-3.6
Peats	63.6	57.3	61.0	-6.3	+3.7	-2.6
Penrith	59.7	48.8	54.6	-10.9	+5.8	-5.1
Pittwater	35.0	27.7	26.6	-7.3	-1.1	-8.4
Port Jackson	70.6	65.7	73.0	-4.9	+7.3	+2.4
Port Macquarie	39.2	29.7	32.3	-9.5	+2.6	-6.9
Port Stephens	57.7	47.1	60.1	-10.6	+13.0	+2.4
Riverstone	60.6	53.3	57.5	-7.3	+4.2	-3.1
Rockdale	61.5	55.1	56.8	-6.4	+1.7	-4.7
Smithfield	68.9	55.4	57.0	-13.5	+1.6	-11.9
South Coast	45.3	37.9	39.6	-7.4	+1.7	-5.7
Southern Highlands	48.1	33.1	43.6	-15.0	+10.5	-4.5
St Marys	70.7	58.9	66.4	-11.8	+7.5	-4.3
Strathfield	51.3	42.1	40.7	-9.2	-1.4	-10.6
Sutherland	53.6	46.3	47.0	-7.3	+0.7	-6.6
Swansea	68.1	54.3	63.1	-13.8	+8.8	-5.0
Tamworth	38.0	24.9	34.7	-13.1	+9.8	-3.3
The Entrance	56.9	47.3	49.8	-9.6	+2.5	-7.1
The Hills	25.7	21.9	22.4	-3.8	+0.5	-3.3
Upper Hunter	41.3	32.7	35.3	-8.6	+2.6	-6.0
Vaucluse	35.6	33.7	28.5	-1.9	-5.2	-7.1
Wagga Wagga	36.9	29.6	34.2	-7.3	+4.6	-2.7
Wakehurst	47.0	40.5	37.3	-6.5	-3.2	-9.7
Wallsend	64.2	58.2	63.2	-6.0	+5.0	-1.0
Waratah	68.5	61.3	71.0	-7.2	+9.7	+2.5
Willoughby	34.6	29.8	24.5	-4.8	-5.3	-10.1
Wollongong	67.9	60.6	69.5	-7.3	+8.9	+1.6
Wyong	63.4	53.3	59.0	-10.1	+5.7	-4.4

APPENDIX E : INFORMAL VOTING AT THE 1984, 1988 AND 1991
ELECTIONS BASED ON 1991 BOUNDARIES

Electorate	INFORMAL VOTE BY ELECTORATE					
	% Informal Vote			% Change		
	1984	1988	1984	1984-88	1988-91	1984-91
Albury	1.2	1.5	7.2	+0.3	+5.7	+6.0
Ashfield	4.8	5.5	14.6	+0.7	+9.1	+9.8
Auburn	4.1	4.6	14.5	+0.5	+9.9	+10.4
Badgerys Creek	2.7	3.9	11.8	+1.2	+7.9	+9.1
Ballina	1.5	1.9	4.2	+0.4	+2.3	+2.7
Bankstown	4.2	4.5	23.5	+0.3	+19.0	+19.3
Barwon	1.1	2.2	6.7	+1.1	+4.5	+5.6
Bathurst	1.1	1.9	6.0	+0.8	+4.1	+4.9
Baulkham Hills	1.9	3.3	9.3	+1.4	+6.0	+7.4
Bega	1.5	2.2	8.0	+0.7	+5.8	+6.5
Blacktown	3.6	4.1	12.7	+0.5	+8.6	+9.1
Bligh	3.5	3.5	8.5	0.0	+5.0	+5.0
Blue Mountains	1.7	2.4	5.6	+0.7	+3.2	+3.9
Broken Hill	2.0	3.4	9.5	+1.4	+6.1	+7.5
Bulli	2.4	2.9	6.1	+0.5	+3.2	+3.7
Burrinjuck	1.0	1.7	13.9	+0.7	+12.2	+12.9
Cabramatta	4.2	5.8	17.8	+1.6	+12.0	+13.6
Camden	2.0	3.2	10.3	+1.2	+7.1	+8.3
Campbelltown	2.5	3.6	14.3	+1.1	+10.7	+11.8
Canterbury	3.7	4.6	15.3	+0.9	+10.7	+11.6
Cessnock	1.9	3.1	8.6	+1.2	+5.5	+6.7
Charlestown	2.5	3.1	7.8	+0.6	+4.7	+5.3
Clarence	1.0	2.1	5.0	+1.1	+2.9	+4.0
Coffs Harbour	1.5	2.2	4.6	+0.7	+2.4	+3.1
Coogee	2.6	2.9	6.2	+0.3	+3.3	+3.6
Cronulla	1.7	2.5	7.9	+0.8	+5.4	+6.2
Davidson	1.8	2.7	8.2	+0.9	+5.5	+6.4
Drummoyne	2.7	3.9	7.9	+1.2	+4.0	+5.2
Dubbo	1.4	2.2	7.3	+0.8	+5.1	+5.9
East Hills	2.5	3.5	9.5	+1.0	+6.0	+7.0
Eastwood	1.9	2.9	6.6	+1.0	+3.7	+4.7
Ermington	2.6	3.0	8.9	+0.4	+5.9	+6.3
Fairfield	4.3	5.7	19.1	+1.4	+13.4	+14.8
Georges River	2.1	2.3	6.7	+0.2	+4.4	+4.6
Gladesville	2.6	3.3	9.1	+0.7	+5.8	+6.5
Gordon	1.8	2.3	5.9	+0.5	+3.6	+4.1
Gosford	1.6	2.8	5.9	+1.2	+3.1	+4.3
Granville	3.8	5.1	12.4	+1.3	+7.3	+8.6
Hawkesbury	2.3	3.3	7.3	+1.0	+4.0	+5.0
Heffron	4.0	4.6	16.0	+0.6	+11.4	+12.0
Hurstville	3.2	3.8	11.3	+0.6	+7.5	+8.1
Illawarra	2.6	4.4	4.3	+1.8	-0.1	+1.7
Keira	2.7	3.4	10.2	+0.7	+6.8	+7.5
Kiama	1.9	3.3	9.7	+1.4	+6.4	+7.8
Kogarah	2.6	3.5	11.2	+0.9	+7.7	+8.6
Ku-ring-gai	1.8	2.6	6.3	+0.8	+3.7	+4.5
Lachlan	1.3	2.2	7.3	+0.9	+5.1	+6.0
Lake Macquarie	2.1	2.6	8.4	+0.5	+5.8	+6.3
Lakemba	4.0	5.4	15.8	+1.4	+10.4	+11.8
Lane Cove	1.9	3.2	7.2	+1.3	+4.0	+5.3
Lismore	1.2	2.1	5.7	+0.9	+3.6	+4.5

INFORMAL VOTE BY ELECTORATE

Electorate	% Informal Vote			% Change		
	1984	1988	1984	1984-88	1988-91	1984-91
Liverpool	4.0	5.1	14.5	+1.1	+9.4	+10.5
Londonderry	3.8	5.3	22.2	+1.5	+16.9	+18.4
Maitland	1.4	2.4	7.5	+1.0	+5.1	+6.1
Manly	2.1	3.0	6.4	+0.9	+3.4	+4.3
Maroubra	3.3	3.7	12.1	+0.4	+8.4	+8.8
Marrickville	4.6	5.7	13.5	+1.1	+7.8	+8.9
Miranda	1.6	2.9	8.2	+1.3	+5.3	+6.6
Monaro	2.2	2.6	10.0	+0.4	+7.4	+7.8
Moorebank	3.1	4.3	11.7	+1.2	+7.4	+8.6
Mount Druitt	3.5	4.1	14.5	+0.6	+10.4	+11.0
Murray	1.5	1.9	5.4	+0.4	+3.5	+3.9
Murrumbidgee	1.2	1.8	6.9	+0.6	+5.1	+5.7
Murwillumbah	1.8	2.3	4.7	+0.5	+2.4	+2.9
Myall Lakes	2.3	2.6	6.3	+0.3	+3.7	+4.0
Newcastle	2.4	3.1	7.4	+0.7	+4.3	+5.0
North Shore	1.6	2.2	5.6	+0.6	+3.4	+4.0
Northcott	1.7	3.0	6.7	+1.3	+3.7	+5.0
Northern Tablelands	1.3	2.2	5.9	+0.9	+3.7	+4.6
Orange	1.2	2.3	5.4	+1.1	+3.1	+4.2
Oxley	1.6	2.4	6.3	+0.8	+3.9	+4.7
Parramatta	3.1	3.4	9.8	+0.3	+6.4	+6.7
Peats	1.8	3.0	7.9	+1.2	+4.9	+6.1
Penrith	2.3	3.5	7.3	+1.2	+3.8	+5.0
Pittwater	2.2	3.1	8.8	+0.9	+5.7	+6.6
Port Jackson	3.6	3.8	6.1	+0.2	+2.3	+2.5
Port Macquarie	1.5	2.5	5.5	+1.0	+3.0	+4.0
Port Stephens	2.0	3.2	7.1	+1.2	+3.9	+5.1
Riverstone	3.3	4.1	10.9	+0.8	+6.8	+7.6
Rockdale	3.1	3.8	13.2	+0.7	+9.4	+10.1
Smithfield	3.8	5.1	16.1	+1.3	+11.0	+12.3
South Coast	1.4	2.1	6.5	+0.7	+4.4	+5.1
Southern Highlands	1.6	2.7	8.2	+1.1	+5.5	+6.6
St Marys	3.0	4.8	10.4	+1.8	+5.6	+7.4
Strathfield	3.3	4.3	11.8	+1.0	+7.5	+8.5
Sutherland	1.8	2.2	6.2	+0.4	+4.0	+4.4
Swansea	2.5	3.0	7.4	+0.5	+4.4	+4.9
Tamworth	1.1	1.9	4.3	+0.8	+2.4	+3.2
The Entrance	2.0	3.3	8.3	+1.3	+5.0	+6.3
The Hills	2.4	3.1	6.2	+0.7	+3.1	+3.8
Upper Hunter	1.2	2.5	7.0	+1.3	+4.5	+5.8
Vaucluse	3.4	3.6	9.3	+0.2	+5.7	+5.9
Wagga Wagga	1.5	2.1	14.9	+0.6	+12.8	+13.4
Wakehurst	2.4	3.6	9.2	+1.2	+5.6	+6.8
Wallsend	2.1	3.7	10.2	+1.6	+6.5	+8.1
Waratah	2.1	4.0	11.7	+1.9	+7.7	+9.6
Willoughby	2.2	3.5	6.9	+1.3	+3.4	+4.7
Wollongong	4.1	4.6	12.4	+0.5	+7.8	+8.3
Wyong	2.4	3.5	7.7	+1.1	+4.2	+5.3