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# Implications of the 2001 Federal Election for the 2003 New South Wales Election

by

**Antony Green** 

**Background Paper No 1/02** 

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## IMPLICATIONS OF THE 2001 FEDERAL ELECTION FOR THE 2003 NEW SOUTH WALES ELECTION

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#### Party Abbreviations

- AAFI Australians Against Further Immigration
- ALP Labor Party
- CDP Christian Democratic Party
- DEM Australian Democrats
- DLP Democratic Labor Party
- GRN Greens
- IND Independents
- LIB Liberal Party
- LNP Liberal / National Party Coalition
- ONP Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party
- OTH Others
- NAT National Party
- UNI Unity

Other Abbreviations

- n.a. Not available
- 2CP Two-candidate preferred
- 2PP Two-party preferred
- AEC Australian Electoral Commission

#### Acknowledgements

My thanks to the Australian Electoral Commission for making available preliminary results by booth for the 2001 Federal election. All estimates for transferring the Federal results to state boundaries are the responsibility of the author.

#### The Author

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Antony studied at Sydney University, obtaining a Bachelor of Science in mathematics and computing, and a Bachelor of Economics with Honours in politics.

He has produced many publications for the Parliamentary Library.

#### Comparing House of Representatives and New South Wales Elections

No two elections are ever exactly the same. This point is even more valid when comparing state and federal elections, given the different responsibilities of the two tiers of government. Even more notes of caution must be added when trying to draw implications for the 2003 state election by examining results of the 2001 House of Representatives election. The 2001 campaign was fought in the wake of the 'Tampa incident' and the September 11 terrorist attacks. Both issues were federal rather than state responsibilities, and were also deviations from the domestic economic issues that had dominated politics for most of the Howard government's second term in office.

However, if these differences are remembered, the exercise of comparing the 2001 federal result with the 1999 state election is worthwhile in finding where there are differences in the level of support for parties. This publication has been prepared by transferring the results of the federal election to conform to the boundaries to be used for the 2003 state election. Calculations for all electorates are shown in Table 9, with a state pendulum based on federal results shown in Table 6. Seats showing greatest deviation between state and federal results are highlighted in Tables 7 and 8.

The following discussion attempts to draw some general conclusions from comparing the two elections.

#### The Third Term Hoodoo

In the run up to last year's Federal election, there was some talk of the Howard government having to overcome the 'third term hoodoo'. This was despite the fact that third terms are the norm for Federal governments, the Whitlam government being the only federal administration in the last 70 years that failed to be elected for three terms.

However, state elections over the last decade have shown that winning a third term is less assured than in the past. The Kennett government in Victoria in 1999, the Court government in Western Australia in 2001, and the Kerin government in South Australia just last month are examples of governments falling after two terms. Others were the defeat of the Goss government at a by-election shortly after the 1995 state election, and the defeat of the Fahey government at the 1999 New South Wales election.

It certainly seems that the era of long-term governments, seen as the norm from the 1930s to the 1970s, has passed. One-term governments are still very rare in Australia, but with most states now having four-year parliamentary terms, two terms of government now corresponds to eight years, just one year less than three three-year terms. Since 1970, new governments have not been able to get beyond 10-12 years before reaching their political use by dates.

In March 2003, the Carr government faces up to the third term hoodoo after eight years in office. As the list in Table 1 shows, the Carr government is now the longest serving administration in Australia.

Jurisdiction	Party	Leader	Term	Elected	Election Due				
New South Wales	Labor	Bob Carr	2nd	Mar 1995	Mar 2003				
Federal	Coalition	John Howard	3rd	Mar 1996	Nov 2004				
Queensland	Labor	Peter Beattie	2nd	Jun 1998	Feb 2004				
Tasmania	Labor	Jim Bacon	1st	Aug 1998	Aug 2002				
Victoria	Labor minority	Steve Bracks	1st	Sep 1999	Sep 2003				
Western Australia	Labor	Geoff Gallop	1st	Feb 2001	Feb 2005				
Northern Territory	Labor	Clare Martin	1st	Aug 2001	Aug 2005				
A.C.T.	Labor minority	John Stanhope	1st	Oct 2001	Oct 2004				
South Australia	Labor minority	Mike Rann	1st	Feb 2002	Mar 2006				

#### Table 1: Australian Governments in Office (Listed in order of election)

The Carr government's election in March 1995 followed one month after the defeat of the Labor administration in the A.C.T., and was followed twelve months later by the defeat of the Keating

government and the Goss government in Queensland. Between March 1996 and June 1998, the Carr government was the only Labor government in the country. However, the last four years have seen a dramatic change in that position, as today Labor governs in every state and Territory, the first time the Labor Party has achieved such a feat, and the first time one side of politics has held all state governments since 1969-70.

Interestingly, New South Wales elections have tended to be counter-cyclical. In 1976, the Wran government was elected shortly after the defeat of the Whitlam government, when the Labor Party was at a particularly low ebb. In 1988, the Greiner government was elected in the middle of a decade of Labor dominance. The election of the Carr government followed the defeat of several other Labor governments around the country. Perhaps in 2003, New South Wales will again move ahead of the trend in the rest of the country.

#### The Interaction of Federal and State Politics

Tables 2 to 5 show results of state and federal elections over the last few decades, along with three diagrams comparing Labor and Coalition vote at both levels of government.

The data in Table 2 tries to show where the presence of governments at the two levels has affected the swing at elections. The interesting point that can be drawn from table 2 is that while it appears the presence of a state government seems to have affected federal results in New South Wales, the reverse situation does not seem to have been as clear. It appears that New South Wales elections are primarily decided by the popularity (or unpopularity) of the state government. While Federal issues may play a part, New South Wales governments have generally risen and fallen according to their own life cycles.

For instance, in December 1975, Malcolm Fraser led the Coalition to a smashing victory following the dismissal of the Whitlam Labor government. Yet six months later in May 1976, Neville Wran led his state Labor Party to office with a narrow seat but comfortable vote majority over the Coalition. (A counter argument however is that Labor would have won a clearer victory were it not for memories of the Whitlam government.) The Fraser government's second victory in December 1977 was just as emphatic, yet in October 1978, New South Wales saw the first 'Wranslide' election, the Labor Party polling 57.8% of the vote in New South Wales compared to 42.4% for the Federal Labor Party ten months earlier. In 1999, the Carr government was reelected easily just five months after the Howard government had been re-elected, Labor easily winning districts that at the federal election had stayed with the Coalition.

It is almost three decades since the last unambiguous examples of state governments profiting from the unpopularity of a Federal government. In 1973 the Askin government achieved a swing to it after campaigning strongly against the Whitlam government. The Wran government in 1978 also profited from the unpopularity of the Fraser government.

At the 1981 and 1984 state elections, Labor's vote declined and the Coalition's improved, at the same time as Labor's support surged at the Federal level, the Hawke government succeeding the Fraser government in 1983. The 1987 Federal and 1988 State elections saw marked swings away from Labor in its industrial 'heartland'. But the election of the Greiner government in 1988 was against the trend of politics throughout the rest of the country, punctuating a decade when Labor governments became the norm. At the 1991 and 1995 elections, the swing was against the state Coalition government while a Federal Labor government was in office. However, the election of the Carr Labor government in 1993 Federal election. The 16.2% swing in the Federal Canberra by-election, conducted on the same day as the 1995 state election, suggests that the unpopularity of the Keating government may have dampened the state swing to Labor in 1995. Returning the favour, a year later it was the unpopularity of the Carr government that added to the swing that defeated the Keating government.

Since 1972, the same side of politics has been in government in Canberra and Macquarie Street for only six of the 30 years. This is less than the record in all other states, Tasmania 9 years, Queensland 16, Victoria 18, South Australia 22 and Western Australia 24 years. But this does not seem to provide evidence that the voters of New South Wales are deliberately voting

to maintain different parties in office. Only in 1973, 1976 and 1978 is it unambiguous that Federal politics was an issue in the state campaign.

Swings at New South Wales elections are better examined by looking at the state's political history. In the last seven decades, governments have normally been re-elected at their second election with an increased vote, with vote declining from that point on. Since 1932, the only government not to increase its vote at its second election was the Greiner government in 1991. The Greiner/Fahey government is also the only government since 1932 not to win a third term in office.

Table 2 does seem to indicate that state politics has had an impact on federal elections. Since 1984, the only federal election in which the swing in New South Wales was towards the party in power in Macquarie Street occurred in 1998. At all other elections since 1984, the swing has been against the party in state government. At several Federal elections in 1987, 1990, 1993 and 1996, it is clear that the unpopularity of the state government affected the swing in New South Wales.

However, examining trends in other states suggests this pattern of non-influence may be a matter of chance. If New South Wales had held an election in the unemployment peaks of 1982/83, the unpopularity of the Fraser government would have been an issue. The same applies to the 1992/93 recession and the Keating government. Both recessions coincided with changes of government in Tasmania, Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia, though in each case, the state government involved may have already been in terminal decline. Election results early in 2001 suggest the unpopularity of the Howard government was having an impact on state elections, highlighting the Howard government's remarkable recovery and victory at the November 2001 election.

#### **Federal Results for State Electorates**

Tables 6 and 7 show the difference in two party preferred vote between the results for the 2001 federal election and the 1999 state election, for all state electorates. Some of the differences in results are quite startling.

Overall, the Labor Party's two-party preferred vote in NSW at the 2001 election was 8.1% lower than at the 1999 state election. The most significant variation from this state-wide difference occurred in a string of outer suburban seats around the edges of Sydney. Seats like Penrith (Labor 2PP 22.0% lower in 2001), Campbelltown (19.1%), Riverstone (17.6%). Mulgoa (17.3%), Londonderry (16.6%), Heathcote (16.6%) and Macquarie Fields (16.4%) show gaps more than twice the state difference. Other outer-suburban seats to show above average gaps were Peats, Miranda, Menai, Blue Mountains and Liverpool.

These electorates have similar demographic characteristics according to the 1996 census. All have a high proportion of young families buying houses. All are also significantly less than the Sydney average on proportion of people born overseas, in particularly people born in non-English speaking countries. Given recent population growth in these outer suburban areas, it is likely that the 2001 census data, when available, will throw these characteristics into greater relief.

At the other end of the scale, the Labor Party did significantly better in a string of north coast electorates in 2001 than they did at the 1999 state election. The north coast seats of Ballina, Lismore, Port Macquarie, Myall Lakes, Coffs Harbour and Oxley all recorded higher Labor 2PP votes at the 2001 election than at the 1999 state election.

#### **Explaining the Differences**

There was an 8.1% gap between the two-party preferred vote at the 2001 federal and 1999 state election, indicating there were a series of factors that make it extremely difficult to make direct comparisons between the two elections. However, the wide variation of differences from electorate to electorate require some further explanation. Some of the factors that may create differences are outlined below.

Intensity of Campaign and the Sitting Member Factor: The best example of this are the state electorates contained within the federal seats of Lindsay and Hughes. These two federal seats have well known sitting Liberal MPs in Jackie Kelly and Dana Vale, where at the last state election, sitting Labor MPs were returned. In the areas covered by Hughes, the Labor Party put more effort into its campaign in the area at the 1999 state election than at recent federal elections. Similarly, the Liberal Party expended greater effort on its campaign in Lindsay than it did in local state seats in 1999. Similarly, the National Party polled well in Ballina in 1999, when Labor mounted only a nominal campaign, while the greater Labor effort in Richmond at the 2001 election is demonstrated by the high Labor vote within the boundaries of Ballina.

<u>Pattern of Independent and Coalition Candidates</u>: The analysis in this publication is based on two-party preferred votes, which ignores the presence of Independents. It also ignores whether the Liberal or National Party are contesting a seat on behalf of the Coalition. These candidate factors explain a number of significant differences between results at state and federal level.

<u>Optional Preferential Voting</u>: At the 1999 state election, One Nation polled 7.5% of the vote, much higher in some rural electorates. More than half of One Nation voters exhausted their preferences before choosing between Labor and Coalition candidates. As well, in several three cornered contests involving both the Liberal and National Parties, there was a high rate of exhausted preferences. The result of this was that in several seats, the Labor Party two-party preferred percentage was inflated by the large number of votes with exhausted preferences. See the discussion on the political impact of optional preferential voting in *New South Wales Elections 1999*, NSW Parliamentary Library Research Service, Background Paper No 4/1999, pp 68-73.

#### **Registered Political Parties**

Following the 1999 election, rules governing the registration of political parties were significantly strengthened. As well as introducing a deposit for registration, increasing the numbers of required members, and introducing reviews to ensure parties still meet the requirements, another provision was that parties must be registered one year before the election. This date has now passed, and the following parties have been registered and will be able to have their names appear on the ballot paper at the 2003 election.

- \* Australian Democrats (NSW Division) Australian Family Alliance
- \* Australian Labor Party (NSW Branch) Australians Against Further Immigration
- \* Christian Democratic Party (Fred Nile Group) Country Labor Party Four Wheel Drive Party Horse Riders Party
- \* Liberal Party of Australia New South Wales Division
- \* National Party of Australia NSW
- No Privatisation People's Party \* One Nation NSW Political Party
- \* Outdoor Reproduce Political Pa
- \* Outdoor Recreation Party
- \* Peter Breen Reform the Legal System Socialist Alliance The Fishing Party
- \* The Greens
- \* The Shooters Party
- \* Unity Party

\* - indicates parties currently represented in Parliament

#### Possible Redistribution

Under the Parliamentary Electorates and Elections Act, a redistribution for Legislative Assembly districts is automatically triggered if more than one quarter of electorates have an enrolment more than 5% from the state average, and this variation continues for more than two months.

Early in 2001, it looked as though these criteria would be met. However, for a redistribution to take place, the trigger point must be passed with more than twelve months to the next election. At the beginning of March, 23 electorates lay outside this 5% limit. However, it is now less than twelve months to the next election, too late for a redistribution to begin. As a result, the 2003 election will be fought on the current boundaries, first used at the 1999 election.

#### A Note on Calculations

Figures for the two Federal elections include only votes cast in booths on election day. All declaration votes (Pre-poll, Postal, Absent etc) have been excluded. The 1999 State election results include all declaration votes. However, it is valid to compare these figures, as long as it is remembered that percentages may vary up to 0.5% if declaration votes are included. Generally, declaration votes favour the Liberal and National Parties in rural seats, and favour sitting members in marginal seats.

#### **Related Publications**

- Antony Green, "*New South Wales Elections 1999*", NSW Parliamentary Library Research Service, Background Paper No 4/1999
- Antony Green, "Implications of the 1998 Federal Election for the 1999 New South Wales Election", NSW Parliamentary Library Research Service, Background Paper No 5/1998
- Antony Green, "Electing the New South Wales Legislative Council 1978 to 1995: Past Results and Future Prospects", NSW Parliamentary Library Research Service, Background Paper No 2/1995
- Antony Green, "1999 New South Wales Legislative Council Election", NSW Parliamentary Library Research Service, Background Paper No 2/2000

Election	Fed Gov't	State Gov't	Swing To	Comments
Federal	Elections			
1972	Coalition	Coalition	Labor	Whitlam government elected
1974	Labor	Coalition	Coalition	
1975	Coalition	Coalition	Coalition	Followed sacking of Whitlam government
1977	Coalition	Labor	Labor	
1980	Coalition	Labor	Labor	
1983	Coalition	Labor	Labor	Hawke government elected
1984	Labor	Labor	Coalition	
1987	Labor	Labor	Coalition	
1990	Labor	Coalition	Labor	
1993	Labor	Coalition	Labor	
1996	Labor	Labor	Coalition	Howard government elected
1998	Coalition	Labor	Labor	
2001	Coalition	Labor	Coalition	
State Ele	ections			
1973	Labor	Coalition	Coalition	
1976	Coalition	Coalition	Labor	Wran government elected
1978	Coalition	Labor	Labor	
1981	Coalition	Labor	Coalition	
1984	Labor	Labor	Coalition	
1988	Labor	Labor	Coalition	Greiner government elected
1991	Labor	Coalition	Labor	
1995	Labor	Coalition	Labor	Carr government elected
1999	Coalition	Labor	Labor	

 Table 2: The Interaction of State and Federal Elections in NSW since 1972

## Table 3 : Percentage Vote by Party at Recent Lower House Elections

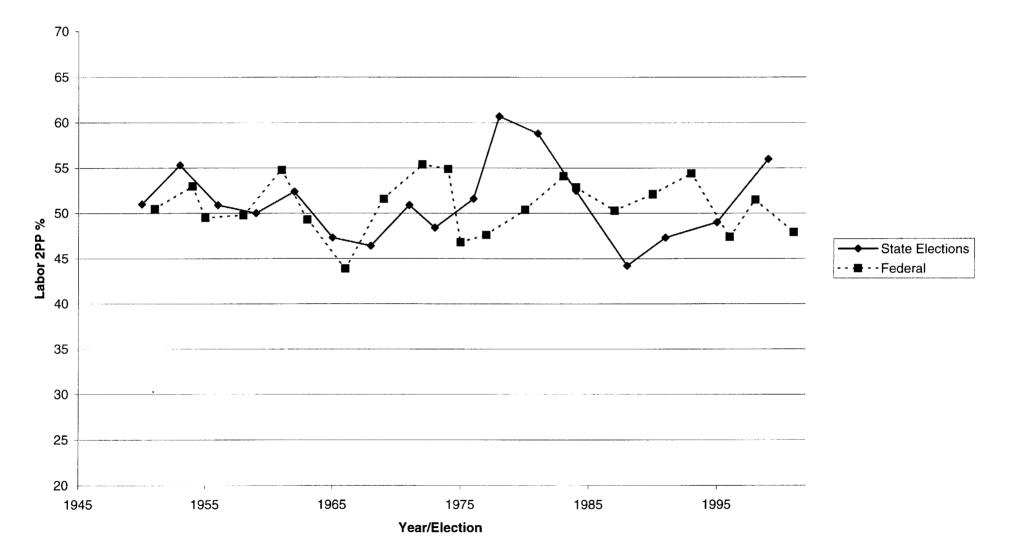
	House of R	epresenta	tives (NSW)	Legislative Assembly			
Party	1996	1998	2001	1991	1995	1999	
Labor	39.6	40.1	36.4	39.1	41.3	42.2	
Liberal	33.5	30.5	33.6	34.2	32.8	24.8	
National	12.1	7.9	9.2	10.5	11.1	8.9	
Democrat	6.5	4.2	4.2	5.4	2.8	3.3	
Greens	2.5	2.7	4.8	0.5	2.6	3.9	
Christian Democrats	0.9	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.5	
One Nation		9.0	4.8			7.5	
Unity		1.6	0.7			1.1	
Independents/Others	4.9	3.0	5.1	9.1	8.0	6.8	
Two-Party Preferred							
Labor	47.4	51.5	47.9	47.3	49.0	56.0	
Coalition	52.6	48.5	52.1	52.7	51.0	44.0	
Informal Vote	3.6	4.0	5.4	9.3	5.2	2.5	

Election	ALP	LIB	NAT	DEM	GRN	ONP	DLP	OTH	ALP 2PP
Percentage of Vote									
1950	46.7	37.5	7.6					8.2	51.0
1953	55.0	27.9	11.6					5.4	55.3
1956	47.9	35.1	10.2					6.9	50.9
1959	49.1	35.4	8.4				1.3	5.8	50.0
1962	48.6	34.9	9.4				1.5	5.7	52.4
1965	43.3	39.6	10.2				2.1	4.8	47.3
1968	43.1	38.5	10.6				2.3	5.5	46.4
1971	45.0	37.5	8.6				3.2	7.5	50.9
1973	42.9	33.8	10.5				6.0	6.8	48.4
1976	49.8	36.3	10.0					3.9	51.6
1978	57.8	27.0	9.9	2.6				2.7	60.7
1981	55.7	27.6	11.2	2.4				3.0	58.8
1984	48.8	32.2	10.8	2.8				5.4	52.5
1988	38.5	35.8	13.7	1.8				10.2	44.2
1991	39.1	34.2	10.5	5.4	0.5			10.4	47.3
1995	41.3	32.8	11.1	2.8	2.6			9.4	49.0
1999	42.2	24.8	8.9	3.3	3.9	7.5		9.4	56.0

Table 4 : Historical NSW Legislative Assembly Elections

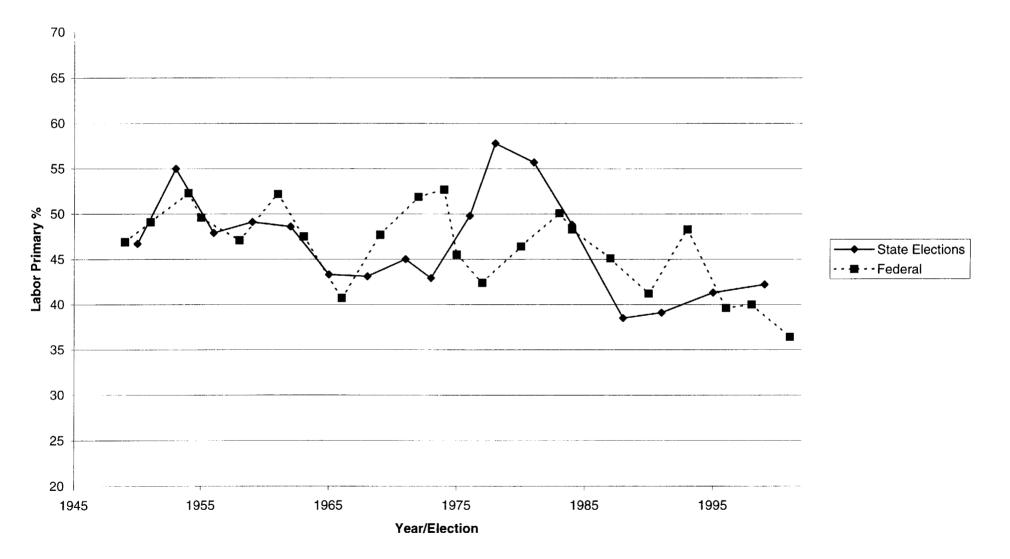
Table 5 : Historical NSW House of Representative Elections

Election	ALP	LIB	NAT	DEM	GRN	ONP	DLP	OTH	ALP 2PP	
Percentage of Vote										
1949	46.9	37.1	11.0					5.0	50.8	
1951	49.1	39.0	10.1					1.8	50.5	
1954	52.3	35.1	8.3					4.3	53.0	
1955	49.6	38.6	8.6					3.2	49.5	
1958	47.1	35.9	9.6				5.6	1.8	49.8	
1961	52.2	31.0	9.4				5.4	2.0	54.8	
1963	47.5	36.9	9.8				4.4	1.3	49.3	
1966	40.7	40.7	10.7				4.5	3.3	43.9	
1969	47.7	33.7	9.8				3.4	5.4	51.6	
1972	51.9	30.0	9.8				3.5	4.8	55.4	
1974	52.7	33.4	10.6					3.3	54.9	
1975	45.5	39.7	11.8					3.1	46.8	
1977	42.4	35.9	11.3	8.5				1.9	47.6	
1980	46.4	35.7	10.5	5.7				1.8	50.4	
1983	50.1	31.6	11.0	4.8				2.6	54.1	
1984	48.3	32.8	10.5	5.9				2.5	52.9	
1987	45.1	33.3	11.8	6.3				3.5	50.3	
1990	41.2	29.1	11.2	10.2	1.5			6.8	52.1	
1993	48.3	31.8	9.8	2.8	1.4			5.9	54.4	
1996	39.6	33.5	12.1	6.5	2.6			5.8	47.4	
1998	40.1	30.5	7.9	4.2	2.7	9.0		5.7	51.5	
2001	36.4	33.6	9.2	4.2	4.8	4.8		7.0	47.9	



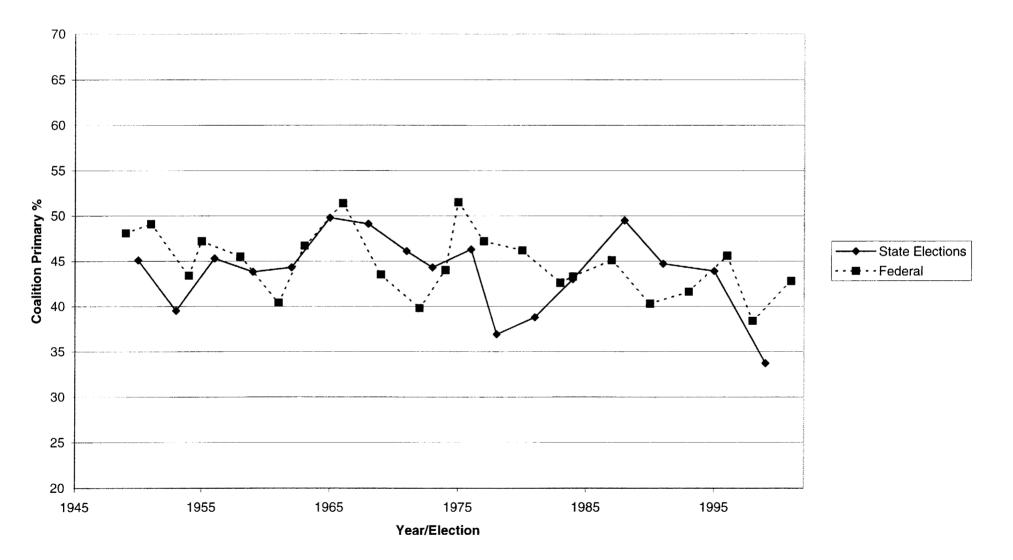
## Comparison of Labor 2PP Vote at State and Federal Elections

,



## Comparison of Labor Primary Vote at State and Federal Elections

## Comparison of Coalition Primary Vote at State and Federal Elections



Electorate	Margin	Electorate	Margin
Labor Seats (44)		Liberal/National Seats (49)	
Marrickville	25.6	Hawkesbury	23.0
Cabramatta	24.9	Ku-ring-gai	22.8
Bankstown	21.9	Davidson	22.6
Fairfield	20.2	The Hills	21.1
Auburn	19.6	Wagga Wagga	21.1
Canterbury	19.0	Murrumbidgee	20.1
Mount Druitt	17.9	Baulkham Hills	17.1
Wollongong	17.7	Pittwater	16.4
Heffron	16.9	Lachlan	16.2
Liverpool	16.7	South Coast	15.9
Lakemba	15.8	Barwon	15.5
Cessnock	15.4	Cronulla	15.4
Port Jackson	15.0	Tamworth	15.2
Granville	14.0	North Shore	14.5
Smithfield	13.9	Albury	14.1
Keira	13.3	Vaucluse	13.0
Illawarra	11.3	Wakehurst	12.9
Blacktown	10.4	<u>Dubbo</u> (IND held)	12.6
Rockdale	10.4	Hornsby	12.4
Bligh (IND held)	9.3	Miranda (ALP held)	12.3
Strathfield	9.2	Willoughby	12.3
Wallsend	8.9	Camden	12.2
Charlestown	8.4	Port Macquarie	11.8
Swansea	8.1	Lane Cove	11.4
Newcastle	8.1	Epping	11.4
	7.9		11.2
Lake Macquarie	7.9	<u>Northern Tablelands</u> (IND held) Gosford	9.9
Macquarie Fields Maroubra	6.7		9.9 9.9
	6.7	Manly (IND held)	9.9 9.8
Bathurst		Southern Highlands	
Kogarah	6.4	<u>Menai</u> (ALP held)	9.7
Maitland	5.3	Myall Lakes	8.4
East Hills	5.2	Orange	8.3
Wyong	4.2	Upper Hunter	7.5
Port Stephens	2.9	Coffs Harbour	6.8
Coogee	2.7	Oxley	6.8
Drummoyne	2.3	Burrinjuck	6.3
Parramatta	1.8	Heathcote (ALP held)	6.2
Kiama	1.5	Penrith (ALP held)	5.3
Wentworthville	1.1	<u>Ryde</u> (ALP held)	5.3
Ballina (NAT held)	1.0	Murray-Darling (ALP held)	5.0
Campbelltown	0.8	Bega	4.2
<u>Monaro</u> (NAT held)	0.4	<u>Tweed</u> (ALP held)	3.8
Mulgoa	0.3	Peats (ALP held)	3.7
Georges River	0.1	Clarence (ALP held)	3.0
		Lismore	1.9
		Londonderry (ALP held)	1.7
		Blue Mountains (ALP held)	0.8
		The Entrance (ALP held)	0.7
		Riverstone (ALP held)	0.4

#### Table 6: State Electoral Pendulum Based on 2001 Federal Election Results

<u>Underlining</u> indicates seats where the party notionally holding the seat based on 2001 federal results differs from the party that currently holds the seat. The state party holding the seat is indicated. Seats switching between the Liberal and National Parties are not shown.

	-	2-Party Pre			Difference in
Electorate		ral Election		e Election	Labor 2PP
(Alphabetic Order)	Labor	Coalition	Labor	Coalition	[Federal - State]
Albury	35.9	64.1	35.2	64.8	+0.7
Auburn	69.6	30.4	74.3	25.7	-4.7
Ballina	51.0	49.0	38.0	62.0	+13.0
Bankstown	71.9	28.1	80.2	19.8	-8.3
Barwon	34.5	65.5	32.8	67.2	+1.7
Bathurst	56.7	43.3	67.8	32.2	-11.1
Baulkham Hills	32.9	67.1	41.9	58.1	-9.0
Bega	45.8	54.2	42.9	57.1	+2.9
Blacktown	60.4	39.6	69.4	30.6	-9.0
Bligh	59.3	40.7	61.7	38.3	-2.4
Blue Mountains	49.2	50.8	61.8	38.2	-12.6
Burrinjuck	43.7	56.3	48.8	51.2	-5.1
Cabramatta	74.9	25.1	79.9	20.1	-5.0
Camden	37.9	62.1	46.5	53.5	-8.6
Campbelltown	50.8	49.2	69.9	30.1	-19.1
Canterbury	69.0	31.0	75.2	24.8	-6.2
Cessnock	65.4	34.6	73.9	26.1	-8.5
Charlestown	58.4	41.6	69.3	30.7	-10.9
Clarence	47.0	53.0	50.2	49.8	-3.2
Coffs Harbour	43.2	56.8	41.7	58.3	+1.5
Coogee	52.7	47.3	62.3	37.7	-9.6
Cronulla	34.6	65.4	44.9	55.1	-10.3
Davidson	27.4	72.6	28.9	71.1	-1.5
Drummoyne	52.3	47.7	59.4	40.6	-7.1
Dubbo	37.4	62.6	39.5	60.5	-2.1
East Hills	55.2	44.8	68.3	31.7	-13.1
Epping	38.7	61.3	42.9	57.1	-4.2
Fairfield	70.2	29.8	78.3	21.7	-8.1
Georges River	50.1	49.9	56.3	43.7	-6.2
Gosford	40.1	59.9	47.7	52.3	-7.6
Granville	64.0	36.0	64.6	35.4	-0.6
Hawkesbury	27.0	73.0	36.7	63.3	-9.7
Heathcote	43.8	56.2	60.4	39.6	-16.6
Heffron	66.9	33.1	76.1	23.9	-9.2
Hornsby	37.6	62.4	47.3	52.7	-9.7
Illawarra	61.3	38.7	72.8	27.2	-11.5
Keira	63.3	36.7	72.1	27.9	-8.8
Kiama	51.5	48.5	67.7	32.3	-16.2
Kogarah	56.4	43.6	57.5	42.5	-1.1
Ku-ring-gai	27.2	72.8	30.0	70.0	-2.8
Lachlan	33.8	66.2	33.7	66.3	+0.1
Lake Macquarie	57.9	42.1	69.2	30.8	-11.3
Lakemba	65.8	34.2	74.7	25.3	-8.9
Lane Cove	38.6	61.4	42.6	57.4	-4.0
Lismore	48.1	51.9	41.5	58.5	+6.6
Liverpool	66.7	33.3	78.6	21.4	-11.9
Londonderry	48.3	51.7	64.9	35.1	-16.6
Macquarie Fields	57.1	42.9	73.5	26.5	-16.4
Maitland	55.3	44.7	51.0	49.0	+4.3
Manly	40.1	59.9	40.6	59.4	-0.5
Maroubra	56.7	43.3	69.9	30.1	-13.2
Marrickville	75.6	24.4	79.4	20.6	-3.8
Menai	40.3	59.7	54.2	45.8	-13.9
Miranda	37.7	62.3	52.3	47.7	-14.6
Monaro	50.4	49.6	49.8	50.2	+0.6

Table 7 : Comparing 2PP Results for the 2001 Federal and 1999 State Elections

		2-Party Pre	eferred Vo	te	Difference in
Electorate	2001 Fede	ral Election	te Election	Labor 2PP	
(Alphabetic Order)	Labor	Coalition	Labor	Coalition	[Federal - State]
Mount Druitt	67.9	32.1	75.8	24.2	-7.9
Mulgoa	50.3	49.7	67.6	32.4	-17.3
Murray-Darling	45.0	55.0	54.2	45.8	-9.2
Murrumbidgee	29.9	70.1	38.0	62.0	-8.1
Myall Lakes	41.6	58.4	37.1	62.9	+4.5
Newcastle	58.1	41.9	72.4	27.6	-14.3
North Shore	35.5	64.5	37.7	62.3	-2.2
Northern Tablelands	38.8	61.2	32.3	67.7	+6.5
Orange	41.7	58.3	43.7	56.3	-2.0
Oxley	43.2	56.8	42.0	58.0	+1.2
Parramatta	51.8	48.2	64.5	35.5	-12.7
Peats	46.3	53.7	61.3	38.7	-15.0
Penrith	44.7	55.3	66.7	33.3	-22.0
Pittwater	33.6	66.4	31.2	68.8	+2.4
Port Jackson	65.0	35.0	75.1	24.9	-10.1
Port Macquarie	38.2	61.8	33.4	66.6	+4.8
Port Stephens	52.9	47.1	62.3	37.7	-9.4
Riverstone	49.6	50.4	67.2	32.8	-17.6
Rockdale	60.1	39.9	66.5	33.5	-6.4
Ryde	44.7	55.3	56.6	43.4	-11.9
Smithfield	63.9	36.1	72.8	27.2	-8.9
South Coast	34.1	65.9	50.5	49.5	-16.4
Southern Highlands	40.2	59.8	44.3	55.7	-4.1
Strathfield	59.2	40.8	58.4	41.6	+0.8
Swansea	58.1	41.9	66.6	33.4	-8.5
Tamworth	34.8	65.2	45.2	54.8	-10.4
The Entrance	49.3	50.7	59.7	40.3	-10.4
The Hills	28.9	71.1	35.3	64.7	-6.4
Tweed	46.2	53.8	52.6	47.4	-6.4
Upper Hunter	42.5	57.5	39.5	60.5	+3.0
Vaucluse	37.0	63.0	37.5	62.5	-0.5
Wagga Wagga	28.9	71.1	42.5	57.5	-13.6
Wakehurst	37.1	62.9	39.2	60.8	-2.1
Wallsend	58.9	41.1	72.6	27.4	-13.7
Wentworthville	51.1	48.9	65.4	34.6	-14.3
Willoughby	37.8	62.2	38.9	61.1	-1.1
Wollongong	67.7	32.3	78.7	21.3	-11.0
Wyong	54.2	45.8	65.5	34.5	-11.3

A '+' figure indicates seats where Labor recorded a higher 2PP % at the 2001 federal election, a '-' where it was higher at the 1999 state election.

·	-	2-Party Pre	eferred Vot	e	Difference in
Electorate	2001 Feder	ral Election		e Election	Labor 2PP
(Difference order)	Labor	Coalition	Labor	Coalition	[Federal - State]
Penrith	44.7	55.3	66.7	33.3	-22.0
Campbelltown	50.8	49.2	69.9	30.1	-19.1
Riverstone	49.6	50.4	67.2	32.8	-17.6
Mulgoa	50.3	49.7	67.6	32.4	-17.3
Londonderry	48.3	51.7	64.9	35.1	-16.6
Heathcote	43.8	56.2	60.4	39.6	-16.6
Macquarie Fields	57.1	42.9	73.5	26.5	-16.4
South Coast	34.1	65.9	50.5	49.5	-16.4
Kiama	51.5	48.5	67.7	32.3	-16.2
Peats	46.3	53.7	61.3	38.7	-15.0
Miranda	37.7	62.3	52.3	47.7	-14.6
Newcastle	58.1	41.9	72.4	27.6	-14.3
Wentworthville	51.1	48.9	65.4	34.6	-14.3
Menai	40.3	59.7	54.2	45.8	-13.9
Wallsend	58.9	41.1	72.6	27.4	-13.7
Wagga Wagga	28.9	71.1	42.5	57.5	-13.6
Maroubra	56.7	43.3	69.9	30.1	-13.2
East Hills	55.2	44.8	68.3	31.7	-13.1
Parramatta	51.8	48.2	64.5	35.5	-12.7
Blue Mountains	49.2	50.8	61.8	38.2	-12.6
Liverpool	66.7	33.3	78.6	21.4	-11.9
Ryde	44.7	55.3	56.6	43.4	-11.9
Illawarra	61.3	38.7	72.8	27.2	-11.5
Lake Macquarie	57.9	42.1	69.2	30.8	-11.3
Wyong	54.2	45.8	65.5	34.5	-11.3
Bathurst	56.7	43.3	67.8	32.2	-11.1
Wollongong	67.7	32.3	78.7	21.3	-11.0
Charlestown	58.4	41.6	69.3	30.7	-10.9
The Entrance	49.3	50.7	59.7	40.3	-10.4
Tamworth	34.8	65.2	45.2	54.8	-10.4
Cronulla	34.6	65.4	44.9	55.1	-10.3
Port Jackson	65.0	35.0	75.1	24.9	-10.1
Hornsby	37.6	62.4	47.3	52.7	-9.7
Hawkesbury	27.0	73.0	36.7	63.3	-9.7
Coogee	52.7	47.3	62.3	37.7	-9.6
Port Stephens	52.9	47.1	62.3	37.7	-9.4
Heffron	66.9	33.1	76.1	23.9	-9.2
Murray-Darling	45.0	55.0	54.2	45.8	-9.2
Blacktown	60.4	39.6	69.4	30.6	-9.0
Baulkham Hills	32.9	67.1	41.9	58.1	-9.0
Lakemba	65.8	34.2	74.7	25.3	-8.9
Smithfield	63.9	36.1	72.8	27.2	-8.9
Keira	63.3	36.7	72.1	27.9	-8.8
Camden	37.9	62.1	46.5	53.5	-8.6
Cessnock	65.4	34.6	73.9	26.1	-8.5
Swansea	58.1	41.9	66.6	33.4	-8.5
Bankstown	71.9	28.1	80.2	19.8	-8.3
Fairfield	70.2	29.8	78.3	21.7	-8.1
Murrumbidgee	29.9	70.1	38.0	62.0	-8.1
Mount Druitt	67.9	32.1	75.8	24.2	-7.9
Gosford	40.1	59.9	47.7	52.3	-7.6
Drummoyne	52.3	47.7	59.4	40.6	-7.1
Rockdale	52.5 60.1	39.9	59.4 66.5	40.6 33.5	-6.4
Tweed	46.2	53.8	52.6	33.5 47.4	-6.4
The Hills	46.2 28.9	53.6 71.1	52.6 35.3	47.4 64.7	-6.4 -6.4
	20.9	11.1	30.3	04.7	-0.4

2-Party Preferred Vote Difference in							
Electorate	2001 Fede	eral Election		te Election	Labor 2PP		
(Difference order)	Labor	Coalition	Labor	Coalition	[Federal - State]		
Canterbury	69.0	31.0	75.2	24.8	-6.2		
Georges River	50.1	49.9	56.3	43.7	-6.2		
Burrinjuck	43.7	56.3	48.8	51.2	-5.1		
Cabramatta	74.9	25.1	79.9	20.1	-5.0		
Auburn	69.6	30.4	74.3	25.7	-4.7		
Epping	38.7	61.3	42.9	57.1	-4.2		
Southern Highlands	40.2	59.8	44.3	55.7	-4.1		
Lane Cove	38.6	61.4	42.6	57.4	-4.0		
Marrickville	75.6	24.4	79.4	20.6	-3.8		
Clarence	47.0	53.0	50.2	49.8	-3.2		
Ku-ring-gai	27.2	72.8	30.0	70.0	-2.8		
Bligh	59.3	40.7	61.7	38.3	-2.4		
North Shore	35.5	64.5	37.7	62.3	-2.2		
Dubbo	37.4	62.6	39.5	60.5	-2.1		
Wakehurst	37.1	62.9	39.2	60.8	-2.1		
Orange	41.7	58.3	43.7	56.3	-2.0		
Davidson	27.4	72.6	28.9	71.1	-1.5		
Kogarah	56.4	43.6	57.5	42.5	-1.1		
Willoughby	37.8	62.2	38.9	61.1	-1.1		
Granville	64.0	36.0	64.6	35.4	-0.6		
Manly	40.1	59.9	40.6	59.4	-0.5		
Vaucluse	37.0	63.0	37.5	62.5	-0.5		
Lachlan	33.8	66.2	33.7	66.3	+0.1		
Monaro	50.4	49.6	49.8	50.2	+0.6		
Albury	35.9	64.1	35.2	64.8	+0.7		
Strathfield	59.2	40.8	58.4	41.6	+0.8		
Oxley	43.2	56.8	42.0	58.0	+1.2		
Coffs Harbour	43.2	56.8	41.7	58.3	+1.5		
Barwon	34.5	65.5	32.8	67.2	+1.7		
Pittwater	33.6	66.4	31.2	68.8	+2.4		
Bega	45.8	54.2	42.9	57.1	+2.9		
Upper Hunter	42.5	57.5	39.5	60.5	+3.0		
Maitland	55.3	44.7	51.0	49.0	+4.3		
Myall Lakes	41.6	58.4	37.1	62.9	+4.5		
Port Macquarie	38.2	61.8	33.4	66.6	+4.8		
Northern Tablelands	38.8	61.2	32.3	67.7	+6.5		
Lismore	48.1	51.9	41.5	58.5	+6.6		
Ballina	51.0	49.0	38.0	62.0	+13.0		

A '+' figure indicates seats where Labor recorded a higher 2PP % at the 2001 federal election, a '-' where it was higher at the 1999 state election.

	1999 State		1998 Federal		2001 Federal	
Electorate / Party	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP
ALBURY						
Labor	17.6	35.2	26.5	39.3	21.8	35.9
Liberal	43.0	64.8			39.3	64.1
National			49.5	60.7	21.0	
One Nation	4.5		12.3		5.3	
Democrat			5.1		3.5	
Green					4.1	
Others	34.9		6.6		5.0	

Federal Electorate: Farrer (100%)

Albury is shown as a National Party seat based on 1998 result, as it is contained entirely within the Federal electorate of Farrer, then held by National Party Leader Tim Fischer. On his retirement in 2001, the seat was won by the Liberal Party. At the 1999 state election, the Liberal Party recorded only 51.0% of the two-candidate preferred vote against a local Independent.

#### AUBURN

Labor	59.5	74.3	60.7	75.6	59.1	69.6
Liberal	19.7	25.7	18.7	24.4	21.2	30.4
One Nation	6.2		6.3		5.3	
Democrat	2.8		2.3		4.0	
Green	1.8		1.4		2.9	
Unity	7.4		7.7		4.3	
Others	2.6		2.9		3.3	

Federal Electorate: Reid (68.2%), Blaxland (31.6%), Lowe (0.2%)

At the 2001 election, there was a huge informal vote in the Federal electorate of Reid for reasons that are yet to be explained. This produces an informal rate of 12.2% for the state electorate of Auburn. The Labor vote is much higher than recorded at the Auburn by-election on 8 September. (See page 42)

BALLINA						
Labor	28.4	38.0	37.0	49.8	31.7	51.0
National	52.4	62.0	40.3	50.2	41.5	49.0
One Nation			8.6		3.1	
Democrat	4.3		3.2		3.3	
Green	8.6		6.9		13.7	
Others	6.3		4.0		6.7	

Federal Electorate: Richmond (70.6%), Page (29.4%)

The Labor Party has never won the state electorate of Ballina, but using both the 1998 and 2001 election results, the Labor vote is much higher than at any recent state election. In general, the North Coast was the only part of the state where Labor polled better at the 2001 federal election than at the 1999 state election.

BANKSTOWN						
Labor	68.1	80.2	66.3	76.2	61.0	71.9
Liberal	14.8	19.8	18.9	23.8	21.9	28.1
One Nation	6.0		4.9		3.5	
Democrat	1.9		2.0		4.3	
Green	1.7		1.1		2.5	
Unity	4.0		4.1		3.5	
Others	3.5		2.7		3.3	

Federal Electorate: Blaxland (79.8%), Watson (20.2%)

	1999 S	tate	1998 Fe	deral	2001 Fe	deral
Electorate / Party	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP
BARWON						
Labor	24.5	32.8	24.0	33.8	20.8	34.5
National	51.2	67.2	45.2	66.2	51.8	65.5
One Nation	20.5		23.3		10.6	
Democrat	2.8		1.9		1.2	
Green					1.0	
Others	1.1		5.6		14.6	
Enderel Electorator C			ala a d (40 70()		00()	
Federal Electorate: G	wydir (80.5%	), New En	giand (12.7%)	, Parkes (6	5.8%)	
BATHURST	wydir (80.5%	), New En	giand (12.7%)	, Parkes (6	5.8%)	
	51.0	67.8	28.0	, Parkes (6 52.3	26.1	56.7
BATHURST					·	56.7 43.3
BATHURST Labor	51.0	67.8	28.0	52.3	26.1	
<b>BATHURST</b> Labor National	51.0 15.1	67.8	28.0 9.3	52.3	26.1 16.6	
<b>BATHURST</b> Labor National Liberal	51.0 15.1 13.5	67.8	28.0 9.3 8.5	52.3	26.1 16.6	
<b>BATHURST</b> Labor National Liberal Peter Andren	51.0 15.1 13.5	67.8	28.0 9.3 8.5 41.9	52.3	26.1 16.6  49.3	
<b>BATHURST</b> Labor National Liberal Peter Andren One Nation	51.0 15.1 13.5  7.6	67.8	28.0 9.3 8.5 41.9 10.0	52.3	26.1 16.6  49.3 4.1	

Federal Electorate: Calare (94.3%), Gwydir (5.7%)

Bathurst is mainly within the federal electorate of Calare, won by Independent Peter Andren at both the 1998 and 2001 Federal elections. Using the two-party preferred counts in which Andren's preferences were distributed by the AEC, Bathurst would be Labor held on the results of both federal election, though with a smaller majority than at the 1999 state election. The Labor 2PP was inflated in 1999 by the large number of exhausted preferences.

<b>BAULKHAM HILLS</b>	i					
Labor	32.1	41.9	26.7	36.1	25.5	32.9
Liberal	47.9	58.1	55.1	63.9	59.9	67.1
One Nation	4.4		6.3		2.8	
Democrat	6.9		4.7		4.7	
Green	3.2		2.1		3.1	
Others	5.5		5.1		4.1	
Federal Electorate: I	Vitchell (77.1	%), Parrama	atta (22.9%)			
BEGA						
Labor	31.5	42.9	36.6	47.7	35.1	45.8
Liberal	45.7	57.1	44.9	52.3	45.2	54.2
One Nation	13.0		10.9		4.6	
Democrat	4.4		4.1		2.6	
Green	3.7		3.0		5.5	
Others	1.7		0.4		7.0	
Federal Electorate: I	Eden-Monarc	9 (85.7%), G	ilmore (14.3%	%)		
BLACKTOWN						
Labor	54.7	69.4	53.0	66.8	50.4	60.4
	10.0	~~~~	o 1 7	~~~~	~~~~	~~~~

Labor	54.7	69.4	53.0	66.8	50.4	60.4
Liberal	19.9	30.6	24.7	33.2	30.2	39.6
One Nation	9.5		9.8		5.7	
Democrat	7.7		4.3		2.9	
Green			1.7		2.4	
Others	8.2		6.5		8.3	

Federal Electorate: Greenway (63.7%), Chifley (36.3%)

	1999 State		1998 Federal		2001 Fe	deral
Electorate / Party	Primary	Primary 2PP		2PP	Primary	2PP
BLIGH						
Labor	31.9	61.7	47.9	61.4	40.9	59.3
Liberal	21.4	38.3	33.2	38.6	35.9	40.7
Clover Moore	37.3					
One Nation			2.3		0.3	
Democrat			7.0		9.9	
Green	5.9		5.4		12.8	
Others	3.5		4.2		0.2	

Federal Electorate: Sydney (71.1%), Wentworth (28.9%)

Held by Independent Clover Moore, federal results indicate that Bligh has a Labor majority on a two-party preferred basis. At the 1999 state election, Clover Moore recorded 59.8% of the two-candidate preferred vote versus Labor.

BLUE	MOUNTAINS	
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Labor	44.9	61.8	40.0	52.2	31.5	49.2
Liberal	27.9	38.2	37.5	47.8	43.0	50.8
One Nation	6.8		7.7		4.3	
Democrat	7.2		7.6		7.1	
Green	6.1		4.4		9.9	
Others	7.1		2.8		4.2	

Federal Electorate: Macquarie (98.3%), Calare (1.6%), Lindsay (0.1%)

The state electorate of Blue Mountains is contained mainly within the Federal electorate of Macquarie. The Labor Party has performed much better in Blue Mountains at state elections in both 1995 and 1999 than it has at recent federal elections.

BURRINJUCK						
Labor	36.8	48.8	35.1	44.6	32.5	43.7
Liberal	16.6		40.1	55.4	44.2	56.3
National	29.2	51.2	7.1		5.3	
One Nation	11.4		11.0		9.0	
Democrat	1.7		2.9		3.8	
Green	2.6		2.4		3.4	
Others	1.7		1.4		1.8	

Federal Electorate: Hume (75.4%), Farrer (17.3%), Riverina (6.2%), Eden-Monaro (1.1%)

Burrinjuck was won at the 1999 state election by the National Party, after the Liberal MP for the seat, Alby Schultz, had transferred to federal politics at the 1998 federal election. As a result, both the 1998 and 2001 federal elections show the seat as Liberal held.

CABRAMATTA						
Labor	49.3	79.9	61.9	80.2	63.7	74.9
Liberal	8.2	20.1	13.9	19.8	15.5	25.1
One Nation	5.1		5.4		2.5	
Democrat	1.3		2.7		1.6	
Green	1.2				2.1	
Unity	13.8		16.1		7.3	
Others	21.1				7.3	

#### Federal Electorate: Fowler (100%)

At the 1998 federal election, the Liberal Party was outpolled by Unity within the boundaries of the state electorate of Cabramatta. At the 1999 state election, the Labor Party polled 68.9% of the two-candidate preferred vote against an Independent candidate.

	1999 S	tate	1998 Fe	deral	2001 Fe	
Electorate / Party	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP
CAMDEN						
Labor	37.4	46.5	34.1	44.5	31.0	37.9
Liberal	43.7	53.5	48.1	55.5	56.2	62.1
One Nation	9.0		10.9		5.1	
Democrat			4.0		2.3	
Green	4.1		2.9		3.1	
Others	5.8				2.3	
Federal Electorate: M	1acarthur (86	.1%), Hum	ie (10.2%), Lin	dsay (1.9%	%), Werriwa (1	.8%)
CAMPBELLTOWN						
Labor	54.8	69.9	49.3	61.0	43.2	50.7
Liberal	21.4	30.1	30.6	39.0	42.9	49.3
One Nation	9.3		11.3		5.3	
Democrat	4.2		3.9		2.3	
Green	3.5		2.3		2.8	
Others	6.8		2.6		3.4	
Federal Electorate: M	lacarthur (80	.9%), Werr	riwa (19.1%)			
The federal electorat much higher Liberal elections.						
CANTERBURY						
Labor	56.5	75.2	58.9	70.3	56.3	69.0
Liberal	16.9	24.8	24.0	29.7	26.6	31.0
One Nation	2.8	24.0	3.6	20.7	2.4	01.0
Democrat	2.9		3.2		4.4	
Green	4.2		1.8		5.3	
Unity	4.7		5.1		4.0	
Others	12.0		3.4		0.9	
Federal Electorate: V		%), Graynd		owe (3.0%		
CESSNOCK						
Labor	54.6	73.9	61.0	70.9	56.6	65.4
Liberal	14.9	26.1	15.2	29.1		03.4
National	14.5	20.1	6.3	29.1	 22.6	34.6
One Nation	16.1		11.5		11.5	54.0
Democrat	10.1		2.9		3.7	
	 5.0		2.9		4.7	
Green Others	5.0 9.4		1.0		4.7 0.9	
Federal Electorate: H		,	1.0		0.9	
The Liberal Party cho			er at the 2001	federal ele	ction.	
CHARLESTOWN		<u> </u>	<b>F4 0</b>	C 4 F	47.0	50.4
Labor	54.7	69.3	51.9	64.5	47.3	58.4
Liberal	22.3	30.7	26.9	35.5	32.6	41.6
One Nation	10.2		9.7		5.1	
Democrat			4.5		4.6	
Green	6.4		4.0		5.7	
Others	6.4		3.0		4.7	
Federal Electorate: S	hortland (44.	8%), Charl	lton (30.1%), N	Vewcastle	(25.1%)	
	```		. ,,			

	1999 State		1998 Federal		2001 Fe	deral
Electorate / Party	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP
CLARENCE						
Labor	36.9	50.2	36.6	47.3	33.2	47.0
National	25.4	49.8	41.4	52.7	38.4	53.0
Liberal	17.8				5.0	
One Nation	10.8		13.0		7.9	
Democrat	1.3		2.3		1.9	
Green	3.4		2.5		4.2	
Others	4.4		4.2		9.4	

Table 9: NSW State Electorates - Percentage Vote by Party (continued)

Federal Electorate: Page (64.8%), Cowper (34.9%), New England (0.3%)

Clarence was won for Labor at a 1996 by-election by Harry Woods, who had lost the Federal seat of Page at the Federal election earlier that year. He retained the seat at the 1999 state election, helped by the large number of Liberal votes that exhausted preferences before flowing to the National Party candidate. Like other north coast electorates, there was only a small swing against Labor at the 2001 federal election.

COFFS HARBOUR Labor National Liberal One Nation Democrat Green Others Federal Electorate: Cow	30.6 46.1  11.3 6.0 3.5 2.5 vper (100%	41.7 58.3	33.8 42.7  12.7 3.9 4.4 2.5	44.2 55.8	30.8 32.7 14.8 5.7 3.0 5.7 7.3	43.2 56.8
COOGEE Labor Liberal One Nation Democrat Green Others Federal Electorate: Wer	49.4 32.7 2.4 5.7 9.3 0.5	62.3 37.7 .5%), Kingsfor	42.7 39.0 3.7 6.5 5.2 2.9 rd Smith (3	54.4 45.6 3.5%)	37.2 40.9 2.4 7.3 11.6 0.6	52.7 47.3
<b>CRONULLA</b> Labor Liberal One Nation Democrat Green Others Federal Electorate: Coo	34.9 44.9 7.6 2.8 4.7 5.1 k (100%)	44.9 55.1	30.4 51.8 8.1 4.0 1.9 3.8	40.1 59.9	25.3 57.9 6.1 3.4 3.4 3.7	34.6 65.4
DAVIDSON Labor Liberal One Nation Democrat Green Others	21.1 57.6 3.8 6.0 4.4 7.1	28.9 71.1	19.2 63.5 4.5 7.7 2.5 2.6	27.4 72.6	17.2 65.9 1.6 6.3 5.5 3.5	27.3 72.7

Federal Electorate: Bradfield (57.6%), Mackellar (34.6%), Warringah (7.8%)

-	1999 S	tate	1998 Fe	deral	2001 Fe	deral
Electorate / Party	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP
DRUMMOYNE						
Labor	46.6	59.4	36.6	53.4	43.9	52.3
Liberal	32.6	40.6	35.2	46.6	43.8	47.7
Paul Zammit			14.5			
One Nation	4.1		3.6		1.8	
Democrat	4.4		2.3		4.6	
Green	4.4		1.7		4.4	
Others	7.9		6.1		1.5	
Federal Electorate: Lo	owe (100%)					
DUBBO						
Labor	20.3	39.5	27.7	38.6	29.5	37.4
National	31.8	60.5	33.8	61.4	54.5	62.6
Liberal			7.6			
Tony McGrane	22.7					
One Nation	18.1		12.2		9.3	
Democrat	1.5		1.2		2.6	
Green	1.3				2.7	
Others	4.3		17.5		1.4	

Federal Electorate: Parkes (86.6%), Gwydir (12.3%), Calare (1.1%)

The state seat is currently held by Independent Tony McGrane, winning 50.02% of the twocandidate preferred vote versus the National Party. However, in a two-party preferred contest between the Labor and National Parties, all three elections show the seat to have an underlying National Party majority.

EAST HILLS						
Labor	49.2	68.3	49.3	61.1	46.0	55.2
Liberal	19.4	31.7	30.1	38.9	32.7	44.8
One Nation	10.7		11.4		8.2	
Democrat	2.5		3.3		3.3	
Green	2.2		1.6		2.6	
Others	16.0		4.3		7.3	
Federal Electorate: Banl	ks (70.3%)	, Blaxland (29	.7%)			
EPPING						
Labor	29.5	42.9	27.4	38.9	26.5	38.7
Liberal	44.1	57.1	53.5	61.1	55.6	61.3
One Nation	3.1		4.3		1.9	
Democrat	6.5		5.8		6.7	
Green	5.7		2.5		4.6	
Unity	5.4		3.6		2.6	
Others	5.7		2.9		2.1	
Federal Electorate: Beni	nelong (60	.9%), Berowra	(33.3%), I	Parramatta (4.	3%), Mitch	nell (1.5%)
FAIRFIELD						
Labor	60.1	78.3	64.3	75.6	61.0	70.2
Liberal	14.5	21.7	18.1	24.4	19.9	29.8
One Nation	7.5		6.6		4.4	
Democrat	1.7		3.5		2.7	
Green	2.2		1.2		3.7	
Unity	8.8		5.6		3.1	
Others	5.2		0.7		5.2	

Federal Electorate: Prospect (48.0%), Fowler (24.4%), Blaxland (22.6%), Reid (5.0%)

	1999 State		1998 Fe	1998 Federal		deral
Electorate / Party	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP
GEORGES RIVER						
Labor	47.1	56.3	41.2	52.7	41.0	50.1
Liberal	36.9	43.7	39.4	47.3	41.4	49.9
One Nation	5.3		8.2		4.6	
Democrat			4.3		4.9	
Green	3.0		1.5		3.1	
Unity	2.0		4.1		1.5	
Others	5.7		1.3		3.6	

Federal Electorate: Banks (58.7%), Watson (21.5%), Barton (19.8%)

A marginal Liberal electorate going into the 1999 state election, Georges River was gained by the Labor Party at that election. Interestingly, it has a Labor majority based on both the 1998 and 2001 federal elections. The 0.1% margin based on 2001 results could become a narrow Liberal majority if declaration votes were included.

GOSFORD						
Labor	40.1	47.7	36.4	43.9	31.6	40.1
Liberal One Nation	43.4 5.2	52.3	48.0 8.2	56.1	53.7 2.3	59.9
Democrat	5.2 3.4		0.2 4.8		2.3 4.0	
Green	2.8		2.1		4.0 3.5	
Others	5.1		0.5		5.0	
Federal Electorate: Ro	bertson (91	I.5%), Dobell	(8.5%)			
GRANVILLE						
Labor	56.3	64.6	57.5	69.7	55.2	64.0
Liberal	29.3	35.4	23.6	30.3	24.6	36.0
One Nation	9.1		7.0		6.3	
Democrat			2.8		3.1	
Green	3.5		1.7		2.6	
Unity			3.4		4.0	
Others	1.8		4.0		4.2	
Federal Electorate: Re	id (87.6%),	Blaxland (9.9	9%), Prospe	ect (2.5%)		
HAWKESBURY						
Labor	24.9	36.7	20.9	29.7	17.5	27.0
Liberal	47.4	63.3	57.6	70.3	65.3	73.0
One Nation	9.3		12.4		4.8	
Democrat	4.7		4.6		3.6	
Green	5.3		2.3		5.6	
Others	8.4		2.2		3.2	
Federal Electorate: Ma	cquarie (54	1.6%), Berowi	ra (23.6%),	Mitchell (21.8	%)	
HEATHCOTE						
Labor	46.9	60.4	37.3	48.6	32.6	43.8
Liberal	30.2	39.6	43.4	51.4	48.5	56.2
One Nation	8.3		9.0		5.4	
Democrat	3.4		4.5		4.0	
Green	5.6		3.3		6.1	
Others	5.6		2.5		3.5	

Federal Electorate: Hughes (80.9%), Cunningham (15.0%), Cook (4.1%)

The Labor Party polled much better in this seat, and neighbouring Menai and Miranda, at the 1999 state election than it has at any of the last three federal elections.

Table 9: NSW State	Electorates	<ul> <li>Percenta</li> </ul>	age Vote by P	arty (cont	inued)	
	1999 S	tate	1998 Fe	deral	2001 Fe	deral
Electorate / Party	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP
HEFFRON						
Labor	63.4	76.1	60.8	72.1	56.1	66.9
Liberal	19.4	23.9	22.8	27.9	27.3	33.1
One Nation	4.4		4.9		3.9	
Democrat	4.0		3.0		4.9	
Green	5.4		2.8		7.0	
Others	3.4		5.7		0.8	
Federal Electorate: K	ingsford Smit	th (64.9%)	, Sydney (24.9	%), Grayn	dler (10.2%)	
HORNSBY						
Labor	33.8	47.3	30.3	40.6	25.6	37.6
Liberal	41.1	52.7	50.1	59.4	55.1	62.4
One Nation	4.1		6.9		2.1	
Democrat	4.9		7.2		7.0	
Green	3.8		3.5		5.3	
Others	12.3		2.0		4.9	
Federal Electorate: B	erowra (97.0	%), Bradfie	eld (3.0%)			
ILLAWARRA						
Labor	50.8	72.8	56.4	69.0	49.7	61.3
Liberal	16.2	27.2	21.1	31.0	27.8	38.7
One Nation	8.9		10.3		6.0	
Democrat	5.0		4.7		8.1	
Green	4.6		3.2		4.7	
Others	14.5		4.3		3.7	
Federal Electorate: T	hrosby (73.6°	%), Cunnir	ngham (26.4%)	)		
KEIRA						
Labor	45.4	72.1	56.2	71.2	46.6	63.3
Liberal	11.2	27.9	22.1	28.8	26.0	36.7
One Nation	6.6		8.2	_0.0	4.5	
Democrat			5.0		6.6	
Green			4.3		6.1	
Independent	26.9					
Others	9.9		4.2		 10.1	
Federal Electorate: C	unningham (	100%)				
KIAMA						
Labor	49.4	67.7	49.9	60.6	40.5	51.5
Liberal	21.8	32.3	30.1	39.4	38.5	48.5
One Nation	9.2	52.5	10.5	00.4	6.1	-0.0
	9.2 3.3		10.5 3.6		7.0	
Democrat Green	3.3 7.7		3.0 3.4		7.0 5.9	
Others	8.6		3.4 2.5		5.9 1.9	
Culeis	0.0		2.0		1.3	

Federal Electorate: Throsby (56.5%), Gilmore (43.0%), Hume (0.6%)

The federal seat of Gilmore recorded a 10.1% swing at the 2001 federal election, local candidate issues having an important impact, and this is reflected in the substantially lower Labor vote in Kiama based on the 2001 federal election results.

Electorate / Party	1999 State		1998 Federal		2001 Federal	
	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP
KOGARAH						
Labor	48.0	57.5	47.1	58.5	47.7	56.4
Liberal	34.8	42.5	36.3	41.5	38.0	43.6
One Nation	4.3		6.0		3.1	
Democrat			3.0		4.4	
Green	3.2		1.4		2.6	
Unity	3.0		5.8		2.8	
Others	6.7		0.4		1.2	

Federal Electorate: Barton (74.4%), Watson (25.6%)

One of the most marginal electorates going into the 1999 election, the seat was won easily by the Labor Party. On both the 1998 and 2001 federal elections, the seat would also have produced a comfortable Labor majority.

<b>KU-RING-GAI</b> Labor Liberal One Nation Democrat Green Others	20.4 56.3 3.5 9.3 5.0 5.5	30.0 70.0	18.7 64.0 4.1 8.5 2.7 2.0	26.8 73.2	17.5 66.1 1.6 6.4 6.7 1.6	27.2 72.8
Federal Electorate: Bra	dfield (100	%)				
LACHLAN Labor National Liberal One Nation Democrat Green Others	27.5 55.1  13.0 2.7 1.7 	33.7 66.3	29.2 23.1 30.2 10.9 1.4 0.7 4.5	36.8 63.2	27.3 45.4 13.9 8.1 2.0 1.8 1.5	33.8 66.2
Federal Electorate: Par	kes (41.3%	6), Riverina (3	6.2%), Hun	ne (22.5%)		
LAKE MACQUARIE Labor Liberal One Nation Democrat Green Others	54.8 22.4 12.2  5.1 5.5	69.2 30.8	50.1 26.6 12.8 4.5 3.1 2.9	63.8 36.2	47.4 31.5 9.1 4.8 4.7 2.5	57.9 42.1
Federal Electorate: Cha	arlton (100	%)				
LAKEMBA Labor Liberal One Nation Democrat Green Unity Others	63.2 17.0 3.8 3.1  12.9	74.7 25.3	58.1 24.2 6.8 3.1 1.0 5.2 1.6	69.6 30.4	56.4 26.8 4.1 3.2 2.6 3.2 3.6	65.7 34.3

Federal Electorate: Banks (44.8%), Watson (44.8%), Blaxland (10.5%)

	1999 S	tata	1998 Fe		, 2001 Fe	doral
Electorate / Party	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP
LANE COVE						
Labor	32.3	42.6	28.0	39.3	27.0	38.6
Liberal	49.8	57.4	53.2	60.7	56.1	61.4
One Nation	2.7	0111	3.5	0011	1.0	0111
Democrat	9.2		6.2		7.0	
Green	5.2		3.4		6.4	
Others	0.9		5.7		2.5	
Federal Electorate: N		(70.4%), B		.6%)	2.0	
LISMORE			Ū (			
Labor	27.7	41.5	35.1	48.7	26.0	48.1
National	39.2	58.5	41.5	51.3	40.2	51.9
Liberal	13.5	00.0		01.0	10.2	01.0
One Nation			 9.9		4.2	
Democrat	3.3		3.2		2.9	
Green	9.7		6.5		9.9	
Others	6.6		3.8		16.8	
Federal Electorate: P		Richmone		England (		
Has been a much mo	• • •		. ,		,	
LIVERPOOL	Ū					
Labor	67.0	78.6	62.1	72.6	58.5	66.7
Liberal	17.0	21.4	20.3	27.4	24.2	33.3
One Nation	8.9	21.7	9.2	21.7	4.6	00.0
Democrat			3.3		2.1	
Green					2.5	
Unity	 4.2		4.8		2.2	
Others	2.9		0.3		5.8	
Federal Electorate: F		), Werriwa			0.0	
LONDONDERRY	(	,,	(,			
Labor	49.0	64.9	45.3	55.5	38.0	48.3
Liberal	25.0	35.1	33.6	44.5	42.7	40.3 51.7
One Nation	11.1	55.1	12.1	44.5	6.3	51.7
Democrat	3.3		3.8		2.0	
Green	3.4		1.6		2.0	
Others	8.2		3.6		8.5	
Federal Electorate: L		%) Macqu		Chifley (23		
			. ,	•	•	
Appears as a Libera result to that which or				eral electic	on, a substanti	ially differen
MACQUARIE FIELD	S					
Labor	61.9	73.5	50.2	62.1	49.2	57.1
Liberal	20.9	26.5	30.0	37.9	35.1	42.9
One Nation	9.0		11.4		4.6	
Democrat	3.0		3.3		2.6	
Green			2.1		2.5	
Others	5.2		3.0		6.0	
Federal Electorate: W		6)	-		-	
		- /				

	1999 State		1998 Fe	1998 Federal		2001 Federal	
Electorate / Party	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP	
MAITLAND							
Labor	42.9	51.0	49.2	57.1	46.8	55.3	
Liberal	41.0	49.0	35.0	42.9	13.2		
National			0.8		22.1	44.7	
One Nation	8.0		8.0		7.9		
Democrat	1.8		2.2		3.8		
Green	3.0		2.2		4.2		
Others	3.3		2.6		2.0		

Table 9: NSW State Electorates - Percentage Vote by Party (continued)

Federal Electorate: Hunter (63.8%), Paterson (36.2%)

Going into the 1999 state election, Maitland had a well known sitting Liberal MP, the Labor Party achieving only a small swing to win the seat. The Labor Party recorded a higher vote in the seat at both the 1998 and 2001 federal elections. Note that the Liberal Party did not contest the federal electorate of Hunter at the 2001 election.

16.8	40.6	29.9	40.4	11.1	40.1
38.7	59.4	52.1	59.6	48.4	59.9
30.2				32.5	
4.0		6.0		1.6	
2.5		6.0		2.3	
5.2		4.8		3.7	
2.6		1.2		0.4	
	38.7 30.2 4.0 2.5 5.2	38.7 59.4 30.2 4.0 2.5 5.2	38.7       59.4       52.1         30.2          4.0       6.0         2.5       6.0         5.2       4.8	38.7       59.4       52.1       59.6         30.2           4.0       6.0         2.5       6.0         5.2       4.8	38.759.452.159.648.430.232.54.06.01.62.56.02.35.24.83.7

Federal Electorate: Warringah (100%)

At the 1999 state election, Independent David Barr polled 51.3% of the two-candidate preferred vote versus the Liberal Party. At the 2001 federal election, Independent and former state MP, Peter Macdonald, polled a similar primary vote to Barr, but would probably have lost the seat on preference.

MAROUBRA						
Labor	59.3	69.9	48.6	60.7	46.4	56.7
Liberal	24.1	30.1	33.0	39.3	36.4	43.3
One Nation	4.9		6.5		5.3	
Democrat	3.3		3.7		4.6	
Green	5.1		3.5		6.7	
Others	3.3		4.7		0.6	
Federal Electorate: Kin	gsford Sm	ith (100%)				
MARRICKVILLE						
MARRICKVILLE Labor	53.8	79.4	59.8	77.0	51.1	75.6
-	53.8 13.5	79.4 20.6	59.8 16.6	77.0 23.0	51.1 19.1	75.6 24.4
Labor					-	
Labor Liberal	13.5		16.6		19.1	
Labor Liberal One Nation	13.5 4.2		16.6 2.7		19.1 1.4	
Labor Liberal One Nation Democrat	13.5 4.2 8.6		16.6 2.7 5.8		19.1 1.4 9.8	

Federal Electorate: Grayndler (86.5%), Sydney (13.5%)

	1999 State		1998 Federal		2001 Federal	
Electorate / Party	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP
MENAI						
Labor	43.2	54.2	34.1	44.9	32.7	40.3
Liberal	37.0	45.8	46.4	55.1	52.7	59.7
One Nation	8.0		8.4		4.7	
Democrat	2.9		3.1		3.4	
Green	4.2		2.3		3.8	
Others	4.7		5.7		2.7	

Table 9: NSW State Electorates - Percentage Vote by Party (continued)

Federal Electorate: Hughes (88.0%), Banks (12.0%)

The Labor result at the 1999 state election was substantially higher than at either the 1998 and 2001 federal election.

MIRANDA						
Labor	42.9	52.3	32.7	42.8	28.7	37.7
Liberal	40.6	47.7	48.9	57.2	55.0	62.3
One Nation	7.2		8.4		5.6	
Democrat	3.7		4.5		3.7	
Green	4.1		1.8		3.4	
Others	1.6		3.7		3.6	

Federal Electorate: Cook (82.8%), Hughes (17.2%)

As with neighbouring Menai and Heathcote, the Labor Party vote was substantially higher at the 1999 state election than at either of the last two federal elections. These Sutherland Shire seats show some of the largest differences between state and federal results.

MONARO						
Labor	31.7	49.8	42.6	52.4	38.8	50.4
Liberal	19.7		41.2	47.6	37.8	49.6
National	22.2	50.2				
One Nation	7.5		8.3		3.0	
Democrat			4.8		3.7	
Green	4.7		2.6		4.2	
Others	14.2		0.5		12.5	

Federal Electorate: Eden-Monaro (100%)

Remains a marginal seat on the results of all three elections.

MOUNT DRUITT						
Labor	59.6	75.8	62.8	74.0	59.5	67.9
Liberal	16.0	24.2	17.4	26.0	23.5	32.1
One Nation	8.7		9.8		5.7	
Democrat	3.8		4.0		1.8	
Green	2.9		1.2		1.6	
Others	9.0		4.8		7.8	

Federal Electorate: Chifley (95.7%), Greenway (4.3%)

	1999 State		1998 Federal		2001 Federal	
Electorate / Party	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP
MULGOA						
Labor	53.1	67.6	45.8	56.1	42.7	50.3
Liberal	24.2	32.4	34.3	43.9	40.3	49.7
One Nation	8.9		9.9		5.8	
Democrat	3.2		4.7		2.2	
Green	2.0		1.4		2.5	
Others	8.6		3.9		6.5	

Table 9: NSW State Electorates - Percentage Vote by Party (continued)

Federal Electorate: Prospect (37.2%), Lindsay (36.1%), Chifley (26.7%)

Contains some of the more rapidly growing parts of the federal electorates of Lindsay around Glenmore Park, and so has only a very narrow Labor majority based on 2001 federal results.

MURRAY-DARLING						
Labor	44.2	54.2	38.8	50.3	35.2	45.0
National	36.3	45.8	30.9	49.7	35.9	55.0
Liberal			6.2		11.2	
One Nation	16.4		18.0		11.7	
Democrat	2.1		2.3		1.9	
Others	1.0		3.8		4.1	

Federal Electorate: Parkes (57.7%), Farrer (30.7%), Riverina (6.5%), Gwydir (5.1%)

Within living memory, the Labor Party has never lost the state electorate based on Broken Hill. However, Murray-Darling recorded a National Party majority based on 2001 federal results, and taking account of declaration votes, would also have had a National Party majority in 1998.

MURRUMBIDGEE						
Labor	32.7	38.0	25.3	33.8	23.1	29.9
National	54.5	62.0	46.3	66.2	50.6	70.1
Liberal			10.6		12.8	
One Nation	8.4		13.2		5.7	
Democrat	3.8		2.2		1.4	
Green					1.7	
Others	0.7		2.4		4.7	
Federal Electorate	: Riverina (66.	1%), Farrer	(33.9%)			
MYALL LAKES						
Labor	29.4	37.1	30.6	40.5	33.4	41.6
National	51.3	62.9	37.1	59.5	28.3	58.4
Liberal			13.8		24.1	
One Nation	13.6		11.4		8.2	
Democrat			2.3		2.2	
Green	4.2		1.5		2.3	
Others	1.5		3.3		1.4	
Federal Electorate	: Paterson (58.	2%), Lyne (	41.8%)			
NEWCASTLE						
Labor	53.1	72.4	n.a	n.a.	41.1	58.1
Liberal	20.1	27.6	n.a	n.a	30.2	41.9
One Nation	8.5		n.a		4.9	
Democrat	4.4		n.a		6.3	
Green	10.0		n.a		8.7	
Others	3.9		n.a		8.8	

Federal Electorate: Newcastle (97.4%), Paterson (2.6%)

The Liberal Party did not contest the delayed 1998 election in the federal seat of Newcastle

	1999 S	1999 State		deral	2001 Federal	
Electorate / Party	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP
NORTH SHORE						
Labor	27.9	37.7	25.0	35.0	18.3	35.5
Liberal	53.9	62.3	58.0	65.0	56.8	64.5
One Nation	2.2		2.9		0.3	
Democrat	8.0		7.0		6.3	
Green	7.0		3.8		6.0	
Others	0.9		3.3		12.3	
Federal Electorate: N	orth Sydney	(60.8%), W	/arringah (39.2	2%)		
NORTHERN TABLE	LANDS					
Labor	9.2	32.3	24.4	37.9	12.5	38.8
National	34.1	67.7	32.8	62.1	42.6	61.2
Liberal			14.4			
Torbay/Windsor	44.2				37.3	
One Nation	7.1		15.7		2.9	
Democrat	2.8		2.2		1.5	
Democrat	2.0		2.2		1.0	
Green	2.0 1.8		2.2		3.2	

Federal Electorate: New England (100%)

Won by Independent Richard Torbay at the 1999 state election with a two-candidate preferred vote of 59.4% versus the National Party. The seat would also have recorded an Independent majority at the 2001 federal election, based on the results for Tony Windsor.

OR	ΔΝ	JC	F
υκ	Ar	٩G	

•••••						
Labor	32.3	43.7	21.8	40.4	16.6	41.7
National	41.6	56.3	14.7		25.2	58.3
Liberal			17.0	59.6		
Peter Andren			30.7		50.1	
One Nation	12.6		12.7		4.7	
Democrat	2.7		1.0		1.3	
Green	3.1		1.1		1.6	
Others	7.7		1.0		0.5	

Federal Electorate: Calare (98.1%), Hume (1.0%), Gwydir (0.8%)

Included within the boundaries of the Federal seat of Calare, won by Independent Peter Andren in both 1996 and 1998. Records an underlying Coalition majority, even though Andren could have won the seat based on the federal results.

OXLEY						
Labor	24.4	42.0	31.6	41.7	31.1	43.2
National	36.3	58.0	42.9	58.3	39.2	56.8
Liberal					8.7	
One Nation	18.8		18.3		10.8	
Democrat	2.8		2.7		2.2	
Green	3.8		2.9		4.2	
Others	13.9		1.6		3.7	

Federal Electorate: Lyne (51.8%), Cowper (48.1%), New England (0.1%)

	1999 S		1998 Fe		2001 Fe	
Electorate / Party	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP
PARRAMATTA						
Labor	53.6	64.5	44.8	55.7	44.1	51.7
Liberal	30.0	35.5	37.6	44.3	43.4	48.3
One Nation	4.9		5.9		2.7	
Democrat	3.2		2.7		3.4	
Green	2.7		1.5		3.2	
Unity	3.6		5.2		1.7	
Others	2.0		2.3		1.5	
Federal Electorate: P	arramatta (98	3.6%), Reio	d (1.4%)			
PEATS						
Labor	49.9	61.3	42.8	51.2	37.7	46.3
Liberal	31.3	38.7	40.3	48.8	47.4	53.7
One Nation	6.8		10.2		3.8	
Democrat	3.9		4.2		3.4	
Green	2.9		1.8		3.0	
Others	5.2		0.7		4.7	
Federal Electorate: R	obertson (88	.2%), Dobe	ell (11.8%)			
The Liberal Party has from the 2001 federal						gh the resul
PENRITH						
Labor	53.2	66.7	38.6	47.7	34.6	44.7
Liberal	25.2	33.3	42.8	52.3	46.8	55.3
One Nation	8.7		9.6		5.0	
Democrat	2.3		3.3		2.5	
Green	3.0		2.1		3.1	
Others	7.6		3.6		8.0	
Federal Electorate: L	indsay (96.1%	%), Macqua	arie (3.9%)			
No seat records a bi Penrith, currently sho 1998 and 2001 federa	owing as an					
PITTWATER						
Labor	19.7	31.2	17.0	33.4	17.7	33.6
Liberal	52.0	68.8	54.2	66.6	57.1	66.4
One Nation	4.9	-	7.1	-	2.8	
Democrat	11.7		11.0		10.6	
Green	6.5		3.5		9.4	
Others	5.2		7.2		2.5	
Federal Electorate: M	lackellar (100	)%)				

Federal Electorate: Mackellar (100%)

PORT JACKSON						
Labor	53.9	75.1	53.1	68.6	42.8	65.0
Liberal	18.4	24.9	26.0	31.4	29.8	35.0
One Nation	1.8		2.5		0.6	
Democrat	7.5		6.5		10.5	
Green	7.9		5.8		15.5	
Others	10.5		6.1		0.8	

Federal Electorate: Sydney (66.6%), Grayndler (33.4%)

					-	
	1999 S		1998 Fe		2001 Fe	
Electorate / Party	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP
PORT MACQUARIE	07.0	00.4	~~~~	44.0	<u> </u>	00.0
Labor	27.0	33.4	30.6	41.3	29.6	38.2
National	56.0	66.6	50.2	58.7	55.1	61.8
One Nation	12.1		11.7		8.6	
Democrat			2.5		2.7	
Green	3.0		1.9		2.8	
Others	1.9		3.1		1.3	
Federal Electorate: Ly	ne (99.4%),	Sydney (0	0.6%)			
PORT STEPHENS						
Labor	45.6	62.3	42.8	51.1	43.6	52.9
Liberal		a= -	40.5	48.9	37.0	47.1
National	23.9	37.7			4.1	
One Nation	13.0		8.2		5.3	
Democrat	3.3		1.7		3.0	
Green	5.5		2.0		3.4	
Others	8.7		4.8		3.5	
Federal Electorate: Pa	aterson (77.4	1%), Newc	astle (22.6%)			
RIVERSTONE						
Labor	54.9	67.2	43.2	55.8	39.9	49.6
Liberal	25.6	32.8	35.0	44.2	40.5	50.4
One Nation	9.4		10.0		5.3	
Democrat	4.5		4.7		3.9	
Green	3.6		1.5		2.4	
Others	2.0		5.6		8.0	
Federal Electorate: Gr	eenway (99	.1%), Parra	amatta (0.9%)			
Containing the rapidly majority based on the state election.						
ROCKDALE						
Labor	55.9	66.5	55.5	64.9	53.0	60.1
Liberal	27.6	33.5	30.3	35.1	34.4	39.9
One Nation	5.5		7.0		3.6	
Democrat	2.7		2.2		3.8	
Green	3.0		1.3		2.6	
Others	5.3		3.7		2.6	
Federal Electorate: Ba	arton (95.1%	), Watson	(4.9%)			
RYDE			a = -	<b></b> -	0.5.5	
Labor	44.1	56.6	35.0	47.5	33.9	44.7
Liberal	33.6	43.4	46.0	52.5	50.9	55.3
One Nation	2.5		4.4		3.0	
Democrat	3.8		4.2		5.4	
Green	2.7		2.7		3.6	
Unity	3.1		4.3		1.7	
Others	10.2		3.4		1.5	
=						

Federal Electorate: Bennelong (100%)

Contained entirely within the Prime Minister's electorate of Bennelong, the state seat of Ryde shows a Liberal majority at both the 1998 and 2001 federal elections.

	1999 S	tate	1998 Fe	deral	2001 Fe	deral
Electorate / Party	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP
SMITHFIELD						
Labor	62.3	72.8	57.9	67.5	56.5	63.9
Liberal	22.0	27.2	25.6	32.5	26.9	36.1
One Nation	5.8		7.2		4.1	
Democrat	2.4		4.8		2.3	
Green	3.1		1.3		4.1	
Others	4.4		3.2		6.0	
Federal Electorate: Pi	rospect (82.9	%), Reid (	9.1%), Fowler	(8.0%)		
Labor	40.2	50.5	36.1	45.8	26.1	34.1
Liberal	39.9	49.5	45.4	54.2	57.5	65.9
One Nation	10.4		12.2		6.5	
Democrat			2.5		3.2	
Green	5.1		2.0		4.4	
Others	4.4		1.8		2.3	
Federal Electorate: G	ilmore (100%	b)				

The Labor Party's most marginal electorate following the 1999 state election, the seat shows a Liberal majority based on results of both federal elections. Contained within the federal electorate of Gilmore, that seat recorded a 10.1% swing to the Liberal Party in 2001, mainly due to local candidate issues.

SOUTHERN HIGHLAN	DS					
Labor	34.1	44.3	31.3	42.8	28.6	40.2
Liberal	44.4	55.7	48.6	57.2	52.7	59.8
One Nation	10.2		11.1		6.9	
Democrat	3.1		4.9		5.5	
Green	4.2		3.5		5.8	
Others	4.0		0.6		0.4	
Federal Electorate: Hum	ie (79.8%)	, Gilmore (19.9	9%), Maca	rthur (0.3%)		
STRATHFIELD						
Labor	44.8	58.4	39.4	60.6	47.8	59.2
Liberal	33.2	41.6	28.7	39.4	36.3	40.8

Labor	44.8	58.4	39.4	60.6	47.8	59.2
Liberal	33.2	41.6	28.7	39.4	36.3	40.8
One Nation	3.3		3.7		2.0	
Democrat	4.4		2.8		4.7	
Green	3.3		1.7		4.9	
Unity	5.5		7.7		3.4	
Others	5.5		16.0		0.9	

Federal Electorate: Lowe (75.5%), Grayndler (24.3%), Blaxland (0.2%)

A marginal Liberal electorate going into 1999 state election, Strathfield recorded a substantial swing to Labor in 1999. A similar Labor majority is recorded using both 1998 and 2001 federal results.

58.1 41.9

SWANSEA					
Labor	51.2	66.6	52.4	62.6	49.6
Liberal	23.5	33.4	28.1	37.4	35.0
One Nation	13.2		10.2		4.6
Democrat	4.0		3.5		2.9
Green	4.9		3.0		3.7
Others	3.2		2.8		4.3

Federal Electorate: Shortland (100%)

	1999 S	tate	1998 Fe	deral	2001 Fe	deral
Electorate / Party	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP
TAMWORTH	-		-			
Labor	12.4	45.2	22.9	36.5	8.8	34.8
National	11.6	54.8	33.0	63.5	38.0	65.2
Liberal			13.6			
Tony Windsor	69.4				46.4	
One Nation	6.7		14.7		3.0	
Democrat			1.8		0.7	
Green			1.2		0.9	
Others			12.8		2.3	

Federal Electorate: New England (82.6%), Gwydir (17.4%)

Won by Independent Tony Windsor, he would also have won the seat based on his victory in New England at the 2001 federal election. (See by-election results on Page 42)

THE ENTRANCE						
Labor	47.3	59.7	44.2	51.6	42.7	49.3
Liberal	27.6	40.3	39.7	48.4	44.7	50.7
National	9.5					
One Nation	6.9		8.8		4.0	
Democrat	2.8		3.3		4.1	
Green	2.3		2.1		2.7	
Others	3.6		1.9		1.7	

#### Federal Electorate: Dobell (100%)

Records a Liberal majority based on the Liberal victory in Dobell at the 2001 federal election.

THE HILLS									
Labor	25.3	35.3	22.2	30.7	21.5	28.9			
Liberal	51.1	64.7	61.0	69.3	64.2	71.1			
One Nation	3.7		4.9		1.8				
Democrat	6.9		5.2		4.9				
Green	2.7		1.9		2.9				
Unity	4.0		3.0		0.6				
Others	6.3		1.8		4.1				
Federal Electorate: Mitchell (73.2%), Berowra (26.8%)									
TWEED									
Labor	44.2	52.6	39.0	48.0	36.5	46.2			
National	40.7	47.4	40.0	52.0	46.8	53.8			
One Nation			12.4		5.0				
Democrat	2.4		2.4		2.3				
Green	5.0		3.5		5.8				
Others	7.7		2.7		3.6				

Federal Electorate: Richmond (100%)

A better result for the National Party at the last two federal polls than at the state election in 1999.

	1999 S	tate	1998 Fe	deral	2001 Fe	deral
Electorate / Party	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP
UPPER HUNTER						
Labor	31.7	39.5	37.4	46.9	31.1	42.5
National	49.2	60.5	33.2	53.1	46.4	57.5
iberal			8.6			
One Nation	12.8		14.5		8.8	
Democrat			2.9		1.9	
Green	3.0		0.7		2.3	
Dthers	3.3		2.7		9.3	
Federal Electorate: G	Gwydir (76.1%	b), Hunter (	23.9%)			
AUCLUSE						
_abor	27.2	37.5	28.0	37.7	25.6	37.0
_iberal	53.8	62.5	56.0	62.3	57.5	63.0
One Nation	2.1		2.4		1.4	
Democrat	6.0		5.5		5.4	
Green	10.1		4.6		9.0	
Others	0.8		3.5		1.1	
ederal Electorate: V	Ventworth (10	0%)				
NAGGA WAGGA						
_abor	26.3	42.5	26.1	34.6	21.4	28.9
iberal	25.4	57.5	22.9	0.10	5.4	_0.0
lational	22.9	0110	35.5	65.4	56.9	71.1
ne Nation	8.0		11.3		5.4	
Democrat	2.7		2.5		3.2	
Greens			2.0		3.2	
Others	 14.7		1.7		4.6	
ederal Electorate: F	Riverina (84.8	%), Farrer	(15.2%)			
A Liberal seat, but co	ontained within	n the Fede	ral National Pa	arty electo	rate of Riverina	a.
VAKEHURST						
_abor	28.8	39.2	26.4	38.3	19.4	37.1
iberal	48.4	60.8	51.2	61.7	53.8	62.9
Ine Nation	6.7		7.7		2.7	
emocrat	6.5		7.4		5.9	
Green	6.6		2.7		5.4	
ndependent					12.8	
Others	2.9		4.6		-	
ederal Electorate: N	Aackellar (56.	9%), Warri	ngah (43.1%)			
WALLSEND						
abor	57.5	72.6	53.5	66.3	46.4	58.9
iberal	19.5	27.4	24.7	33.7	30.1	41.1
One Nation	11.5		10.7		6.9	
Democrat			4.5		5.0	
	69		33		54	
Green Others	6.9 4.6		3.3 3.3		5.4 6.2	

Federal Electorate: Newcastle (50.2%), Charlton (46.0%), Paterson (3.8%)

	1999 State 1998 F		1998 Fe	deral	2001 Fe	deral
Electorate / Party	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP	Primary	2PP
WENTWORTHVILLE						
Labor	52.5	65.4	45.2	55.6	44.1	51.1
Liberal	27.3	34.6	36.6	44.4	42.3	48.9
One Nation	6.4		8.0		3.6	
Democrat	2.8		3.7		3.1	
Green	2.7		1.7		3.2	
Unity	2.4		2.4		0.7	
Others	5.9		2.4		3.1	
Federal Electorate: Pa	arramatta (6	5.9%), Pros	pect (20.4%)	Greenway	y (8.8%), Mitcł	nell (4.9%)
Federal results show results.	this seat as	much more	e marginal tha	an it appea	irs based on s	tate election
WILLOUGHBY						
Labor	28.1	38.9	26.6	39.0	25.6	37.8
Liberal	50.8	61.1	53.0	61.0	56.1	62.2
One Nation	2.2		3.1		0.6	
Democrat	7.6		7.0		8.1	
Green	5.2		3.7		7.5	
Unity	4.5		5.1		0.6	
Others	1.6		1.5		1.4	
Federal Electorate: No	orth Sydney	(62.7%), Br	adfield (37.39	%)		
WOLLONGONG						
Labor	62.7	78.7	62.6	74.6	55.5	67.7
Liberal	15.6	21.3	17.2	25.4	22.7	32.3
One Nation			8.5		4.8	
Democrat	5.5		4.8		7.4	
Green	6.5		3.3		5.5	
Others	9.7		3.6		4.1	
Federal Electorate: Th	nrosby (56.3	%), Cunninę	gham (43.7%)	)		
WYONG						
Labor	54.1	65.5	48.9	57.6	47.0	54.2
Liberal	26.9	34.5	32.9	42.4	39.6	45.8
One Nation	9.6		11.2		4.8	
Democrat	2.9		2.8		3.3	
Green			2.2		2.9	
Others	6.5		2.0		2.4	
Federal Electorate: Do	obell (55.1%	), Shortland	l (41.1%), Ch	arlton (3.89	%)	

### **Comparing Senate and Legislative Council Elections**

As both the Senate and the Legislative Council are elected from state wide constituencies, a direct comparison can be made between the vote recorded by parties at both elections. The level of combined support for the major parties has generally been the same in elections for both chambers, except for the 1999 state election, when the 'tablecloth' ballot paper appears to have increased the vote for minor parties.

Generally, the Australian Democrats have polled higher at Senate elections than Legislative Council elections, as is shown in Table 10. At federal elections, the Australian Democrats receive greater media coverage as the established 'balance of power' party in the Senate, where in the Legislative Council, they share that role with other minor parties.

	N	SW Sena	te	Legislative Council			
Party	1996	1998	2001	1991	1995	1999	
Labor	37.2	38.7	33.5	37.3	35.3	37.3	
Liberal/National	41.4	36.6	41.8	45.3	38.5	27.4	
Democrat	9.5	7.3	6.2	6.7	3.2	4.0	
Greens	2.7	2.2	4.4	3.3	3.7	2.9	
Call to Australia	2.0	1.5	1.9	3.6	3.0	3.2	
Shooters Party	2.0				2.8	1.7	
One Nation		9.6	5.6			6.3	
Independents/Others	5.2	4.1	6.6	3.8	13.5	17.2	
Informal Vote	3.7	3.4	3.5	5.7	6.1	7.2	

Table 10 : Percentage Vote by Party at Recent Upper House Elections

The smaller numbers elected at half-Senate elections has also favoured the Democrats. With six Senators to be elected, the quota is 14.3%. As the largest of the minor parties, and as the 'centre' party generally receiving the surplus preferences of both Labor and the Coalition, the Democrats have generally won the final vacancy in New South Wales. That was until the 2001 election, when the final seat was won by the Greens, owing to a decline in the Democrat and surplus Labor vote, and strong flows of preferences from other minor parties to the Greens.

Legislative Council elections since 1995 have elected 21 MLCs, with a much smaller quota of 4.55%. This gives other parties a greater opportunity to win seats, as is shown in Tables 11 and 12, showing past results for the Legislative Council. The large number of 'other' parties elected is shown in Tables 13 and 14, which give the historical and current composition of the Legislative Council.

	1978	1981	1984	1988	1991	1995	1999
Labor Party	54.9	51.8	46.9	37.5	37.3	35.3	37.3
Liberal / National Party	36.3	33.8	42.6	46.1	45.3	38.5	27.4
Australian Democrats	2.8	4.0	3.2	2.7	6.7	3.2	4.0
Call to Australia / CDP		9.1	6.1	5.7	3.6	3.0	3.2
Greens				1.6	3.3	3.7	2.9
Shooters Party						2.8	1.7
A Better Future for Our Childr	en					1.3	0.4
Pauline Hanson's One Nation							6.3
Reform the Legal System							1.0
Unity							1.0
Outdoor Recreation Party							0.2
Others	6.0	1.3	1.2	6.3	3.6	12.2	14.6
Informal	4.1	6.8	6.7	8.1	5.7	6.1	7.2

#### Table 11 : Percentage Vote by Party, Legislative Council Elections 1978-99

	1978	1981	1984	1988	1991	1995	1999
Labor Party	9	8	7	6	6	8	8
Liberal / National	6	5	7	7	7	8	6
Call to Australia / CDP		1	1	1	1	1	1
Australian Democrats		1		1	1	1	1
Greens						1	1
Shooters Party						1	
A Better Future for Our Children						1	
Unity							1
One Nation							1
Reform the Legal System							1
Outdoor Recreation Party							1
Seats Elected	15	15	15	15	15	21	21

#### Table 12 : Seats Won by Party, Legislative Council Elections 1978-95

#### Table 13 : Party Composition of Legislative Council based on elections, 1978-98

	ALP	LIB/NAT	СТА	DEM	GRN	IND*	OTH*	Seats
1978	23	20						43
1981	24	18	1	1				44
1984	24	18	2	1				45
1988	21	19	3	2				45
1991	18	20	2	2				42
1995	17	18	2	2	1		2	42
1999	16	14	2	2	2		6	42
Current	16	13	2	1	2	2	6	42

#### Table 14 : Party Composition of Retiring and Continuing Legislative Councillors.

	ALP	LID/NAT	CDP	DEM	GRN	IND*	OTH*	Seats
Retiring	8	5/2	1		1	2	2	21
Continuing	8	4/2	1	1	1		4	21
Total	16	9/4	2	1	2	2	6	42

\* The two independents whose terms end in 2003 are Richard Jones, originally elected as an Australian Democrat, and Helen Sham-Ho, originally elected to represent the Liberal Party. The two 'Others' whose terms end in 2003 are Alan Corbett (A Better Future for Our Children) and John Tingle (Shooters Party). The four 'Others' whose terms end in 2007 are Peter Breen (Reform the Legal System), Malcolm Jones (Outdoor Recreation Party), David Oldfield (elected for One Nation) and Peter Wong (Unity).

#### Changes to the Legislative Councils Electoral System

At the 1995 and 1999 Legislative Council elections, the complex flow of preferences from registered group ticket (or 'above the line') votes resulted in the election of candidates who had received a very low percentage of primary votes. In 1999, Malcolm Jones of the Outdoor Recreation Party was elected ahead of all other minor parties despite winning just 0.2% of the primary vote, reaching his quota with an axtraordinary flow of preferences from more than two-dozen political parties.

This was only possible because of the use of registered group ticket votes. All votes cast above the line for a party had their preferences distributed according to a lodged ticket of preferences. Along with a registration system that made it easy to register 'stalking horse' parties with attractive names, designed solely to gain control of group ticket votes on the ballot paper, this was a serious distortion to the proportionality of the electoral system.

As a result of the 1999 election, the rules for the 2003 Legislative Council election have been changed. How quotas and preferences are counted will remain the same, as these matters are entrenched in Schedule Six of the Constitution Act, and can only be amended by referendum. However, the format of the ballot paper, and how an order of preferences is imputed for an above the line vote, are both defined by the Parliamentary Electorates and Elections Act. This act has been amended, changing the structure of the ballot paper, and more importantly changing the way votes are imputed from an above the line vote.

The major changes to how the count will proceed are as follows:

- Quota and surplus calculations will remain the same, as will the minimum number of 15 preferences required to be filled in. These provisions are in the Constitution Act and require a referendum to change.
- The group ticket or 'above the line' voting option will remain, so that the ballot paper will still appear the same as for the Senate and past Legislative Council elections.
- There will no longer be preference tickets between groups. A simple '1' above the line for a party will now count as a preference for all candidates of that party, and cannot be distributed to other parties. If at any point the last candidate of a party is excluded from the count, all above the line votes for that party will exhaust their preferences.
- A party or group must nominate a full list of 15 candidiates to have an above the line voting box. Previously, only 2 candidates were required, and the use of a box was optional. The nomination deposit for a full ticket has also been increase to \$5,000. (As the Constitution states there must be 15 preferences, ensuring there are 15 candidates for a party means the new above the line voting option will meet this constitutional requirement. Special provisions have been put in place in case a candidate for a party is disqualified.)
- Voters will continue to be allowed to vote for candidates below the line. However, a new form of above the line voting will be allowed. Voters can give preferences for parties above the line. (e.g. 1 Democrat, 2 Green, etc) and these will be imputed as preferences for the candidates of these parties. Preferences will flow down the ticket of the first party, then the ticket of the second party, and so on.
- The tighter procedures for the registration of political parties, along with the higher nomination deposit, should decrease the number candidates and parties nominating. Only 19 parties have met the registration deadline for the next election (see page 4), compared to more than eighty registered parties in 1999. In 1999, there were 264 candidates and 81 columns on the ballot paper. The requirement that 15 candidates be nominated by a party to gain access to an above the line voting box means the number of candidates may still be large for the 2003 election, but the number of columns on the ballot paper should be greatly reduced.

These changes have major implications for how the count is conducted. Above all, it will greatly diminish the number of preferences in the count, and effectively increase the importance of primary votes received by a party. The following points can be made about how the count will differ in 2003.

- At the 1999 election, 96.2% of votes were cast above the line, and only 3.8% below the line for candidates. The below the line vote was lowest for the major parties, Labor 1.5% and the Coalition 1.9%, and higher for minor parties, such as the Australian Democrats 11.6%, The Greens 12.9%, Pauline Hanson's One Nation 5.6% and the Christian Democrats 10.4%. If the ticket voting proportion remains this high, then only a small proportion of votes will have preferences between parties.
- Prior to the introduction of above the line voting in 1988, the proportion of votes with preferences was low. In 1984, the exclusion of the final Labor candidate in the count saw 89.6% of votes exhaust, as most Labor voters did not number beyond the end of the ticket. Among minor parties, high exhaustion rates were also common, with the exhaustion rate increasing the longer a candidate stayed in the count.

 It is not possible to estimate how many people will take advantage of the new option of voting for parties above the line. This will depend on what political parties do with their how-to-vote cards, and whether they suggest voters should fill in preferences for other parties above the line. As smaller parties are less able to deliver how-to-vote cards, and given the wide-spread use of above the line voting, it would be surprising if more than a quarter of votes for most minor party give preferences to other parties.

The biggest implication of the changes is that the method used by 'micro' parties to harvest preferences to win election will no longer be available. There will just not be enough preferences available for a party with a low vote to pull ahead of others and get elected. At the 2003 election, the initial primary vote order of parties is unlikely to change much after the distribution of preferences. However, the large number of exhausted preferences may mean that the final vacancies will still go to parties with a low primary count, election achieved by being the last candidate standing, elected with less than a full quota.

What may occur can be seen with reference to the 2001 federal election, shown in Table 15.

Table 15 : Possible Legislative Council Result	based on 200		LIECTION	
		%	Full	Partial
Party	Votes	Votes	Quotas	Quotas
The Greens	169139	4.36		0.9592
Christian Democratic Party (Fred Nile Group)	72697	1.87		0.4123
Progressive Labour Party	68483	1.77		0.3884
Australian Labor Party / Country Labor	1299488	33.50	7	0.3692
Australian Democrats	240867	6.21	1	0.3659
Pauline Hanson's One Nation	216522	5.58	1	0.2279
Help End Marijuana Prohibition	35526	0.92		0.2015
Liberal/Nationals	1620235	41.76	9	0.1881
The Fishing Party	27591	0.71		0.1565
No GST	25734	0.66		0.1459
Lower Excise Fuel and Beer Party	23767	0.61		0.1348
Australians Against Further Immigration	21012	0.54		0.1192
Unity	19731	0.51		0.1119
Peter Breen - Reform The Legal System	8199	0.21		0.0465
Helen Caldicott's - Our Common Future Party	5358	0.14		0.0304
Republican Party of Australia	5101	0.13		0.0289
Nuclear Disarmament Party of Australia	4596	0.12		0.0261
Non-Custodial Parents Party	4071	0.10		0.0231
Group L	2402	0.06		0.0136
Citizens Electoral Council	2370	0.06		0.0134
Ungrouped	2013	0.05		0.0114
Advance Australia Party	1936	0.05		0.0110
Group U	1364	0.04		0.0077
Group N	1241	0.03		0.0070
Formal	3879443		18	4.0000
Informal	142281	3.54		
Total votes / Turnout	4021724	95.49		
Quota	176340			

#### Table 15 : Possible Legislative Council Result based on 2001 Senate Election

Using a Legislative Council quota for the Senate result, the first 18 places would be filled easily, with 9 Coalition councillors, 7 Labor and one each from the Australian Democrats and One Nation.

Table 15 has been ordered in partial quota order. A 'partial quota' is the vote expressed in quotas left over on a ticket after all candidates with full quotas have been declared elected. After the election of 18 MLCs in Table 15, three vacancies would remain to be filled. Under the new voting system, there would be less votes than in the past available for distribution as preferences. It is likely that the exclusion of the final candidate from each party would see an enormous number of votes excluded from the count with exhausted preferences.

With 0.9592 quotas, the Green candidate would have won the 19<sup>th</sup> vacancy, possibly even achieving a quota on preferences. However, the final two vacancies would almost certainly fail to achieve a quota, being elected as the last candidates remaining in the count after other candidates are excluded.

With 0.4123 quotas, the 20<sup>th</sup> spot would most likely go to the Christian Democrats, as they would have received some preferences from the Liberal / National Party ticket. The final spot would be between an 8<sup>th</sup> Labor candidate, a 2<sup>nd</sup> Australian Democrat, and a candidate from the Progressive Labor Party. These three parties are within 4,000 votes of each other, so the small number of preferences filled in below the line, or using the new above the line preferencing option, would determine which is elected. While under the old voting system, one of the other parties could have collected preferences and pulled ahead of these parties, under the new system, this would be extremely unlikely.

Table 16 expresses the vote for the larger parties at the 1999 Legislative Council, and looks at how this could have affected the count.

Table 16 : Possible Legislative Council Result	t based on 199	<b>39 Council</b>	Election	
		%	Full	Partial
Party (MLCs elected in 1999)	Votes	Votes	Quotas	Quotas
Australian Democrats (1 elected)	142 768	4.01		0.8828
Christian Democratic Party (1 elected)	112 699	3.17		0.6969
The Greens (1 elected)	103 463	2.91		0.6398
Pauline Hanson's One Nation (1 elected)	225 668	6.34	1	0.3955
John Tingle - The Shooters Party	59 295	1.67		0.3667
Progressive Labor Party	56 037	1.58		0.3465
Marijuana Smokers Rights Party	43 991	1.24		0.2720
Reform the Legal System (1 elected)	35 712	1.00		0.2202
Unity (1 elected)	34 785	0.98		0.2151
Labor Party (8 elected)	1 325 819	37.27	8	0.1984
Country Summit Alliance	31 771	0.89		0.1965
Registered Clubs Party	27 564	0.77		0.1704
Gun Owners & Sporting Hunters	25 106	0.71		0.1552
Country Party	19 819	0.56		0.1226
What's Doing? Party	18 318	0.51		0.1133
A Better Future for Our Children	15 800	0.44		0.0977
Franca Arena Child Safety Alliance	13 788	0.39		0.0853
Three Day Weekend Party	12 003	0.34		0.0742
Australian Family Alliance	11 824	0.33		0.0731
Young Australians Caring	11 090	0.31		0.0686
Austs Against Further Immigration	10 881	0.31		0.0673
Gay and Lesbian Party	10 446	0.29		0.0646
Against Promotion of Homosexuality	9 118	0.26		0.0564
Australian Small Business Party	8 998	0.25		0.0556
Animal Liberation Party	7 844	0.22		0.0485
Democratic Socialists	7 638	0.21		0.0472
Speranza: Hope for Better Health	7 637	0.21		0.0472
The Four Wheel Drive Party	7 547	0.21		0.0466
Outdoor Recreation Party (1 elected)	7 264	0.20		0.0449
Liberal/National Party (6 elected)	974 352	27.39	6	0.0250
(+ others too numerous to mention)				
Formal	3557762			
Informal	274594	7.17		
Total votes / Turnout	3832356	93.13		
Quota	161717			

#### Table 16 : Possible Legislative Council Result based on 1999 Council Election

The first 15 vacancies would have been filled by the full quotas, 8 Labor, 6 Coalition and 1 for Pauline Hanson's One Nation. With the highest partial quotas remaining in the count, the Australian Democrats, Christian Democrats and Greens would also have been elected. However, the final three vacancies would probably have gone to a second One Nation

candidate, the Shooters Party and Progressive Labor Party. Without preference tickets, the final vacancies are much more likely to go to the candidate with the highest vote remaining in the count. The complex flows of preferences that elected Malcolm Jones (Outdoor Recreation Party), Peter Breen (Reform the Legal System) and Peter Wong (Unity) in 1999, would not be possible with the changes to the electoral system.

One caveat in using the 1999 results is that the new rules for registering parties means there will be less parties on the ballot paper. The hugely divided vote on the 1999 ballot paper should not recur in 2003.

However, the weakness of the quota preferential voting system used for the Legislative Council is that the larger the number of exhausted preferences, the more the electoral system operates like a 'highest remainder' system of proportional representation. That is, after all full quotas are used to fill vacancies, the final seats effectively go to the candidates remaining with the highest partial quotas. This can distort the proportionality of the system.

European style proportional representation systems do not use either quotas or preferences, and instead divisor systems are used to average out the number of votes used to elect each MP. The more divided the vote amongst very small parties, the more likely that the final vacancies will go to parties with a higher vote. Under the Legislative Councils system, the allocation of the final vacancy may become a lottery amongst the smaller parties in the count.

In 1999, the lottery for the final vacancies depended on the complex deals over preferences. In 2003, the lottery may depend on the size of the primary vote received for each party. The result under the new system will at least be more proportional than under the system used in 1999, but it still remains subject to random factors.

It may be that too much detail has been inserted into the constitution. For instance, the Constitution sets out that random sampling must be used to distribute surplus preferences, a system abandoned for Senate elections in 1984. A referendum to change at least these archaic provisions should be considered, but other weaknesses in the operation of the electoral system should also be examined.

## State by-elections 1999-2002

Campbelltown Roll 42761 (3 Feb 2001: Resignation of Michael Knight)									
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing					
First Count Woodger Nannelli Rosso Blanch Barker West 	AAFI CDP DEM IND ALP LIB OTH	2775 1292 3772 2945 2851 19586	8.4 3.9 11.4 8.9 8.6 59.0 0.0 0.0	+5.9 +3.9 +11.4 +4.7 +8.6 +4.2 -21.4 -17.2					
Final Count Rosso West  Exhausted Formal Informal Total/Turnout	ALP LIB	6009 21070 6142 33221 1285 34506	22.2 77.8 0.0 18.5 96.3 3.8 80.7	+22.2 +8.0 -30.1 -0.9 +0.9					

Auburn		Roll 45827				
(8 Sep 2001: Resignation of Peter Nagle)						
Condidate	Dort	Vataa	0/	Swing		

First Count           Irvine         LIB         8499         22.4         +2.6           Perry         ALP         17690         46.6         -12.9           Appleby         IND         744         2.0         +2.0
Perry ALP 17690 46.6 -12.9
Appleby IND 744 20 +20
Barker D. CDP 501 1.3 +1.3
Lam UNI 3792 10.0 +2.6
Barker C. IND 72 0.2 +0.2
Maxwell GRN 845 2.2 +0.4
Saddick IND 2581 6.8 +6.8
McDermott DEM 903 2.4 -0.4
Balendra 616 1.6 +1.6
Vinnicombe 1741 4.6 +4.6
ONP 0.0 -6.2
OTH 0.0 -2.5
Final Count
Irvine LIB 11443 36.9 +11.1
Perry ALP 19600 63.1 -11.1
Exhausted 6941 18.3
Formal 37984 96.9 +0.7
Informal 1204 3.1 -0.7
Total 39188 85.5

Tamworth Roll 44445 (8 Dec 2001: Resignation of Tony Windsor)						
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing		
First Count Cull Woodley Kelly Fritze McKenzie Treloar Tait Cowling (Windsor)	NAT IND IND IND IND ALP DEM IND	14254 5887 463 358 2768 8910 5816 767	36.3 15.0 1.2 0.9 7.1 22.7 14.8 2.0 0.0	+24.8 +15.0 +1.2 +0.9 +7.1 +22.7 +2.5 +2.0 -69.4		
	ONP		0.0	-6.7		
Final Count Cull Treloar Tait (Windsor) Exhausted	NAT IND ALP IND	19862 13984 5480	58.7 41.3 0.0 0.0 14.0			
Formal Informal Total		39223 734 39957	98.2 1.8 89.9	-0.6 +0.6		

Hornsby	Roll 46930
(23 Feb 2002: Resignation Stephen	O'Doherty)

(25 Teb 2002. Resignation Stephen O Donerty)					
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing	
First Count					
Gallagher	IND	4675	12.4	+7.8	
Hopwood	LIB	18206	48.1	+7.0	
Mohr	GRN	4975	13.2	+9.4	
Nannelli	CDP	1045	2.8	+2.8	
Wong	DEM	2296	6.1	+1.2	
Muirhead	IND	6634	17.5	+17.5	
	ALP		0.0	-33.8	
	OTH		0.0	-7.9	
	ONP		0.0	-4.1	
Final Count					
Hopwood	LIB	20096	60.2	+7.5	
Muirhead	IND	13309	39.8	+39.8	
	ALP		0.0	-47.3	
Exhausted		4436	11.7		
Formal		37831	97.7	+0.1	
Informal		878	2.3	-0.1	
Total		38709	82.5		