

# Current Issues Background Paper



Electing the New South Wales  
Legislative Council 1978 to 1995:  
Past Results and Future Prospects

by

Antony Green

No 1995/2



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New South Wales Parliamentary Library

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## Foreword

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Suggestions for future topics are welcome.

Rob Brian  
Parliamentary Librarian

February 1995

## The Author

Antony Green originally completed a Bachelor of Science from Sydney University, with majors in Pure Mathematics and Computer Science. After several years in the computer industry, he returned to Sydney University to complete a Bachelor of Economics with Honours in Government. In 1989 he joined ABC-TV as researcher for the 1990 federal election coverage. His first election for the ABC was the 1989 Queensland state election, and he has worked for the ABC on every state and federal election coverage since that time.

Following the 1990 election, Antony was employed by the ABC to re-design their election night computer software. In use since September 1992, 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.

In the current Parliament, Antony has produced two publications for the NSW Parliamentary Library, "*NSW Elections 1984 to 1991: A Comparative Analysis*", and "*1991 NSW Legislative Assembly Election: Estimated Two-Candidate Preferred Results by Polling Place*".

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Since the first popular election for the NSW Legislative Council in 1978, the battle for Council vacancies has attracted relatively little attention during election campaigns. This is unfortunate, as the Legislative Council's significant powers as a "house of review" give it a major role in the conduct of government in New South Wales, and it is deserving of more attention.

In part, the lack of coverage of the Council is due to a general ignorance of the electoral system under which members are elected. Most people know the Council is elected by a form of proportional representation. However, the detail of how members are elected is not well understood, nor the political implications of several aspects of the electoral system.

The aim of this publication is to provide a reference work on the electoral system used to elect the Legislative Council. It provides details of all Council elections since 1978, and examines the political impact of changes to the ballot paper in 1988 and 1991. It also examines the impact of the referendum in 1991, which re-structured the Council to 42 members, resulting in one-half (21 members) being elected at future elections. An election for 21 members will take place for the first time at the election on 25 March 1995.

This publication is broken into several self-contained chapters either analysing the electoral system for the Council, or providing background on past elections.

Chapter 2 provides a brief outline of the history of the Council, followed by full detail of the method of election, and differences from similar systems in operation for the Tasmanian House of Assembly and the Commonwealth Senate. It also details the new electoral contest produced by changes to the ballot paper in 1988 and 1991.

Chapter 3 then analyses the impact of electing 21 members to the Council. This Chapter shows that the increase in the number of vacancies makes it easier for minor parties to be elected, and harder for one party to obtain a majority in the Council. It also shows, by re-calculating the results of the 1991 election, that increasing the number of members for election can have surprising results.

Chapters 4 to 8 set out the full detail of counts for all Legislative Council elections since 1978. The detail provided in these chapters expands upon the published results provided by the State Electoral Office. It includes detail of the distribution of preferences at all important points in the count, and will greatly assist understanding of the Council's electoral system.

Chapter 9 provides tables comparing the percentage vote for political parties by electorate in both the Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council. This detail is provided for the 1984, 1988 and 1991 elections. This is the first time that such tables have been available, and provides an insight into the relative level of support for parties in both chambers.

Chapter 10 examines the level of support for minor parties by electorate for the 1984, 1988 and 1991 elections.



## 2 Electing the Legislative Council

### 2.1 A Brief History of the Legislative Council<sup>1</sup>

When the Australian colonies were first granted responsible government in the 1850's, a system of bicameral or two chamber Parliaments was established on the Westminster model in each of the States - a lower house elected by popular adult franchise and an upper house to protect against the excesses of popular democracy in the lower house.

The bicameral model was established in NSW in May 1856 and it replaced the unicameral or single chamber Legislative Council which had existed from 1824. Under the model in NSW, the Legislative Assembly or lower house was first elected on a property franchise, with virtually full adult male franchise introduced in 1858, a right not granted in Britain until 1918. The Legislative Council or upper house was designed as a safe, revising, deliberative and conservative element between the lower house and the Governor. Membership was for life and there was no upper limit on the number of members. Thirty-two members took their seats at the first sitting in 1856 and the Council reached a peak of 125 members in 1932.

In both NSW and Queensland, members were appointed by the Governor on the advice of the government of the day. In the other states, the Council was elected on a restricted property ownership franchise. The elected chambers proved by and large more effective in protecting conservative interests. Today the Legislative Councils in Western Australia, Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania retain essentially the same powers that they had on their establishment, though all are now popularly elected. In these states, the Councils have been democratised rather than reformed. It is significant that the Labour Party has never gained control of the Legislative Council in any of these states.

The absence of an upper limit on the number of members of the Council in both Queensland and New South Wales provided a device for governments to "swamp" the Council in an attempt to resolve deadlocks between the two Houses. In NSW the practice of "swamping" the Council with additional members who, in theory, could be relied upon to support the government was used on a number of occasions, but the newly appointed members did not always vote as expected.

Abolition of the Legislative Councils was part of Labor Party policy in both Queensland and NSW. In Queensland, after four previous unsuccessful attempts, a "suicide squad" of 14 Labor members appointed to vote themselves out of office, led to the abolition of the Council in 1922. Similar attempts by NSW Labor Premier Jack Lang in 1925 and 1926 failed when some of his 25 new appointees to the Council failed to support a Bill for its abolition.

Lang's attempts at abolition encouraged the non-Labor parties to embark on a policy of reform of the Council. In 1929 the Bavin Government amended the Constitution Act to require a referendum before the composition or powers of the Council could be altered. Bavin also secured the passage of a Bill through both Houses in 1929 to provide for a Council of 60 members elected by the members of both House, but the Bill was never submitted to a referendum at the time because of the economic crisis.

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<sup>1</sup> For full information on the Legislative Council, see "The Role of the NSW Legislative Council", Parliament of NSW Legislative Council Information Sheet No. 25, August 1990. See also Ken Turner, House of Review, The NSW Legislative Council, 1934-68, Sydney University Press, 1969; R.S. Parker, The Government of NSW, University of Queensland Press, 1978, pp197-218, Ken Turner, "New Rules of the Game" in Ernie Chaples, Helen Nelson and Ken Turner, The Wran Model, Oxford University Press 1985, pp79-81; and Barbara Page, The Legislative Council of NSW: Past Present and Future, Background Paper 1990/1, NSW Parliamentary Library. For interstate comparison, see Joan Rydon, "Upper Houses - The Australian Experience", in G.S. Reid (ed), The Role of Upper Houses Today, Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Workshop of the Australian Study of Parliament Group, 1983, pp22-42.

The requirement to hold a referendum for abolition of the Council was tested by the new Lang Government in 1930 when a Bill to abolish the Council was passed by both Houses. However, presentation of the Bill for assent by the Governor was restrained by a Court injunction requiring approval of any change at a referendum before assent by the Governor.

The Stevens Government, elected following Lang's dismissal in 1932 secured the appointment of 21 members to the Council to offset Lang's 25 appointees and revived Bavin's 1929 reform of the Council which was based on the findings of the 1918 Bryce Committee into the powers of the House of Lords. The main features of the Stevens reforms, approved at a referendum in 1933, were:

- Reconstitution with 60 members elected for fixed 12 year terms, with 15 members retiring on rotation each 3 years.
- Members were to be elected by proportional representation in a secret ballot by the members of the two Houses.
- The right of the Council to veto passage of the appropriation bill for annual services was removed.
- With all other Bills, where a deadlock occurred between the two Houses, then following a series of procedures over 9 months, a Bill could be submitted to a referendum of the electors for approval.

The ability to send a Bill to the people without the Council's agreement was used in Labor's unsuccessful attempt to abolish the Council in 1961. The Bill was ultimately rejected by a large majority of voters at a referendum held in April 1961.

The Wran Government had reform of the Legislative Council as one of its priorities on election in 1976. As the only Legislative Council in the country not popularly elected, and with no reform proposal of their own, it was hard for the Liberal and National Parties to oppose reform. However, they used their Council majority to reject Labor's proposed "list" system of proportional representation, and following negotiations between the two houses, a compromise was reached. The main features of the agreed reforms were :

- The Council was to be composed of 45 members elected for three terms of the Legislative Assembly, a maximum of nine years. One third of the Council was to retire at each Assembly election.
- A system of proportional representation similar to the Commonwealth Senate was adopted.
- Optional preferential voting was to be used, with voters required to indicate at least 10 preferences.
- Under transitional arrangements, 32 members retired and 28, broken into two groups of 14, retained their seats. These two groups were to be replaced by 15 members elected at the 1981 and 1984 elections. The Council was therefore composed of 43 members from 1978-81, and 44 members from 1981-84.

The proposals were accepted at a referendum held on 17 June 1978, with 73.2% support, receiving a majority of the vote in all electorates. The first popular election for the Legislative Council was conducted in conjunction with the 1978 state election.

Before the 1988 election, the ballot paper was modified to adopt the system of 'ticket' or 'above the line' voting introduced to the Senate in 1984. This system allows voters to

cast a vote for a party by filling in only one box, and the determination of preferences is then made from a registered distribution lodged with the Electoral Commissioner. In 1991, the ballot paper was further modified by the addition of party names.

The introduction of four year terms for the Legislative Assembly from 1984 meant that Councillors' maximum terms could be 12 years. The Greiner government acted to correct this, and following a referendum passed at the 1991 election, the Council was restructured to consist of 42 members serving two terms of the Assembly, an eight year maximum, with half of the members (21) retiring at each election. The number of preferences that must be indicated on a ballot paper was increased to 15. The first election for 21 members will take place in March 1995.

## 2.2 The Use of Proportional Representation<sup>2</sup>

Since the introduction of proportional representation for the Senate in 1949, it has generally been considered appropriate that where a parliament is to consist of two popularly elected chambers, different electoral systems should be used. Of the six bicameral Parliaments in Australia, only Victoria uses the same electoral system for both chambers.

The form of ballot paper and method of counting adopted for the NSW Legislative Council in 1978 was the same as that used for the Senate at the time. The one significant departure was the adoption of optional preferential voting, with only 10 preferences required for a formal vote. This was insisted upon by the Labor Party, concerned that the high informal vote in Senate elections produced by compulsory full preferences had been a significant disadvantage to them in the past.

This system of voting is properly known as proportional representation by single transferable vote, though in Australia it is more commonly called the quota preferential method. It is not the common form of proportional representation in use around the world, but has been the usual form adopted in Australia. Today, with some variations, it is used for four Australian upper houses (the Legislative Councils in New South Wales, South Australia and Western Australia, as well as the Senate) and two lower Houses (the Tasmanian House of Assembly, and from 1995, ACT Legislative Assembly). It was also used for election to the NSW Legislative Assembly in the period 1920-27. (Note that there are technical differences between the NSW, Senate and Tasmanian systems, explained in Sections 2.6 and 2.7.)

The main features of Quota Preferential as opposed to other forms of proportional representations are :

- Voters are able to chose between candidates both within and across party groupings. This is different from List systems of proportional representation, which generally only allow voters one vote for a pre-determined list of party candidates.
- To be elected, a candidate must achieve a quota of votes.
- Where a candidate receives more than a quota, their surplus to quota votes are distributed as preferences.

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<sup>2</sup> For a summary of the various forms of proportional representation, see Gerard Newman, Electoral Systems, Current Issues Paper No.3 1989-90, Legislative Research Research Service, Commonwealth Parliamentary Library, September 1989

- In the process of the count, if no candidate possesses a quota, and vacancies remain to be filled, then the candidate with the lowest vote is excluded and their preferences distributed.
- The votes that make up a candidate's quota may consist of primary votes, the preferences of surplus to quota votes from elected candidates, and preferences from candidates excluded in the count.
- Proportionality is achieved not in relation to the primary vote received by candidates and parties, but as an interaction between primary votes and preferences.

Except in Tasmania, few voters exercise their right to choose between candidates, most being content to follow party how-to-vote cards. The introduction of above the line ticket voting from 1988 has also seen political parties gain greater control over the distribution of preferences.

In summary, the process of the count proceeds as follows.

- (1) **Counting the Primary or First Preference Votes.** By counting all formal votes, the total primary vote for all candidates is determined. (See Section 2.3 below for technical details on classification of the primary count.)
- (2) **Determination of the quota.** The quota of votes for election is determined by dividing the total formal vote by one more than the number of vacancies to be filled, and after ignoring fractions, adding 1. (See Section 2.4 below)
- (3) **Elect any candidates with a quota of votes.** Candidates with votes equal to or in excess of a quota are elected in descending order of votes. If candidates have more than a quota, proceed to (4).
- (4) **Distribute surplus of elected candidates.** The surplus of all candidates elected at step (3) are distributed. (See Section 2.5 below on how surplus votes are calculated.) This takes place in the order that candidates were elected. When all surplus votes have been distributed, if any candidate has achieved a quota, go to (3). If no candidate possesses a quota, proceed to (5).
- (5) **Distribute preferences of candidate with lowest vote.** Exclude the candidate with the lowest current vote, and distribute their ballot papers according to the next available preference for a candidate remaining in the count. Any votes that have no further valid preferences are set aside as exhausted. If after the distribution, no candidate has achieved a quota, repeat (5). If a candidate has achieved a quota, go to (3).

### 2.3 Classifying Primary Votes.

To simplify counting procedures, primary votes for candidate are classified into three categories. These are :

Ticket Votes : All votes where the 'ticket' or 'above the line' option has been used. As this makes up more than 85% of votes, the count is simplified by keeping a separate total.

Block Votes : Many 'below the line' votes are numbered sequentially down a single ticket. For the Labor and Liberal/National Party tickets, a separate total of ballot papers of this type is kept, and these are called block votes. Again, this total is kept to ease the

count, particularly in the initial stages when repeated distributions of surplus votes take place.

1st Preference : All 'below the line' votes for candidates other than those classified as Block Votes.

## 2.4 Calculation of the Quota.

This is best illustrated by example. In 1991, there were 3,205,832 formal votes for 15 vacancies. The quota was calculated as follows.

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Quota} &= [\text{Formal votes} \div (\text{vacancies} + 1)] + 1 \\ &= [3205832 \div (15 + 1)] + 1 \\ &= 200364 + 1 \quad (\text{ignoring fractions}) \\ &= 200365 \text{ votes}\end{aligned}$$

In NSW, because only 10 preferences have been required for a formal vote, many votes "exhaust" at the point where no further valid preferences are indicated on the ballot paper. As a result, it is possible for a candidate to be elected with less than a quota. For instance, in both 1981 and 1984, with one vacancy to be filled and only two candidates remaining in the count, the high number of exhausted preferences resulted in the final vacancy being filled by the candidate with the highest remaining vote.

In 1995, 21 members will be elected for the first time. If 21 members had been elected in 1991, the quota would have been :

$$(3205832 \div 22) + 1 = 145720$$

## 2.5 Determination of Surplus<sup>3</sup>

Under Quota Preferential voting, if at any point in the count a candidate has in excess of a quota of votes, there needs to be a mechanism to determine which of a candidates' votes make up the quota by which they are elected, and which are surplus to quota votes to be distributed as preferences.

The determination of surplus is best explained by example, and the following calculations are taken from the results of the 1991 Council election.

On the primary count in 1991, three candidates were declared elected, in order Pickering (Lib), Hallam (ALP) and Kirkby (Dem). For each of these candidates, it was necessary to determine the flow of preferences for their surplus to quota votes.

In the case of Pickering, he received 1,432,387 votes. Of these, 200,365 were set aside as the quota electing him, and the surplus, 1,232,022 were to be distributed as preferences. The first step was to calculate what is called a "transfer value" using the following formula.

$$\text{Transfer Value} = \text{Surplus Votes} \div (\text{Votes transferred} - \text{Exhausted Preferences})$$

In the case of Pickering, as he was elected on the first count, the "Votes Transferred" is his primary vote. The result here was :

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Transfer Value} &= 1,232,022 \div (1,432,387 - 234) \\ &= 0.860259\end{aligned}$$

<sup>3</sup> Parts of this section are based on notes provided on pp133-135 of the Statistical Returns for the 1991 Legislative Council election.

All of Pickering's votes were then examined and their preferences tallied. (As Hallam and Kirkby were elected at the same point, any votes indicating preferences to them were counted according to the next available preference.) The total of Pickering's preferences to each candidate was then multiplied by the transfer value to determine how many of the votes were to be retained as part of Pickering's quota, and how many were to be transferred as preferences to other candidates.

The full count of Pickering's votes showed that 1,412,060 had indicated preferences to Webster. Applying the transfer value:

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Votes Transferred} &= \text{Preferences} \times \text{Transfer value} \\ &= 1,412,060 \times 0.860259 \\ &= 1,214,737\end{aligned}$$

As a result, of all votes for Pickering that indicating preferences to Webster, 1,214,737 are transferred to Webster, and the balance, (1,432,387 - 1,214,737 = 197,323) are set aside as part of Pickering's quota.

Similar calculations are applied to other transfers. For instance, 11 votes for Pickering showed preferences to the independent Rolo. At Transfer value, this became 9 votes distributed to Rolo, and 2 left as part of Pickering's set aside quota.

In NSW, the method by which votes are transferred is a random sampling of ballot papers, followed by their physical transfer to the 'pile' of another candidate. In the case of the 11 Pickering votes indicating preferences to Rolo, a sample of 2 votes was taken and set aside as part of Pickering's quota, while the other 9 were transferred to Rolo's 'pile'. The same takes place for all candidates, in the case of votes showing preferences to Webster, a sample of 197,323 is required. This sampling is greatly simplified by the earlier classification of primary votes into ticket and block votes.

The same process was then repeated for Hallam and Kirkby. With the surplus of the three elected candidates now distributed, Webster and Shaw can be declared elected. Transfer values are then calculated for both.

Webster's primary count before the distribution of the three candidates was 7,087. After the distribution, his vote was 1,221,911. The 1,214,824 votes received as preferences (1,214,737 from Pickering, 79 from Hallam and 8 from Kirkby) are defined as the last votes transferred. Webster was declared elected, and 193,278 of the preferences received were set aside for his quota, along with his 7,087 primary votes. The remaining 1,021,546 votes transferred to him at the last count were then to be distributed as surplus to quota votes.

It is important to note that Webster's transfer value and distribution of preferences is calculated only with reference to the last votes received. It is:

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Transfer Value} &= \text{Surplus Votes} / (\text{Votes transferred} - \text{Exhausted Preferences}) \\ &= 1,021,546 \div (1,214,824 - 115) \\ &= 0.840980\end{aligned}$$

In counting out Webster's preferences, only those votes received as surplus preferences from Pickering, Hallam and Kirkby are examined. The 7,087 primary votes for Webster are not part of the votes distributed, and their preferences are never counted. This is significantly different from the method employed in counting the Senate. (See Section 2.7.)

Any candidate elected later in the count is treated in the same way. At the 1988 election, the 6th Labor candidate, Manson, was elected very late in the count. At the start of count 51, Manson had 187,694 votes, just short of a quota. At this point, he received 2,855 votes from the Environment Group, putting him 502 votes over the quota. When his surplus was distributed, the only votes examined were the 2,855 received at the last count.

The method of using transfer values to sample votes and physically transfer ballot papers was copied from the system in use in the Senate in 1978. It differs from the method used in Tasmania's Hare-Clark system, and also the method employed in the Senate since 1984.

## 2.6 Comparison with Tasmania<sup>4</sup>

The Tasmanian variant of quota preferential voting is usually called Hare-Clark, after Thomas Hare, its English proponent, and Andrew Inglis Clark, the state Attorney-General who introduced it to Tasmania. It operates by electing seven members for each of the five commonwealth electoral divisions.

Hare-Clark has been in use continuously since the 1909 election, and has thrived on and in fact encouraged a very personal form of politics. It produces the situation where candidates of the same political party compete against each other, with sitting members often defeated by candidates of their own party. How-to-vote cards are now banned, but when they were allowed, they rarely indicated preferences within a party ticket.

How-to-vote cards were also made unworkable by the introduction of legislation in 1979 by Liberal MP Neil Robson, which created what has become known as the 'Robson rotation' ballot paper. Rather than all ballot papers listing candidates of a ticket in the same order, a special printing process gives all candidates an equal number of ballot papers with their name at the top of the ticket.

On a technical level, there are also differences in the progress of the count. While Hare-Clark calculates Transfer Values in the same way as in NSW, the transfers themselves are carried out differently. Rather than sample votes and physically transfer ballot papers, notional transfers are carried out using worksheets. Less votes are set aside as being finally dealt with, and votes continue to be transferred at lower and lower transfer values. Published results also include loss by fraction, not present in NSW where actual ballot papers are used.

The importance of personal as opposed to party voting produces a count substantially different in its conduct. The vote for a party is usually distributed widely across several candidates, and the preferences of candidates elected or excluded also tend to spread widely. As a result, where in NSW it is usually possible to predict the order in which candidates will be elected, in Tasmania the conduct of the count will often produce surprises.

## 2.7 Comparison with the Senate

In 1984, the form of the Senate ballot paper was modified to introduce ticket voting and to include party names on the ballot paper. A new method of calculating transfer values was also introduced. In calculating the preferences of surplus to quota votes, the Senate scrutiny now examines all a candidate's ballot papers, not just the last votes received.

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<sup>4</sup> For detail on the Tasmanian electoral system see Terry Newman, Hare-Clark in Tasmania, Joint Library Committee of the Parliament of Tasmania

The impact of this can be illustrated by again referring to the 1991 Legislative Council election, and the determination of Webster's surplus explained earlier. With the new Senate system, the 7,087 primary votes received by Webster would also be examined to determine the distribution of preferences. Instead of only distributing Pickering's, Hallam's and Kirkby's surplus votes, the preferences of Webster's primary votes would also be considered.

The change would have been more significant in the case of Manson's election in 1988. Rather than just consider the 2,855 votes received at the last count in transferring the 502 vote surplus, all of Manson's 190,549 votes would have been considered. As most of these were Labor ticket votes, this would have significantly altered the distribution of votes at this point.

The differences introduced by this system are generally minor. However, in the case of a very close result, the change in the way preferences are calculated may have a determining effect on who wins the last vacancy.

The 1984 changes also adopted the Tasmanian method of worksheet transfers rather than sampling and physical transfer of ballot papers. New South Wales is now the only state to retain the method of sampling ballot papers.

The changes introduced for the Senate have two administrative advantages for the Count. First, under special circumstances, they allow for 'bulk exclusion', where when no candidate possesses a quota, several candidates can be excluded at the same time. Second, it allows re-counts to take place with a good chance of producing the same result, something that can not be guaranteed where sampling takes place.

## 2.8 The Political Impact of Ticket Voting

In outlining the use of quota preferential voting, it was stated that the main advantage was the right given to electors to vote for individual candidates, rather than just for pre-determined party lists. In practice, most of the electorate seem happy not to exercise this right, and elections for the Legislative Council have in fact operated as if they were conducted using a list system of proportional representation, with parties electing members of parliament in proportion to their level of vote, and the names and order of election of candidates determined by the party.

Tables 2.1 and 2.2 illustrates the degree to which voters vote according to the party of their choice.

**Table 2.1 : Percentage of Vote Cast for the Number 1 Candidate in a Party Group**

Election	Percentage of Party Vote Selecting Number 1 Candidate				
	ALP	Lib/Nat	Dem	CTA	All Groups
1978	98.25	98.44	95.44	..	97.04
1981	98.35	98.40	91.64	90.85	97.09
1984	98.18	96.65	95.98	94.94	96.94
1988	98.30	99.08	99.22	99.23	98.62
1991	98.58	98.55	98.69	99.19	98.48

SOURCE : All calculations by author, based on State Electoral Office Statistical Returns

**Table 2.2 : Transfer of Surplus Preferences from First to Second Candidate of a Party**

Election	Percentage of Preferences Transferred to Second Candidate			
	ALP	Lib/Nat	Dem	CTA
1978	98.81	99.22	..	..
1981	98.48	99.40	..	83.37
1984	99.14	98.13	..	..
1988	99.23	99.63	..	..
1991	99.41	98.58	97.95	..

SOURCE : All calculations by author, based on State Electoral Office Statistical Returns

Both tables show that the overwhelming majority of votes cast for parties achieving a full quota at the first count are cast according to party how-to-vote cards. As a result, at all elections since 1978, most vacancies were filled in the initial stages of the count during the distribution of the surplus votes of No. 1 candidates on party groupings, and the order of election was highly predictable. Of the 15 vacancies filled at elections since 1978, 13 were filled in the early counts in 1978, 1984 and 1991, 14 in 1981, and 12 in 1988.

After the filling of these initial vacancies, and the distribution of the successful candidate's surplus to quota preferences, the count proceeds by the successive exclusion of candidates with the lowest total vote. As each candidate is excluded, his or her preferences are distributed at full value. As most of the vote for each party is cast for the number 1 candidate on the ticket, they are the last candidate of each group to be excluded. As the preferences for excluded candidates lower on the ticket tend to flow to the number 1 candidate as preferences, many candidates are successively excluded with little change to each party's total vote.

At some stage in the count, only one candidate will remain from each party. For parties that have not achieved a full quota, this will be the number 1 candidate. For parties that did achieve a quota, it will be one of the lower candidates on the ticket with what remains of the surplus transferred from the number 1 candidate. All these candidate possess what can be called a 'partial quota'.

The battle for the remaining vacancies takes place through the distribution of preferences, effectively the transfer of these partial quotas. As proportional representation tends to produce either narrow majorities or hung Parliaments, the filling of the final vacancies has major political implications. It is therefore in the interests of all political parties, both major and minor, to ensure that if their final partial quota cannot be turned into an extra elected position, then the distribution of their preferences will have a say on who is elected.

It is this concern to maintain control over preferences that is the origin of ticket voting. By encouraging voters to choose the ticket or 'above the line' voting option, the party gains control of the distribution of preferences. Voters cede their right to distribute preferences to the political party of their choice, giving greater control over the count to the managers of political parties, and opening the opportunity for parties to deals on preferences.

As Table 2.3 shows, ticket voting has been happily accepted by the electorate.

**Table 2.3 : Use of Ticket Voting at the 1988 and 1991 Legislative Council Elections**

Party	1988 Election		1991 Election	
	% Vote	% Ticket Votes	% Vote	% Ticket Vote
Labor	37.51	84.70	37.29	92.60
Liberal/National	46.15	93.56	45.34	91.87
Democrats	2.70	75.32	6.70	77.90
Call to Australia	5.71	52.38	3.58	63.35
Independent EFF	2.40	89.92	1.53	84.41
Community Inds	1.74	72.51	..	..
Environment Group	1.60	60.00	..	..
Nuclear Disarmament	0.93	76.95	..	..
Aboriginal Team	0.44	58.30	..	..
Humanist Party	0.39	87.85	..	..
Defence Ex-Service	0.23	84.76	..	..
The Greens	..	..	3.32	80.16
Country Residents	..	..	0.67	86.61
No Toxic Incinerator	..	..	0.58	84.74
Marie Bignold Team	..	..	0.45	48.09
Hart (Ind)	..	..	0.25	71.30
Poulos (Ind)	..	..	0.21	93.78
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>85.86</b>		<b>89.29</b>

SOURCE : All calculations by author, based on State Electoral Office Statistical Returns

Ticket voting has allowed party how-to-vote cards to be simplified, directing voters to use the ticket voting option. Effectively, this allowed the Labor and Liberal/National parties to show more preferences without fear of increasing the informal vote. For instance, from 1978 to 1984, Labor had issued a how-to-vote card showing only ten preferences, straight down the Labor ticket, and it is clear that more than 90% of voters who followed the card showed no further preferences. Using ticket voting, the 92.6% of Labor voters who chose the ticket option in 1991 were also giving a full distribution of preferences, and 100% of these would follow the official Labor distribution. This allowed any Labor surplus to continue to be 'live' all the way through the count, where previously, exhausted preferences could mean Labor had no say in determining which party won the final vacancy.

This was clearly demonstrated at the 1984 election. At the second last count, three candidates remained in the quest for the final vacancy. Jakins (LNP) had 0.79 quotas, Griffiths (Dem) 0.57, and Walker (ALP) 0.52. As the candidate with the lowest vote, Walker was excluded. Following the Labor how-to-vote card, in which only 10 preferences were indicated, 89.6% of her preferences were exhausted. Jakins then had 0.82 quotas, Griffiths 0.59, and Jakins was declared elected. If ticket voting had been used in 1984, Labor would have directed preferences to the Democrats, almost certainly electing Griffiths instead of Jakins.

As Table 2.4 shows, the use of ticket voting in 1988 and 1991 clearly decreased the number of votes set aside during the count due to exhaustion of further preferences, therefore increasing the number of 'live' votes in the determination of the final vacancies.

**Table 2.4 : Proportion of Exhausted Votes at Final Count in Legislative Council Elections**

Election	Exhausted Vote as % of total	Exhausted Vote in Quotas
1978	2.55	0.41
1981	3.50	0.56
1984	3.56	0.57
1988	0.97	0.16
1991	0.61	0.10

SOURCE : All calculations by author, based on State Electoral Office Statistical Returns

Ticket voting, along with the presence of party names on ballot papers, are also solutions for minor parties trying to wield political influence. The problem traditionally faced by minor parties was how, with only a small base of supporters, to distribute enough how-to-vote cards to increase the party vote and control the flow of preferences.

Only major parties have been able to ensure that the majority of voters received a how-to-vote card. Before party names were placed on ballot papers, voters considering voting for minor parties were unable to identify party groups on a ballot paper, except in rare instances, such as Rev. Fred Nile in NSW, or Flo Bjelke-Petersen in the Senate for Queensland, where a well known name allowed the party to be identified. It is quite likely that the record vote for the Australian Democrats at the 1991 Legislative Council election was in part due to the party's name appearing on the ballot paper.

With minor parties able to be identified on ballot papers, and with the ticket voting option allowing control over preferences, minor parties have been able to increase their impact on the filling of the final vacancies.

Before the introduction of ticket voting, the filling of the final vacancies tended to operate in a manner similar to systems of List PR, with a highest remainder method of determining the final positions. The final vacancies were most likely to go to the parties with the highest partial quotas at the start of the count, as the large number of exhausted preferences, and the tendency of preferences from minor parties to distribute widely, made it very difficult for a party with a smaller partial quota to overtake candidates with a higher partial quota.

Ticket voting has decreased the number of exhausted preferences, and increased the ability of parties to pass their partial quotas to other candidates. The game of preferences in 1988 and 1991 became much more important than previously. First consider Table 2.5.

**Table 2.5 : Growth in Partial Quotas During Count**

Election	Parties at Final Count	Votes Expressed as Quotas		
		Initial Quota	Final Quota	Increase
1978	Labor	0.79	1.02	0.23
	Liberal/National	0.80	1.01	0.21
	Democrat	0.44	0.56	0.12
1981	Democrat	0.64	0.87	0.23
	Liberal/National	0.40	0.57	0.17
1984	Liberal/National	0.82	0.82	0.00
	Democrat	0.50	0.59	0.09
1988	Democrat	0.43	1.13	0.60
	Independent EFF	0.38	0.72	0.34
1991	Call to Australia	0.57	1.04	0.47
	Greens	0.53	0.84	0.31

SOURCE : All calculations by author, based on State Electoral Office Statistical Returns

Table 2.5 shows the growth in partial quotas for parties present in the final count. The initial quota is based on the primary count, and excludes all full quotas. The final quota is the figure at the end of the count when the final vacancies were filled.

What is clearly shown by Table 2.5 is that in 1988 and 1991, ticket voting made it easier for political parties to increase their initial quotas through the distribution of preferences. This is in part due to the decline in exhausted voting, as already shown by Table 2.4. The second, and far more important reason, is the ability of minor parties to use ticket voting to direct preferences.

Ticket voting allows preferences to be controlled throughout the count, successively passed from one candidate to another. As candidates with the lowest partial quotas are excluded, their ticket votes are transferred. Parties remaining in the count at the end have 'stacked' the partial quotas of other candidates together to reach a full quota.

The ability of all parties to pass preferences is shown by Table 2.6.

**Table 2.6 : Flow of Preferences from Excluded Candidates**

Candidate (Party)	Initial Party Quota	Quota at Distribution	Best flow of preferences
<b>1978</b>			
Oliveri (Ind)	0.08	0.08	32.0% to Lib/Nat
Livesey (Marijuana)	0.15	0.16	26.7% to Labor
Brown (Family Action)	0.21	0.30	44.8% to Lib/Nat
Mundey (Communist)	0.46	0.50	54.2% Exhausted
<b>1981</b>			
Buckley (Republican)	0.06	0.10	31.2% Exhausted
Suter (Environment Action)	0.11	0.14	32.0% Exhausted
Symonds (ALP)	0.29	0.27	86.9% Exhausted
McLennan (CTA)	0.46	0.42	45.6% Exhausted
<b>1984</b>			
Wisby (Progress)	0.04	0.07	42.2% to Democrats
Walsh (Concerned Citizens)	0.08	0.11	53.0% Exhausted
Walker (ALP)	0.50	0.52	89.6% Exhausted
<b>1988</b>			
McMahon (Defence Ex-Serv)	0.04	0.04	77.4% to EFF
Radice (Humanist)	0.06	0.07	86.4% to NDP
Ingram (Aboriginal Team)	0.07	0.08	69.5% to Mundey
Charlton (Nuclear Disarm)	0.15	0.22	80.0% to Democrats
Dunphy (Environment Group)	0.26	0.29	72.1% to Democrats
Barnes (Lib/Nat)	0.38	0.38	87.1% to CTA
Mundey (Community Ind)	0.28	0.39	74.3% to Democrats
<b>1991</b>			
Poulos (Ind)	0.03	0.04	87.7% to CRP
Hart (Ind)	0.04	0.04	73.8% to Democrat
Bignold (Marie Bignold Team)	0.07	0.08	46.5% to CRP
Fardell (No Toxic Incin)	0.09	0.10	81.7% to Lib/Nat
King (Dem)	0.07	0.13	70.5% to Greens
Gilmore (Contry Residents)	0.11	0.19	70.9% to EFF
Gentile (Lib/Nat)	0.25	0.32	60.4% to CTA
Azzopardi (EFF)	0.24	0.47	45.2% to CTA

SOURCE : All calculations by author, based on State Electoral Office Statistical Returns

Once again, this table illustrates the enormous increase in the ability of parties to control the flow of their preferences at the point where their final candidate was excluded. In both 1988 and 1991, the flows of preferences were far higher than in previous

elections. Ticket voting has allowed even small parties to deliver in excess of 80% of their preferences when their candidates are excluded.

The flow of preferences in 1991 is even more impressive if examined in detail. As we know at the start of the count how many ticket votes are cast for each party, and we know the published preference distributions, it is possible to identify at each point of the count, how many ticket votes are present, and from where they originated. Table 2.7 displays this data.

**Table 2.7 : Detailed Distribution of Preferences at 1991 Election Based on Analysis of Ticket Voting.**

Candidate Excluded	Votes Distributed	Ticket Votes	Original Party	Next Preference	% of Distribution
<b>Count 45</b>					
Poulos (Ind)	7,435	6,457 978	Poulos (Non-ticket)	CRP	86.8% 13.2%
<b>Count 46</b>					
Hart (Ind)	8,299	5,761 2,538	Hart (Non-ticket)	Dem	69.4% 30.6%
<b>Count 47</b>					
Bignold	15,380	6,926 8,454	Bignold (Non-ticket)	CRP	45.0% 55.0%
<b>Count 48</b>					
Fardell (NTI)	19,829	15,851 3,978	NTI (Non-ticket)	Lib/Nat	79.9% 20.1%
<b>Count 49</b>					
King (Dem)	25,685	8,898 5,761 11,026	Dem Hart (Non-ticket)	Green Green	34.6% (**) 22.4% 42.9%
<b>Count 50</b>					
Gilmore (CRP)	37,220	18,731 6,926 6,457 5,106	CRP Bignold Poulos (Non-ticket)	EFF EFF CTA	50.3% 18.6% 17.3% 13.7%
<b>Count 51</b>					
Gentile (Lib/Nat)	64,044	36,832 15,851 11,361	Lib/Nat NTI (Non-ticket)	CTA EFF	57.5% (**) 24.8% 17.7%
<b>Count 52</b>					
Azzopardi (EFF)	94,768	41,427 18,731 15,851 6,926 11,833	EFF CRP NTI Bignold (Non-ticket)	CTA Green Green ALP	43.7% 19.8% 16.7% 7.3% 12.5%

SOURCE All calculations by author, based on State Electoral Office Statistical Returns. (\*\*) indicates estimate by the author based on the distribution of surplus votes and the proportion of ticket votes for the leading candidates of the Democrat and Liberal/National tickets

Table 2.7 makes clear that at all important stages of the count, the majority of all votes were party ticket votes, and that they continued to stay live throughout the count. For instance, when the final No Toxic Incinerator (NTI) candidate was excluded, all of their ticket votes were transferred as preferences to the Liberal/National Party. When his final candidate was excluded, the NTI ticket votes transferred to the EFF. When the EFF candidate was excluded, the NTI ticket votes were still live, and transferred as preferences to the Greens.

However, there is one feature of the Legislative Council's voting system that is not under the control of the political parties. While they can determine the direction of their preferences, they cannot determine the level of their vote, and the order in which the parties finish. In the distribution of preferences from final partial quotas, candidates are excluded from lowest to highest. The order in which candidates are excluded can have a crucial effect on the result.

Chapter 3 makes clear that, along with the decrease in the size of the quota required for election in 1995, the order in which candidates finish can have a crucial impact on the count.

### 3. The Impact of Electing 21 Legislative Councillors.

The 1995 state election will be the first to elect 21 Legislative Councillors following the 1991 reforms. In assessing the impact of this increase in numbers to be elected, this chapter will examine the theoretical impact, analyse how the progress of the 1991 count would have been altered by the change in the quota, and assesses the possible balance of power in the new Council.

#### 3.1 General Implications

The aim of electoral systems based on proportional representation is to elect for each political party a number of representatives equal to the proportion of the vote received by the party. As a general rule, the more vacancies to be filled, the more likely that the proportion of members elected will equal the proportion of the vote received. Increasing the number of Legislative Councillors to be elected from 15 to 21 is therefore likely to increase the proportionality of the Legislative Council.

The quota for election will decrease from 6.25% for 15 members, to 4.55% for 21 members under the new system. Table 3.1 sets out details of the percentage vote required for each successive quota.

Table 3.1 : Comparative Percentage of Vote Required to Elect 15 and 21 Members

Members Elected	% Vote Based on Electing	
	15 Members	21 Members
1	6.25	4.55
2	12.50	9.09
3	18.75	13.64
4	25.00	18.18
5	31.25	22.73
6	37.50	27.27
7	43.75	31.82
8	<u>50.00</u>	36.36
9	56.25	40.91
10		45.45
11		<u>50.00</u>
12		54.55

NOTE : Underlining indicates the point where the majority of seats are won by a party.

Several conclusions on the impact of electing 21 members can be drawn from this table. First, the lower quota makes it easier for minor parties to win a seat. Second, a party that wins 50% of the vote will still win a majority of the seats. Third, a party capable of filling a full quota under a 15-member system, would be well on the way to winning a second seat in a 21-member system. Fourth, the lower quota makes it slightly easier for a major party to turn a 1 seat majority (11-10 or 8-7) into a 3 seat majority (12-9 or 9-6).

A fifth conclusion can also be drawn concerning the ability of a party to win a majority of the seats. It is easier for a party winning 7 full quotas in a 15 member system to go on and win an 8th seat and a majority through preferences, than it is for a party with 10 full quotas in a 21 member system to win an 11th seat. Put another way, it is easier for a party with a minority of the vote to win a majority of the seats in a 15 member system than a 21-member system.

The reason for this is the size of the partial quota remaining for parties that fall short of 50% of the vote, as shown in Table 3.2.

**Table 3.2 : Ability of a Party to Win the Majority of Seats in 15 and 21 Member Systems.**

% of Vote	Total Quotas Received by Party	
	Quota for 15	Quota for 21
45	7.20	9.90
46	7.36	10.12
47	7.52	10.34
48	7.68	10.56
49	7.84	10.78
50	8.00	11.00

After the election of all full quotas, the party will be left with the partial quota to the right of the decimal place in Table 3.2. For a party on 45-47% of the vote, the partial quota for the next seat is smaller in a 21-member than a 15-member system. As a result, in a 15-member system a party is likely to receive preferences from other candidates and go on to win an extra seat, while on the same vote in a 21-member system, the party is likely to be excluded and votes distributed as preferences to other candidates.

### 3.2 Re-calculation of the 1991 Legislative Council Election

Chapter 2 highlighted the dual nature of quota preferential voting, with most vacancies filled by the major parties early in the count, and the final vacancies filled through the distribution of preferences.

Lowering the quota from 6.25% to 4.55% has little impact on the filling of the full quotas in the initial stages of the count. However, it can change the order in which the final vacancies are filled following the distribution of preferences. Together with the strong flows of preferences created by ticket voting, this can produce surprising outcomes.

This is illustrated dramatically if the 1991 Council election is re-calculated using the 21-member quota. Using the 15-quota, in 1991, the final vacancy was filled when Rev. Fred Nile of the Call to Australia was elected ahead of the Green candidate, Ian Cohen. If the election is re-calculated using the lower 21-member quota, the interaction of the new quota and the changed flow of ticket preferences would have reversed this result.

The starting point in the analysis is the primary vote, shown in Table 3.3. The format for this and following tables is the same as in Chapter 8, where the actual count from 1991 is explained in full.

**Table 3.3 : Progress of Count using 21-Quota (Equivalent Count 1)**

Party Group	Votes	% Vote	15 Quota	21 Quota
Liberal/National	1,453,441	45.34	7.25	9.97
Call to Australia	114,648	3.58	0.57	0.79
The Greens	106,325	3.32	0.53	0.73
No Toxic Incinerator	18,706	0.58	0.09	0.13
Hart Group	8,080	0.25	0.04	0.06
Country Residents	21,628	0.67	0.11	0.15
Labor Party	1,195,324	37.29	5.97	8.20
Democrats	214,682	6.70	1.07	1.47
Poulos Group	6,885	0.21	0.03	0.05
Bignold Team	14,403	0.45	0.07	0.10
EFF/Greypower/CEC	49,077	1.53	0.24	0.34
Ungrouped	2,633	0.08	0.01	0.02

SOURCE : Estimates by Author based on State Electoral Office Statistical Returns

The new quota for electing 21 members significantly changes the position of all the parties that elected members in 1991.

- The Liberal/National Party's quota changes from 7.25 to 9.97. As a result, where under the 15-quota, the Liberal/National Parties were a net provider of preferences to other parties through the distribution of their surplus partial quota of 0.25, under a 21-quota, they become a net receiver of preferences, seeking to elect a 10th member.
- Labor's quota changes from 5.97 to 8.20. Where under the 15-quota, Labor was a net receiver of preferences in seeking to elect a sixth member, under a 21-quota, Labor become a net provider of preferences, with their surplus partial quota of 0.20 influencing the filling of the final vacancies.
- The Democrat quota increases from 1.07 under 15-quota to 1.47 under 21-quota. As a result, rather than being excluded early in the count, the Democrat's second candidate will remain in the count searching for a full quota.
- The Call to Australia see their partial quota increase from 0.57 to 0.79, still needing preferences to be elected. The changes to the partial quotas of Labor and the Liberal/National Parties cut the available preferences for the Call to Australia at the same time as they increase the preferences available to the Democrats and Greens.

Using the 21 quota, the successive distribution of surplus votes from candidates achieving full quotas proceeds in the same manner as in 1991. So does the exclusion of all but the leading candidates on each ticket. Following this process, it is possible to reconstruct the count using the new quota at the equivalent position to Count 44 in 1991.

**Table 3.4 : Progress of Count using 21-Quota (Equivalent Count 44)**

Party Group	Votes	% Vote	15 Quota	21 Quota
Liberal/National	1,448,311	45.18	7.23	9.94
Call to Australia	117,416	3.66	0.59	0.81
The Greens	108,863	3.40	0.54	0.75
No Toxic Incinerator	19,436	0.61	0.10	0.13
Hart Group	8,174	0.25	0.04	0.06
Country Residents	22,270	0.69	0.11	0.15
Labor Party	1,192,020	37.18	5.95	8.18
Democrats	216,550	6.75	1.08	1.49
Poulos Group	7,435	0.23	0.04	0.05
Bignold Team	15,125	0.47	0.08	0.10
EFF/Greypower/CEC	49,437	1.54	0.25	0.34
Exhausted	795			

SOURCE : Estimates by Author based on State Electoral Office Statistical Returns

All the candidates that remain in the count are the last from their party group. Each of these totals include a significant number of ticket votes. For the minor parties that will be excluded in the count, the total of ticket votes are Poulos 6,457, Hart 5,761, Bignold 6,926, No Toxic Incinerator 15,851, Country Residents Party 18,731 and EFF/Greypower/CEC 41,427.

Thanks to ticket votes, it is possible at all times to distribute preferences without having to rely on estimates. Whenever a candidate is excluded, their ticket votes can be transferred to the next available preference on the lodged ticket vote. However, it is not possible to make any assumption regarding non-ticket votes, so in the re-constructed count that follows, any non-ticket votes will be left as undistributed.

Using the 21-quota, the next three counts take place in exactly the same manner as using the 15-quota, excluding first Poulos, then Hart, then Bignold. At this point, equivalent to Count 47 in 1991, the count would be :

**Table 3.5 : Progress of Count using 21-Quota (Equivalent Count 47)**

Party Group	Votes	% Vote	15 Quota	21 Quota
Liberal/National	1,449,007	45.20	7.23	9.94
Call to Australia	118,673	3.70	0.59	0.81
The Greens	110,157	3.44	0.55	0.76
No Toxic Incinerator	19,829	0.62	0.10	0.14
Country Residents	36,157	1.13	0.18	0.25
Labor Party	1,194,063	37.25	5.96	8.19
Democrats	225,596	7.04	1.13	1.55
EFF/Greypower/CEC	50,714	1.58	0.25	0.35
Exhausted	1,636	0.05		0.01

SOURCE : Estimates by Author based on State Electoral Office Statistical Returns

The next party excluded is the No Toxic Incinerator group. The majority of their preferences follow the party ticket to the Liberal/National Party. However, using the 21-quota, the Liberal/National Party at this point achieve their 10th quota, at a point equivalent to Count 48 using the 15-quota in 1991.

**Table 3.6 Progress of Count using 21-Quota (Equivalent Count 48)**

Party Group	Votes	% Vote	15 Quota	21 Quota
Liberal/National	1,465,216	45.70	7.31	10.06
Call to Australia	118,959	3.71	0.59	0.82
The Greens	111,549	3.48	0.56	0.77
Country Residents	36,761	1.15	0.18	0.25
Labor Party	1,194,343	37.26	5.96	8.20
Democrats	226,050	7.05	1.13	1.55
EFF/Greypower/CEC	50,937	1.59	0.25	0.35
Exhausted	2,017	0.06		0.01

SOURCE : Estimates by Author based on State Electoral Office Statistical Returns

From this point, the count using the 21-quota diverges from the actual 1991 count. Having achieved a surplus on the last count, the surplus to quota votes of the Liberal/National Party must be distributed. As explained in Chapter 2, the votes to be examined in determining the surplus are the last votes received. In this case, we need to examine the preferences of the No Toxic Incinerator group transferred to the Liberal/National Party at the last count.

The surplus is 8,016 votes, and the votes transferred at the last count total 16,209, so the transfer value on the surplus is 0.4945. Of the 16,209 votes, 15,851 votes were No Toxic Incinerator ticket votes. Applying the transfer value to the ticket votes, of the 8,016 votes to be distributed, 7,839 will be ticket votes, and 177 non-ticket.

The next valid preference on the NTI ticket vote was for the EFF. We can therefore transfer the 7,839 ticket votes to the EFF. As we have no knowledge of the next preference of the 177 non-ticket votes, we will put them aside as undistributed. The count, now stands at :

**Table 3.7 : Progress of Count using 21-Quota (Following Distribution of Liberal-National Surplus)**

Party Group	Votes	% Vote	15 Quota	21 Quota
Liberal/National	1,457,200	45.45	7.27	10.00
Call to Australia	118,959	3.71	0.59	0.82
The Greens	111,549	3.48	0.56	0.77
Country Residents	36,761	1.15	0.18	0.25
Labor Party	1,194,343	37.26	5.96	8.20
Democrats	226,050	7.05	1.13	1.55
EFF/Greypower/CEC	58,776	1.83	0.29	0.40
Undistributed	177	0.01		
Exhausted	2,017	0.06		

SOURCE : Estimates by Author based on State Electoral Office Statistical Returns

In the 15 quota column, it can be seen that with the higher quota, the Democrats would have been excluded at this point, followed by the Country Residents Party. However, with the 21-quota, the Democrats are over half-way towards achieving a second quota, and the Country Residents Party are ahead of the remaining candidate on the Labor Party ticket. As a result, the Labor Party are excluded at this stage.

There are 28,583 Labor votes to be distributed. It is reasonable to assume that the candidate will have 1,500 primary votes. The other 27,083 votes would have been transferred as surplus to quota votes from the top of the Labor ticket. Of the primary vote for the Number 1 candidate on the Labor ticket, 93.93% were ticket votes. Using these estimates, we can suggest that the vote for a Labor candidate excluded at this point would consist of 25,439 Labor ticket votes, 1,644 non-ticket votes, and 1,500 primary votes. Following the Labor preference distribution, the ticket votes go to the

Democrats. We have no knowledge of the remaining 3,144 votes, and will leave them undistributed. This leaves our count as :

**Table 3.8 Progress of Count using 21-Quota (Labor distributed)**

Party Group	Votes	% Vote	15 Quota	21 Quota
Liberal/National	1,457,200	45.45	7.27	10.00
Call to Australia	118,959	3.71	0.59	0.82
The Greens	111,549	3.48	0.56	0.77
Country Residents	36,761	1.15	0.18	0.25
Labor	1,165,760	36.36	5.82	8.00
Democrats	251,489	7.84	1.26	1.73
EFF/Greypower/CEC	58,776	1.83	0.29	0.40
Undistributed	3,321	0.10	0.02	0.02
Exhausted	2,017	0.06		

SOURCE : Estimates by Author based on State Electoral Office Statistical Returns

It is now time to distribute the Country Residents Party. We cannot use the distribution published in the 1991 election returns, as their total includes 459 Democrat preferences not present in the count in Table 3.8, and also includes distributions to the now excluded Labor and Liberal/National Party candidates. However, it is possible to determine the next preference on all ticket votes held by the CRP.

The CRP total vote includes 18,731 CRP tickets and 6,926 Bignold ticket votes, for both of which the next available preference is the EFF. There are also 6,457 Poulos ticket votes with next preference going to the CTA. There are also 4,647 non-ticket votes.

There are some of these non-ticket votes we can distribute. At Count 50 in 1991, when the CRP was excluded, there were 514 non-ticket votes distributed to the CTA, 724 to the EFF, and 974 to the Greens, and 1660 exhausted. There were also 742 votes to the LNP and 492 to the ALP.

At Count 49 using the 15-quota, the CRP had received 459 votes from the Democrats. In our 21-quota, these 459 votes have never been received by the CRP, so we can discount the preference flows for these 459 votes. We can be sure that at least 55 votes will go to the CTA (514 - 459), 515 to the Greens (974 - 459), 265 to the EFF (724 - 459), and 1,201 exhausted (1,660 - 459). It is not possible to estimate preferences on the remaining 2,611 non-ticket votes.

This leaves the count as:

**Table 3.9 Progress of Count using 21-Quota (CRP distributed)**

Party Group	Votes	% Vote	15 Quota	21 Quota
Liberal/National	1,457,200	45.45	7.27	10.00
Call to Australia	125,471	3.91	0.63	0.86
The Greens	112,064	3.50	0.56	0.77
Labor Party	1,165,760	36.36	5.82	8.00
Democrats	251,489	7.84	1.26	1.73
EFF/Greypower/CEC	84,698	2.64	0.42	0.58
Undistributed	5,932	0.19	0.03	0.04
Exhausted	3,218	0.10		

SOURCE : Estimates by Author based on State Electoral Office Statistical Returns

The next count excludes the EFF/Greypower/CEC group. In 1991, it was the preferences from this group that elected Rev. Nile from the Call to Australia. However, examination of the lodged ticket vote for the EFF shows that this would not occur with the 21-quota.

The EFF's registered ticket gave the 18th preference to Kirkby (Dem), the 22nd to King (Dem), the 26th to Nile (CTA) and 27th to Cohen (Green). In the actual count using the 15-quota in 1991, King, the 2nd Democrat, had been excluded by the time the EFF preferences were distributed, and as a result the preferences flowed to the CTA. Using the 21-quota, the Democrats remain in the count, resulting in the EFF preferences flowing to the Democrats instead of the CTA.

The EFF count at this stage consists of 41,427 EFF ticket votes to be distributed to the Democrats. There are also 18,731 CRP ticket votes, 7,839 NTI ticket votes and 6,926 Bignold tickets, all of which have a next available preference for the Greens. There are 9,775 non-ticket votes, which must remain undistributed.

**Table 3.10 Progress of Count using 21-Quota (EFF distributed)**

Party Group	Votes	% Vote	15 Quota	21 Quota
Liberal/National	1,457,200	45.45	7.27	10.00
Call to Australia	125,471	3.91	0.63	0.86
The Greens	145,560	4.54	0.73	0.999
Labor Party	1,165,760	36.36	5.82	8.00
Democrats	292,916	9.14	1.46	2.01
Undistributed	15,707	0.49	0.08	0.11
Exhausted	3,218	0.10		

SOURCE : Estimates by Author based on State Electoral Office Statistical Returns

So surprisingly, the 20th vacancy is won by King, the 2nd Democrat. His surplus was 1,476 votes. All of these are EFF ticket votes with next available preference for Nile and the CTA. Distributing this surplus, the final count becomes :

**Table 3.11 Progress of Count using 21-Quota (Democrat Surplus distributed)**

Party Group	Votes	% Vote	15 Quota	21 Quota
Liberal/National	1,457,200	45.45	7.27	10.00
Call to Australia	126,947	3.96	0.63	0.87
The Greens	145,560	4.54	0.73	0.999
Labor Party	1,165,760	36.36	5.82	8.00
Democrats	291,440	9.09	1.45	2.00
Undistributed	15,749	0.49	0.08	0.11
Exhausted	3,218	0.10		

SOURCE : Estimates by Author based on State Electoral Office Statistical Returns

At this point, Cohen for the Greens is only 160 votes short of a quota. Nile remains 18,773 votes short. Only 15,749 non-ticket votes remain undistributed, of which we have no knowledge of the preferences. Even if all flowed to Nile, they would not be enough to elect him. So, the surprising result of a re-count for 21 members is that Nile, who was elected on a larger quota, misses out entirely on the smaller quota.

On a technical note, if the Senate method of calculating surplus votes had been used, the Call to Australia's position would have been improved. In Table 3.7 where the Liberal-National Party surplus was distributed, under the NSW rules, only the votes transferred from the No Toxic Incinerator group would have been examined. Under the Senate method, thousands of Liberal-National votes would also have been examined, and the preferences would have flown to the Call to Australia instead of the EFF and eventually the Greens.

It is important to point out while it appears that the Call to Australia would have been defeated in 1991 if 21 members had been elected, this does not mean that they will fail to elect a candidate in 1995. In 1991, the Call to Australia received their lowest vote since first contesting the Legislative Council in 1981, and their defeat on re-counting the

election for 21 members came about because of the decision of the EFF/Greypower/CEC preference ticket to place the Call to Australia between the Democrats and the Greens.

However, the fact that the result can be altered so dramatically by changing the number of members to be elected illustrates the care required by political parties in preparing their registered preference tickets, as well as the importance of the order in which parties finish in the count.

### 3.4 Likely Balance of Power after the 1995 Election

When the Legislative Council was reduced from 45 to 42 members by the 1991 referendum, the 15 members elected at each of the 1984, 1988 and 1991 elections had their terms altered as follows :

- The last 3 members elected in 1984, Ibbett (ALP), Bignold and Jakins (Lib), had their terms terminated. Note that Bignold was a replacement for Jim Cameron, who had won his seat for the Call To Australia in 1984 and subsequently resigned. Bignold ceased to be a member of the Call to Australia during the term of the 49th Parliament.
- The remaining 12 members elected in 1984, along with the last 9 elected in 1988 were designated short term members, their term expiring at the end of the 50th Parliament in 1995.
- The first 6 members elected in 1988, along with the 15 elected in 1991, were designated long term members, their term expiring at the end of the 51st Parliament, likely in 1999.

Table 3.12 shows the party composition of the Legislative Council during the 50th Parliament.

**Table 3.12 : Party Composition of Legislative Council prior to 1995 Election**

Party	Retiring 1995	Continuing Members	Total
Liberal/National Party	10	10	20
Call to Australia	1	1	2
Labor Party	9	9	18
Australian Democrats	1	1	2

In the current Council, the 20 Liberal/National Party members, with the support of the 2 Call to Australia members, have effective control of the Council. After electing one of their number President, they have 21 of the 41 members able to vote in divisions. The President only votes when the result of a division is tied.

It is almost impossible for either the Labor or Liberal/National Parties to control the Council on their own after the next election. The Coalition would need to win 12 of the 21 seats, requiring a vote of in excess of 52%. The Labor Party would need to win 13 seats, requiring a vote of more than 56%, greater than their vote in 1978, when they elected 9 of the 15 members. Therefore, the only hope for either of the major parties to control the Council is by coalition with one or more of the minor parties.

For the Liberal/National Party coalition to retain control in conjunction with the Call to Australia, they need to return the 11 members up for re-election. (10 Lib/Nat, 1 CTA). If the Coalition is returned to government at the election, this would ensure they retain general control of the Council.

If the Labor Party are able to win the March 25 election, they will find their position in the Council much more difficult. If elected to government, then together with the Greens and Democrats, they should win 11 of the 21 vacancies. This would give Labor, the Democrats and the Greens 21 of the 42 seats in the Council.

As the President only has the right to vote in the case of a tied vote on the floor, if Labor were to have one of their members elected President, then together with the Democrats and Greens, they would control only 20 of the 41 votes on the floor. In such circumstances it would be in the interests of the Labor Party to have a Liberal or National Party member as President, giving Labor general support of 21 members, and resulting in the President's casting vote not being required.



#### 4. 1978 LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ELECTION

Table 4.1 : Primary Vote by Party Group

Group	Party	Candidates	% Vote	Quotas	Elected
A	Communist Party	3	2.91	0.46	..
B	Marijuana Party	2	0.91	0.15	..
C	Independents Team	2	0.51	0.08	..
D	Family Action Movement	2	1.31	0.21	..
E	Labor Party	10	54.91	8.79	9
F	Liberal/National	10	36.28	5.80	6
G	Australian Democrats	10	2.78	0.44	..
	Ungrouped	7	0.39	0.06	..

Table 4.2 : Distribution of Vote in Party Groups

Party	% of Party Vote cast for	
	No 1 Candidate	Other Candidates
Communist Party	85.44	14.56
Marijuana Party	57.53	42.47
Independents Team	78.39	21.61
Family Action Movement	91.75	8.25
Australian Labor Party	98.25	1.75
Liberal/National Party	98.44	1.56
Australian Democrats	95.44	4.56
Ungrouped	..	..
<b>Total</b>	<b>97.04</b>	<b>2.96</b>

Table 4.3 : Impact of Electing 21 Members

Party Group	% of Vote	Quotas when Electing	
		15 Members	21 Members
Labor	54.91	8.79	12.08
Liberal/National	36.28	5.80	7.98
Communist Party	2.91	0.46	0.64
Australian Democrats	2.78	0.44	0.61
Family Action	1.31	0.21	0.29
Marijuana Party	0.91	0.15	0.20
Independents Team	0.51	0.08	0.11
Ungrouped	0.39	0.06	0.09

Electing 21 members would see the count proceed in a similar fashion to when electing 15. Labor would initially win 12 seats, and the Liberal/National Party group 7, with an 8th achieved quickly during the distribution of preferences. As when electing 15 members, the vote for the two major party tickets would have no impact as preferences. The final vacancy would go to the Democrats, who would overhaul the Communist vote during the distribution of preferences from excluded candidates. Of the 6 extra vacancies, Labor wins 3, the Liberal/National Party 2, and the Democrats 1.

## Progress of Count in Detail

## Total Primary Count

Group	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
<b>A</b>	<b>Communist Party</b>			
	Mundey, Jack	68178	2.48	
	Merletto, Melva	4989	0.18	
	Dawson, Darrell	6627	0.24	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>79794</b>	<b>2.91</b>	<b>0.46</b>
<b>B</b>	<b>Marijuana Party</b>			
	Livesey, Peter	14413	0.52	
	Billington, James	10642	0.39	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>25055</b>	<b>0.91</b>	<b>0.15</b>
<b>C</b>	<b>Independents Team</b>			
	Oliveri, Francesco	11000	0.40	
	Young, Norman	3033	0.11	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>14033</b>	<b>0.51</b>	<b>0.08</b>
<b>D</b>	<b>Family Action Movement</b>			
	Brown, Frieda	33101	1.21	
	Garvin, Malcolm	2975	0.11	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>36076</b>	<b>1.31</b>	<b>0.21</b>
<b>E</b>	<b>Australian Labor Party</b>			
	Thompson, Joe	1481626	53.94	
	Isaksen, Dorothy	3717	0.14	
	Unsworth, Barrie	5441	0.20	
	Fisher, Marie	3865	0.14	
	Healey, Clive	2686	0.10	
	Grusovin, Deirdre	948	0.03	
	Kaldis, Jim	2873	0.10	
	King, Norman	1591	0.06	
	Watkins, Peter	1111	0.04	
	Dyer, Ron	4220	0.15	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>1508078</b>	<b>54.91</b>	<b>8.79</b>
<b>F</b>	<b>Liberal/National Party</b>			
	Chadwick, Virginia	980964	35.72	
	Rowland-Smith, Robert	3468	0.13	
	Calabro, Francesco	2005	0.07	
	Lange, Lloyd	1507	0.05	
	MacDiarmid, Finlay	1356	0.05	
	Philips, Peter	1314	0.05	
	Percival, Harold	1319	0.05	
	Doohan, John	989	0.04	
	Downie, Diana	758	0.03	
	Moppett, Doug	2783	0.10	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>996463</b>	<b>36.28</b>	<b>5.80</b>

<b>G</b>	<b>Australian Democrats</b>			
	McLean, Paul	72889	2.65	
	Mallett, Ronald	717	0.03	
	Hilbery, Malcolm	305	0.01	
	Boag, Charles	402	0.01	
	Bourke, Laurence	456	0.02	
	Boow, James	195	0.01	
	Kersey, Joan	348	0.01	
	Irwin, Bruce	367	0.01	
	Laron, George	90	0.00	
	Stiller, Anita	600	0.02	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>76369</b>	<b>2.78</b>	<b>0.44</b>
	<b>Ungrouped</b>			
	Green, Ross	3160	0.12	
	Brady, Brian	542	0.02	
	Arkell, Frank	3188	0.12	
	Courtney, Judith	1107	0.04	
	Whitby, William	584	0.02	
	Hands, Allen	1262	0.05	
	Dezelin, Rudolph	910	0.03	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>10753</b>	<b>0.39</b>	<b>0.06</b>
	Formal Votes	2746621	95.95	
	Informal	115995	4.05	
	Total Votes	2862616		
	<b>Quota</b>	<b>171664</b>		

The leading candidates from the Labor Party and Liberal/National Party tickets received in excess of a quota. After successive distribution of preferences, thirteen candidates were declared elected in the following order :

- 1 Thompson (ALP)
- 2 Chadwick (Lib)
- 3 Isaksen (ALP)
- 4 Rowland-Smith (Nat)
- 5 Unsworth (ALP)
- 6 Calabro (Lib)
- 7 Fisher (ALP)
- 8 Lange (Lib)
- 9 Healey (ALP)
- 10 MacDiarmid (Nat)
- 11 Grusovin (ALP)
- 12 Kaldis (ALP)
- 13 King (ALP)

Following the election of these candidates and the distribution of their preferences, the count stood as follows.

Group	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
<b>A</b>	<b>Communist Party</b>			
	Munday, Jack	68798	2.50	
	Merletto, Melva	5083	0.19	
	Dawson, Darrell	6726	0.24	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>80607</b>	<b>2.93</b>	<b>0.47</b>

<b>B</b>	<b>Marijuana Party</b>			
	Livesey, Peter	14709	0.54	
	Billington, James	10828	0.39	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>25537</b>	<b>0.93</b>	<b>0.15</b>
<b>C</b>	<b>Independents Team</b>			
	Oliveri, Francesco	11422	0.42	
	Young, Norman	3236	0.12	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>14658</b>	<b>0.53</b>	<b>0.09</b>
<b>D</b>	<b>Family Action Movement</b>			
	Brown, Frieda	34658	1.26	
	Garvin, Malcolm	3605	0.13	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>38263</b>	<b>1.39</b>	<b>0.22</b>
<b>E</b>	<b>Australian Labor Party</b>			
	Thompson, Joe	171664	6.25	
	Isaksen, Dorothy	171664	6.25	
	Unsworth, Barrie	171664	6.25	
	Fisher, Marie	171664	6.25	
	Healey, Clive	171664	6.25	
	Grusovin, Deirdre	171664	6.25	
	Kaldis, Jim	171664	6.25	
	King, Norman	171664	6.25	
	Watkins, Peter	122469	4.46	
	Dyer, Ron	4832	0.18	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>1500613</b>	<b>54.63</b>	<b>8.74</b>
<b>F</b>	<b>Liberal/National Party</b>			
	Chadwick, Virginia	171664	6.25	
	Rowland-Smith, Robert	171664	6.25	
	Calabro, Francesco	171664	6.25	
	Lange, Lloyd	171664	6.25	
	MacDiarmid, Finlay	171664	6.25	
	Philips, Peter	129192	4.70	
	Percival, Harold	1582	0.06	
	Doohan, John	1165	0.04	
	Downie, Diana	1525	0.06	
	Moppett, Doug	3073	0.11	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>994857</b>	<b>36.22</b>	<b>5.80</b>
	<b>G</b>	<b>Australian Democrats</b>		
McLean, Paul		76256	2.78	
Mallett, Ronald		1133	0.04	
Hilbery, Malcolm		537	0.02	
Boag, Charles		534	0.02	
Bourke, Laurence		558	0.02	
Boow, James		216	0.01	
Kersey, Joan		418	0.02	
Irwin, Bruce		401	0.01	
Laron, George		98	0.00	
Stiller, Anita		650	0.02	
<b>Group Total</b>		<b>80801</b>	<b>2.94</b>	<b>0.47</b>

<b>Ungrouped</b>			
Green, Ross	3320	0.12	
Brady, Brian	594	0.02	
Arkell, Frank	3297	0.12	
Courtney, Judith	1228	0.04	
Whitby, William	615	0.02	
Hands, Allen	1293	0.05	
Dezelin, Rudolph	938	0.03	
<b>Group Total</b>	<b>11285</b>	<b>0.41</b>	<b>0.07</b>
<b>Formal Votes</b>	<b>2746621</b>		

With no candidate possessing a quota, the lowest candidates were then excluded, and their preferences distributed. 25 candidates were distributed in order, removing all but the two candidates of the Marijuana Party team, and the leading candidate from all other parties.

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
Com	Mundey, Jack	73960	2.69	0.43
Mar	Livesey, Peter	18263	0.66	0.11
Mar	Billington, James	14079	0.51	0.08
Ind	Oliveri, Francesco	14075	0.51	0.08
FAM	Brown, Frieda	41926	1.53	0.24
ALP	8 Elected Candidates	1373312	50.00	8.00
ALP	Watkins, Peter	129100	4.70	0.75
LNP	5 Elected Candidates	858320	31.25	5.00
LNP	Phillips, Peter	138213	5.03	0.81
DEM	McLean, Paul	82009	2.99	0.48
	Exhausted	3364	0.12	0.02
	<b>Formal Votes</b>	<b>2746621</b>		

Unusually, 42.5% of the original primary votes received by the Marijuana Party were for the number two candidate, Billington. As a result, at this count his vote was higher than that of Oliveri, the leading candidate on the Independents Team. Oliveri's preferences were distributed. 32.0% went to Phillips (LNP), 19.9% to Brown (FAM), 11.1% exhausted, and other groups receiving less than 10%.

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
Com	Mundey, Jack	74758	2.72	0.44
Mar	Livesey, Peter	19512	0.71	0.11
Mar	Billington, James	14842	0.54	0.09
FAM	Brown, Frieda	44732	1.63	0.26
ALP	8 Elected Candidates	1373312	50.00	8.00
ALP	Watkins, Peter	130454	4.75	0.76
LNP	5 Elected Candidates	858320	31.25	5.00
LNP	Phillips, Peter	142722	5.20	0.83
DEM	McLean, Paul	83044	3.02	0.48
	Exhausted	4925	0.18	0.03
	<b>Formal Votes</b>	<b>2746621</b>		

Billington was then excluded. 58.1% of preferences stayed with the Marijuana Party ticket, distributing to Livesey. 11.9% went to Brown (FAM), 11.0% exhausted, with all other candidate receiving less than 10%.

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
Com	Mundey, Jack	75608	2.75	0.44
Mar	Livesey, Peter	28138	1.02	0.16
FAM	Brown, Frieda	46491	1.69	0.27
ALP	8 Elected Candidates	1373312	50.00	8.00
ALP	Watkins, Peter	131397	4.78	0.77
LNP	5 Elected Candidates	858320	31.25	5.00
LNP	Philips, Peter	143318	5.22	0.83
DEM	McLean, Paul	83480	3.04	0.49
	Exhausted	6557	0.24	0.04
	Formal Votes	2746621		

Livesey was then excluded. 26.7% of preferences went to Watkins (ALP), 19.2% to Mundey (Com), 17.8% to Brown (FAM), 19.4% exhausted, with the other parties receiving less than 10%.

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
Com	Mundey, Jack	81020	2.95	0.47
FAM	Brown, Frieda	51496	1.87	0.30
ALP	8 Elected Candidates	1373312	50.00	8.00
ALP	Watkins, Peter	138903	5.06	0.81
LNP	5 Elected Candidates	858320	31.25	5.00
LNP	Philips, Peter	145839	5.31	0.85
DEM	McLean, Paul	85712	3.12	0.50
	Exhausted	12019	0.44	0.07
	Formal Votes	2746621		

Frieda Brown (FAM) was then excluded. Her preferences flowed 44.8% to Philips (LNP), 13.8% to Watkins (ALP), 10.0% to McLean (Dem), 8.9% to Mundey (Com) and 22.6% exhausted.

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
Com	Mundey, Jack	85595	3.12	0.50
ALP	8 Elected Candidates	1373312	50.00	8.00
ALP	Watkins, Peter	146018	5.32	0.85
LNP	5 Elected Candidates	858320	31.25	5.00
LNP	Philips, Peter	168887	6.15	0.98
DEM	McLean, Paul	90852	3.31	0.53
	Exhausted	23637	0.86	0.14
	Formal Votes	2746621		

Jack Mundey (Com) then became the final candidate excluded, electing Watkins (ALP) (ELECTED 14) and Philips (LNP) (ELECTED 15). Of Mundey's preferences, 54.2% exhausted, 33.8% went to Watkins (ALP), 7.0% to McLean (DEM) and 5.0% to Philips (LNP).

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
ALP	8 Elected Candidates	1373312	50.00	8.00
ALP	Watkins, Peter	174985	6.37	1.02
LNP	5 Elected Candidates	858320	31.25	5.00
LNP	Philips, Peter	173163	6.30	1.01
DEM	McLean, Paul	96848	3.53	0.56
	Exhausted	69993	2.55	0.41
	Formal Votes	2746621		

## 5. 1981 Legislative Council Election

Table 5.1 : Primary Vote by Party Group

Group	Party	Candidates	% Vote	Quotas	Elected
A	Call to Australia	5	9.11	1.46	1
B	Republican Party	2	0.37	0.06	..
C	Environmental Action	4	0.66	0.11	..
D	Australian Democrats	10	4.03	0.64	1
E	Progress Party	3	0.11	0.02	..
F	Labor Party	10	51.78	8.29	8
G	Liberal/National Party	10	33.77	5.40	5
H	Social Democrats	2	0.09	0.01	..
	Ungrouped	2	0.07	0.01	..

Table 5.2 : Distribution of Vote in Party Groups

Party	% of Party Vote cast for	
	No 1 Candidate	Other Candidate
Call to Australia	90.85	9.15
Republican Party	72.53	27.47
Environmental Action	76.86	23.14
Australian Democrats	91.64	8.36
Progress Party	65.04	34.96
Labor Party	98.35	1.65
Liberal/National Party	98.40	1.60
Social Democrats	87.86	12.14
Ungrouped	..	..
<b>Total Use</b>	<b>97.09</b>	<b>2.91</b>

Table 5.3 Impact of Electing 21 Members

Party Group	% of Vote	Quotas when Electing	
		15 Members	21 Members
Labor	51.78	8.29	11.39
Liberal/National	33.77	5.40	7.43
Call to Australia	9.11	1.46	2.00
Australian Democrats	4.03	0.64	0.89
Environmental Action	0.66	0.11	0.15
Republican Party	0.37	0.06	0.08
Progress Party	0.11	0.02	0.03
Social Democrats	0.09	0.01	0.02
Ungrouped	0.07	0.01	0.02

The quota for electing 21 members has little impact on the partial quotas for the Labor and Liberal/National Party groups. As a result, the count would proceed in a similar fashion to the 1981 election. The Democrats would again win the last vacancy, though probably achieving a full quota after preferences. The six extra vacancies would split 3 Labor, 2 Liberal/National and 1 Call to Australia.

## Progress of Count in Detail

## Total Primary Count

Group	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
A	<b>Call to Australia</b>			
	Nile, Fred	225699	8.27	
	McLennan, Graham	9720	0.36	
	Hume, Kevin	6323	0.23	
	Toogood, Thomas	2716	0.10	
	Everingham, Percy	3967	0.15	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>248425</b>	<b>9.11</b>	<b>1.46</b>
B	<b>Republican Party</b>			
	Buckley Brian	7386	0.27	
	McKern, Marie	2798	0.10	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>10184</b>	<b>0.37</b>	<b>0.06</b>
C	<b>Environmental Action</b>			
	Suter, Keith	13878	0.51	
	Leggett, Dudley	2025	0.07	
	Quealy, Jennifer	1321	0.05	
	Jacobsen, Quentin	832	0.03	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>18056</b>	<b>0.66</b>	<b>0.11</b>
D	<b>Australian Democrats</b>			
	Kirkby, Elisabeth	100753	3.69	
	McLean, Paul	2470	0.09	
	Boow, James	819	0.03	
	Townend, Christine	2159	0.08	
	Bourke, Laurence	889	0.03	
	Griffiths, Ray	814	0.03	
	McInnes, Ross	520	0.02	
	Beazley, Richard	416	0.02	
	Lake, Joe	288	0.01	
	Poppleton, Elizabeth	811	0.03	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>109939</b>	<b>4.03</b>	<b>0.64</b>
E	<b>Progress Party</b>			
	Soper, Henry	2030	0.07	
	Wisby, Marjorie	438	0.02	
	More, William	653	0.02	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>3121</b>	<b>0.11</b>	<b>0.02</b>
F	<b>Australian Labor Party</b>			
	Landa, Paul	1389080	50.93	
	Hallam, Jack	9302	0.34	
	Garland, John	2095	0.08	
	French, Barney	1216	0.04	
	Arena, Franca	3149	0.12	
	Brenner, George	1000	0.04	
	Reed, Ken	955	0.04	
	Vaughan, Bryan	650	0.02	
	Symonds, Elizabeth	1865	0.07	
	Hankinson, Fred	3114	0.11	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>1412426</b>	<b>51.78</b>	<b>8.29</b>

<b>G</b>	<b>Liberal/National Party</b>			
	Willis, Max	906335	33.23	
	Doohan, John	1877	0.07	
	Pickering, Ted	2379	0.09	
	Matthews, John	1108	0.04	
	Killen, Richard	2898	0.11	
	Freeman, Derek	1278	0.05	
	Jakins, Judith	1286	0.05	
	Bishop, Bronwyn	1168	0.04	
	Hagan, John	735	0.03	
	Moppett, Doug	2017	0.07	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>921081</b>	<b>33.77</b>	<b>5.40</b>
<b>H</b>	<b>Social Democrats</b>			
	Roach, Walter	2207	0.08	
	Liszikam, Johann	305	0.01	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>2512</b>	<b>0.09</b>	<b>0.01</b>
	<b>Ungrouped</b>			
	Patmoy, Louis	994	0.04	
	Dezelin, Rudolph	866	0.03	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>1860</b>	<b>0.07</b>	<b>0.01</b>
	Formal Votes	2727604	93.16	
	Informal	200367	6.84	
	Total Votes	2927971		
	<b>Quota</b>	<b>170476</b>		

The leading candidates from the Labor Party, the Liberal/National Parties, and the Call to Australia received in excess of a quota. After successive distribution of preferences, fourteen candidates were declared elected in the following order :

- 1 Landa (ALP)
- 2 Willis (Lib)
- 3 Nile (CTA)
- 4 Hallam (ALP)
- 5 Doohan (Nat)
- 6 Garland (ALP)
- 7 Pickering (Lib)
- 8 French (ALP)
- 9 Matthews (Lib)
- 10 Arena (ALP)
- 11 Killen (Nat)
- 12 Brenner (ALP)
- 13 Reed (ALP)
- 14 Vaughan (ALP)

Following the election of these candidates and the distribution of their preferences, the count stood as follows.

Group	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
<b>A</b>	<b>Call to Australia</b>			
	Nile, Fred	170476	6.25	
	McLennan, Graham	57353	2.10	
	Hume, Kevin	7864	0.29	
	Toogood, Thomas	3351	0.12	
	Everingham, Percy	4675	0.17	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>243719</b>	<b>8.94</b>	<b>1.43</b>

<b>B</b>	<b>Republican Party</b>			
	Buckley Brian	9084	0.33	
	McKern, Marie	3914	0.14	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>12998</b>	<b>0.48</b>	<b>0.08</b>
<b>C</b>	<b>Environmental Action</b>			
	Suter, Keith	14591	0.53	
	Leggett, Dudley	2437	0.09	
	Quealy, Jennifer	1572	0.06	
	Jacobsen, Quentin	992	0.04	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>19592</b>	<b>0.72</b>	<b>0.11</b>
<b>D</b>	<b>Australian Democrats</b>			
	Kirkby, Elisabeth	105419	3.86	
	McLean, Paul	3234	0.12	
	Boow, James	1060	0.04	
	Townend, Christine	2797	0.10	
	Bourke, Laurence	1107	0.04	
	Griffiths, Ray	1028	0.04	
	McInnes, Ross	643	0.02	
	Beazley, Richard	518	0.02	
	Lake, Joe	338	0.01	
	Poppleton, Elizabeth	889	0.03	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>117033</b>	<b>4.29</b>	<b>0.69</b>
<b>E</b>	<b>Progress Party</b>			
	Soper, Henry	2560	0.09	
	Wisby, Marjorie	894	0.03	
	More, William	1030	0.04	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>4484</b>	<b>0.16</b>	<b>0.03</b>
<b>F</b>	<b>Australian Labor Party</b>			
	Landa, Paul	170476	6.25	
	Hallam, Jack	170476	6.25	
	Garland, John	170476	6.25	
	French, Barney	170476	6.25	
	Arena, Franca	170476	6.25	
	Brenner, George	170476	6.25	
	Reed, Ken	170476	6.25	
	Vaughan, Bryan	170476	6.25	
	Symonds, Elizabeth	32214	1.18	
	Hankinson, Fred	3597	0.13	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>1399619</b>	<b>51.31</b>	<b>8.21</b>
<b>G</b>	<b>Liberal/National Party</b>			
	Willis, Max	170476	6.25	
	Doohan, John	170476	6.25	
	Pickering, Ted	170476	6.25	
	Matthews, John	170476	6.25	
	Killen, Richard	170476	6.25	
	Freeman, Derek	65767	2.41	
	Jakins, Judith	1964	0.07	
	Bishop, Bronwyn	1474	0.05	
	Hagan, John	964	0.04	
	Moppett, Doug	2270	0.08	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>924819</b>	<b>33.91</b>	<b>5.42</b>

<b>H</b>	<b>Social Democrats</b>			
	Roach, Walter	2884	0.11	
	Liszikam, Johann	428	0.02	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>3312</b>	<b>0.12</b>	<b>0.02</b>
	<b>Ungrouped</b>			
	Patmoy, Walter	1085	0.04	
	Dezelin, Rudolph	943	0.03	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>2028</b>	<b>0.07</b>	<b>0.01</b>
	<b>Formal Votes</b>	<b>2727604</b>		

With no candidate possessing a quota, the lowest candidates were then excluded, and their preferences distributed. 28 candidates were distributed in order, removing the Progress Party, Social Democrats, all ungrouped candidates, and all but the leading candidate from all other parties. At this stage the totals were as follows.

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
CTA	Nile (Elected)	170476	6.25	1.00
CTA	McLennan, Graham	64297	2.36	0.38
Rep	Buckley Brian	16521	0.61	0.10
Env	Suter, Keith	19797	0.73	0.12
DEM	Kirkby, Elisabeth	115048	4.22	0.67
ALP	8 Elected Candidates	1363808	50.00	8.00
ALP	Symonds, Elizabeth	39711	1.46	0.23
LNP	5 Elected Candidates	852380	31.25	5.00
LNP	Freeman, Derek	74945	2.75	0.44
	Exhausted	10621	0.39	0.06
	<b>Formal Votes</b>	<b>2727604</b>		<b>16.00</b>

Buckley (Rep) was then excluded. 31.2% of his preferences exhausted, 25.7% flowed to Suter (Env), 17.8% to McLennan (CTA), 14.6% to Kirkby (Dem), and all other candidates received less than 10%.

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
CTA	Nile (Elected)	170476	6.25	1.00
CTA	McLennan, Graham	67231	2.46	0.39
Env	Suter, Keith	24044	0.88	0.14
DEM	Kirkby, Elisabeth	117461	4.31	0.69
ALP	8 Elected Candidates	1363808	50.00	8.00
ALP	Symonds, Elizabeth	40570	1.49	0.24
LNP	5 Elected Candidates	852380	31.25	5.00
LNP	Freeman, Derek	75857	2.78	0.44
	Exhausted	15777	0.58	0.09
	<b>Formal Votes</b>	<b>2727604</b>		<b>16.00</b>

Next excluded was Suter (Env). 32.0% exhausted, 29.6% went to Kirkby (Dem), 20.3% to Symonds (ALP), 12.1% to McLennan (CTA) and 6.1% to Freeman (LNP).

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
CTA	Nile (Elected)	170476	6.25	1.00
CTA	McLennan, Graham	70133	2.57	0.41
DEM	Kirkby, Elisabeth	124571	4.57	0.73
ALP	8 Elected Candidates	1363808	50.00	8.00
ALP	Symonds, Elizabeth	45442	1.67	0.27
LNP	5 Elected Candidates	852380	31.25	5.00
LNP	Freeman, Derek	77330	2.84	0.45
	Exhausted	23464	0.86	0.14
	<b>Formal Votes</b>	<b>2727604</b>		<b>16.00</b>

The last Labor candidate, Symonds, then had the lowest total vote. Most preferences followed the Labor how to vote card, which had only indicated 10 preferences straight down the Labor ticket. 86.9% of her votes had no preferences to remaining candidates and so exhausted. 7.3% went to Kirkby (Dem), 3.6% to Freeman (LNP) and 2.2% to McLennan (CTA).

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
CTA	Nile (Elected)	170476	6.25	1.00
CTA	McLennan, Graham	71155	2.61	0.42
DEM	Kirkby, Elisabeth	127877	4.69	0.75
ALP	8 Elected Candidates	1363808	50.00	8.00
LNP	5 Elected Candidates	852380	31.25	5.00
LNP	Freeman, Derek	78969	2.90	0.46
	Exhausted	62939	2.31	0.37
	Formal Votes	2727604		16.00

McLennan (CTA) now had the lowest vote and was distributed. 45.6% of his vote exhausted, 28.1% flowed to Kirkby (Dem) and 26.3% to Freeman (LNP).

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
CTA	Nile (Elected)	170476	6.25	1.00
DEM	Kirkby, Elisabeth	147863	5.42	0.87
ALP	8 Elected Candidates	1363808	50.00	8.00
LNP	5 Elected Candidates	852380	31.25	5.00
LNP	Freeman, Derek	97677	3.58	0.57
	Exhausted	95400	3.50	0.56
	Formal Votes	2727604		16.00

At this stage, only Kirkby and Freeman remained in the count. As Kirkby had the highest remaining vote, she was declared elected despite having failed to received a quota. (ELECTED 15).

## 6. 1984 Legislative Council Election

Table 6.1 : Primary Vote by Party Group

Group	Party	Candidates	% Vote	Quotas	Elected
A	Liberal/National Party	10	42.61	6.82	7
B	Labor Party	10	46.88	7.50	7
C	Progress Party	2	0.22	0.04	..
D	Australian Democrats	4	3.15	0.50	..
E	Call to Australia	5	6.09	0.97	1
F	Concerned Citizens	3	0.49	0.08	..
G	Silent Majority	3	0.14	0.02	..
	Ungrouped	6	0.42	0.07	..

Table 6.2 Distribution of Vote in Party Groups

Party	% of Party Vote cast for	
	No 1 Candidate	Other Candidate
Liberal/National Party	96.65	3.35
Labor Party	98.18	1.82
Progress Party	73.53	26.47
Australian Democrats	95.98	4.02
Call to Australia	94.94	5.06
Concerned Citizens	91.96	8.04
Silent Majority	59.18	40.82
Ungrouped	..	..
Total Use	96.94	3.06

Table 6.3 Impact of Electing 21 Members

Party Group	% of Vote	Quotas when Electing	
		15 Members	21 Members
Labor	46.88	7.50	10.31
Liberal/National	42.61	6.82	9.37
Call to Australia	6.09	0.97	1.34
Australian Democrats	3.15	0.50	0.69
Concerned Citizens	0.49	0.08	0.11
Progress Party	0.22	0.04	0.05
Silent Majority	0.14	0.02	0.03
Ungrouped	0.42	0.07	0.09

In 1984, using the 15-quota, the Labor Party vote was 4% higher than the Coalition's, yet both won 7 seats, with the Call to Australia winning the final position. Using the 21 quotas, Labor would win 10, the Coalition 9, the Call to Australia 1 and the Democrats almost certainly 1. Of the six extra vacancies, Labor won 3, the Coalition 2 and the Democrats 1.

## Progress of Count in Detail

## Total Primary Count

Group	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
A	<b>Liberal/National Party</b>			
	Hannaford, John	1184468	41.19	
	Solomons, Adrian	9072	0.32	
	Samios, James	4950	0.17	
	Jobling, John	4984	0.17	
	Bull, Richard	5403	0.19	
	Evans, Beryl	6247	0.22	
	Jakins, Judith	2781	0.10	
	Aston, Ray	1808	0.06	
	Flower, Brian	1189	0.04	
	Mallam, Henry	4617	0.16	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>1225519</b>	<b>42.61</b>	<b>6.82</b>
B	<b>Australian Labor Party</b>			
	Johnson, John	1323738	46.03	
	Kite, Delcia	4301	0.15	
	Dyer, Ron	2663	0.09	
	Morris, John	3298	0.11	
	Symonds, Ann	3496	0.12	
	Enderbury, Keith	1459	0.05	
	Ibbett, Gordon	793	0.03	
	Walker, Judith	2615	0.09	
	Kelly, Anthony	2144	0.07	
	Toplis, Paul	3841	0.13	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>1348348</b>	<b>46.88</b>	<b>7.50</b>
C	<b>Progress Party</b>			
	Wisby, Marjorie	4714	0.16	
	Brown, Archibald	1702	0.06	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>6416</b>	<b>0.22</b>	<b>0.04</b>
D	<b>Australian Democrats</b>			
	Griffiths, Ray	86989	3.02	
	Dominish, Rodney	1478	0.05	
	Hains, Peter	907	0.03	
	Irvine, Rodney	1260	0.04	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>90634</b>	<b>3.15</b>	<b>0.50</b>
E	<b>Call to Australia</b>			
	Cameron, Jim	166210	5.78	
	Bignold, Marie	730	0.03	
	McLennan, Graham	1187	0.04	
	Hume, Kevin	1232	0.04	
	Nile, Elaine	5709	0.20	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>175068</b>	<b>6.09</b>	<b>0.97</b>
F	<b>Concerned Citizens</b>			
	Walsh, Verdun	12905	0.45	
	Bickley, Margaret	606	0.02	
	Hinton, Peter	525	0.02	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>14036</b>	<b>0.49</b>	<b>0.08</b>

Group	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
G	<b>Silent Majority</b>			
	Calvert, Samuel	2308	0.08	
	Burwood, Mary	635	0.02	
	Harradine, Lola	956	0.03	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>3899</b>	<b>0.14</b>	<b>0.02</b>
	<b>Ungrouped</b>			
	Jeffreys, Michael	6644	0.23	
	Noffs, David	1315	0.05	
	Axtens, Jon	368	0.01	
	Howard, Brian	806	0.03	
Sewell, George	483	0.02		
Landicho, Oscar	2412	0.08		
<b>Group Total</b>	<b>12028</b>	<b>0.42</b>	<b>0.07</b>	
	Formal Votes	2875948	93.34	
	Informal	205275	6.66	
	<b>Total Votes</b>	<b>3081223</b>		
	<b>Quota</b>	<b>179747</b>		

The leading candidates from the Labor Party and Liberal/National Party tickets received in excess of a quota. After successive distribution of preferences, thirteen candidates were declared elected in the following order :

- 1 Johnson (ALP)
- 2 Hannaford (Lib)
- 3 Kite (ALP)
- 4 Solomons (Nat)
- 5 Dyer (ALP)
- 6 Samios (Lib)
- 7 Morris (ALP)
- 8 Jobling (Lib)
- 9 Symonds (ALP)
- 10 Bull (Nat)
- 11 Enderbury (ALP)
- 12 Evans (Lib)
- 13 Ibbett (ALP)

Following the election of these candidates and the distribution of their preferences, the count stood as follows.

Group	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
A	<b>Liberal/National Party</b>			
	Hannaford, John	179747	6.25	
	Solomons, Adrian	179747	6.25	
	Samios, James	179747	6.25	
	Jobling, John	179747	6.25	
	Bull, Richard	179747	6.25	
	Evans, Beryl	179747	6.25	
	Jakins, Judith	127892	4.45	
	Aston, Ray	2347	0.08	
	Flower, Brian	1515	0.05	
	Mallam, Henry	5155	0.18	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>1215391</b>	<b>42.26</b>	<b>6.76</b>

<b>B</b>	<b>Australian Labor Party</b>			
	Johnson, John	179747	6.25	
	Kite, Delcia	179747	6.25	
	Dyer, Ron	179747	6.25	
	Morris, John	179747	6.25	
	Symonds, Ann	179747	6.25	
	Enderbury, Keith	179747	6.25	
	Ibbett, Gordon	179747	6.25	
	Walker, Judith	80610	2.80	
	Kelly, Anthony	2668	0.09	
	Toplis, Paul	4471	0.16	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>1345978</b>	<b>46.80</b>	<b>7.49</b>
<b>C</b>	<b>Progress Party</b>			
	Wisby, Marjorie	8590	0.30	
	Brown, Archibald	3443	0.12	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>12033</b>	<b>0.42</b>	<b>0.07</b>
<b>D</b>	<b>Australian Democrats</b>			
	Griffiths, Ray	89333	3.11	
	Dominish, Rodney	1792	0.06	
	Hains, Peter	1096	0.04	
	Irvine, Rodney	1405	0.05	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>93626</b>	<b>3.26</b>	<b>0.52</b>
<b>E</b>	<b>Call to Australia</b>			
	Cameron, Jim	168603	5.86	
	Bignold, Marie	822	0.03	
	McLennan, Graham	1297	0.05	
	Hume, Kevin	1312	0.05	
	Nile, Elaine	6017	0.21	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>178051</b>	<b>6.19</b>	<b>0.99</b>
<b>F</b>	<b>Concerned Citizens</b>			
	Walsh, Verdun	13111	0.46	
	Bickley, Margaret	659	0.02	
	Hinton, Peter	555	0.02	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>14325</b>	<b>0.50</b>	<b>0.08</b>
<b>G</b>	<b>Silent Majority</b>			
	Calvert, Samuel	2389	0.08	
	Burwood, Mary	670	0.02	
	Harradine, Lola	1003	0.03	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>4062</b>	<b>0.14</b>	<b>0.02</b>
	<b>Ungrouped</b>			
	Jeffreys, Michael	6892	0.24	
	Noffs, David	1375	0.05	
	Axtens, Jon	389	0.01	
	Howard, Brian	831	0.03	
	Sewell, George	505	0.02	
	Landicho, Oscar	2490	0.09	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>12482</b>	<b>0.43</b>	<b>0.07</b>

With no candidate possessing a quota, the lowest candidates were then excluded. 23 candidates were excluded in order, removing all but the leading candidate in each group, as well as the Silent Majority group. At this point the count stood as follows.

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
LNP	6 Elected Candidates	1078482	37.50	6.00
LNP	Jakins, Judith	136759	4.76	0.76
ALP	7 Elected Candidates	1258229	43.75	7.00
ALP	Walker, Judith	89429	3.11	0.50
PP	Wisby, Marjorie	11647	0.40	0.06
Dem	Griffiths, Ray	93948	3.27	0.52
CTA	Cameron, Jim	177056	6.16	0.99
CC	Walsh, Verdun	16144	0.56	0.09
	Jeffreys, Michael	10620	0.37	0.06
	Exhausted	3634	0.13	0.02

At this point, the last ungrouped candidate, Jeffreys was excluded. Of his preferences, 24.3% exhausted, 32.5% went to Walsh (CC), 12.7% to Griffiths (Dem), 9.5% to Cameron (CTA), 8.3% to Jakins (LNP), 7.2% to Walker (ALP) and 5.5% to Wisby (PP). The new totals were:

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
LNP	6 Elected	1078482	37.50	6.00
LNP	Jakins, Judith	137644	4.79	0.77
ALP	7 Elected	1258229	43.75	7.00
ALP	Walker, Judith	90191	3.14	0.50
PP	Wisby, Marjorie	12234	0.43	0.07
Dem	Griffiths, Ray	95302	3.31	0.53
CTA	Cameron, Jim	178065	6.19	0.99
CC	Walsh, Verdun	19591	0.68	0.11
	Exhausted	6210	0.22	0.03

Wisby was now excluded. 42.2% of her preferences flowed to Griffiths (Dem), 15.6% exhausted, 13.9% to Walker (ALP), 11.1% to Jakins (LNP), 8.6% to Walsh (CC) and 8.5% to Cameron (CTA). Cameron was now only 636 votes short of a full quota. The new totals were:

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
LNP	6 Elected	1078482	37.50	6.00
LNP	Jakins, Judith	139009	4.83	0.77
ALP	7 Elected	1258229	43.75	7.00
ALP	Walker, Judith	91894	3.20	0.51
Dem	Griffiths, Ray	100459	3.49	0.56
CTA	Cameron, Jim	179111	6.23	1.00
CC	Walsh, Verdun	20644	0.72	0.11
	Exhausted	8120	0.28	0.05

Walsh was now excluded, and his preferences were sufficient to elect Cameron (ELECTED 14). 53.0% of Walsh's preferences were exhausted, 20.3% went to Cameron (CTA), 10.5% to Jakins (LNP), 10.2% to Griffiths (Dem) and 6.1% to Walker (ALP). The new totals were :

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
LNP	6 Elected	1078482	37.50	6.00
LNP	Jakins, Judith	141170	4.91	0.79
ALP	7 Elected	1258229	43.75	7.00
ALP	Walker, Judith	93146	3.24	0.52
Dem	Griffiths, Ray	102558	3.57	0.57
CTA	Cameron, Jim	183301	6.37	1.02
	Exhausted	19062	0.66	0.11

With Cameron's surplus being insufficient to elect another candidate, its distribution was delayed, and the preferences of the last Labor candidate, Judith Walker, were distributed. Following the Labor how-to-vote card, 89.6% of preferences exhausted. With neither Jakins nor Griffiths achieving a quota, Jakins was declared elected (ELECTED 15) having the highest remaining quota. The final count was :

Group	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
LNP	6 Elected	1078482	37.50	6.00
LNP	Jakins, Judith	146766	5.10	0.82
ALP	7 Elected	1258229	43.75	7.00
Dem	Griffiths, Ray	106667	3.71	0.59
CTA	Cameron, Jim	183301	6.37	1.02
	Exhausted	102503	3.56	0.57

If ticket voting had been in use in 1984, it is likely that the Labor Party would have directed preferences to the Australian Democrats, and Griffiths would have won the final vacancy ahead of Jakins.

## 7. 1988 Legislative Council Election

**Table 7.1 : Primary Vote by Party Group**

Group	Party	Candidates	% Vote	Quotas	Elected
A	Labor Party	10	37.51	6.00	6
B	Nuclear Disarmament	2	0.93	0.15	..
C	Humanist Party	2	0.39	0.06	..
D	Independent EFF	7	2.40	0.38	..
E	Liberal/National Party	10	46.15	7.38	7
F	Australian Democrats	3	2.70	0.43	1
G	Environment Group	3	1.60	0.26	..
H	Aboriginal Team	3	0.44	0.07	..
I	Community Independents	3	1.74	0.28	..
J	Defence Ex-Service Team	2	0.23	0.04	..
K	Marijuana Party	2	0.09	0.01	..
L	Call to Australia	5	5.71	0.91	1
	Ungrouped	4	0.11	0.02	..

**Table 7.2 : Distribution of Vote in Party Groups**

Party	% of Party Vote cast for		
	Ticket Votes	No 1 Candidate	Other Candidate
Australian Labor Party	84.70	13.60	1.70
Nuclear Disarmament	76.95	21.53	1.52
Humanist Party	87.85	8.73	3.42
Independent EFF	89.92	7.17	2.91
Liberal/National Party	93.56	5.52	0.92
Australian Democrats	75.32	23.90	0.78
Environment Group	60.00	38.03	1.97
Aboriginal Team	58.30	39.52	2.18
Community Independents	72.51	26.61	0.88
Defence Ex-Service Team	84.76	13.59	1.65
Marijuana Party	0.00	77.22	22.78
Call to Australia	52.38	46.85	0.77
Ungrouped	..	..	..
<b>Total Use</b>	<b>85.86</b>	<b>12.77</b>	<b>1.38</b>

Table 7.3 : Impact of Electing 21 Members

Party Group	% of Vote	Quotas when Electing	
		15 Members	21 Members
Labor	37.51	6.00	8.25
Liberal/National	46.15	7.38	10.15
Call to Australia	5.71	0.91	1.26
Australian Democrats	2.70	0.43	0.60
Independent EFF	2.40	0.38	0.53
Community Independents	1.74	0.28	0.38
Environment Group	1.60	0.26	0.35
Nuclear Disarmament	0.93	0.15	0.20
Aboriginal Team	0.44	0.07	0.10
Humanist Party	0.39	0.06	0.09
Defence Ex-Service Team	0.23	0.04	0.05
Marijuana Party	0.09	0.01	0.02
Ungrouped	0.11	0.02	0.02

In 1988 using 15 quotas, the Democrats won the final vacancy from the Independent EFF through the accumulation of preferences from minor parties. Using the 21 quota, on the initial count, Labor would elect 8 members, the Coalition 10 and Call to Australia 1. The 21-member quota gives the Democrats a higher partial quota, and a flow of preferences from the Labor Party, so the Democrats would again accumulate a quota through preferences. The partial quotas from the Coalition and Call to Australia should elect the leading candidate from the Independent EFF group. Of the six extra vacancies, the Coalition would win 3, Labor 2 and the Independent EFF 1.

## Progress of Count in Detail

## Count No 1 (Total Primary Count)

Group	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
<b>A</b>	<b>Australian Labor Party</b>			
	Ticket Votes	966167	31.77	
	Grusovin, Deirdre	155104	5.10	
	Macdonald, Ian	5590	0.18	
	Kaldis, James	2463	0.08	
	O'Grady, Paul	2330	0.08	
	Egan, Michael	2101	0.07	
	Manson, Andrew	1024	0.03	
	Isaksen, Dorothy	867	0.03	
	Kelly, Anthony	2428	0.08	
	Cunningham, Ron	995	0.03	
	Thompson, George	1565	0.05	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>1140634</b>	<b>37.51</b>	<b>6.00</b>
<b>B</b>	<b>Nuclear Disarmament</b>			
	Ticket Votes	21669	0.71	
	Charlton, Colin	6062	0.20	
	Wyatt, Dennis	430	0.01	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>28161</b>	<b>0.93</b>	<b>0.15</b>
<b>C</b>	<b>Humanist Party</b>			
	Ticket Votes	10450	0.34	
	Radice, Vito	1038	0.03	
	Whitaker, Noel	407	0.01	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>11895</b>	<b>0.39</b>	<b>0.06</b>
<b>D</b>	<b>Independent EFF</b>			
	Ticket Vote	65607	2.16	
	Kanan, Joe	5231	0.17	
	White, Vince	419	0.01	
	Moffitt, Jack	535	0.02	
	Sutton, Geoffrey	323	0.01	
	Lever, Patrick	115	0.00	
	Abbott, Jane	473	0.02	
	Catts, Peter	262	0.01	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>72965</b>	<b>2.40</b>	<b>0.38</b>
<b>E</b>	<b>Liberal/National Party</b>			
	Ticket Vote	1312918	43.18	
	Chadwick, Virginia (Lib)	77436	2.55	
	Rowland-Smith, Robert (Nat)	2767	0.09	
	Goldsmith, Marlene (Lib)	1409	0.05	
	Pezzutti, Brian (Lib)	1778	0.06	
	Gay, Duncan (Nat)	1238	0.04	
	Mutch, Stephen (Lib)	648	0.02	
	Sham Ho, Helen (Lib)	1250	0.04	
	Barnes, Michael (Lib)	859	0.03	
	Rowley, Bruce (Nat)	712	0.02	
	Raye, Carol (Lib)	2285	0.08	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>1403300</b>	<b>46.15</b>	<b>7.38</b>

<b>F</b>	<b>Australian Democrats</b>			
	Ticket Votes	61950	2.04	
	Jones, Richard	19661	0.65	
	Griffiths, Ray	400	0.01	
	Bennison, Rod	237	0.01	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>82248</b>	<b>2.70</b>	<b>0.43</b>
<b>G</b>	<b>Environment Group</b>			
	Ticket Votes	29121	0.96	
	Dunphy, Milo	18459	0.61	
	Townend, Christine	657	0.02	
	Oppen, Alice	299	0.01	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>48536</b>	<b>1.60</b>	<b>0.26</b>
<b>H</b>	<b>Aboriginal Team</b>			
	Ticket Votes	7791	0.26	
	Ingram, Mildred	5281	0.17	
	Ammatto, Anthony	134	0.00	
	Phillips, Aubry	157	0.01	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>13363</b>	<b>0.44</b>	<b>0.07</b>
<b>I</b>	<b>Community Independents</b>			
	Ticket Votes	38424	1.26	
	Mundey, Jack	14101	0.46	
	Miers, Stacey	264	0.01	
	Whiley, William	203	0.01	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>52992</b>	<b>1.74</b>	<b>0.28</b>
<b>J</b>	<b>Defence Ex-Service Team</b>			
	Ticket Votes	5908	0.19	
	McMahon, Rowley	947	0.03	
	Herd, David	115	0.00	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>6970</b>	<b>0.23</b>	<b>0.04</b>
<b>K</b>	<b>Marijuana Party</b>			
	MacPherson, Macciza	2095	0.07	
	Brash, Nick	618	0.02	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>2713</b>	<b>0.09</b>	<b>0.01</b>
<b>L</b>	<b>Call to Australia</b>			
	Ticket Votes	90913	2.99	
	Nile, Elaine	81312	2.67	
	Hume, Kevin	547	0.02	
	Judge, Patricia	270	0.01	
	Bird, William	194	0.01	
	Everingham, Percy	333	0.01	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>173569</b>	<b>5.71</b>	<b>0.91</b>
	<b>Ungrouped</b>			
	Smith, Michael	983	0.03	
	Dutra, Carlos	1608	0.05	
	Winchester, Phillip	239	0.01	
	Butt, John	566	0.02	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>3396</b>	<b>0.11</b>	<b>0.02</b>
	Formal Votes	3040742	91.92	
	Informal	267113	8.08	
	Total Votes	3307855		
	Quota	190047		

The leading candidates from the Labor Party and Liberal/National Party tickets received in excess of a quota. After successive distribution of preferences, twelve 12 candidates were declared elected in the following order :

- 1 Chadwick (Lib)
- 2 Grusovin (ALP)
- 3 Rowland-Smith (Nat)
- 4 Macdonald (ALP)
- 5 Goldsmith (Lib)
- 6 Kaldis (ALP)
- 7 Pezzutti (Lib)
- 8 O'Grady (ALP)
- 9 Gay (Nat)
- 10 Egan (ALP)
- 11 Mutch (Lib)
- 12 Sham Ho (Lib)

At this point, Count 13, the totals stood at :

Group	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
<b>A</b>	<b>Australian Labor Party</b>			
	Grusovin, Deirdre	190047	6.25	
	Macdonald, Ian	190047	6.25	
	Kaldis, James	190047	6.25	
	O'Grady, Paul	190047	6.25	
	Egan, Michael	190047	6.25	
	Manson, Andrew	179491	5.90	
	Isaksen, Dorothy	1584	0.05	
	Kelly, Anthony	2602	0.09	
	Cunningham, Ron	1121	0.04	
Thompson, George	1740	0.06		
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>1136773</b>	<b>37.38</b>	<b>5.98</b>
<b>B</b>	<b>Nuclear Disarmament</b>			
	Charlton, Colin	29267	0.96	
	Wyatt, Dennis	1055	0.03	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>30322</b>	<b>1.00</b>	<b>0.16</b>
<b>C</b>	<b>Humanist Party</b>			
	Radice, Vito	11691	0.38	
	Whitaker, Noel	558	0.02	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>12249</b>	<b>0.40</b>	<b>0.06</b>
<b>D</b>	<b>Independent EFF</b>			
	Kanan, Joe	71170	2.34	
	White, Vince	508	0.02	
	Moffitt, Jack	624	0.02	
	Sutton, Geoffrey	372	0.01	
	Lever, Patrick	127	0.00	
	Abbott, Jane	544	0.02	
Catts, Peter	270	0.01		
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>73615</b>	<b>2.42</b>	<b>0.39</b>

<b>E</b>	<b>Liberal/National Party</b>			
	Chadwick, Virginia (Lib)	190047	6.25	
	Rowland-Smith, Robert (Nat)	190047	6.25	
	Goldsmith, Marlene (Lib)	190047	6.25	
	Pezzutti, Brian (Lib)	190047	6.25	
	Gay, Duncan (Nat)	190047	6.25	
	Mutch, Stephen (Lib)	190047	6.25	
	Sham Ho, Helen (Lib)	190047	6.25	
	Barnes, Michael (Lib)	66862	2.20	
	Rowley, Bruce (Nat)	825	0.03	
	Raye, Carol (Lib)	2993	0.10	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>1401009</b>	<b>46.07</b>	<b>7.37</b>
<b>F</b>	<b>Australian Democrats</b>			
	Jones, Richard	82244	2.70	
	Griffiths, Ray	513	0.02	
	Bennison, Rod	269	0.01	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>83026</b>	<b>2.73</b>	<b>0.44</b>
<b>G</b>	<b>Environment Group</b>			
	Dunphy, Milo	48047	1.58	
	Townend, Christine	718	0.02	
	Oppen, Alice	329	0.01	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>49094</b>	<b>1.61</b>	<b>0.26</b>
<b>H</b>	<b>Aboriginal Team</b>			
	Ingram, Mildred	13170	0.43	
	Ammatto, Anthony	141	0.00	
	Phillips, Aubry	167	0.01	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>13478</b>	<b>0.44</b>	<b>0.07</b>
<b>I</b>	<b>Community Independents</b>			
	Mundey, Jack	52962	1.74	
	Miers, Stacey	275	0.01	
	Whiley, William	208	0.01	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>53445</b>	<b>1.76</b>	<b>0.28</b>
<b>J</b>	<b>Defence Ex-Service Team</b>			
	McMahon, Rowley	6882	0.23	
	Herd, David	121	0.00	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>7003</b>	<b>0.23</b>	<b>0.04</b>
<b>K</b>	<b>Marijuana Party</b>			
	MacPherson, Macciza	2119	0.07	
	Brash, Nick	625	0.02	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>2744</b>	<b>0.09</b>	<b>0.01</b>
<b>L</b>	<b>Call to Australia</b>			
	Nile, Elaine	173164	5.69	
	Hume, Kevin	571	0.02	
	Judge, Patricia	280	0.01	
	Bird, William	200	0.01	
	Everingham, Percy	338	0.01	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>174553</b>	<b>5.74</b>	<b>0.92</b>

<b>Ungrouped</b>			
Smith, Michael	1004	0.03	
Dutra, Carlos	1610	0.05	
Winchester, Phillip	243	0.01	
Butt, John	574	0.02	
<b>Group Total</b>	<b>3431</b>	<b>0.11</b>	<b>0.02</b>
<b>Formal Votes</b>	<b>3040742</b>		

With no remaining candidates possessing a quota, the elimination of the candidates with the least votes began. 33 candidates were excluded, including all ungrouped candidates, the Marijuana Party ticket, and all but the leading candidate in every other ticket. The Marijuana Party did not lodge a registered ticket vote, and their preferences distributed widely to other parties. At the end of Count 46, the following candidates remained in the count.

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
ALP	5 Elected Candidates	950235	31.25	5.00
ALP	Manson, Andrew	185309	6.09	0.98
NDP	Charlton, Colin	30472	1.00	0.16
HP	Radice, Vito	12577	0.41	0.07
EFF	Kanan, Joe	72444	2.38	0.38
LNP	7 Elected Candidates	1330329	43.75	7.00
LNP	Barnes, Michael (Lib)	71228	2.34	0.37
Dem	Jones, Richard	83642	2.75	0.44
EG	Dunphy, Milo	50833	1.67	0.27
AT	Ingram, Mildred	14230	0.47	0.07
CI	Mundey, Jack	54425	1.79	0.29
DES	McMahon, Rowley	7745	0.25	0.04
CTA	Nile, Elaine	175529	5.77	0.92
	Exhausted	1744	0.06	0.01

In Count 47, McMahon from the Defence-Ex-Service Party was excluded, and in accordance with the party's ticket vote, 77.4% of preferences flowed to the Independent EFF team. The new totals were :

Group	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
ALP	5 Elected Candidates	950235	31.25	5.00
ALP	Manson, Andrew	185393	6.10	0.98
NDP	Charlton, Colin	30549	1.00	0.16
HP	Radice, Vito	12654	0.42	0.07
EFF	Kanan, Joe	78441	2.58	0.41
LNP	7 Elected Candidates	1330329	43.75	7.00
LNP	Barnes, Michael (Lib)	71440	2.35	0.38
Dem	Jones, Richard	83773	2.76	0.44
EG	Dunphy, Milo	50932	1.67	0.27
AT	Ingram, Mildred	14356	0.47	0.08
CI	Mundey, Jack	54792	1.80	0.29
CTA	Nile, Elaine	175824	5.78	0.93
	Exhausted	2024	0.07	0.01

Count 48 excluded Radice of the Humanist Party. 86.4% of his preferences followed the Party ticket to the Nuclear Disarmament Party.

Group	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
ALP	5 Elected Candidates	950235	31.25	5.00
ALP	Manson, Andrew	185558	6.10	0.98
NDP	Charlton, Colin	41478	1.36	0.22
EFF	Kanan, Joe	78787	2.59	0.41
LNP	7 Elected Candidates	1330329	43.75	7.00
LNP	Barnes, Michael (Lib)	71530	2.35	0.38
Dem	Jones, Richard	84014	2.76	0.44
EG	Dunphy, Milo	51154	1.68	0.27
AT	Ingram, Mildred	14477	0.48	0.08
CI	Mundey, Jack	54937	1.81	0.29
CTA	Nile, Elaine	175882	5.78	0.93
	Exhausted	2361	0.08	0.01

Count 49 excluded Millie Ingram from the Aboriginal Team, 69.5% of preferences flowing to Jack Mundey and the Community Independent Team.

Group	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
ALP	5 Elected Candidates	950235	31.25	5.00
ALP	Manson, Andrew	186242	6.12	0.98
NDP	Charlton, Colin	42188	1.39	0.22
EFF	Kanan, Joe	78870	2.59	0.42
LNP	7 Elected Candidates	1330329	43.75	7.00
LNP	Barnes, Michael (Lib)	71672	2.36	0.38
Dem	Jones, Richard	84568	2.78	0.44
EG	Dunphy, Milo	52580	1.73	0.28
CI	Mundey, Jack	65004	2.14	0.34
CTA	Nile, Elaine	176186	5.79	0.93
	Exhausted	2868	0.09	0.02

Count 50 excluded Charlton from the Nuclear Disarmament Party, 80% of preferences going to the Democrats.

Group	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
ALP	5 Elected Candidates	950235	31.25	5.00
ALP	Manson, Andrew	187694	6.17	0.99
EFF	Kanan, Joe	81327	2.67	0.43
LNP	7 Elected Candidates	1330329	43.75	7.00
LNP	Barnes, Michael (Lib)	71995	2.37	0.38
Dem	Jones, Richard	118308	3.89	0.62
EG	Dunphy, Milo	54558	1.79	0.29
CI	Mundey, Jack	65918	2.17	0.35
CTA	Nile, Elaine	176347	5.80	0.93
	Exhausted	4031	0.13	0.02

Count 51 excluded Milo Dunphy from the Environment Group. 72.1% of preferences flowed to the Australian Democrats, with 14.8% leaking to Munday in the Community Independent Team, putting him ahead of Barnes, the remaining candidate on the Liberal/National ticket. A leakage of 2,855 preferences to Andrew Manson of the Labor party put him over a quota. The distribution of his surplus was delayed, as it would not effect the elimination of the next candidate.

Group	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
ALP	5 Elected Candidates	950235	31.25	5.00
ALP	Manson, Andrew	190549	6.27	1.00
EFF	Kanan, Joe	81788	2.69	0.43
LNP	7 Elected Candidates	1330329	43.75	7.00
LNP	Barnes, Michael (Lib)	72997	2.40	0.38
Dem	Jones, Richard	157667	5.19	0.83
CI	Munday, Jack	73984	2.43	0.39
CTA	Nile, Elaine	177110	5.82	0.93
	Exhausted	6083	0.20	0.03

Having been passed by Munday, Count 52 excluded the remaining Liberal Candidate, Michael Barnes. With Manson already possessing a quota, all votes for Barnes showing preferences to Manson were passed to the next available candidate. Following the Party ticket, 87.1% of preferences flowed to Elaine Nile and the Call to Australia ticket, putting her over a quota.

Group	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
ALP	5 Elected Candidates	950235	31.25	5.00
ALP	Manson, Andrew	190549	6.27	1.00
EFF	Kanan, Joe	82330	2.71	0.43
LNP	7 Elected Candidates	1330329	43.75	7.00
Dem	Jones, Richard	158450	5.21	0.83
CI	Munday, Jack	74381	2.45	0.39
CTA	Nile, Elaine	240676	7.92	1.27
	Exhausted	13792	0.45	0.07

At Count 53, Manson, the 6th Labor candidate, was declared elected (ELECTED 13) and his small surplus vote distributed as preferences. Only 502 votes were distributed, and these were taken from the 2,855 votes received from the Environment Group at Count 51. As these votes were not ticket votes, they distributed widely, 197 going to Munday (CI), 168 to Richard Jones (DEM) and 137 to Kanan (EFF).

Group	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
ALP	6 Elected Candidates	1140282	37.50	6.00
EFF	Kanan, Joe	82467	2.71	0.43
LNP	7 Elected Candidates	1330329	43.75	7.00
Dem	Jones, Richard	158618	5.22	0.83
CI	Munday, Jack	74578	2.45	0.39
CTA	Nile, Elaine	240676	7.92	1.27
	Exhausted	13792	0.45	0.07

Count 54 declared Elaine Nile elected (ELECTED 14), and distributed her preferences. All these preferences were made up of votes transferred from the Liberal Party at the previous count, and flowed 99.5% to Kanan on the EFF team.

Group	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
ALP	6 Elected Candidates	1140282	37.50	6.00
EFF	Kanan, Joe	132864	4.37	0.70
LNP	7 Elected Candidates	1330329	43.75	7.00
Dem	Jones, Richard	158728	5.22	0.84
CI	Mundey, Jack	74700	2.46	0.39
CTA	Nile, Elaine	190047	6.25	1.00
	Exhausted	13792	0.45	0.07

Count 55 excluded Mundey from the Community Independents. His preferences flowed 74.3% to the Democrats, pushing Jones over the quota. (ELECTED 15). 21% of Mundey's preferences exhausted.

Group	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
ALP	5 Elected Candidates	1140282	37.50	6.00
EFF	Kanan, Joe	136333	4.48	0.72
LNP	7 Elected Candidates	1330329	43.75	7.00
Dem	Jones, Richard	214248	7.05	1.13
CTA	Nile, Elaine	190047	6.25	1.00
	Exhausted	29503	0.97	0.16

## 8. 1991 Legislative Council Election

**Table 8.1 : Primary Vote by Party Group**

Group	Party	Candidates	% Vote	Quotas	Elected
A	Liberal/National Party	10	45.34	7.25	7
B	Call to Australia	5	3.58	0.57	1
C	The Greens	2	3.32	0.53	..
D	No Toxic Incinerator Group	2	0.58	0.09	..
E	Hart (Ind)	4	0.25	0.04	..
F	Country Residents Party	3	0.67	0.11	..
G	Labor Party	10	37.29	5.97	6
H	Australian Democrats	4	6.70	1.07	1
I	Poulos (Ind)	2	0.21	0.03	..
J	Marie Bignold Team	4	0.45	0.07	..
K	EFF/Greypower/CEC	4	1.53	0.24	..
	Ungrouped	4	0.08	0.01	..

**Table 8.2 Distribution of Vote in Party Groups**

Party	Ticket Vote	% of Party Vote cast for	
		No 1 Candidate	Other Candidates
Liberal/National Party	91.87	6.68	1.45
Call to Australia	63.35	35.84	0.81
The Greens	80.16	19.07	0.77
No Toxic Incinerator Group	84.74	13.80	1.46
Group E (Hart)	71.30	17.54	11.16
Country Residents Party	86.61	11.97	1.42
Australian Labor Party	92.60	5.98	1.42
Australian Democrats	77.90	20.79	1.31
Group I (Poulos)	93.78	5.26	0.96
Marie Bignold Team	48.09	50.45	1.46
EFF/Grey Power/CEC	84.41	10.11	5.48
Ungrouped	..	..	..
<b>Total Use</b>	<b>89.29</b>	<b>9.19</b>	<b>1.52</b>

**Table 8.3 Impact of Electing 21 Members**

Party Group	% of Vote	Quotas when Electing	
		15 Members	21 Members

(See discussion in Chapter 2 for full details)

## Progress of Count in Detail

## Count No 1 (Total Primary Count)

Group	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
A	<b>Liberal/National Party</b>			
	Ticket Votes	1335331	41.65	
	Pickering, Ted (Lib)	97056	3.03	
	Webster, Robert (Nat)	7087	0.22	
	Willis, Max (Lib)	2646	0.08	
	Forsythe, Patricia (Lib)	2290	0.07	
	Moppett, Doug (Nat)	969	0.03	
	Ryan, John (Lib)	1499	0.05	
	Gardiner, Jenny (Nat)	1886	0.06	
	Gentile, Tony (Lib)	739	0.02	
	Pidgeon, Marilyn (Lib)	1014	0.03	
	Brown, Ian (Lib)	2924	0.09	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>1453441</b>	<b>45.34</b>	<b>7.25</b>
B	<b>Call to Australia</b>			
	Ticket Votes	72629	2.27	
	Nile, Fred	41089	1.28	
	Varidel, Beville	235	0.01	
	Coleman, Bruce	279	0.01	
	Walker, Peter	171	0.01	
	Everingham, John	245	0.01	
<b>Group Total</b>	<b>114648</b>	<b>3.58</b>	<b>0.57</b>	
C	<b>The Greens</b>			
	Ticket Votes	85226	2.66	
	Cohen, Ian	20279	0.63	
	Nerlich, David	820	0.03	
<b>Group Total</b>	<b>106325</b>	<b>3.32</b>	<b>0.53</b>	
D	<b>No Toxic Incinerator Group</b>			
	Ticket Vote	15851	0.49	
	Fardell, Ray	2582	0.08	
	Findlay, Mark	273	0.01	
<b>Group Total</b>	<b>18706</b>	<b>0.58</b>	<b>0.09</b>	
E	Ticket Vote	5761	0.18	
	Hart, Andy	1417	0.04	
	Wilton, Paul	97	0.00	
	Vitanza, George	63	0.00	
	Hirst, Greg	742	0.02	
<b>Group Total</b>	<b>8080</b>	<b>0.25</b>	<b>0.04</b>	
F	<b>Country Residents Party</b>			
	Ticket Votes	18731	0.58	
	Gilmore, William	2589	0.08	
	Ayres, Desmond	160	0.00	
	Kember, John	148	0.00	
<b>Group Total</b>	<b>21628</b>	<b>0.67</b>	<b>0.11</b>	

<b>G</b>	<b>Australian Labor Party</b>			
	Ticket Votes	1106913	34.53	
	Hallam, Jack	71524	2.23	
	Shaw, Jeff	3105	0.10	
	Vaughan, Bryan	1933	0.06	
	Burgmann, Meredith	2409	0.08	
	Arena, Franca	2358	0.07	
	Burnswoods, Jan	1474	0.05	
	Obeid, Edward	1390	0.04	
	Kelly, Anthony	1520	0.05	
	Freudenberg, Graham	967	0.03	
	Kwok, Hatton	1731	0.05	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>1195324</b>	<b>37.29</b>	<b>5.97</b>
<b>H</b>	<b>Australian Democrats</b>			
	Ticket Votes	167245	5.22	
	Kirkby, Elisabeth	44622	1.39	
	King, Jonathan	1580	0.05	
	Griffiths, Ray	365	0.01	
	Sampson, Meg	870	0.03	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>214682</b>	<b>6.70</b>	<b>1.07</b>
<b>I</b>	<b>Ticket Votes</b>	<b>6457</b>	<b>0.20</b>	
	Poulos, Patricia	362	0.01	
	Holley, John	66	0.00	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>6885</b>	<b>0.21</b>	<b>0.03</b>
<b>J</b>	<b>Marie Bignold Team</b>			
	Ticket Votes	6926	0.22	
	Bignold, Alicia	7266	0.23	
	Hartley, Brett	95	0.00	
	Smith, Christine	46	0.00	
	Malcolm, Nancy	70	0.00	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>14403</b>	<b>0.45</b>	<b>0.07</b>
<b>K</b>	<b>EFF/Grey Power/CEC</b>			
	Ticket Votes	41427	1.29	
	Azzopardi, Eddy	4960	0.15	
	Clarke, Robert	2064	0.06	
	Galea, Paul	336	0.01	
	Hay, Leone	290	0.01	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>49077</b>	<b>1.53</b>	<b>0.24</b>
	<b>Ungrouped</b>			
	Rolo, Lord	1011	0.03	
	Galati, Tony	181	0.01	
	Hegarty, John	411	0.01	
	Kouroupakis, John	1030	0.03	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>2633</b>	<b>0.08</b>	<b>0.01</b>
	Formal Votes	3205832	94.33	
	Informal	192718	5.67	
	Total Votes	3398550		
	Quota	200365		

The leading candidates from the Labor Party, Liberal/National Party and Australian Democrat tickets received in excess of a quota. After successive distribution of preferences, thirteen candidates were declared elected in the following order :

1	Pickering (Lib)
2	Hallam (ALP)
3	Kirkby (DEM)
4	Webster (Nat)
5	Shaw (ALP)
6	Willis (Lib)
7	Vaughan (ALP)
8	Forsythe (Lib)
9	Burgmann (ALP)
10	Moppett (Nat)
11	Arena (ALP)
12	Ryan (Lib)
13	Gardiner (Nat)

At this point, Count 14, the totals were :

Group	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	Quotas
A	<b>Liberal/National Party</b>			
	Pickering, Ted (Lib)	200365	6.25	
	Webster, Robert (Nat)	200365	6.25	
	Willis, Max (Lib)	200365	6.25	
	Forsythe, Patricia (Lib)	200365	6.25	
	Moppett, Doug (Nat)	200365	6.25	
	Ryan, John (Lib)	200365	6.25	
	Gardiner, Jenny (Nat)	200365	6.25	
	Gentile, Tony (Lib)	40593	1.27	
	Pidgeon, Marilyn (Lib)	1308	0.04	
	Brown, Ian (Lib)	3778	0.12	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>1448234</b>	<b>45.17</b>	<b>7.23</b>
B	<b>Call to Australia</b>			
	Nile, Fred	116333	3.63	
	Varidel, Beville	583	0.02	
	Coleman, Bruce	504	0.02	
	Walker, Peter	274	0.01	
	Everingham, John	288	0.01	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>117982</b>	<b>3.68</b>	<b>0.59</b>
C	<b>The Greens</b>			
	Cohen, Ian	106896	3.33	
	Nerlich, David	911	0.03	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>107807</b>	<b>3.36</b>	<b>0.54</b>
D	<b>No Toxic Incinerator Group</b>			
	Fardell, Ray	18694	0.58	
	Findlay, Mark	317	0.01	
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>19011</b>	<b>0.59</b>	<b>0.09</b>
E	Hart, Andy	7249	0.23	
	Wilton, Paul	109	0.00	
	Vitanza, George	74	0.00	
	Hirst, Greg	756	0.02	
		<b>Group Total</b>	<b>8188</b>	<b>0.26</b>

F	<b>Country Residents Party</b>				
	Gilmore, William	21664	0.68		
	Ayres, Desmond	201	0.01		
	Kember, John	164	0.01		
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>22029</b>	<b>0.69</b>	<b>0.11</b>	
G	<b>Australian Labor Party</b>				
	Hallam, Jack	200365	6.25		
	Shaw, Jeff	200365	6.25		
	Vaughan, Bryan	200365	6.25		
	Burgmann, Meredith	200365	6.25		
	Arena, Franca	200365	6.25		
	Burnswoods, Jan	184288	5.75		
	Obeid, Edward	1602	0.05		
	Kelly, Anthony	1833	0.06		
	Freudenberg, Graham	1202	0.04		
	Kwok, Hatton	1928	0.06		
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>1192678</b>	<b>37.20</b>	<b>5.95</b>	
H	<b>Australian Democrats</b>				
	Kirkby, Elisabeth	200365	6.25		
	King, Jonathan	14079	0.44		
	Griffiths, Ray	434	0.01		
	Sampson, Meg	976	0.03		
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>215854</b>	<b>6.73</b>	<b>1.08</b>	
I	<b>Poulos, Patricia</b>				
	Holley, John	6933	0.22		
		92	0.00		
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>7025</b>	<b>0.22</b>	<b>0.04</b>	
J	<b>Marie Bignold Team</b>				
	Bignold, Alicia	14590	0.46		
	Hartley, Brett	105	0.00		
	Smith, Christine	54	0.00		
	Malcolm, Nancy	75	0.00		
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>14824</b>	<b>0.46</b>	<b>0.07</b>	
K	<b>EFF/Grey Power/CEC</b>				
	Azzopardi, Eddy	46701	1.46		
	Clarke, Robert	2140	0.07		
	Galea, Paul	357	0.01		
	Hay, Leone	300	0.01		
		<b>Group Total</b>	<b>49498</b>	<b>1.54</b>	<b>0.25</b>
	<b>Ungrouped</b>				
	Rolo, Lord	1043	0.03		
	Galati, Tony	187	0.01		
	Hegarty, John	425	0.01		
Kouroupakis, John	1047	0.03			
	<b>Group Total</b>	<b>2702</b>	<b>0.08</b>	<b>0.01</b>	

With no remaining candidates possessing a quota, the exclusion of the candidates with the least votes now began. 30 candidates were excluded, including all ungrouped candidates, and all but the leading candidate in every other ticket. At the end of Count 44, the following candidates remained in the count.

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	
LNP	7 Elected Candidates	1402555	43.75	7.00
LNP	Gentile, Tony (Lib)	45756	1.43	0.23
CTA	Nile, Fred	117416	3.66	0.59
Grn	Cohen, Ian	108863	3.40	0.54
NTI	Fardell, Ray	19436	0.61	0.10
	Hart, Andy	8174	0.25	0.04
CRP	Gilmore, William	22270	0.69	0.11
ALP	5 Elected Candidates	1001825	31.25	5.00
ALP	Burnswoods, Jan	190195	5.93	0.95
DEM	Kirkby Elected	200365	6.25	1.00
DEM	King, Jonathan	16185	0.50	0.08
	Poulos, Patricia	7435	0.23	0.04
MBT	Bignold, Alicia	15125	0.47	0.08
EFF	Azzopardi, Eddy	49437	1.54	0.25
	Exhausted	795	0.02	0.00

At the next four counts, in order, Poulos, Hart, the Marie Bignold Team and the No Toxic Incinerator Party were excluded. Poulos' preferences followed her ticket 87.7% to the Country Residents Party. Hart's flowed 73.8% to the Democrats. Bignold's preferences, reflecting the high number of non-ticket votes, distributed widely, with only 46.5% going with the ticket to the Country Residents Party. 81.7% of the No Toxic Incinerator preferences went to Gentile on the Liberal/National ticket. At the end of Count 48, the count stood at :

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	
LNP	7 Elected Candidates	1402555	43.75	7.00
LNP	Gentile, Tony (Lib)	62661	1.95	0.31
CTA	Nile, Fred	118959	3.71	0.59
Grn	Cohen, Ian	111549	3.48	0.56
CRP	Gilmore, William	36761	1.15	0.18
ALP	5 Elected Candidates	1001825	31.25	5.00
ALP	Burnswoods, Jan	192518	6.01	0.96
DEM	Kirkby Elected	200365	6.25	1.00
Dem	King, Jonathan	25685	0.80	0.13
EFF	Azzopardi, Eddy	50937	1.59	0.25
	Exhausted	2017	0.06	0.01

At Count 49, Democrat Jonathan King with the smallest quota was excluded. 70.5% of his preferences flowed to the Green, Ian Cohen. These preferences mainly represented the ticket votes of the Democrat and Hart tickets. The large leakage of preferences was caused by the several thousand non-ticket votes received by King from candidates excluded at previous counts. The Democrat preferences put the Greens ahead of the Call to Australia for the first time.

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	
LNP	7 Elected Candidates	1402555	43.75	7.00
LNP	Gentile, Tony (Lib)	63302	1.97	0.32
CTA	Nile, Fred	119437	3.73	0.60
Grn	Cohen, Ian	129646	4.04	0.65
CRP	Gilmore, William	37220	1.16	0.19
ALP	5 Elected Candidates	1001825	31.25	5.00
ALP	Burnswoods, Jan	195193	6.09	0.97
DEM	Kirkby Elected	200365	6.25	1.00
EFF	Azzopardi, Eddy	51981	1.62	0.26
	Exhausted	4308	0.13	0.02

At Count 50, Gilmore from the Country Residents Party was excluded. 70.9% of preferences followed the party ticket to Azzopardi and the EFF. 18.7% flowed to Nile and Call to Australia, mainly representing the ticket votes transferred to the CRP from Poulos at Count 45. The EFF were now ahead of the final candidate of the Liberal/National ticket

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	
LNP	7 Elected Candidates	1402555	43.75	7.00
LNP	Gentile, Tony (Lib)	64044	2.00	0.32
CTA	Nile, Fred	126408	3.94	0.63
Grn	Cohen, Ian	130620	4.07	0.65
ALP	5 Elected Candidates	1001825	31.25	5.00
ALP	Burnswoods, Jan	195685	6.10	0.98
DEM	Kirkby Elected	200365	6.25	1.00
EFF	Azzopardi, Eddy	78362	2.44	0.39
	Exhausted	5968	0.19	0.03

Count 51 excluded Gentile, the remaining Liberal/National candidate. 60.4% of his preferences were distributed to Nile and the Call to Australia. 25.6% flowed to Azzopardi (EFF), mainly representing the ticket votes transferred from the No Toxic Incinerator Group at Count 48.

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	
LNP	7 Elected Candidates	1402555	43.75	7.00
CTA	Nile, Fred	165090	5.15	0.82
Grn	Cohen, Ian	131446	4.10	0.66
ALP	5 Elected Candidates	1001825	31.25	5.00
ALP	Burnswoods, Jan	196013	6.11	0.98
DEM	Kirkby, Elisabeth	200365	6.25	1.00
EFF	Azzopardi, Eddy	94768	2.96	0.47
	Exhausted	13770	0.43	0.07

Count 52 distributed Azzopardi (EFF), putting both Nile (CTA) and Burnswood (ALP) over a quota. With Nile having the higher vote, he was ELECTED 14, with Burnswood ELECTED 15. 45.2% of EFF preferences went to Nile, 39.7% to Cohen and the Greens, and 8.9% to Labor. When the EFF were excluded, their vote represented ticket votes from the EFF, Country Residents Party, the No Toxic Incinerator Group, and the Marie Bignold Team. Following the party tickets, the EFF tickets went to the Call to Australia, No Toxic Incinerator and Country Residents Party went to the Greens, and the Marie Bignold Team to Labor.

Party	Candidate	Votes	% Vote	
LNP	7 Elected Candidates	1402555	43.75	7.00
CTA	Nile, Fred	207886	6.48	1.04
Grn	Cohen, Ian	169084	5.27	0.84
ALP	5 Elected Candidates	1001825	31.25	5.00
ALP	Burnswoods, Jan	204479	6.38	1.02
DEM	Kirkby, Elisabeth	200365	6.25	1.00
	Exhausted	19638	0.61	0.10



## 9. Comparison of Vote for Parties in Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly Elections by Electorate

Table 9.1 : 1984 Comparison of Party Percentage Votes in Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly Elections

1984 Election Electorate	Labor		Lib/Nat		Democrat		Call to Aust		Other		Informal	
	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC
Albury	50.8	42.3	47.0	47.6	2.1	1.9	..	7.4	..	0.8	1.2	6.1
Ashfield	59.9	56.5	40.1	35.7	..	2.4	..	4.5	..	0.9	4.3	9.0
Auburn	66.8	57.1	33.2	33.8	..	2.4	..	5.7	..	1.0	4.1	9.7
Balmain	60.7	64.8	24.0	25.9	7.1	6.3	..	2.1	8.2	0.9	3.9	9.0
Bankstown	64.5	59.7	35.5	31.1	..	1.3	..	6.9	..	1.0	4.0	9.9
Barwon	32.8	33.0	58.6	58.5	..	0.7	..	7.0	8.6	0.8	1.2	4.4
Bass Hill	64.1	58.5	29.4	31.3	..	2.2	..	6.8	6.5	1.1	3.9	8.8
Bathurst	52.9	51.0	44.6	39.5	2.6	2.3	..	6.3	..	0.9	1.2	5.7
Blacktown	66.6	61.3	33.4	31.3	..	1.5	..	4.5	..	1.4	3.4	8.8
Bligh	45.3	44.3	48.5	46.3	6.2	5.8	..	2.5	..	1.1	3.6	7.0
Blue Mountains	48.4	44.4	37.3	37.5	7.5	7.3	..	10.0	6.8	0.9	1.6	5.0
Broken Hill	68.7	58.7	31.3	32.5	..	1.5	..	6.4	..	0.9	2.2	8.4
Burrinjuck	52.8	45.2	44.5	46.1	2.7	2.0	..	5.9	..	0.8	1.0	5.6
Burwood	47.1	42.2	49.9	48.6	3.0	1.7	..	6.4	..	1.1	2.6	6.8
Byron	41.8	41.5	45.4	46.4	4.7	4.0	..	7.0	8.1	1.2	1.8	5.4
Cabramatta	65.1	61.4	34.9	32.6	..	0.6	..	4.5	..	1.0	4.2	12.1
Camden	44.8	41.3	55.2	48.0	..	1.2	..	8.7	..	0.8	2.1	6.6
Campbelltown	53.0	57.4	19.1	28.2	..	1.7	..	6.1	27.8	6.7	2.5	6.7
Canterbury	67.9	62.4	32.1	31.2	..	1.2	..	4.3	..	0.9	4.1	10.2
Castlereagh	41.1	39.3	56.1	52.2	2.8	1.1	..	6.5	..	0.9	1.0	4.9
Cessnock	76.2	71.7	23.8	24.5	..	0.7	..	2.2	..	0.9	2.2	7.0
Charlestown	59.0	54.1	41.0	39.0	..	1.5	..	4.6	..	0.7	2.0	5.6
Clarence	42.9	38.2	52.1	51.5	..	0.8	..	8.1	5.0	1.4	1.0	4.8
Coffs Harbour	38.7	39.2	61.3	54.5	..	1.5	..	3.4	..	1.4	1.6	4.9
Coogee	52.8	47.2	40.6	41.5	6.6	6.3	..	4.3	..	0.8	2.5	6.0
Corrimal	68.9	58.2	31.1	26.3	..	4.2	..	10.0	..	1.4	2.8	9.5
Cronulla	49.5	43.3	50.5	46.7	..	3.0	..	6.2	..	0.8	1.7	4.6
Davidson	31.7	29.3	63.0	59.0	5.2	3.5	..	7.3	..	0.8	1.8	4.4

Table 9.1 (Continued) : 1984 Comparison of Party Percentage Votes in Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly Elections

1984 Election Electorate	Labor		Lib/Nat		Democrat		Call to Aust		Other		Informal	
	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC
Drummoyne	59.0	52.6	41.0	39.1	..	1.6	..	5.9	..	0.8	3.2	7.1
Dubbo	35.1	36.3	64.9	52.3	..	0.9	..	9.7	..	0.9	1.5	6.2
Earlwood	53.7	50.2	43.3	39.0	3.0	2.9	..	7.3	..	0.7	2.8	7.8
East Hills	62.8	57.6	31.0	30.1	6.1	5.3	..	6.2	..	0.8	2.4	6.6
Eastwood	31.5	30.9	60.0	51.0	8.5	6.1	..	11.1	..	0.9	1.8	4.4
Elizabeth	58.1	64.8	17.6	23.0	7.7	8.2	..	2.8	16.7	1.2	4.2	9.5
Fairfield	66.4	63.8	24.9	31.2	..	0.9	..	3.4	8.6	0.7	4.3	10.1
Georges River	55.0	47.8	45.0	40.8	..	1.7	..	8.8	..	0.8	2.3	5.2
Gladesville	47.8	47.4	36.5	38.3	2.9	4.3	..	6.0	12.8	3.9	2.5	6.8
Gloucester	38.1	34.5	61.9	55.5	..	1.1	..	7.7	..	1.3	2.2	5.0
Gordon	17.3	16.3	77.7	68.9	5.0	4.5	..	9.5	..	0.8	2.0	3.0
Gosford	46.5	44.3	47.7	43.1	5.8	5.9	..	6.1	..	0.6	1.6	5.0
Goulburn	45.0	42.6	49.7	48.1	..	1.3	..	7.1	5.2	1.0	1.5	5.4
Granville	68.9	63.5	31.1	29.9	..	1.2	..	4.6	..	0.8	3.8	9.9
Hawkesbury	32.0	30.7	68.0	57.3	..	2.6	..	8.5	..	0.9	2.4	5.9
Heathcote	55.6	56.3	33.7	31.6	10.7	5.4	..	5.8	..	1.0	2.3	5.4
Heffron	65.6	64.8	34.4	30.9	..	0.9	..	2.5	..	0.9	3.9	9.2
Hornsby	38.5	36.8	56.7	48.3	4.7	5.1	..	8.8	..	0.9	1.7	3.7
Hurstville	49.1	44.5	50.9	44.4	..	1.4	..	8.4	..	1.3	2.3	6.7
Illawarra	65.6	63.8	26.7	26.2	7.7	4.6	..	4.3	..	1.0	3.0	8.5
Ingleburn	63.0	56.5	37.0	36.0	..	0.9	..	5.6	..	1.0	3.5	7.9
Kiama	58.7	54.8	41.3	34.1	..	1.5	..	8.6	..	1.0	2.0	7.9
Kogarah	53.0	49.5	41.1	39.9	5.9	3.7	..	6.0	..	0.8	2.6	7.0
Ku-ring-gai	16.3	15.9	77.8	69.0	5.9	5.3	..	8.9	..	0.8	1.6	3.5
Lachlan	34.1	32.5	65.9	56.0	..	0.9	..	10.1	..	0.7	1.2	6.0
Lake Macquarie	57.8	56.1	33.5	34.0	8.7	5.9	..	3.2	..	0.8	2.1	5.8
Lakemba	61.8	61.0	38.2	30.8	..	1.5	..	6.1	..	0.7	4.3	9.9
Lane Cove	27.6	27.1	65.6	59.1	6.8	6.1	..	6.6	..	0.9	1.9	4.3
Lismore	22.0	31.8	..	54.2	2.3	2.5	..	10.1	75.7	1.4	1.1	5.1
Liverpool	68.6	67.2	24.5	26.0	..	0.8	..	5.0	6.9	1.0	3.9	10.3

Table 9.1 (Continued) : 1984 Comparison of Party Percentage Votes in Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly Elections

1984 Election Electorate	Labor		Lib/Nat		Democrat		Call to Aust		Other		Informal	
	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC
Maitland	56.9	48.5	43.1	44.7	..	0.9	..	3.8	..	2.1	1.3	5.9
Manly	41.7	39.1	50.7	51.0	3.2	3.4	..	5.3	4.4	1.2	2.3	5.5
Maroubra	63.2	56.6	36.8	36.6	..	2.6	..	3.5	..	0.7	3.4	7.0
Marrickville	66.3	67.1	21.3	26.5	12.4	3.8	..	1.7	..	1.0	4.8	11.3
Merrylands	63.7	58.5	29.1	31.5	..	1.4	..	7.7	7.3	0.7	4.0	9.4
Miranda	46.8	42.2	50.3	46.4	2.9	2.9	..	7.8	..	0.7	1.6	4.1
Monaro	55.3	46.3	44.7	46.6	..	3.0	..	3.1	..	1.0	2.1	7.0
Mosman	20.3	23.6	58.6	63.9	4.8	6.5	..	4.9	16.3	1.1	1.8	4.0
Murray	23.4	28.0	67.9	66.9	2.6	1.3	..	3.0	6.1	0.8	1.5	6.7
Murrumbidgee	38.7	38.3	34.5	42.9	..	1.5	..	16.5	26.9	0.9	1.3	7.2
Newcastle	57.0	54.6	28.9	32.8	11.7	7.9	..	3.5	2.4	1.2	2.4	6.9
North Shore	16.6	30.4	41.2	55.8	..	7.4	..	3.9	42.2	2.5	1.6	4.9
Northcott	26.6	24.8	66.9	57.7	6.5	4.7	..	12.0	..	0.7	1.8	4.0
Northern Tablelands	51.6	41.2	48.4	50.6	..	2.9	..	4.4	..	0.8	1.2	4.8
Orange	42.0	39.9	58.0	48.9	..	2.0	..	8.2	..	1.0	1.3	5.1
Oxley	29.1	36.1	43.9	53.4	2.8	3.0	..	5.1	24.2	2.5	1.4	5.7
Parramatta	49.5	49.1	36.3	40.1	2.6	2.7	..	7.0	11.6	1.1	3.2	7.8
Peats	59.7	54.6	33.4	34.4	6.9	5.3	..	5.0	..	0.6	1.8	5.7
Penrith	58.8	54.4	31.1	33.1	6.9	6.7	..	5.2	3.1	0.6	2.5	6.3
Pittwater	27.6	29.5	58.1	55.5	4.2	8.7	..	5.5	10.1	0.9	2.2	4.9
Riverstone	64.9	64.3	35.1	28.7	..	1.0	..	5.3	..	0.7	4.9	10.2
Rockdale	63.3	57.5	34.1	36.1	..	1.0	..	4.4	2.7	1.0	3.3	7.8
Ryde	51.5	48.3	40.9	39.8	7.7	4.1	..	6.6	..	1.2	2.9	6.8
Seven Hills	60.1	59.5	39.9	34.8	..	1.0	..	3.9	..	0.8	3.1	7.1
South Coast	19.7	41.0	18.9	43.9	..	1.2	..	5.0	61.4	8.9	1.4	7.6
St Marys	66.6	59.9	28.9	30.6	4.5	3.6	..	5.0	..	0.9	2.7	9.0
Swansea	65.0	66.9	22.9	25.1	5.9	4.4	..	3.0	6.3	0.6	2.9	7.1
Tamworth	33.1	32.9	59.1	52.8	7.8	4.6	..	8.8	..	0.9	1.1	5.3
The Hills	24.6	27.9	62.0	57.7	4.2	5.3	..	8.1	9.2	1.0	2.1	4.7
Tuggerah	55.8	55.7	31.7	35.1	4.4	4.3	..	4.2	8.1	0.8	2.3	6.4

Table 9.1 (Continued) : 1984 Comparison of Party Percentage Votes in Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly Elections

1984 Election Electorate	Labor		Lib/Nat		Democrat		Call to Aust		Other		Informal	
	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC
Upper Hunter	40.5	39.6	59.5	54.8	..	0.9	..	3.7	..	1.0	1.4	5.6
Vaucluse	23.5	23.2	72.4	68.8	4.0	4.4	..	2.9	..	0.8	3.0	5.1
Wagga Wagga	33.5	33.1	61.3	53.5	5.2	6.0	..	6.5	..	0.9	1.5	4.9
Wakehurst	46.6	41.2	49.2	49.0	2.1	3.0	..	6.0	2.2	0.9	2.4	6.0
Wallsend	64.3	60.2	35.7	34.3	..	1.4	..	3.4	..	0.7	2.1	6.2
Waratah	46.8	65.0	25.1	28.8	3.7	1.5	..	3.9	24.5	0.7	2.3	8.0
Waverley	49.1	47.7	41.1	44.2	7.0	5.2	..	2.1	2.9	0.9	3.4	7.2
Wentworthville	50.9	49.5	41.7	37.9	7.4	5.2	..	6.7	..	0.7	3.0	7.1
Willoughby	32.6	30.8	63.2	57.5	4.2	4.2	..	6.7	..	0.8	2.3	5.2
Wollongong	43.5	52.8	9.4	26.6	..	1.7	..	5.9	47.1	12.9	3.6	13.0
Woronora	51.2	49.6	44.5	39.5	4.3	3.3	..	6.8	..	0.8	1.8	4.1

Table 9.2 : 1988 Comparison of Party Percentage Votes in Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly Elections

1988 Election Electorate	Labor		Lib/Nat		Democrat		Call to Aust		Ind EFF		Other		Informal	
	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC
Albury	34.5	30.1	65.5	56.2	..	1.2	..	7.8	..	1.1	..	3.6	1.4	6.7
Ashfield	41.9	44.3	39.4	39.6	2.3	2.9	..	3.5	4.5	3.9	11.9	5.9	5.1	10.1
Auburn	48.3	50.9	22.5	28.5	..	1.2	..	4.0	29.2	11.9	..	3.4	5.3	12.4
Ballina	28.1	24.9	61.5	55.3	4.3	4.5	..	6.5	..	1.9	6.1	6.8	1.9	6.1
Balmain	39.3	45.6	19.1	25.6	2.0	4.9	..	2.0	..	1.7	39.6	20.2	3.7	9.4
Bankstown	49.7	48.3	31.6	34.4	..	1.5	..	4.9	..	7.7	18.7	3.3	4.3	12.0
Barwon	22.9	26.2	68.4	58.2	..	0.9	..	7.0	..	5.0	8.7	2.7	1.7	7.0
Bass Hill	50.1	50.6	41.0	35.1	..	1.2	..	4.7	6.0	4.8	2.8	3.5	3.6	10.7
Bathurst	41.5	40.3	51.8	43.6	6.7	4.6	..	4.8	..	1.5	..	5.4	1.8	7.6
Bega	20.9	25.3	61.2	62.4	1.2	2.4	..	3.2	..	1.1	16.6	5.5	2.0	6.0
Blacktown	59.2	53.3	40.8	32.8	..	1.3	..	6.3	..	3.4	..	3.0	3.7	10.2
Bligh	26.6	31.8	44.0	44.6	1.6	5.2	1.1	1.6	..	2.4	26.7	14.4	3.4	7.8
Blue Mountains	43.7	33.4	45.6	39.7	10.7	6.4	..	9.1	..	1.1	..	10.4	2.4	6.1
Broken Hill	47.4	42.7	52.6	43.8	..	2.7	..	5.1	..	1.6	..	4.1	3.6	11.1
Burraborang	56.6	49.7	43.4	36.2	..	1.2	..	5.0	..	1.2	..	6.7	3.6	8.2
Burrinjuck	43.2	38.7	56.8	51.1	..	0.8	..	5.4	..	1.5	..	2.5	1.6	7.2
Cabramatta	52.9	50.9	40.3	36.9	..	1.2	..	5.0	..	1.7	6.9	4.3	5.6	12.3
Camden	40.7	42.2	34.0	38.8	..	1.6	3.8	5.7	16.2	8.6	5.3	3.2	3.4	6.7
Campbelltown	47.8	46.6	35.0	35.7	..	1.2	..	6.0	10.0	6.7	7.2	3.8	3.5	7.9
Canterbury	47.7	50.3	24.1	31.5	..	1.2	..	3.6	25.0	9.4	3.2	4.0	4.7	12.8
Carlingford	31.8	27.1	68.2	57.7	..	2.3	..	8.1	..	1.4	..	3.5	3.6	5.0
Castlereagh	25.6	27.5	67.0	58.2	7.4	3.4	..	6.4	..	1.3	..	3.2	2.2	7.8
Cessnock	45.1	43.3	54.9	46.6	..	1.2	..	3.8	..	1.4	..	3.7	3.1	8.6
Charlestown	43.7	41.5	34.8	38.9	..	2.0	..	4.8	..	8.4	21.5	4.5	2.6	7.1
Clarence	35.0	30.8	65.0	53.6	..	1.4	..	7.4	..	2.7	..	4.0	2.2	7.2
Coffs Harbour	24.1	26.2	67.3	52.5	8.6	3.7	..	6.3	..	5.7	..	5.4	2.2	6.2
Coogee	42.1	38.7	41.0	43.6	3.1	4.4	..	3.1	..	1.3	13.8	9.0	3.3	7.5
Cronulla	29.2	34.2	52.7	52.3	..	1.5	..	5.9	..	0.9	18.1	5.1	2.3	5.9
Davidson	19.1	23.9	61.3	60.6	..	1.8	..	7.1	..	1.9	19.5	4.7	2.8	5.5
Drummoyne	41.6	41.8	41.4	44.7	1.5	2.2	..	3.4	..	1.7	15.6	6.3	4.1	9.8

Table 9.2 (Continued) : 1988 Comparison of Party Percentage Votes in Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly Elections

1988 Election Electorate	Labor		Lib/Nat		Democrat		Call to Aust		Ind EFF		Other		Informal	
	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC
Dubbo	28.7	28.7	71.3	57.2	..	1.3	..	8.1	..	1.6	..	3.1	2.2	6.9
Earlwood	48.7	44.1	51.3	43.2	..	1.5	..	6.1	..	1.4	..	3.7	4.3	10.7
East Hills	57.4	50.4	42.6	35.4	..	2.1	..	7.3	..	1.1	..	3.6	3.6	8.6
Eastwood	26.7	24.1	63.3	54.5	10.0	6.2	..	9.0	..	0.9	..	5.3	2.9	5.2
Fairfield	48.4	52.4	40.2	35.0	6.8	2.8	..	3.7	..	2.3	4.7	3.7	5.6	11.1
Georges River	41.9	41.1	39.9	43.2	..	2.9	..	5.4	..	2.8	18.3	4.6	2.6	8.7
Gladesville	40.4	36.9	40.2	43.8	..	2.4	..	4.6	..	5.2	19.3	7.0	3.3	7.9
Gordon	12.6	12.0	77.9	69.5	9.4	4.3	..	6.3	..	0.7	..	7.2	2.5	3.8
Gosford	36.1	34.5	50.2	46.8	5.6	5.8	8.1	6.0	..	0.9	..	6.0	2.8	6.4
Goulburn	30.7	30.8	69.3	58.9	..	1.1	..	4.7	..	1.3	..	3.2	2.4	7.3
Granville	56.8	52.1	33.0	33.8	..	1.1	10.2	7.0	..	2.7	..	3.3	5.1	12.1
Hawkesbury	27.9	23.0	72.1	60.6	..	1.6	..	8.2	..	1.2	..	5.5	3.3	6.1
Heathcote	39.3	38.5	47.0	44.3	5.6	5.6	..	4.9	..	0.9	8.1	5.9	2.5	5.2
Heffron	56.2	55.8	35.4	34.2	..	1.5	..	2.5	..	1.2	8.5	4.8	4.6	10.9
Hornsby	32.0	28.3	61.5	51.9	..	3.4	..	8.0	..	0.9	6.5	7.4	2.8	5.7
Hurstville	37.7	37.5	54.0	49.1	..	2.0	..	6.2	..	1.2	8.3	3.9	2.7	7.0
Illawarra	42.5	49.4	34.2	31.6	..	2.1	6.8	6.5	..	1.0	16.4	9.5	4.4	8.6
Keira	38.9	42.6	34.7	40.1	..	1.4	..	8.0	..	1.1	26.4	6.8	3.3	8.7
Kiama	61.4	50.2	38.6	33.6	..	1.5	..	7.8	..	1.3	..	5.7	3.5	9.5
Kogarah	44.4	44.0	43.7	44.9	..	1.8	..	4.0	..	1.2	11.9	4.0	3.6	9.2
Ku-ring-gai	20.3	13.2	79.7	68.0	..	3.7	..	6.2	..	0.8	..	8.2	2.3	3.9
Lachlan	26.4	25.3	73.6	62.0	..	1.0	..	8.4	..	1.0	..	2.3	2.1	7.1
Lake Macquarie	40.4	46.7	23.5	37.0	..	3.2	..	5.8	..	1.7	36.2	5.6	2.5	8.7
Lakemba	43.9	50.0	37.6	35.7	..	1.2	6.9	4.8	3.9	5.0	7.7	3.2	6.5	11.9
Lane Cove	27.4	20.1	72.6	59.5	..	3.8	..	4.7	..	0.8	..	11.2	3.3	4.5
Lismore	25.6	23.6	65.0	56.0	7.0	5.4	..	6.1	..	1.4	2.4	7.5	2.1	7.5
Liverpool	64.1	58.1	35.9	29.2	..	1.5	..	6.2	..	1.2	..	3.8	4.6	11.1
Londonderry	47.1	51.5	37.5	35.6	..	1.2	..	5.6	..	2.4	15.4	3.7	5.5	9.1
Macquarie Fields	45.4	46.7	35.1	37.5	6.0	3.4	..	5.2	..	1.9	13.6	5.4	5.2	9.5
Maitland	40.5	42.7	31.7	36.5	1.6	3.6	..	7.5	..	5.2	26.2	4.6	2.5	9.4

Table 9.2 (Continued) : 1988 Comparison of Party Percentage Votes in Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly Elections

1988 Election Electorate	Labor		Lib/Nat		Democrat		Call to Aust		Ind EFF		Other		Informal	
	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC
Manly	34.1	30.4	57.6	52.1	8.3	4.7	..	4.6	..	1.0	..	7.2	3.1	6.3
Manning	26.1	27.1	73.9	58.0	..	1.9	..	6.9	..	1.5	..	4.6	2.7	7.4
Maroubra	54.7	48.6	36.1	37.3	6.2	3.8	..	4.0	..	1.1	3.0	5.1	3.7	10.5
Marrickville	47.7	52.8	26.9	28.2	12.9	3.9	..	2.0	6.0	3.1	6.5	10.1	6.8	13.3
McKell	50.2	47.1	17.8	24.3	4.5	5.2	..	2.4	..	2.3	27.5	18.7	4.3	10.7
Middle Harbour	28.8	20.5	71.2	60.3	..	2.7	..	5.7	..	1.1	..	9.6	3.6	5.6
Minchinbury	38.6	42.1	40.0	37.7	..	0.9	..	4.6	21.4	12.2	..	2.5	3.9	8.5
Miranda	38.5	33.7	61.5	52.1	..	1.5	..	7.6	..	0.8	..	4.3	3.2	6.0
Monaro	41.5	36.4	58.5	50.0	..	3.8	..	2.9	..	1.4	..	5.4	2.6	8.8
Mosman	26.1	17.6	73.9	64.8	..	2.6	..	4.4	..	1.9	..	8.8	3.1	4.6
Mulgoa	52.0	49.3	40.9	37.0	..	1.3	..	6.2	..	2.3	7.1	3.9	4.6	8.3
Murray	23.0	24.3	77.0	66.6	..	0.7	..	4.6	..	1.2	..	2.5	1.9	8.2
Murrumbidgee	31.6	32.5	68.4	54.1	..	1.7	..	7.6	..	1.2	..	2.9	1.8	9.6
Murwillumbah	36.5	33.9	56.1	49.3	..	4.2	..	6.2	..	1.4	7.5	4.9	2.3	7.6
Myall Lakes	22.7	27.4	52.6	54.1	6.1	5.1	..	7.3	..	1.9	18.6	4.2	2.6	7.6
Newcastle	37.8	46.1	18.4	32.7	..	3.1	..	3.3	..	4.4	43.8	10.5	3.1	9.0
North Shore	11.2	23.1	37.0	54.1	..	4.2	..	2.7	..	3.4	51.8	12.4	2.0	5.1
Northcott	24.0	17.8	76.0	62.6	..	2.5	..	8.9	..	1.4	..	7.0	3.1	3.7
Northern Tablelands	26.8	26.1	65.8	56.1	7.4	4.7	..	4.6	..	1.8	..	6.8	2.2	8.0
Orange	27.5	27.5	72.5	57.7	..	1.6	..	6.9	..	1.7	..	4.6	2.3	7.2
Parramatta	46.5	42.4	47.1	42.2	6.4	4.4	..	5.6	..	1.5	..	4.0	3.2	8.5
Peats	48.8	48.3	33.9	36.9	..	2.3	..	5.9	..	1.0	17.3	5.6	2.9	9.1
Penrith	42.2	38.0	41.7	41.3	..	2.5	7.2	9.8	..	1.6	8.8	6.9	3.2	6.5
Pittwater	14.3	21.7	56.5	60.4	3.0	6.2	..	4.3	..	1.0	26.2	6.3	2.9	5.0
Port Macquarie	30.6	28.3	69.4	55.3	..	1.9	..	7.5	..	1.9	..	5.0	2.2	6.4
Port Stephens	42.2	44.4	40.4	39.3	..	1.6	..	7.4	..	1.7	17.4	5.6	3.4	8.8
Riverstone	57.2	54.5	42.8	33.3	..	1.1	..	5.7	..	1.8	..	3.6	5.2	9.9
Rockdale	53.6	51.4	33.6	34.8	..	1.2	..	3.5	11.0	4.9	1.8	4.3	3.8	11.4
Ryde	46.1	40.1	45.9	43.3	8.0	5.4	..	5.5	..	1.1	..	4.8	3.0	7.6
Seven Hills	44.7	47.5	33.3	37.0	..	1.9	..	4.7	..	5.9	21.9	3.0	3.5	8.4

Table 9.2 (Continued) : 1988 Comparison of Party Percentage Votes in Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly Elections

1988 Election Electorate	Labor		Lib/Nat		Democrat		Call to Aust		Ind EFF		Other		Informal	
	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC
Smithfield	60.8	54.4	39.2	33.2	..	1.0	..	6.3	..	1.2	..	3.9	5.5	11.6
South Coast	18.9	36.0	31.4	49.0	..	1.4	3.4	6.5	..	2.3	46.2	4.8	2.1	7.8
Southern Highlands	24.0	28.0	51.2	52.0	6.4	5.1	..	6.6	..	3.0	18.4	5.3	3.0	6.5
Strathfield	34.2	33.8	59.6	51.9	6.2	2.6	..	5.2	..	2.2	..	4.3	3.6	6.3
Sutherland	39.6	39.8	48.3	43.8	..	1.7	..	7.2	..	0.9	12.1	6.6	2.1	5.4
Swansea	38.6	48.4	19.6	29.7	3.1	4.1	..	5.3	..	6.9	38.7	5.6	3.0	9.8
Tamworth	21.9	22.8	70.0	55.6	8.1	6.1	..	9.3	..	1.6	..	4.5	1.9	7.2
The Entrance	48.0	42.7	52.0	43.7	..	2.7	..	6.9	..	0.8	..	3.1	3.3	7.8
The Hills	24.1	21.1	75.9	64.1	..	1.6	..	8.1	..	2.0	..	3.2	2.8	5.2
Upper Hunter	32.2	29.2	67.8	58.3	..	1.1	..	5.9	..	1.7	..	3.9	3.0	7.1
Vaucluse	22.8	18.3	77.2	69.4	..	4.9	..	1.7	..	0.9	..	4.8	3.6	5.6
Wagga Wagga	27.4	25.4	72.6	61.2	..	2.1	..	6.5	..	1.3	..	3.5	2.1	6.1
Wakehurst	34.9	31.1	52.2	53.4	..	2.9	..	4.3	..	1.8	12.9	6.5	3.7	7.2
Wallsend	59.4	49.6	40.6	34.8	..	1.9	..	7.9	..	1.6	..	4.3	4.0	9.0
Waratah	61.4	52.2	38.6	33.4	..	1.7	..	6.1	..	1.5	..	5.0	4.2	9.3
Waverley	46.2	39.7	45.1	43.0	8.7	4.8	..	1.8	..	1.1	..	9.6	3.1	7.4
Wentworthville	47.7	48.0	33.6	37.2	2.0	3.5	..	5.5	..	2.9	16.7	3.0	4.1	10.5
Wollongong	38.8	54.1	9.7	29.3	..	1.8	..	4.3	..	1.4	51.5	9.2	4.5	13.7
Wyong	54.5	47.7	45.5	38.4	..	2.6	..	6.7	..	0.9	..	3.7	3.5	9.3

Table 9.3 : 1991 Comparison of Party Percentage Votes in Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly Elections

1991 Election Electorate	Labor		Lib/Nat		Democrat		Call to Aust		Greens		Other		Informal	
	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC
Albury	33.0	28.0	61.6	57.8	..	4.3	3.0	4.7	..	2.1	2.4	3.0	7.2	5.3
Ashfield	49.2	44.9	33.2	36.2	7.7	8.9	1.8	2.4	..	4.7	8.2	2.9	14.6	9.5
Auburn	61.8	52.3	28.0	33.7	5.7	5.1	..	2.9	..	2.2	4.5	3.6	14.5	10.0
Badgerys Creek	42.8	41.3	48.9	45.3	..	3.5	..	2.9	..	2.6	8.3	4.4	11.8	5.8
Ballina	25.4	26.2	56.2	51.4	4.8	7.9	2.8	4.9	..	7.0	10.8	2.7	4.2	3.5
Bankstown	60.1	49.2	39.9	38.5	..	3.7	..	3.5	..	2.3	..	2.8	23.5	8.9
Barwon	24.9	25.9	50.9	51.6	9.9	6.2	..	3.7	..	1.4	14.4	11.1	6.7	5.2
Bathurst	48.2	42.9	38.7	37.1	6.5	7.2	..	3.5	..	2.3	6.7	7.0	6.0	4.5
Baulkham Hills	26.2	22.8	65.2	60.2	8.6	6.8	..	4.8	..	2.8	..	2.6	9.3	3.8
Bega	30.2	29.7	58.7	53.9	11.1	9.4	..	2.2	..	2.5	..	2.4	8.0	4.3
Blacktown	50.2	47.0	32.1	37.5	3.9	5.1	2.6	3.7	..	2.7	11.3	4.0	12.7	7.3
Bligh	16.1	25.0	40.2	50.4	..	11.5	..	1.3	..	7.0	43.7	4.8	8.5	5.1
Blue Mountains	36.3	32.3	41.9	40.6	8.7	12.2	4.1	6.1	..	4.5	9.0	4.3	5.6	3.6
Broken Hill	53.2	48.5	38.2	36.5	3.6	4.1	..	2.4	..	2.0	5.1	6.5	9.5	7.2
Bulli	52.2	46.0	31.0	34.3	5.6	7.2	3.4	4.0	7.7	6.3	..	2.1	6.1	4.3
Burrinjuck	41.2	36.6	58.8	49.5	..	4.2	..	3.9	..	2.2	..	3.6	13.9	5.5
Cabramatta	51.7	50.4	21.8	37.6	1.7	3.0	..	2.4	..	2.4	24.8	4.2	17.8	9.2
Camden	42.6	39.7	47.8	44.5	..	4.9	..	4.2	..	3.4	9.6	3.4	10.3	4.3
Campbelltown	55.0	48.1	36.0	36.2	9.0	5.7	..	3.7	..	3.4	..	2.9	14.3	5.1
Canterbury	52.6	46.6	40.5	40.0	6.9	5.5	..	2.4	..	2.9	..	2.7	15.3	10.1
Cessnock	50.7	49.1	41.4	38.0	4.3	5.4	..	2.3	..	2.4	3.5	2.9	8.6	5.4
Charlestown	54.5	51.0	29.3	32.4	5.9	7.3	2.2	3.2	..	3.1	8.0	3.0	7.8	4.9
Clarence	28.9	30.1	53.5	49.9	12.0	10.1	2.5	4.0	..	2.5	3.1	3.3	5.0	5.2
Coffs Harbour	36.1	31.2	52.5	51.0	6.7	7.7	..	4.1	..	3.1	4.7	3.0	4.6	4.0
Coogee	43.5	35.9	41.0	45.0	5.0	8.4	..	2.0	..	5.6	10.5	3.1	6.2	4.6
Cronulla	33.8	30.0	57.8	53.1	8.4	7.1	..	3.7	..	3.6	..	2.5	7.9	4.3
Davidson	19.0	16.9	65.4	63.0	15.6	9.4	..	4.5	..	3.7	..	2.4	8.2	3.4
Drummoyne	47.1	39.6	42.5	45.7	2.4	5.1	..	2.4	4.4	4.7	3.7	2.5	7.9	7.3
Dubbo	28.9	29.2	60.5	53.4	6.2	4.9	4.3	5.9	..	1.8	..	4.8	7.3	5.2
East Hills	54.1	47.0	36.1	37.4	3.1	4.9	..	4.8	..	2.8	6.6	3.2	9.5	6.0

Table 9.3 (Continued) : 1991 Comparison of Party Percentage Votes in Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly Elections

1991 Election Electorate	Labor		Lib/Nat		Democrat		Call to Aust		Greens		Other		Informal	
	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC
Eastwood	24.9	22.3	62.4	57.2	8.8	9.3	..	5.4	..	3.1	4.0	2.6	6.6	3.8
Ermington	35.4	32.4	56.0	50.2	8.7	8.1	..	4.2	..	2.6	..	2.6	8.9	4.7
Fairfield	55.2	52.6	32.5	34.6	5.2	4.1	7.1	3.4	..	2.4	..	2.9	19.1	9.4
Georges River	31.3	30.1	52.5	52.8	3.2	6.5	..	4.2	..	3.2	12.9	3.3	6.7	5.1
Gladesville	41.8	35.1	48.0	48.0	7.8	8.3	2.5	3.1	..	3.3	..	2.2	9.1	6.4
Gordon	11.2	9.7	74.5	72.7	10.4	8.3	3.9	3.5	..	3.4	..	2.3	5.9	3.0
Gosford	32.1	33.3	48.9	48.1	4.7	7.7	2.2	3.7	..	3.6	12.2	3.7	5.9	4.2
Granville	56.4	51.2	31.1	35.6	3.4	4.0	2.7	3.0	..	2.6	6.4	3.7	12.4	10.3
Hawkesbury	20.8	21.7	63.2	59.2	7.2	7.7	..	3.8	..	3.4	8.8	4.1	7.3	4.1
Heffron	58.0	54.5	30.3	31.2	4.2	4.5	..	1.6	7.5	5.5	..	2.7	16.0	11.2
Hurstville	48.8	45.6	42.1	40.9	3.7	5.2	..	3.0	..	2.4	5.5	3.0	11.3	7.3
Illawarra	61.3	56.7	23.7	25.0	10.0	7.8	5.0	4.7	..	3.5	..	2.3	4.3	5.6
Keira	52.3	46.4	33.1	34.2	9.0	8.4	5.6	5.0	..	3.7	..	2.3	10.2	6.4
Kiama	53.6	47.0	32.8	34.1	8.4	7.8	5.3	5.3	..	3.3	..	2.5	9.7	4.9
Kogarah	49.5	42.6	44.7	44.3	5.9	5.1	..	2.7	..	2.8	..	2.5	11.2	7.1
Ku-ring-gai	18.3	19.5	62.4	59.8	9.1	9.9	2.2	3.9	..	3.6	8.0	3.4	6.3	3.5
Lachlan	28.3	27.5	56.7	51.4	3.6	3.5	..	5.1	..	1.5	11.4	11.0	7.3	5.7
Lake Macquarie	53.3	51.6	27.9	30.3	6.9	9.0	2.8	3.6	..	2.5	9.2	3.1	8.4	4.5
Lakemba	51.6	50.3	32.0	35.9	8.6	5.6	..	2.7	..	2.2	7.7	3.2	15.8	10.4
Lane Cove	18.2	16.8	67.5	61.8	14.3	11.1	..	3.2	..	4.3	..	2.8	7.2	3.6
Lismore	27.9	26.7	57.6	52.4	6.3	7.9	..	4.6	4.6	5.5	3.6	2.8	5.7	4.8
Liverpool	57.6	54.7	23.8	30.7	3.2	3.8	..	3.2	..	3.0	15.4	4.5	14.5	9.2
Londonderry	64.0	53.3	36.0	33.0	..	3.8	..	3.7	..	2.8	..	3.4	22.2	5.1
Maitland	36.5	38.9	36.7	42.2	3.3	7.2	2.0	3.5	..	2.7	21.4	5.6	7.5	5.0
Manly	15.8	21.5	45.7	55.3	3.6	9.6	..	3.2	..	4.5	34.9	6.0	6.4	4.0
Maroubra	57.3	49.9	37.1	36.7	5.6	5.0	..	3.0	..	3.1	..	2.3	12.1	7.1
Marrickville	54.8	50.4	24.9	26.1	7.3	9.2	..	1.8	13.0	9.8	..	2.8	13.5	8.4
Miranda	35.0	30.1	56.9	53.3	8.1	7.3	..	4.0	..	3.0	..	2.3	8.2	4.5
Monaro	32.0	32.1	59.2	51.9	8.8	7.9	..	1.9	..	3.5	..	2.7	10.0	5.8
Moorebank	45.1	45.0	33.1	38.4	2.9	5.8	1.7	3.0	..	3.3	17.3	4.5	11.7	5.8

Table 9.3 (Continued) : 1991 Comparison of Party Percentage Votes in Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly Elections

1991 Election Electorate	Labor		Lib/Nat		Democrat		Call to Aust		Greens		Other		Informal	
	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC
Mount Druitt	54.8	50.6	28.9	32.6	2.6	3.6	3.2	4.1	..	2.6	10.5	6.4	14.5	8.3
Murray	16.1	19.9	74.4	67.6	4.0	3.3	..	2.4	..	1.5	5.4	5.2	5.4	6.5
Murrumbidgee	29.3	30.4	47.7	49.6	2.1	4.0	..	4.5	..	1.7	20.9	9.7	6.9	7.1
Murwillumbah	29.7	33.4	36.8	46.9	2.5	6.5	..	3.2	..	4.4	30.9	5.6	4.7	5.3
Myall Lakes	27.4	28.2	61.4	55.8	6.1	5.6	5.1	5.0	..	2.1	..	3.3	6.3	4.3
Newcastle	50.1	50.1	20.6	32.4	5.8	8.2	1.5	2.0	..	3.9	21.9	3.4	7.4	5.5
North Shore	7.9	15.9	51.1	60.6	..	10.5	..	2.2	..	5.5	41.0	5.2	5.6	3.0
Northcott	17.2	16.5	67.9	62.6	11.3	10.0	3.5	5.2	..	3.4	..	2.3	6.7	2.3
Northern Tablelands	31.6	29.2	54.6	51.8	4.1	6.3	..	4.7	..	2.7	9.7	5.2	5.9	4.9
Orange	15.5	28.8	50.3	52.6	..	4.8	2.4	4.7	..	2.4	31.8	6.6	5.4	4.6
Oxley	33.6	32.0	57.4	52.8	7.3	6.3	..	2.9	..	2.6	1.7	3.4	6.3	4.9
Parramatta	44.3	40.8	42.6	43.3	4.6	6.1	..	3.5	..	2.8	8.5	3.5	9.8	6.4
Peats	54.9	47.8	32.6	37.1	4.5	6.4	..	2.9	..	2.9	8.0	2.9	7.9	5.5
Penrith	47.7	41.2	40.4	41.6	3.7	5.9	3.4	5.1	..	2.8	4.9	3.4	7.3	4.1
Pittwater	17.5	16.9	66.3	61.6	16.2	12.6	..	3.0	..	3.7	..	2.1	8.8	3.7
Port Jackson	50.7	47.6	17.3	27.3	2.7	11.0	0.6	1.4	7.0	9.3	21.7	3.3	6.1	5.9
Port Macquarie	22.5	27.9	54.8	55.0	3.0	5.8	2.2	4.7	..	2.1	17.5	4.6	5.5	4.2
Port Stephens	54.5	45.8	40.1	40.0	5.4	6.1	..	3.1	..	2.5	..	2.5	7.1	5.3
Riverstone	51.6	48.0	35.5	38.0	3.2	4.6	2.1	3.4	..	2.3	7.6	3.7	10.9	6.1
Rockdale	50.7	48.1	39.8	39.0	3.4	4.3	..	2.5	..	3.0	6.2	3.0	13.2	9.6
Smithfield	52.1	47.0	33.8	40.1	..	3.4	3.0	3.4	..	2.7	11.1	3.4	16.1	8.6
South Coast	17.4	33.1	28.5	44.3	..	5.7	2.7	5.1	..	3.4	51.4	8.5	6.5	4.6
Southern Highlands	37.6	35.0	48.1	47.2	9.4	7.6	5.0	4.5	..	2.8	..	2.8	8.2	4.8
St Marys	61.1	55.0	30.4	30.2	8.5	5.1	..	3.6	..	2.6	..	3.5	10.4	6.0
Strathfield	36.5	33.1	55.4	51.9	8.1	6.4	..	3.4	..	2.8	..	2.4	11.8	6.9
Sutherland	39.4	35.2	49.3	47.5	5.3	7.6	..	4.3	..	3.1	6.0	2.5	6.2	3.8
Swansea	45.6	52.0	18.3	30.7	5.0	7.6	2.0	3.1	..	3.1	29.1	3.5	7.4	4.9
Tamworth	15.6	24.0	31.9	50.3	2.1	6.7	..	7.7	..	2.4	50.4	8.8	4.3	4.6
The Entrance	43.1	40.7	46.1	43.2	5.9	6.9	..	3.4	..	2.9	4.9	2.9	8.3	3.6
The Hills	12.4	14.3	62.5	67.6	4.2	7.3	..	4.6	..	2.8	20.8	3.5	6.2	2.9

Table 9.3 (Continued) : 1991 Comparison of Party Percentage Votes in Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly Elections

1991 Election Electorate	Labor		Lib/Nat		Democrat		Call to Aust		Greens		Other		Informal	
	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC	LA	LC
Upper Hunter	31.9	29.3	58.2	55.0	..	4.2	..	2.7	..	2.0	9.9	6.7	7.0	4.9
Vaucluse	17.4	21.5	55.1	61.0	3.4	7.1	..	1.2	4.9	6.1	19.2	3.1	9.3	5.5
Wagga Wagga	34.2	29.2	65.8	56.2	..	5.8	..	2.7	..	2.6	..	3.5	14.9	4.6
Wakehurst	26.0	25.4	55.3	54.6	7.5	9.6	..	3.4	..	3.6	11.1	3.4	9.2	5.4
Wallsend	56.0	52.0	29.8	31.3	9.4	8.3	4.8	3.4	..	2.8	..	2.3	10.2	5.1
Waratah	65.1	59.6	24.5	25.9	..	5.3	3.4	3.1	..	2.9	7.1	3.3	11.7	5.9
Willoughby	12.6	17.6	57.4	62.0	2.8	8.6	2.2	2.9	..	4.3	25.0	4.6	6.9	4.2
Wollongong	50.2	57.3	10.5	25.9	3.0	5.1	1.3	3.0	5.3	5.5	29.7	3.2	12.4	8.3
Wyong	53.1	48.7	37.3	37.5	4.2	5.5	..	2.7	..	2.7	5.4	3.0	7.7	5.2

**Table 9.4 : 1984 Difference in Labor Party Percentage Vote for the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly by Electorate (Ordered by Difference)**

Electorate	Difference	Electorate	Difference
Corrimal	-10.7	Hornsby	-1.7
Northern Tablelands	-10.4	Lake Macquarie	-1.7
Broken Hill	-10.1	Lachlan	-1.6
Auburn	-9.7	Woronora	-1.6
Monaro	-9.0	Wentworthville	-1.4
Albury	-8.5	Waverley	-1.4
Maitland	-8.4	Liverpool	-1.4
Burrinjuck	-7.6	Hawkesbury	-1.2
Georges River	-7.2	Gordon	-1.0
St Marys	-6.7	Bligh	-1.0
Maroubra	-6.7	Upper Hunter	-0.9
Ingleburn	-6.5	Lakemba	-0.8
Drummoyne	-6.4	Heffron	-0.8
Cronulla	-6.2	Seven Hills	-0.6
Rockdale	-5.8	Riverstone	-0.6
Bass Hill	-5.6	Eastwood	-0.6
Coogee	-5.6	Lane Cove	-0.4
Canterbury	-5.5	Wagga Wagga	-0.4
Wakehurst	-5.4	Ku-ring-gai	-0.4
Granville	-5.4	Gladesville	-0.4
Blacktown	-5.4	Murrumbidgee	-0.4
East Hills	-5.3	Parramatta	-0.4
Merrylands	-5.1	Vaucluse	-0.3
Peats	-5.1	Byron	-0.3
Burwood	-4.9	Tamworth	-0.3
Charlestown	-4.9	Tuggerah	-0.1
Bankstown	-4.8	Barwon	+0.1
Clarence	-4.7	Coffs Harbour	+0.6
Hurstville	-4.6	Heathcote	+0.6
Miranda	-4.6	Marrickville	+0.8
Cessnock	-4.5	Dubbo	+1.2
Penrith	-4.4	Pittwater	+1.9
Blue Mountains	-4.1	Swansea	+2.0
Wallsend	-4.1	Mosman	+3.3
Kiama	-4.0	The Hills	+3.3
Cabramatta	-3.7	Balmain	+4.2
Gloucester	-3.7	Campbelltown	+4.3
Kogarah	-3.6	Murray	+4.6
Earlwood	-3.5	Elizabeth	+6.6
Camden	-3.5	Oxley	+7.0
Ashfield	-3.4	Wollongong	+9.3
Ryde	-3.2	Lismore	+9.8
Manly	-2.6	North Shore	+13.8
Fairfield	-2.6	Waratah	+18.2
Goulburn	-2.4	South Coast	+21.3
Newcastle	-2.4		
Davidson	-2.4		
Gosford	-2.2		
Orange	-2.1		
Bathurst	-1.9		
Castlereagh	-1.9		
Willoughby	-1.8		
Illawarra	-1.8		
Northcott	-1.8		

**Table 9.5 : 1984 Difference in Liberal/National Party Percentage Vote for the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly by Electorate (Ordered by Difference)**

Electorate	Difference	Electorate	Difference
Dubbo	-12.7	East Hills	-0.9
Hawkesbury	-10.7	Canterbury	-0.9
Lachlan	-10.0	Clarence	-0.6
Northcott	-9.2	Illawarra	-0.4
Orange	-9.1	Wakehurst	-0.2
Eastwood	-9.1	Maroubra	-0.1
Gordon	-8.8	Barwon	-0.0
Ku-ring-gai	-8.8	Blue Mountains	+0.2
Hornsby	-8.4	Manly	+0.4
Wagga Wagga	-7.8	Lake Macquarie	+0.5
Lakemba	-7.3	Auburn	+0.6
Camden	-7.2	Albury	+0.6
Kiama	-7.1	Cessnock	+0.7
Coffs Harbour	-6.8	Coogee	+0.9
Hurstville	-6.6	Byron	+0.9
Lane Cove	-6.5	Peats	+1.0
Riverstone	-6.4	Broken Hill	+1.3
Gloucester	-6.4	Liverpool	+1.6
Tamworth	-6.2	Burrinjuck	+1.6
Willoughby	-5.7	Maitland	+1.7
Seven Hills	-5.1	St Marys	+1.7
Bathurst	-5.0	Gladesville	+1.8
Woronora	-5.0	Balmain	+1.8
Corrimal	-4.9	Monaro	+1.9
Upper Hunter	-4.7	Penrith	+1.9
Gosford	-4.6	Bass Hill	+2.0
Ashfield	-4.4	Rockdale	+2.0
Earlwood	-4.4	Northern Tablelands	+2.2
Bankstown	-4.4	Swansea	+2.2
The Hills	-4.3	Merrylands	+2.5
Georges River	-4.2	Waverley	+3.1
Davidson	-4.0	Tuggerah	+3.4
Castlereagh	-3.9	Waratah	+3.7
Miranda	-3.8	Parramatta	+3.8
Wentworthville	-3.8	Newcastle	+3.9
Cronulla	-3.8	Marrickville	+5.2
Vaucluse	-3.7	Mosman	+5.4
Heffron	-3.5	Elizabeth	+5.5
Pittwater	-2.7	Fairfield	+6.2
Cabramatta	-2.4	Murrumbidgee	+8.4
Bligh	-2.2	Campbelltown	+9.0
Heathcote	-2.1	Oxley	+9.5
Blacktown	-2.1	North Shore	+14.6
Charlestown	-2.0	Wollongong	+17.2
Drummoyne	-1.8	South Coast	+25.0
Goulburn	-1.7	Lismore	+54.2
Wallsend	-1.4		
Burwood	-1.3		
Granville	-1.2		
Kogarah	-1.1		
Murray	-1.1		
Ryde	-1.0		
Ingleburn	-1.0		

**Table 9.6 : 1884 Difference in Labor Party Percentage Vote for the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly by Electorate (Ordered by Difference)**

Electorate	Difference	Electorate	Difference
Kiama	-11.2	Campbelltown	-1.2
Blue Mountains	-10.4	Lachlan	-1.1
Wallsend	-9.8	Heathcote	-0.8
Waratah	-9.2	Northern Tablelands	-0.8
Mosman	-8.5	Georges River	-0.7
Middle Harbour	-8.3	Gordon	-0.6
Lane Cove	-7.4	Peats	-0.5
Ku-ring-gai	-7.1	Strathfield	-0.4
East Hills	-7.0	Heffron	-0.4
Burratorang	-6.9	Kogarah	-0.3
Wyong	-6.9	Hurstville	-0.1
Waverley	-6.6	Orange	-0.0
Smithfield	-6.4	Goulburn	+0.0
Northcott	-6.3	Dubbo	+0.1
Maroubra	-6.1	Drummoyne	+0.2
Ryde	-6.1	Sutherland	+0.2
Liverpool	-5.9	Wentworthville	+0.3
Blacktown	-5.9	Bass Hill	+0.5
The Entrance	-5.3	Tamworth	+0.9
Monaro	-5.1	Murrumbidgee	+0.9
Hawkesbury	-5.0	Manning	+1.0
Carlingford	-4.8	Macquarie Fields	+1.3
Miranda	-4.7	Murray	+1.4
Granville	-4.7	Camden	+1.5
Broken Hill	-4.7	Castlereagh	+2.0
Earlwood	-4.7	Coffs Harbour	+2.1
Vaucluse	-4.5	Port Stephens	+2.1
Burrinjuck	-4.5	Maitland	+2.2
Albury	-4.4	Ashfield	+2.3
Penrith	-4.3	Auburn	+2.6
Clarence	-4.2	Canterbury	+2.6
Parramatta	-4.1	Seven Hills	+2.8
Wakehurst	-3.7	Barwon	+3.3
Hornsby	-3.7	Minchinbury	+3.5
Manly	-3.7	Keira	+3.8
Gladesville	-3.5	Southern Highlands	+4.0
Coogee	-3.4	Fairfield	+4.0
Ballina	-3.2	Londonderry	+4.4
McKell	-3.1	Bega	+4.5
The Hills	-3.1	Myall Lakes	+4.8
Upper Hunter	-3.0	Davidson	+4.8
Riverstone	-2.7	Cronulla	+5.1
Mulgoa	-2.6	Marrickville	+5.1
Eastwood	-2.6	Bligh	+5.2
Murwillumbah	-2.5	Lakemba	+6.1
Port Macquarie	-2.3	Balmain	+6.3
Rockdale	-2.3	Lake Macquarie	+6.3
Charlestown	-2.2	Illawarra	+6.9
Lismore	-2.0	Pittwater	+7.4
Cabramatta	-2.0	Newcastle	+8.3
Wagga Wagga	-1.9	Swansea	+9.8
Cessnock	-1.8	North Shore	+11.9
Gosford	-1.6	Wollongong	+15.3
Bankstown	-1.4	South Coast	+17.1
Bathurst	-1.2		

**Table 9.7 : 1988 Difference in Liberal/National Party Percentage Vote for the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly by Electorate (Ordered by Difference)**

Electorate	Difference	Electorate	Difference
Manning	-15.9	Hurstville	-4.9
Orange	-14.8	Parramatta	-4.9
Coffs Harbour	-14.7	Sutherland	-4.5
Tamworth	-14.4	Mulgoa	-3.9
Murrumbidgee	-14.3	Gosford	-3.4
Dubbo	-14.1	Cabramatta	-3.3
Port Macquarie	-14.0	Heathcote	-2.7
Northcott	-13.4	Illawarra	-2.7
Lane Cove	-13.1	Ryde	-2.6
The Hills	-11.8	Minchinbury	-2.3
Ku-ring-gai	-11.7	Waverley	-2.1
Lachlan	-11.7	Lakemba	-1.9
Hawkesbury	-11.5	Londonderry	-1.9
Wagga Wagga	-11.4	Heffron	-1.1
Clarence	-11.4	Port Stephens	-1.0
Middle Harbour	-10.8	Davidson	-0.7
Carlingford	-10.5	Penrith	-0.5
Murray	-10.5	Cronulla	-0.4
Goulburn	-10.3	Ashfield	+0.1
Barwon	-10.2	Bligh	+0.6
Hornsby	-9.7	Campbelltown	+0.7
Northern Tablelands	-9.7	Southern Highlands	+0.8
Upper Hunter	-9.5	Granville	+0.8
Riverstone	-9.5	Bega	+1.2
Miranda	-9.4	Maroubra	+1.2
Albury	-9.4	Kogarah	+1.2
Mosman	-9.1	Wakehurst	+1.2
Lismore	-9.0	Rockdale	+1.3
Castlereagh	-8.9	Marrickville	+1.3
Broken Hill	-8.8	Myall Lakes	+1.5
Eastwood	-8.7	Macquarie Fields	+2.4
Gordon	-8.5	Coogee	+2.6
Monaro	-8.4	Bankstown	+2.8
The Entrance	-8.3	Peats	+3.0
Bathurst	-8.3	Drummoyne	+3.3
Cessnock	-8.2	Georges River	+3.3
Earlwood	-8.1	Wentworthville	+3.6
Blacktown	-8.0	Gladesville	+3.6
Vaucluse	-7.9	Seven Hills	+3.7
Strathfield	-7.7	Pittwater	+3.9
Burratorang	-7.2	Charlestown	+4.1
East Hills	-7.2	Maitland	+4.8
Wyong	-7.1	Camden	+4.8
Murwillumbah	-6.8	Keira	+5.4
Liverpool	-6.8	Auburn	+6.0
Ballina	-6.2	McKell	+6.5
Smithfield	-6.0	Balmain	+6.5
Blue Mountains	-5.9	Canterbury	+7.4
Bass Hill	-5.9	Swansea	+10.0
Wallsend	-5.8	Lake Macquarie	+13.5
Burrinjuck	-5.7	Newcastle	+14.3
Manly	-5.5	North Shore	+17.1
Fairfield	-5.1	South Coast	+17.6
Waratah	-5.1	Wollongong	+19.6
Kiama	-5.0		

**Table 9.8 : 1991 Difference in Labor Party Percentage Vote for the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly by Electorate (Ordered by Difference)**

Electorate	Difference	Electorate	Difference
Bankstown	-10.8	The Entrance	-2.4
Londonderry	-10.8	Northern Tablelands	-2.4
Auburn	-9.4	Davidson	-2.1
Port Stephens	-8.7	Lake Macquarie	-1.8
Coogee	-7.6	Oxley	-1.7
Drummoyne	-7.5	Cessnock	-1.6
Maroubra	-7.5	Gordon	-1.5
East Hills	-7.2	Badgerys Creek	-1.5
Peats	-7.1	Lane Cove	-1.4
Campbelltown	-6.9	Lakemba	-1.3
Kogarah	-6.9	Cabramatta	-1.3
Gladesville	-6.7	Georges River	-1.3
Kiama	-6.6	Lismore	-1.2
Penrith	-6.4	Northcott	-0.8
Bulli	-6.1	Lachlan	-0.8
St Marys	-6.1	Wakehurst	-0.7
Canterbury	-6.0	Pittwater	-0.6
Keira	-5.9	Bega	-0.5
Waratah	-5.5	Moorebank	-0.1
Bathurst	-5.3	Newcastle	-0.0
Granville	-5.2	Monaro	+0.0
Smithfield	-5.1	Dubbo	+0.3
Wagga Wagga	-5.0	Ballina	+0.8
Albury	-5.0	Myall Lakes	+0.8
Coffs Harbour	-4.9	Hawkesbury	+0.9
Miranda	-4.9	Barwon	+1.1
Broken Hill	-4.7	Murrumbidgee	+1.1
Illawarra	-4.6	Gosford	+1.2
Burrinjuck	-4.6	Clarence	+1.2
Marrickville	-4.4	Ku-ring-gai	+1.2
Wyang	-4.4	The Hills	+1.9
Sutherland	-4.3	Maitland	+2.4
Ashfield	-4.3	Murwillumbah	+3.7
Mount Druitt	-4.2	Murray	+3.7
Blue Mountains	-4.0	Vaucluse	+4.1
Wallsend	-4.0	Willoughby	+5.0
Cronulla	-3.8	Port Macquarie	+5.3
Riverstone	-3.6	Manly	+5.7
Heffron	-3.6	Swansea	+6.4
Charlestown	-3.5	Wollongong	+7.0
Parramatta	-3.5	North Shore	+8.0
Baulkham Hills	-3.4	Tamworth	+8.4
Strathfield	-3.4	Bligh	+8.8
Blacktown	-3.2	Orange	+13.3
Hurstville	-3.2	South Coast	+15.7
Port Jackson	-3.1		
Ermington	-3.0		
Camden	-2.9		
Liverpool	-2.9		
Southern Highlands	-2.6		
Eastwood	-2.6		
Fairfield	-2.6		
Upper Hunter	-2.6		
Rockdale	-2.5		

**Table 9.9 : 1991 Difference in Liberal/National Party Percentage Vote for the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly by Electorate (Ordered by Difference)**

Electorate	Difference	Electorate	Difference
Wagga Wagga	-9.6	Campbelltown	+0.1
Burrinjuck	-9.4	Wyong	+0.2
Monaro	-7.3	Georges River	+0.2
Dubbo	-7.1	Port Macquarie	+0.3
Murray	-6.8	Parramatta	+0.7
Ermington	-5.8	Barwon	+0.7
Lane Cove	-5.7	Heffron	+0.9
Myall Lakes	-5.6	Keira	+1.0
Northcott	-5.4	Marrickville	+1.1
Lachlan	-5.3	Illawarra	+1.2
Eastwood	-5.1	Penrith	+1.3
Lismore	-5.1	East Hills	+1.3
Baulkham Hills	-5.1	Kiama	+1.3
Ballina	-4.8	Waratah	+1.4
Bega	-4.8	Wallsend	+1.5
Cronulla	-4.7	Murrumbidgee	+2.0
Pittwater	-4.7	Fairfield	+2.1
Oxley	-4.6	Orange	+2.4
Hawkesbury	-4.1	Lake Macquarie	+2.4
Albury	-3.8	Riverstone	+2.6
Badgerys Creek	-3.7	Ashfield	+3.0
Clarence	-3.6	Charlestown	+3.1
Miranda	-3.6	Bulli	+3.3
Strathfield	-3.5	Drummoyne	+3.3
Cessnock	-3.4	Mount Drutt	+3.7
Camden	-3.4	Lakemba	+3.9
Upper Hunter	-3.1	Coogee	+4.0
Londonderry	-3.0	Granville	+4.5
The Entrance	-2.9	Peats	+4.6
Northern Tablelands	-2.8	Willoughby	+4.6
Ku-ring-gai	-2.7	The Hills	+5.1
Davidson	-2.4	Moorebank	+5.3
Sutherland	-1.8	Maitland	+5.4
Gordon	-1.8	Blacktown	+5.5
Broken Hill	-1.6	Auburn	+5.8
Bathurst	-1.6	Vaucluse	+6.0
Coffs Harbour	-1.5	Smithfield	+6.3
Bankstown	-1.5	Liverpool	+6.9
Blue Mountains	-1.3	North Shore	+9.6
Hurstville	-1.2	Manly	+9.6
Southern Highlands	-0.8	Port Jackson	+10.1
Gosford	-0.8	Murwillumbah	+10.1
Rockdale	-0.8	Bligh	+10.2
Wakehurst	-0.7	Newcastle	+11.8
Canterbury	-0.6	Swansea	+12.4
Maroubra	-0.4	Wollongong	+15.4
Kogarah	-0.4	Cabramatta	+15.8
St Marys	-0.2	South Coast	+15.8
Port Stephens	-0.1	Tamworth	+18.4
Gladesville	+0.0		

## 10. Support for Minor Parties at Legislative Council Elections

Table 10.1 : 1984 Percentage of Minor Party Vote by Electorate (in Order)

Electorate	% Vote	Electorate	% Vote
Cessnock	3.8	Gloucester	10.1
Heffron	4.3	Clarence	10.3
Fairfield	5.0	Oxley	10.5
Murray	5.1	Kogarah	10.6
Wallsend	5.5	Camden	10.7
Upper Hunter	5.6	Parramatta	10.8
Seven Hills	5.7	Earlwood	10.9
Cabramatta	6.1	Peats	10.9
Coffs Harbour	6.2	Woronora	10.9
Waratah	6.2	Hurstville	11.1
Canterbury	6.4	Kiama	11.1
Marrickville	6.4	Orange	11.2
Rockdale	6.4	Coogee	11.3
Granville	6.6	Miranda	11.3
Liverpool	6.7	Dubbo	11.4
Maitland	6.7	Georges River	11.4
Charlestown	6.8	Davidson	11.6
Maroubra	6.8	Lachlan	11.6
Riverstone	7.0	Willoughby	11.7
Monaro	7.1	Ryde	11.9
Blacktown	7.4	Hawkesbury	12.0
Ingleburn	7.5	Heathcote	12.1
Ashfield	7.8	Byron	12.2
Swansea	8.0	Elizabeth	12.2
Vaucluse	8.1	East Hills	12.3
Lakemba	8.2	Mosman	12.5
Northern Tablelands	8.2	Penrith	12.5
Waverley	8.2	Gosford	12.6
Drummoyne	8.3	Newcastle	12.6
Barwon	8.5	Wentworthville	12.6
Castlereagh	8.6	Wagga Wagga	13.4
Burrinjuck	8.7	Lane Cove	13.7
Broken Hill	8.8	North Shore	13.8
Auburn	9.1	Lismore	14.0
Bankstown	9.2	Gladesville	14.3
Burwood	9.2	Tamworth	14.3
Tuggerah	9.2	The Hills	14.4
Balmain	9.3	Campbelltown	14.5
Goulburn	9.3	Gordon	14.8
Bligh	9.4	Hornsby	14.9
Bathurst	9.5	Ku-ring-gai	15.0
St Marys	9.5	Pittwater	15.1
Lake Macquarie	9.8	South Coast	15.1
Wakehurst	9.8	Corrimal	15.6
Manly	9.9	Northcott	17.5
Merrylands	9.9	Blue Mountains	18.1
Cronulla	10.0	Eastwood	18.1
Illawarra	10.0	Murrumbidgee	18.8
Albury	10.1	Wollongong	20.6
Bass Hill	10.1		

Table 10.2 : 1988 Percentage of Minor Party Vote by Electorate (in Order)

Electorate	% Vote	Electorate	% Vote
Murray	9.1	Georges River	15.7
Heffron	9.9	Macquarie Fields	15.9
Cessnock	10.0	Ashfield	16.2
Burrinjuck	10.2	Bathurst	16.2
Goulburn	10.3	Kiama	16.2
Kogarah	11.0	Port Macquarie	16.3
Bega	12.2	Port Stephens	16.3
Cabramatta	12.2	Sutherland	16.3
Riverstone	12.2	Lake Macquarie	16.4
Smithfield	12.4	Hawkesbury	16.5
Vaucluse	12.4	Wollongong	16.6
Fairfield	12.6	Ryde	16.7
Upper Hunter	12.6	Murwillumbah	16.8
Earlwood	12.7	Heathcote	17.2
Lachlan	12.7	Keira	17.2
Liverpool	12.7	Bankstown	17.3
Londonderry	12.9	Waverley	17.3
Hurstville	13.3	Manly	17.5
Murrumbidgee	13.4	Mosman	17.6
Wagga Wagga	13.4	Campbelltown	17.7
Broken Hill	13.5	Coogee	17.7
Cronulla	13.5	Northern Tablelands	17.8
Drummoyne	13.5	Pittwater	17.9
Monaro	13.6	Canterbury	18.2
The Entrance	13.6	Myall Lakes	18.4
Albury	13.7	Gordon	18.5
Mulgoa	13.7	Gosford	18.8
Rockdale	13.8	Ku-ring-gai	18.8
Blacktown	13.9	Camden	19.0
Wyang	13.9	Illawarra	19.0
Maroubra	14.0	Marrickville	19.0
Burragorang	14.1	Gladesville	19.2
Dubbo	14.1	Middle Harbour	19.2
Granville	14.1	Charlestown	19.6
Miranda	14.1	Ballina	19.7
Bass Hill	14.2	Northcott	19.7
East Hills	14.2	Hornsby	19.8
Castlereagh	14.3	Southern Highlands	20.1
Lakemba	14.3	Minchinbury	20.2
Strathfield	14.3	Lismore	20.4
Waratah	14.3	Lane Cove	20.5
Orange	14.8	Auburn	20.6
Peats	14.8	Penrith	20.8
Manning	14.9	Maitland	20.9
The Hills	14.9	Coffs Harbour	21.2
Wentworthville	14.9	Newcastle	21.2
South Coast	15.0	Eastwood	21.4
Carlingford	15.3	Tamworth	21.6
Parramatta	15.4	Swansea	21.9
Davidson	15.5	North Shore	22.7
Seven Hills	15.5	Bligh	23.6
Wakehurst	15.5	Blue Mountains	27.0
Barwon	15.6	McKell	28.6
Clarence	15.6	Balmain	28.8
Wallsend	15.6		

Table 10.3 : 1991 Percentage of Minor Party Vote by Electorate (in Order)

Electorate	% Vote	Electorate	% Vote
Cabramatta	12.0	Port Macquarie	17.1
Bankstown	12.3	Georges River	17.2
Murray	12.5	Penrith	17.2
Fairfield	12.8	Swansea	17.3
Rockdale	12.8	Dubbo	17.4
Cessnock	12.9	Ermington	17.4
Smithfield	12.9	Sutherland	17.4
Kogarah	13.1	Newcastle	17.5
Granville	13.2	Vaucluse	17.5
Badgerys Creek	13.4	Gordon	17.6
Canterbury	13.4	Southern Highlands	17.8
Hurstville	13.5	Coffs Harbour	17.9
Maroubra	13.5	The Hills	18.1
Londonderry	13.7	Lake Macquarie	18.2
Lakemba	13.8	Illawarra	18.3
Wyong	13.8	Orange	18.5
Auburn	13.9	Gosford	18.6
Burrinjuck	13.9	Ashfield	18.9
Riverstone	14.0	Kiama	19.0
Albury	14.2	Maitland	19.0
Heffron	14.3	Northern Tablelands	19.0
Port Stephens	14.3	Coogee	19.1
Waratah	14.5	Hawkesbury	19.1
Liverpool	14.6	Keira	19.5
Wagga Wagga	14.6	Bulli	19.7
Drummoyne	14.7	Murwillumbah	19.7
St Marys	14.8	Bathurst	20.0
Broken Hill	15.0	Clarence	20.0
Strathfield	15.0	Murrumbidgee	20.0
Peats	15.1	Wakehurst	20.0
Oxley	15.2	Davidson	20.1
Blacktown	15.5	Willoughby	20.4
East Hills	15.6	Eastwood	20.5
Upper Hunter	15.6	Ku-ring-gai	20.7
Campbelltown	15.7	Lismore	20.9
Camden	15.9	Northcott	21.0
Parramatta	15.9	Lachlan	21.1
Monaro	16.0	Lane Cove	21.4
Myall Lakes	16.0	Pittwater	21.5
The Entrance	16.1	Ballina	22.4
Bega	16.4	Barwon	22.5
Charlestown	16.6	South Coast	22.6
Miranda	16.6	Manly	23.3
Moorebank	16.6	North Shore	23.4
Mount Druitt	16.7	Marrickville	23.5
Wallsend	16.7	Bligh	24.7
Wollongong	16.8	Port Jackson	25.0
Cronulla	16.9	Tamworth	25.6
Gladesville	16.9	Blue Mountains	27.1
Baulkham Hills	17.0		

**Table 10.4 : 1984 Percentage Vote for Australian Democrats by Electorate**

Lowest Electorate	Vote	%	Highest Electorate	Vote	%
Cabramatta	165	0.6	Peats	1512	5.3
Cessnock	195	0.7	East Hills	1547	5.3
Barwon	221	0.7	Ku-ring-gai	1616	5.3
Liverpool	194	0.8	The Hills	1632	5.3
Clarence	277	0.8	Heathcote	1562	5.4
Lachlan	236	0.9	Bligh	1521	5.8
Fairfield	249	0.9	Lake Macquarie	1967	5.9
Heffron	251	0.9	Gosford	2128	5.9
Ingleburn	260	0.9	Wagga Wagga	1780	6.0
Dubbo	262	0.9	Lane Cove	1617	6.1
Upper Hunter	262	0.9	Eastwood	1773	6.1
Maitland	267	0.9	Balmain	1484	6.3
Riverstone	257	1.0	Coogee	1574	6.3
Seven Hills	262	1.0	Mosman	1775	6.5
Rockdale	277	1.0	Penrith	2393	6.7
Castlereagh	336	1.1	Blue Mountains	2434	7.3
Gloucester	375	1.1	North Shore	1888	7.4
Granville	308	1.2	Newcastle	2407	7.9
Canterbury	310	1.2	Elizabeth	1967	8.2
South Coast	387	1.2	Pittwater	2542	8.7

**Table 10.5 : 1984 Percentage Vote for Call to Australia by Electorate**

Lowest Electorate	Vote	%	Highest Electorate	Vote	%
Marrickville	394	1.7	The Hills	2503	8.1
Balmain	503	2.1	Clarence	2641	8.1
Waverley	552	2.1	Orange	2330	8.2
Cessnock	647	2.2	Hurstville	2283	8.4
Bligh	657	2.5	Hawkesbury	2770	8.5
Heffron	666	2.5	Kiama	2693	8.6
Elizabeth	668	2.8	Camden	2800	8.7
Vaucluse	768	2.9	Georges River	2465	8.8
Murray	811	3.0	Tamworth	2669	8.8
Swansea	964	3.0	Hornsby	2770	8.8
Monaro	922	3.1	Ku-ring-gai	2735	8.9
Lake Macquarie	1074	3.2	Gordon	2762	9.5
Fairfield	967	3.4	Dubbo	2886	9.7
Wallsend	976	3.4	Corrimal	2844	10.0
Coffs Harbour	1154	3.4	Blue Mountains	3359	10.0
Maroubra	977	3.5	Lachlan	2777	10.1
Newcastle	1062	3.5	Lismore	3223	10.1
Upper Hunter	1131	3.7	Eastwood	3242	11.1
Maitland	1153	3.8	Northcott	4055	12.0
North Shore	987	3.9	Murrumbidgee	4777	16.5

**Table 10.6 : 1984 Percentage Vote for Concerned Citizens by Electorate**

Lowest Electorate	Vote	%	Highest Electorate	Vote	%
Kogarah	19	0.1	Byron	77	0.2
Coogee	22	0.1	North Shore	69	0.3
Lakemba	23	0.1	Castlereagh	77	0.3
Cronulla	25	0.1	Upper Hunter	77	0.3
Fairfield	25	0.1	Marrickville	83	0.3
Balmain	26	0.1	Newcastle	83	0.3
Penrith	26	0.1	Kiama	84	0.3
Hurstville	27	0.1	Lismore	87	0.3
Willoughby	27	0.1	Tamworth	87	0.3
Canterbury	28	0.1	Illawarra	90	0.3
Miranda	28	0.1	Ingleburn	95	0.3
Murray	28	0.1	Bass Hill	98	0.3
Riverstone	28	0.1	Ryde	135	0.5
Bligh	29	0.1	Clarence	156	0.5
Swansea	29	0.1	Corrimal	172	0.6
Vaucluse	29	0.1	Maitland	441	1.4
Albury	30	0.1	Gladesville	883	3.2
Georges River	30	0.1	Campbelltown	2201	6.2
Gordon	30	0.1	South Coast	2559	7.8
Pittwater	30	0.1	Wollongong	3246	12.0

**Table 10.7 : 1988 Percentage Vote for Australian Democrats by Electorate**

Lowest Electorate	Vote	%	Highest Electorate	Vote	%
Murray	190	0.7	Coogee	1161	4.4
Burrinjuck	238	0.8	Ballina	1248	4.5
Barwon	246	0.9	Bathurst	1329	4.6
Minchinbury	273	0.9	Manly	1281	4.7
Smithfield	254	1.0	Northern Tablelands	1336	4.7
Lachlan	281	1.0	Waverley	1219	4.8
Riverstone	303	1.1	Vaucluse	1269	4.9
Granville	304	1.1	Balmain	1295	4.9
Goulburn	310	1.1	Southern Highlands	1455	5.1
Upper Hunter	322	1.1	Myall Lakes	1517	5.1
Cabramatta	301	1.2	McKell	1247	5.2
Canterbury	318	1.2	Bligh	1316	5.2
Londonderry	318	1.2	Ryde	1462	5.4
Campbelltown	319	1.2	Lismore	1514	5.4
Lakemba	319	1.2	Heathcote	1727	5.6
Rockdale	322	1.2	Gosford	1838	5.8
Auburn	332	1.2	Tamworth	1741	6.1
Bass Hill	339	1.2	Eastwood	1785	6.2
Albury	343	1.2	Pittwater	1833	6.2
Burraborang	346	1.2	Blue Mountains	1823	6.4

**Table 10.8 : 1988 Percentage Vote for Call to Australia by Electorate**

Lowest Electorate	Vote	%	Highest Electorate	Vote	%
Bligh	402	1.6	Clarence	2139	7.4
Vaucluse	431	1.7	Port Macquarie	2181	7.5
Waverley	466	1.8	Maitland	2192	7.5
Marrickville	511	2.0	Murrumbidgee	2040	7.6
Balmain	531	2.0	Miranda	2213	7.6
McKell	584	2.4	Kiama	2140	7.8
Heffron	649	2.5	Albury	2286	7.8
North Shore	730	2.7	Wallsend	2225	7.9
Monaro	822	2.9	Keira	2174	8.0
Coogee	826	3.1	Hornsby	2348	8.0
Bega	970	3.2	Dubbo	2290	8.1
Newcastle	893	3.3	Carlingford	2354	8.1
Drummoyne	950	3.4	The Hills	2456	8.1
Ashfield	925	3.5	Hawkesbury	2357	8.2
Rockdale	938	3.5	Lachlan	2315	8.4
Canterbury	951	3.6	Northcott	2694	8.9
Fairfield	1008	3.7	Eastwood	2579	9.0
Cessnock	1095	3.8	Blue Mountains	2605	9.1
Auburn	1090	4.0	Tamworth	2659	9.3
Maroubra	1090	4.0	Penrith	2841	9.8

**Table 10.9 : 1988 Percentage Vote for Nuclear Disarmament Party by Electorate**

Lowest Electorate	Vote	%	Highest Electorate	Vote	%
Heathcote	121	0.4	Waratah	326	1.2
Strathfield	140	0.5	Maitland	338	1.2
Sutherland	143	0.5	Cessnock	340	1.2
Gordon	154	0.5	Swansea	348	1.2
Hurstville	156	0.5	Bathurst	354	1.2
The Hills	157	0.5	Wallsend	354	1.3
Ashfield	147	0.6	Lake Macquarie	358	1.3
East Hills	152	0.6	Murwillumbah	373	1.3
Campbelltown	157	0.6	Port Stephens	384	1.3
Granville	164	0.6	Ballina	379	1.4
Minchinbury	165	0.6	Coogee	389	1.5
Miranda	165	0.6	Gladesville	424	1.5
Georges River	171	0.6	Charlestown	429	1.5
Carlingford	174	0.6	Waverley	485	1.9
Dubbo	174	0.6	North Shore	517	1.9
Hawkesbury	174	0.6	Lismore	536	1.9
Camden	175	0.6	Balmain	530	2.0
Keira	175	0.6	McKell	529	2.2
Eastwood	178	0.6	Bligh	593	2.3
Ku-ring-gai	179	0.6	Newcastle	712	2.6

**Table 10.10 : 1988 Percentage Vote for Independent EFF by Electorate**

Lowest Electorate	Vote	%	Highest Electorate	Vote	%
Gordon	213	0.7	Blacktown	898	3.4
Lane Cove	223	0.8	North Shore	907	3.4
Miranda	228	0.8	Ashfield	1022	3.9
Ku-ring-gai	238	0.8	Newcastle	1195	4.4
The Entrance	246	0.8	Bass Hill	1317	4.8
Vaucluse	232	0.9	Rockdale	1330	4.9
Wyong	257	0.9	Lakemba	1295	5.0
Sutherland	258	0.9	Barwon	1411	5.0
Cronulla	265	0.9	Gladesville	1460	5.2
Eastwood	269	0.9	Maitland	1516	5.2
Heathcote	272	0.9	Coffs Harbour	1613	5.7
Hornsby	274	0.9	Seven Hills	1558	5.9
Gosford	289	0.9	Campbelltown	1849	6.7
Lachlan	273	1.0	Swansea	2010	6.9
Manly	275	1.0	Bankstown	2024	7.7
Illawarra	280	1.0	Charlestown	2366	8.4
Peats	293	1.0	Camden	2515	8.6
Pittwater	302	1.0	Canterbury	2461	9.4
Waverley	277	1.1	Auburn	3225	11.9
Ryde	299	1.1	Minchinbury	3606	12.2

**Table 10.11 : 1988 Percentage Vote for Environment Group by Electorate**

Lowest Electorate	Vote	%	Highest Electorate	Vote	%
Murray	102	0.4	Eastwood	756	2.6
Lachlan	107	0.4	Bega	799	2.7
Broken Hill	108	0.4	Waverley	714	2.8
Granville	108	0.4	Manly	766	2.8
Barwon	115	0.4	McKell	691	2.9
Swansea	123	0.4	Gladesville	818	2.9
Smithfield	120	0.5	Ballina	847	3.0
Seven Hills	121	0.5	Penrith	920	3.2
Murrumbidgee	122	0.5	Bligh	853	3.4
Liverpool	124	0.5	Gosford	1094	3.4
Londonderry	132	0.5	Hornsby	1124	3.8
Burrinjuck	135	0.5	Gordon	1242	4.3
Albury	138	0.5	Northcott	1304	4.3
Lakemba	140	0.5	Balmain	1170	4.4
Auburn	143	0.5	Mosman	1366	4.9
Cessnock	143	0.5	Blue Mountains	1455	5.1
Blacktown	146	0.5	North Shore	1465	5.5
Castlereagh	147	0.5	Ku-ring-gai	1617	5.5
Muigoa	147	0.5	Middle Harbour	1656	6.0
Minchinbury	151	0.5	Lane Cove	2072	7.3

**Table 10.12 : 1988 Percentage Vote for Aboriginal Team by Electorate**

Lowest Electorate	Vote	%	Highest Electorate	Vote	%
Lachlan	44	0.2	Maroubra	146	0.5
Murray	46	0.2	Lismore	151	0.5
Swansea	47	0.2	Riverstone	152	0.5
Burrinjuck	51	0.2	Mosman	153	0.5
Lakemba	54	0.2	Drummoyne	156	0.6
Carlingford	57	0.2	Gordon	160	0.6
Cessnock	57	0.2	Newcastle	162	0.6
Bankstown	58	0.2	Miranda	175	0.6
Granville	59	0.2	Broken Hill	166	0.7
Wallsend	59	0.2	Dubbo	188	0.7
Barwon	60	0.2	Lane Cove	198	0.7
East Hills	62	0.2	Waverley	216	0.8
Minchinbury	62	0.2	Ashfield	236	0.9
Bass Hill	65	0.2	Blue Mountains	257	0.9
Seven Hills	65	0.2	Coogee	259	1.0
The Entrance	65	0.2	North Shore	276	1.0
Auburn	67	0.2	Marrickville	411	1.6
Peats	67	0.2	Bligh	427	1.7
Lake Macquarie	68	0.2	Balmain	778	2.9
The Hills	70	0.2	McKell	836	3.5

**Table 10.13 : 1988 Percentage Vote for Community Independents by Electorate**

Lowest Electorate	Vote	%	Highest Electorate	Vote	%
Murray	143	0.5	Manly	638	2.3
Burrinjuck	144	0.5	Heathcote	722	2.3
Minchinbury	162	0.5	Ashfield	695	2.6
Murrumbidgee	159	0.6	Drummoyne	742	2.6
Barwon	178	0.6	Illawarra	756	2.8
Lachlan	184	0.7	Macquarie Fields	773	2.8
Wagga Wagga	190	0.7	Blue Mountains	802	2.8
Dubbo	191	0.7	North Shore	812	3.0
Tamworth	197	0.7	Sutherland	883	3.1
Blacktown	198	0.7	Swansea	898	3.1
Wentworthville	201	0.7	Coogee	881	3.3
Riverstone	207	0.7	Waverley	859	3.4
Goulburn	212	0.8	Wollongong	933	3.6
Londonderry	214	0.8	Keira	988	3.6
Seven Hills	215	0.8	Burragorang	1020	3.7
Castlereagh	231	0.8	Newcastle	1118	4.1
Upper Hunter	238	0.8	Marrickville	1329	5.2
Clarence	242	0.8	Bligh	1522	6.0
Bankstown	247	0.9	McKell	2166	9.0
The Entrance	267	0.9	Balmain	2625	9.9

Table 10.14 : 1991 Percentage Vote for Australian Democrats by Electorate

Lowest Electorate	Vote	%	Highest Electorate	Vote	%
Cabramatta	933	3.0	Keira	2731	8.4
Murray	1030	3.3	Coogee	2760	8.4
Smithfield	1091	3.4	Willoughby	2818	8.6
Lachlan	1134	3.5	Ashfield	2653	8.9
Badgerys Creek	1145	3.5	Lake Macquarie	2931	9.0
Mount Druitt	1121	3.6	Marrickville	2742	9.2
Bankstown	1199	3.7	Eastwood	3134	9.3
Liverpool	1190	3.8	Bega	2985	9.4
Londonderry	1227	3.8	Davidson	3224	9.4
Granville	1282	4.0	Wakehurst	3101	9.6
Murrumbidgee	1319	4.0	Manly	3187	9.6
Fairfield	1249	4.1	Ku-ring-gai	3356	9.9
Broken Hill	1315	4.1	Northcott	3387	10.0
Burrinjuck	1412	4.2	Clarence	3204	10.1
Upper Hunter	1437	4.2	North Shore	3252	10.5
Rockdale	1347	4.3	Port Jackson	3374	11.0
Albury	1418	4.3	Lane Cove	3668	11.1
Heffron	1409	4.5	Bligh	3502	11.5
Riverstone	1506	4.6	Blue Mountains	4011	12.2
Orange	1608	4.8	Pittwater	4203	12.6

Table 10.15 : 1991 Percentage Vote for Call to Australia by Electorate

Lowest Electorate	Vote	%	Highest Electorate	Vote	%
Vaucluse	369	1.2	The Hills	1509	4.6
Bligh	395	1.3	Port Macquarie	1509	4.7
Port Jackson	441	1.4	Illawarra	1527	4.7
Heffron	501	1.6	Albury	1548	4.7
Marrickville	542	1.8	Orange	1576	4.7
Monaro	582	1.9	Northern Tablelands	1593	4.7
Newcastle	645	2.0	East Hills	1588	4.8
Coogee	648	2.0	Baulkham Hills	1609	4.8
North Shore	675	2.2	Ballina	1607	4.9
Bega	688	2.2	Myall Lakes	1636	5.0
Cessnock	750	2.3	Keira	1644	5.0
Ashfield	705	2.4	South Coast	1552	5.1
Murray	731	2.4	Penrith	1671	5.1
Cabramatta	751	2.4	Lachlan	1684	5.1
Canterbury	764	2.4	Northcott	1772	5.2
Drummoyne	766	2.4	Kiama	1776	5.3
Broken Hill	776	2.4	Eastwood	1827	5.4
Rockdale	776	2.5	Dubbo	1898	5.9
Lakemba	845	2.7	Blue Mountains	2000	6.1
Wyong	845	2.7	Tamworth	2561	7.7

**Table 10.16 : 1991 Percentage Vote for The Greens by Electorate**

Lowest Electorate	Vote	%	Highest Electorate	Vote	%
Barwon	482	1.4	Davidson	1276	3.7
Murray	477	1.5	Newcastle	1273	3.9
Lachlan	485	1.5	Willoughby	1412	4.3
Murrumbidgee	557	1.7	Lane Cove	1415	4.3
Dubbo	597	1.8	Murwillumbah	1338	4.4
Broken Hill	637	2.0	Manly	1477	4.5
Upper Hunter	692	2.0	Blue Mountains	1485	4.5
Myall Lakes	669	2.1	Ashfield	1409	4.7
Albury	681	2.1	Drummoyne	1530	4.7
Port Macquarie	682	2.1	North Shore	1721	5.5
Lakemba	682	2.2	Heffron	1729	5.5
Auburn	703	2.2	Wollongong	1734	5.5
Burrinjuck	730	2.2	Lismore	1768	5.5
Riverstone	740	2.3	Coogee	1841	5.6
Bankstown	747	2.3	Vaucluse	1927	6.1
Bathurst	777	2.3	Bulli	2132	6.3
Cabramatta	725	2.4	Bligh	2137	7.0
Fairfield	741	2.4	Ballina	2307	7.0
Cessnock	761	2.4	Port Jackson	2847	9.3
Hurstville	775	2.4	Marrickville	2925	9.8

**Table 10.17 : 1991 Percentage Vote for No Toxic Incinerator Group by Electorate**

Lowest Electorate	Vote	%	Highest Electorate	Vote	%
The Hills	73	0.2	Coffs Harbour	167	0.5
Ballina	78	0.2	Bathurst	173	0.5
Gordon	83	0.3	Wakehurst	177	0.5
Ashfield	86	0.3	Murwillumbah	167	0.6
Eastwood	87	0.3	Londonderry	190	0.6
Willoughby	88	0.3	Moorebank	191	0.6
Ku-ring-gai	89	0.3	Upper Hunter	252	0.7
Vaucluse	93	0.3	Wagga Wagga	254	0.8
Cessnock	94	0.3	Northern Tablelands	273	0.8
Lane Cove	95	0.3	Burrinjuck	279	0.8
Miranda	96	0.3	Albury	280	0.9
Cronulla	97	0.3	Manly	415	1.3
Kogarah	97	0.3	Orange	421	1.3
Strathfield	97	0.3	Dubbo	469	1.4
Parramatta	99	0.3	Tamworth	481	1.4
Swansea	101	0.3	Murrumbidgee	674	2.1
Keira	102	0.3	Murray	670	2.2
North Shore	102	0.3	Broken Hill	1001	3.1
Waratah	102	0.3	Barwon	1374	4.1
Bulli	103	0.3	Lachlan	1495	4.6

**Table 10.18 : 1991 Percentage Vote for Country Residents Party by Electorate**

Lowest Electorate	Vote	%	Highest Electorate	Vote	%
Pittwater	36	0.1	Monaro	278	0.9
Sutherland	37	0.1	Coffs Harbour	285	0.9
North Shore	44	0.1	Oxley	286	0.9
Ermington	47	0.1	Port Macquarie	300	0.9
Vaucluse	48	0.2	Myall Lakes	309	1.0
Drummoyne	54	0.2	Lismore	310	1.0
Gordon	54	0.2	Clarence	321	1.0
Northcott	55	0.2	Wagga Wagga	327	1.0
Miranda	56	0.2	Murray	373	1.2
Wakehurst	56	0.2	Burrinjuck	468	1.4
Baulkham Hills	58	0.2	Northern Tablelands	471	1.4
Bulli	58	0.2	Dubbo	523	1.6
Charlestown	60	0.2	Orange	550	1.6
Davidson	61	0.2	Tamworth	589	1.8
East Hills	62	0.2	Broken Hill	603	1.9
Kogarah	62	0.2	Upper Hunter	1199	3.5
Strathfield	65	0.2	Lachlan	1575	4.8
Willoughby	66	0.2	Bathurst	1602	4.8
Blacktown	67	0.2	Barwon	1727	5.2
Port Jackson	67	0.2	Murrumbidgee	1866	5.7

**Table 10.19 : 1991 Percentage Vote for Independent EFF/Greypower/CEC by Electorate**

Lowest Electorate	Vote	%	Highest Electorate	Vote	%
Burrinjuck	159	0.5	Hawkesbury	664	2.1
Monaro	169	0.5	Gosford	672	2.1
Bathurst	185	0.5	The Hills	689	2.1
Southern Highlands	190	0.6	Swansea	697	2.1
Albury	204	0.6	Cabramatta	667	2.2
Lismore	204	0.6	Port Macquarie	696	2.2
Bulli	218	0.6	Blacktown	757	2.3
Wagga Wagga	220	0.7	Orange	848	2.5
Broken Hill	223	0.7	Moorebank	841	2.6
Dubbo	225	0.7	Badgerys Creek	848	2.6
Lachlan	232	0.7	Liverpool	869	2.8
Coffs Harbour	242	0.8	Willoughby	972	3.0
Kiama	256	0.8	Bligh	939	3.1
Maroubra	262	0.8	Murwillumbah	978	3.2
Keira	264	0.8	Manly	1110	3.3
Bega	268	0.8	North Shore	1091	3.5
Cronulla	271	0.8	Maitland	1211	3.6
Illawarra	274	0.8	Tamworth	1505	4.5
Port Stephens	274	0.8	Mount Druitt	1468	4.7
Northcott	276	0.8	South Coast	1858	6.1

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