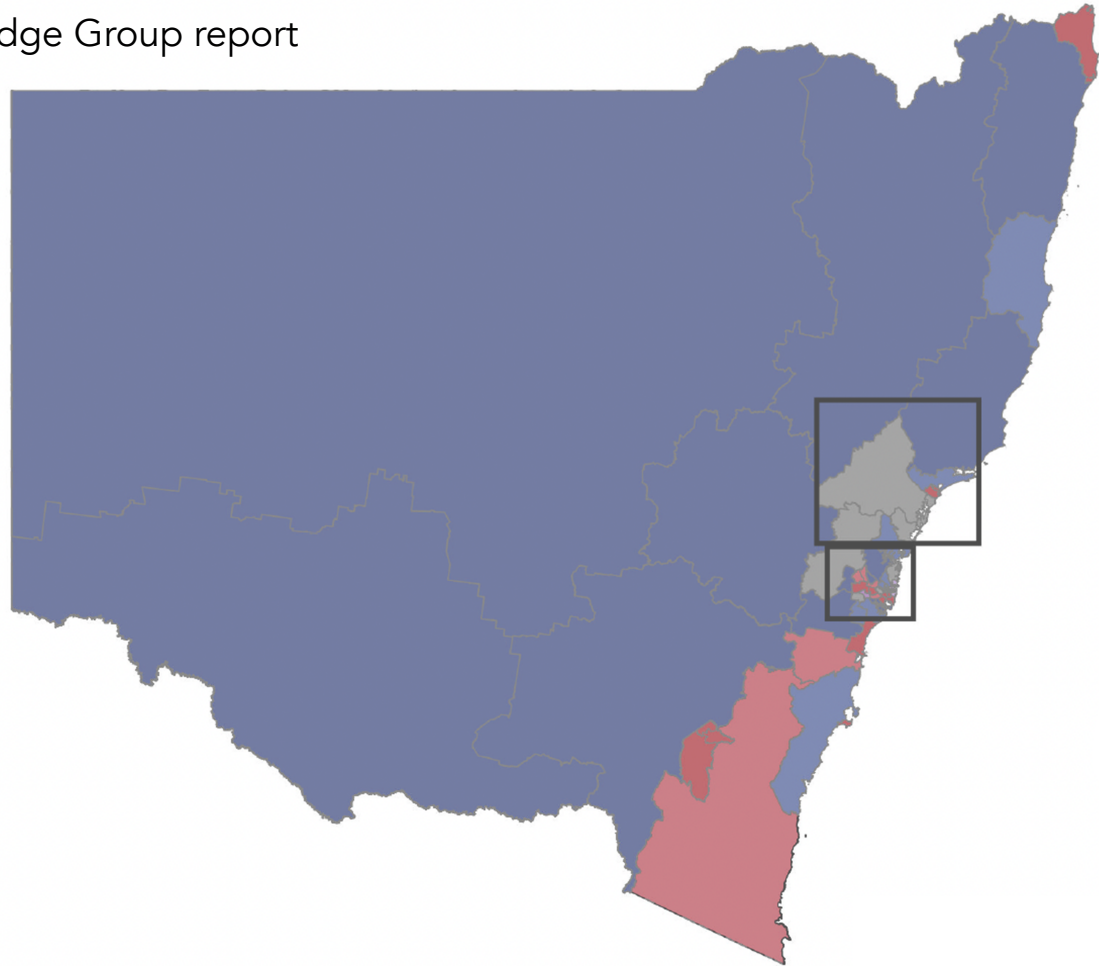


Australia's political landscape: Spring 2024

An Accent Research and RedBridge Group report



Australia's political landscape: Spring 2024

An Accent Research and RedBridge Group report

About Accent Research

Accurate information and high quality research are vital for understanding the world, informed planning, decision-making and campaigning. At Accent Research, gathering usable insights sits at the heart of everything we do. We run high-quality surveys, and turn the results into actionable intelligence.

We are the Australian leader in Multilevel Regression with Poststratification (MRP), using it to provide political campaigns with the granular information required to win elections.

About RedBridge Group

RedBridge is committed to influence with integrity. We enable clients to influence governments, stakeholders and public opinion to achieve outcomes that provide shared and meaningful benefits.

Our team has extensive relationships with all levels of government across the country and across the political spectrum. We specialise in research that provides insight on complex social, political and communication challenges.

©2024 Accent Research and RedBridge Group

ACCENT RESEARCH

**redbridge**

INFLUENCE WITH INTEGRITY

Executive summary

The contest for the next election is getting tighter. Resurgent support for the Coalition is resulting in significant predicted seat gains for the right-of-centre parties in the House of Representatives, largely at the expense of Labor.

- The Liberal-National parties are now well placed to win at least nine seats from Labor, particularly around Sydney and Melbourne: Gilmore, Paterson, Bennelong, Aston, Robertson, and Macarthur; along with Lyons, Lingiari and Bullwinkel.
- In contrast, Labor only looks competitive in two Coalition-held seats: Sturt and Casey.
- While the Coalition is looking to make significant gains in the outer suburbs and regional areas, their vote has increased by less in the inner and middle suburbs, with fewer expected gains in these areas.
- This electoral geography makes it difficult for the Coalition to win a majority in the House of Representatives, but makes it very competitive for minority government.
- It is estimated the Coalition would win between 64 and 78 seats in the House of Representatives if an election were held now, compared with a range of 59 to 71 seats for Labor; with an 82 per cent probability the Coalition parties will be the largest bloc in parliament.

- The crossbench looks set to remain similar in size, or to shrink slightly, with between three and five Greens MPs elected and seven and 13 Independent or minor party candidates.

A minority government is the most likely outcome: a greater than 98 per cent probability neither party will have a House of Representatives majority, and slightly less than a two per cent chance of a Coalition majority. The probability of a Labor majority is now approaching zero.

About this research

- These results are estimates from a model-based approach called Multilevel Regression with Post-stratification (MRP), fit to data from a survey of 4,909 Australian voters conducted between 29 October and 20 November, 2024. Electorate-level results have average 95 per cent confidence intervals of 7.3 per cent for the Coalition vote share, 6.4 per cent for Labor, 6.1 per cent for the Greens and 8.1 per cent for all other parties and candidates.
- The MRP works by sharing information across electorates, with voters assumed to behave in a related way to other voters with shared characteristics in similar divisions. While we expect the model to be broadly accurate, these estimates may miss idiosyncratic electorates that behave substantially differently from similar divisions.
- Estimates are based on the finalised electoral boundaries for NSW, VIC and WA. Previous waves of the MRP have been updated based on these new boundaries.

Contents

Executive summary	1
About this research	1
The political landscape: Spring 2024	3
The Coalition is now the favourite to be the largest bloc in parliament	3
A minority government looks almost certain	6
The political geography driving these results	11
Sydney and surrounding regions may hold the key to deciding the next election	16
Appendix	23
Appendix 1: Methodology	24
Assumptions	26
Question wording	26
Variable selection	27
Fitting the model	27
Post-stratification	27
Appendix 2: Detailed division-level vote results	29

The political landscape: Spring 2024

The contest for government has tightened across 2024. Despite some softening of Labor's vote in late 2023 and early 2024, Labor remained the firm favourite at the beginning of the year. This has changed dramatically, with a resurgent primary vote boosting the predicted seat haul for the Liberal-National Coalition.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of possible House of Representatives outcomes for each party predicted by this model from 1,000 simulations run over its output, with the higher density of the shaded area indicating outcomes that appeared more often in these simulations. It should be noted that the seat totals listed in this plot allocate all divisions, including some electorates that we have otherwise classified as too close to call.

The Coalition is now the favourite to be the largest bloc in parliament

If an election were held now, the Accent Research and RedBridge MRP estimates the Coalition would win between 64 and 78 seats, giving it an 82 per cent chance of winning the largest share in the House of Representatives. Labor remains competitive though. The likely range of seats it is estimated to win has a low end of 59 and an upper range of 71 seats in the House, with an 18 per cent chance of being the largest party in parliament.

For the Greens, the estimated low end for seats won is three and an upper

range of five. For all other parties and candidates, the range of seats won is estimated to be between seven and 13.

Another way to think about these results is in terms of the number of seats each party is expected to win comfortably based on these results, and the number they are currently ahead in. This is shown in the first plot in figure 2.

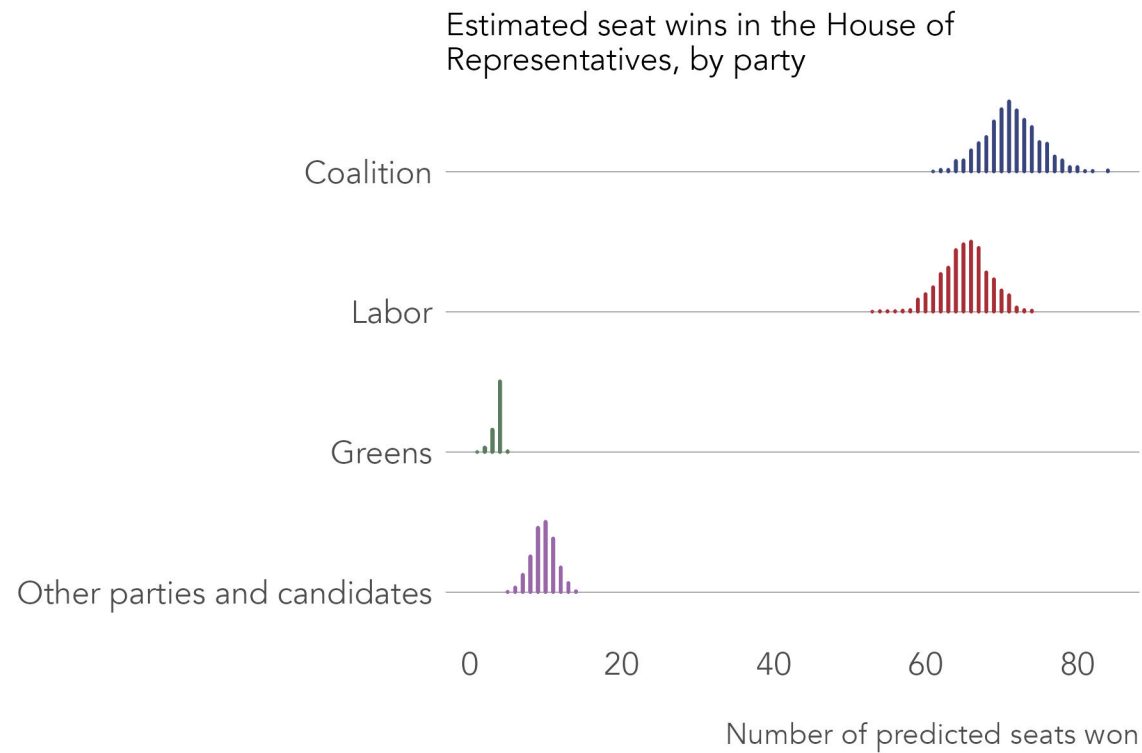


Figure 1: Estimated possible House of Representatives outcomes for the Coalition parties, Labor, the Greens, and all other parties and candidates. A higher density in the distribution shows outcomes that appeared more often from 1,000 simulations produced by the MRP models fit for this analysis.

Predicted outcomes

Number of estimated House of Representative seats won

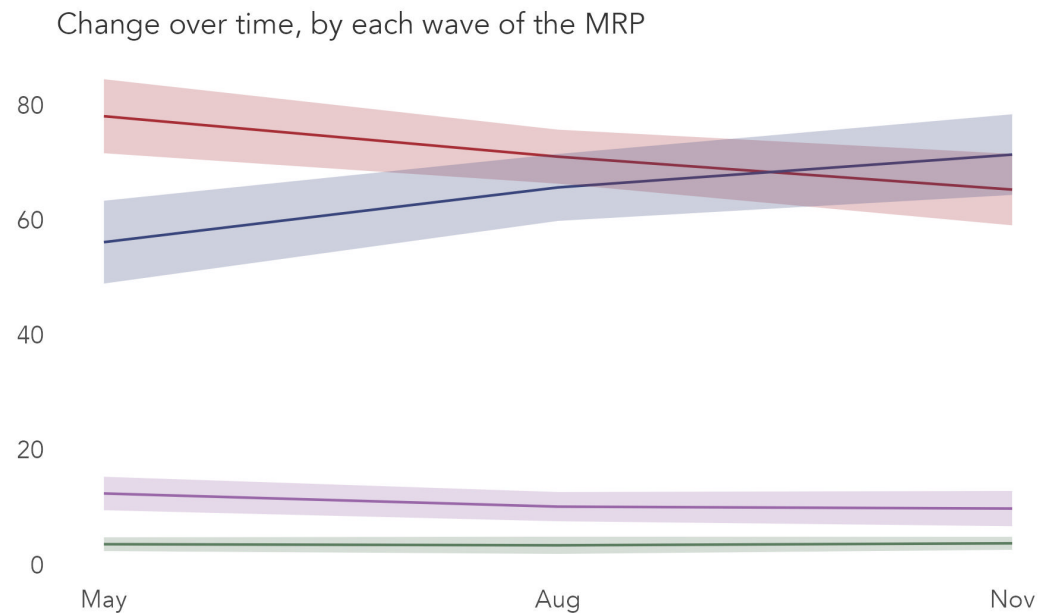
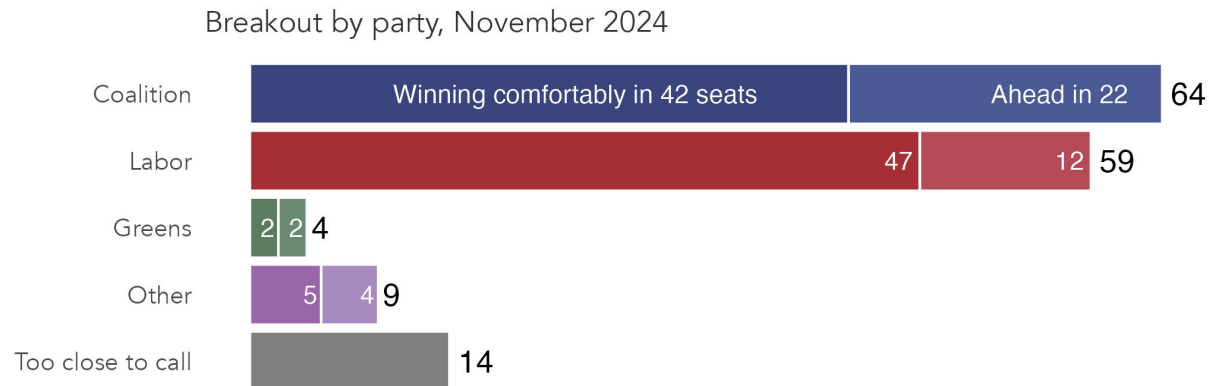


Figure 2: Predicted composition of the House of Representatives if an election were held now, based on estimates from MRP models. The first plot shows the number of seats each party (or group of parties and candidates) is expected to win comfortably (shaded darker) and that they are currently ahead in (shaded lighter). Those that are too close to call are shaded grey. The second plot shows trends in the estimated number of seats won by each party over time. The shaded ribbon around the predicted number of seats indicates the 95 per cent confidence intervals for each estimate, and provides a sense for the range of likely outcomes at each point in time, and how this has changed over the year.

According to these results, the Coalition is currently winning comfortably in 42 electorates, and ahead in 22 more. Labor is highly likely to win 47 seats, and ahead in another 12. The Greens are estimated to be holding steady: comfortably winning 2 seats and ahead in two. Conversely, if an election were held now, five seats are estimated to be won by another party or candidate, and they are ahead in another four seats. An additional 14 electorates are too close to call.

These findings are a substantial change from earlier iterations of the Accent and RedBridge MRP. In the first run, based on data collected from February to May, the median prediction was for the Coalition to win 56 seats. This increased to 66 in August and now sits at 71 (see figure 2). Almost in a mirror image to this, the median number of seats the Labor Party is estimated to win has declined, from 78 in May, to 71 in August, and then down to 65 in November.

The number of seats won by minor parties and independents has been more stable. For the Greens, the median estimate for seat wins has sat consistently at four: four in May, three in August, and then four again in November. For other parties and candidates: 12 in May, 10 in August, and then 10 again in November.

A minority government looks almost certain

The trends observed for the number of seats won by the Coalition parties and Labor are essentially linear, and now means that a majority government is unlikely. The probability that the Coalition would have a majority in the House of Representatives is currently less than two per cent,

and for Labor, essentially zero. If an election were held now, there is a greater than 98 per cent probability of a minority government. For the geographic distribution of these outcomes, see figures 3 to 6.

Predicted seat-level results NSW and the ACT

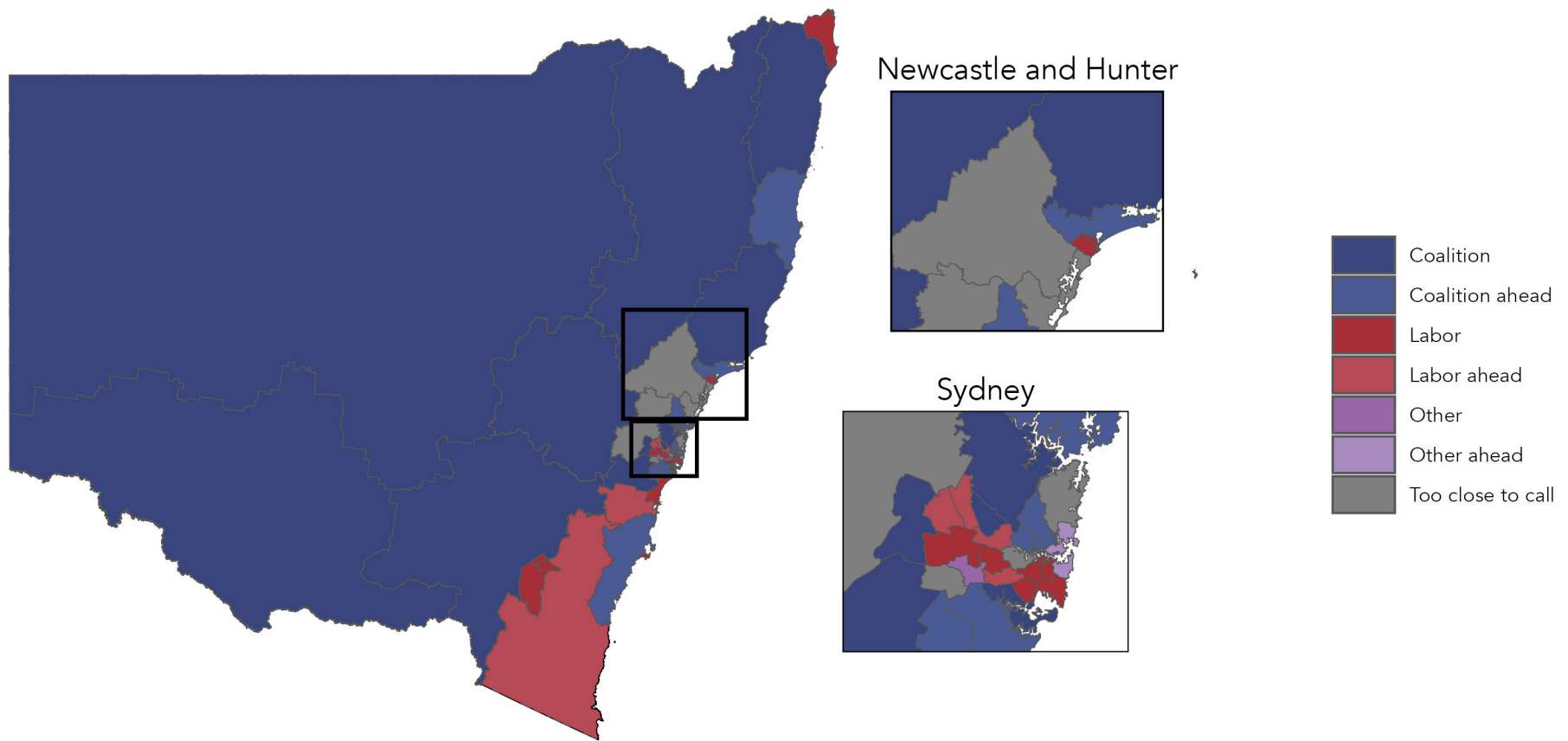


Figure 3: Predicted winners for each electoral division in NSW and the ACT. Comfortable wins are shaded darker, and those seats leaning towards a particular candidate or party are lighter, to highlight uncertainty and close results in the estimates. Those that are too close to call are shaded grey.

Predicted seat-level results Victoria and Tasmania

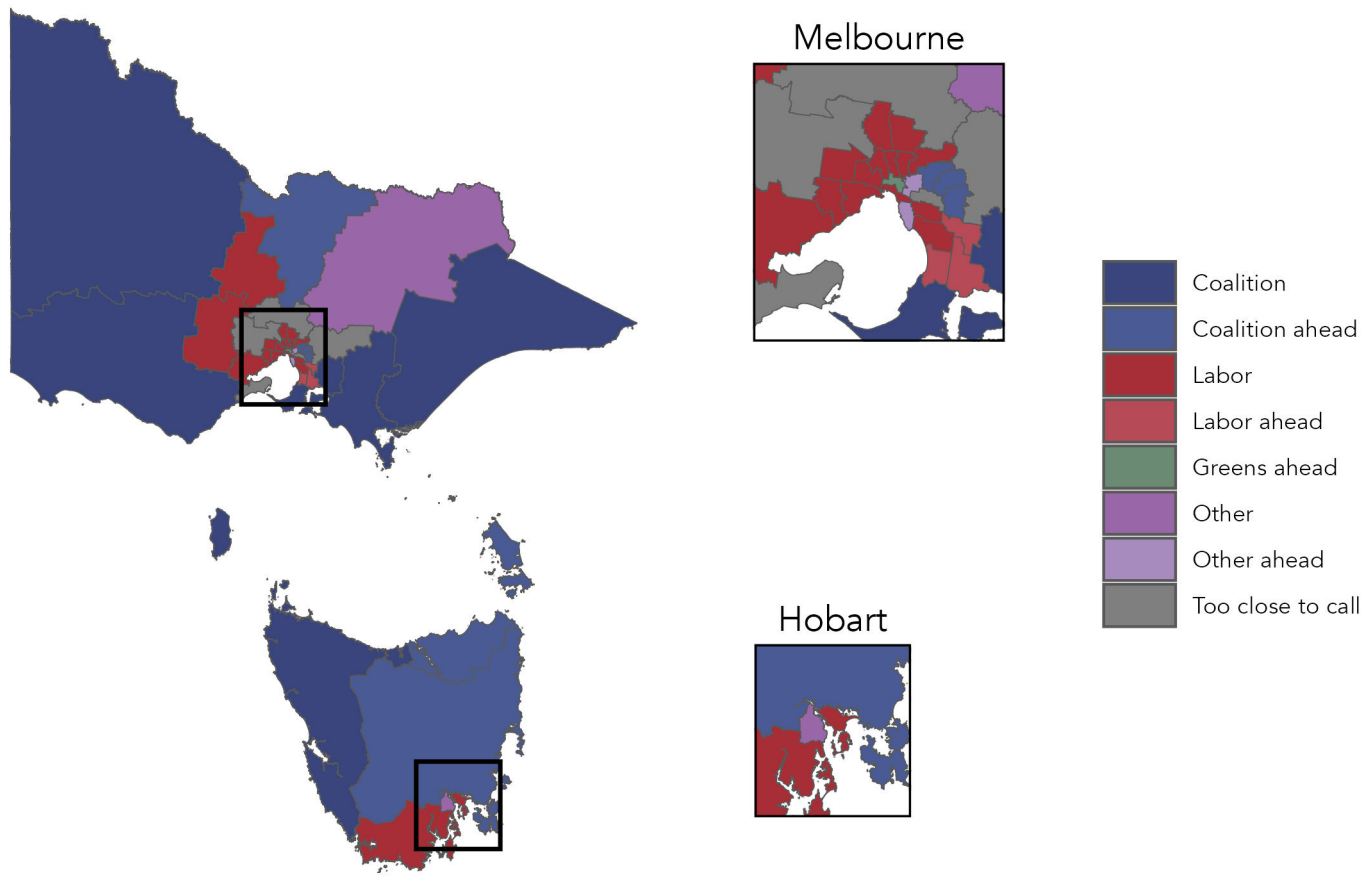
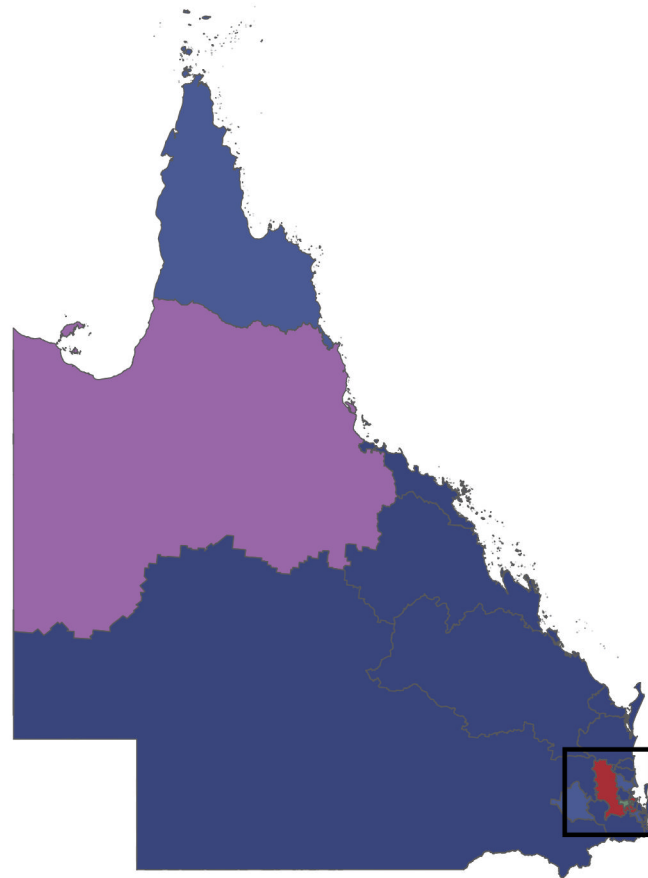


Figure 4: Predicted winners for each electoral division in Victoria and Tasmania. Comfortable wins are shaded darker, and those seats leaning towards a particular candidate or party are lighter, to highlight uncertainty and close results in the estimates. Those that are too close to call are shaded grey.

Predicted seat-level results Queensland



South East Queensland

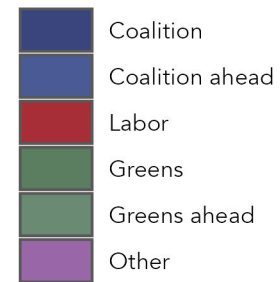
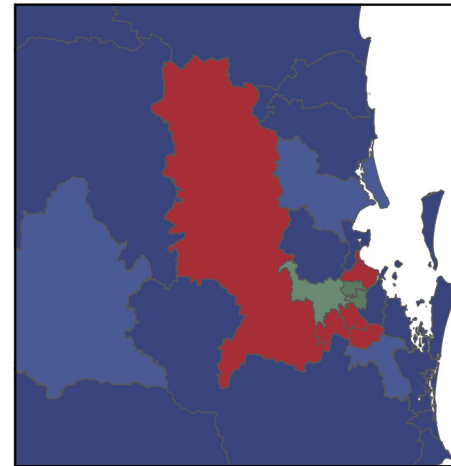


Figure 5: Predicted winners for each electoral division in Queensland. Comfortable wins are shaded darker, and those seats leaning towards a particular candidate or party are lighter, to highlight uncertainty and close results in the estimates. Those that are too close to call are shaded grey.

Predicted seat-level results WA, SA and the NT

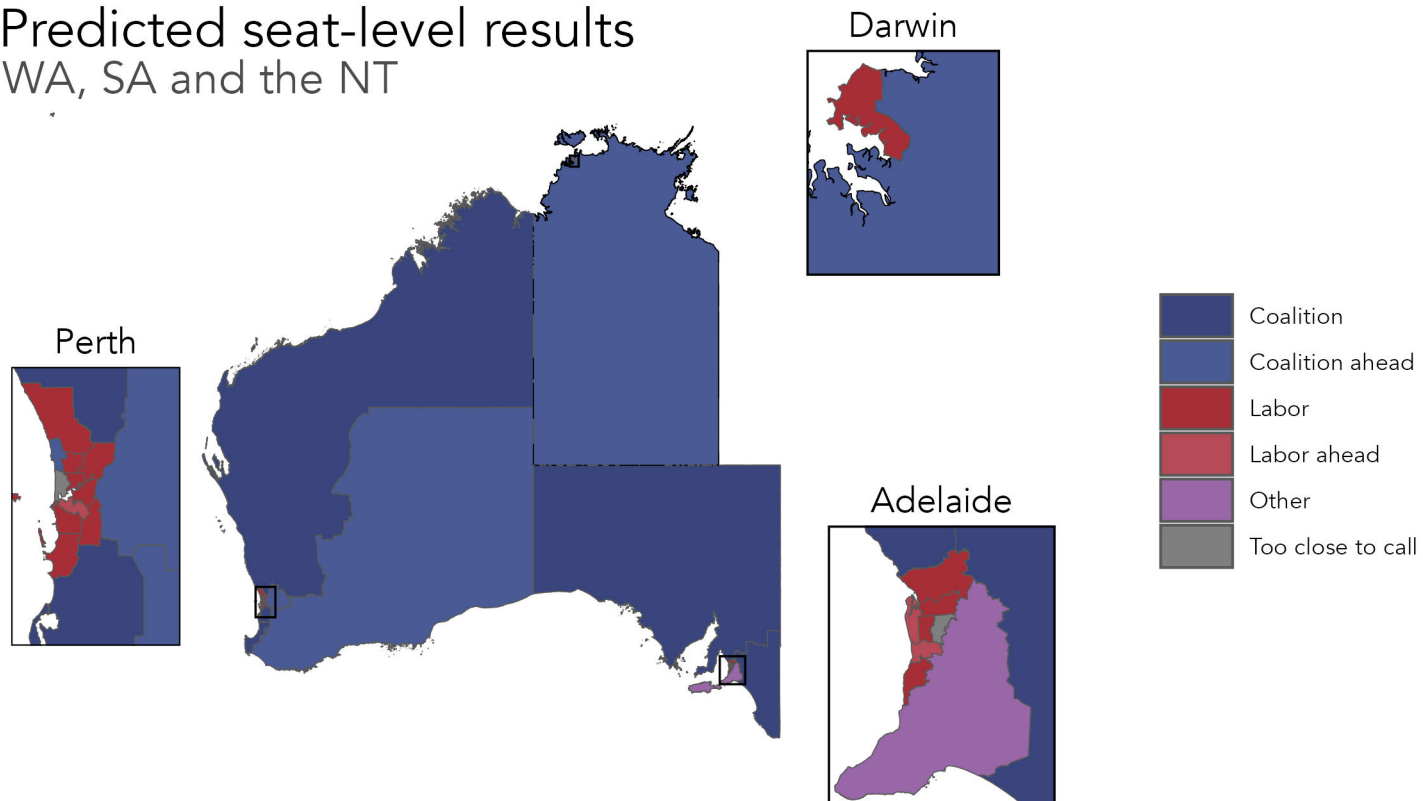


Figure 6: Predicted winners for each electoral division in WA, SA and NT. Comfortable wins are shaded darker, and those seats leaning towards a particular candidate or party are lighter, to highlight uncertainty and close results in the estimates. Those that are too close to call are shaded grey.

The political geography driving these results

According to the three MRPs run over the year, the Coalition primary vote has consistently improved across the year in NSW and Victoria, and most other states and territories (see figure 7). Much of this strengthening of support for the Coalition has been outside the inner and middle suburbs of the major metropolitan areas (see figure 8).

Across the year, its primary vote has been essentially flat in inner city electorates, and improved moderately in middle suburban areas. However, in the outer suburbs, provincial cities¹ and rural electorates, the Coalition vote improved substantially across 2024.

This increase in the Coalition primary vote share has generally not been at the expense (on net) of Labor — whose support has only declined marginally — but rather minor parties and independents, which have seen a larger drop off in support.

However, while Labor's primary vote has only dropped a small amount, this drop is estimated to be largest in the outer suburbs, which as we will see, has significant political ramifications.

Similarly, the Greens vote has dropped slightly. This decline is predicted to be particularly concentrated in the middle suburbs of major metropolitan areas, and provincial centres. While it is not estimated to cost the Greens any of their current seats at present, it does appear to make winning additional electorates harder for them, and also has flow-on effects

for Labor's chances in some electorates, by reducing the preference flows it can expect from the Greens.

Overall, the strengthening of the Coalition support, particularly on the outskirts of the major cities (see figure 9), puts a number of electorates into play that were not looking as likely to shift in earlier iterations of the MRP.

For detailed results of seats that are too close to call, or changing hands, see figures 14 and 15. Similar details for all electorates can be found in the Appendix.

¹Places like Corangamite on the outskirts of Geelong, Dobell and Robertson on the NSW Central Coast, Shortland, which straddles the Central Coast and southern suburbs of Newcastle, and Paterson, which largely corresponds to Port Stephens.

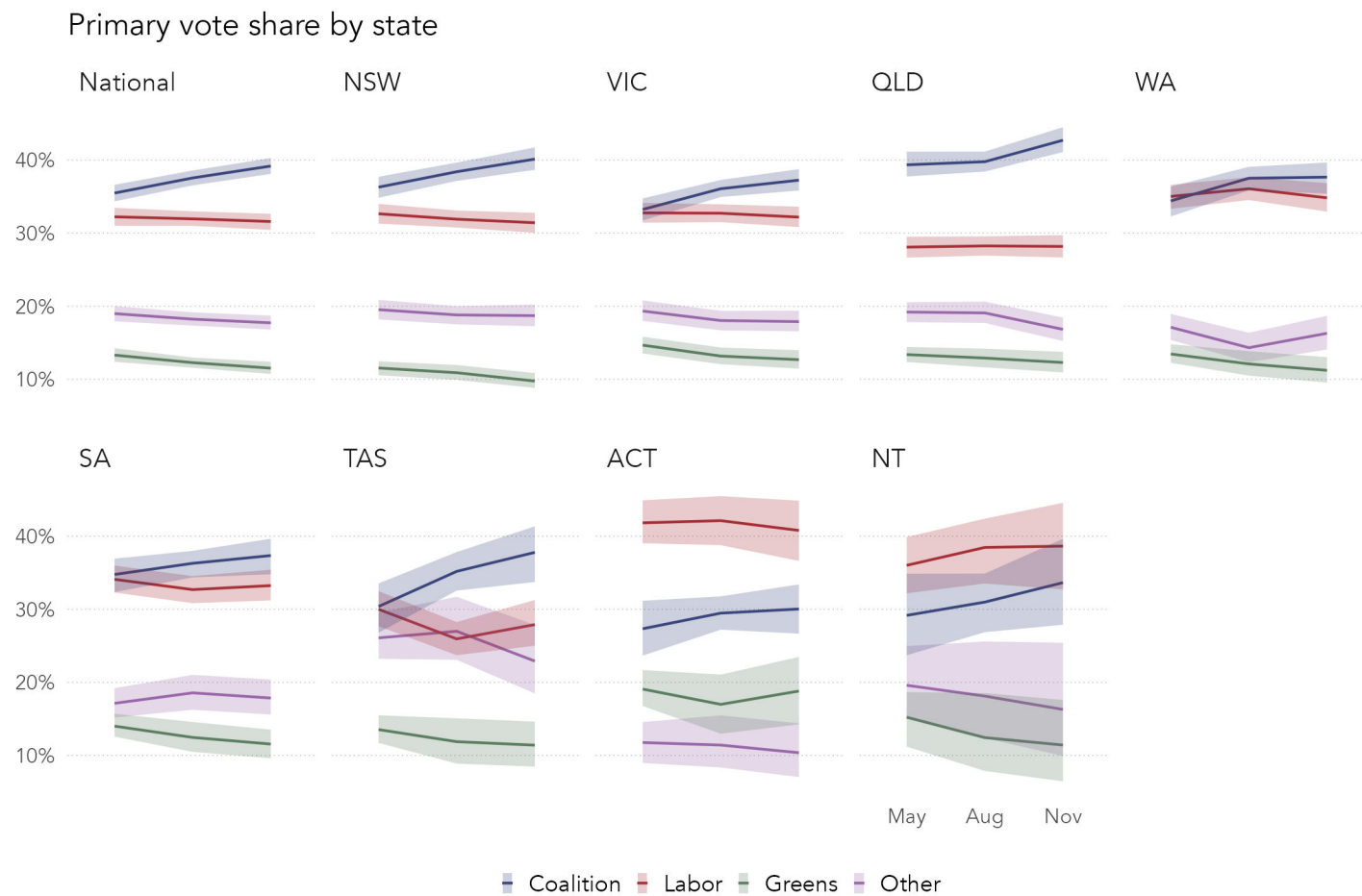


Figure 7: Estimated first preference vote shares for a federal House of Representatives election across each wave of the MRP for 2024. This plot displays both the national totals for the Coalition, Labor and the Greens, along with all other parties, and estimates for the state totals for each of these.

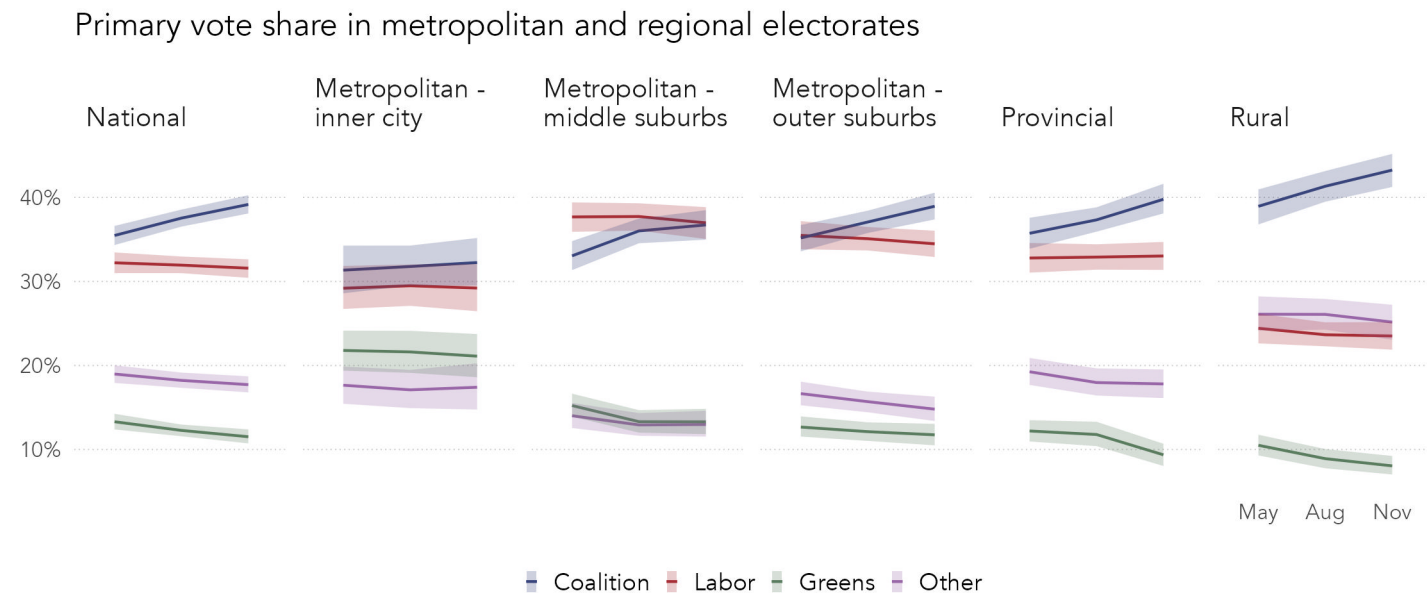


Figure 8: Estimated first preference vote shares for a federal House of Representatives election from each wave of the MRP, in metropolitan and regional areas. Electorates are allocated using AEC defined regions.

Average division-level swings since the 2022 election across metropolitan and regional electorates

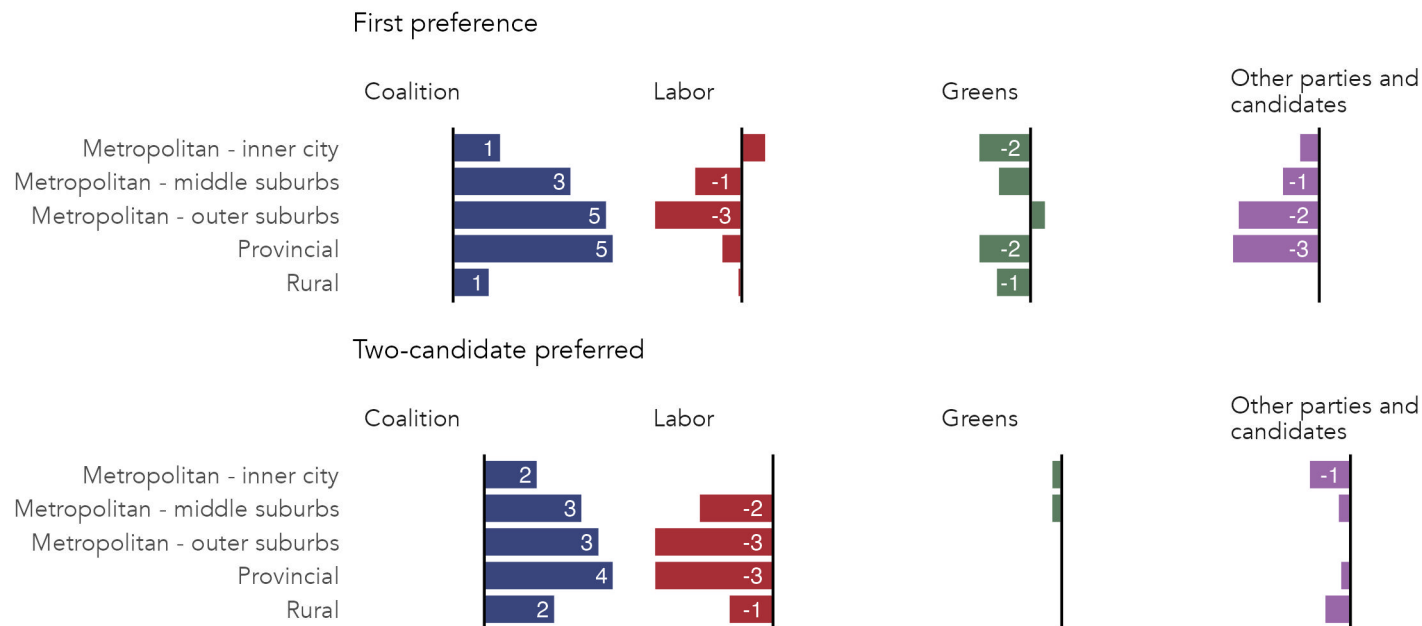


Figure 9: Average estimated electorate-level swings for first preference and two-candidate preferred vote since the 2022 federal election, in metropolitan and regional areas. Here, the average swing is the mean division-level swing for each party across each area. Electorates are allocated using AEC defined regions. Figures are only shown for changes over one percentage point, and are rounded to the nearest percent.

Average division-level swings since the 2022 election by incumbency status



Figure 10: Average estimated electorate-level swings for first preference and two-candidate preferred vote, by incumbency status of electorates. Here, the average swing is the mean division-level swing for each party across each group of seats. A sophomore seat is an electorate where the incumbent MP is contesting the seat again, and is in their first term in parliament. Figures are only shown for changes over one percentage point, and are rounded to the nearest percent.

Sydney and surrounding regions may hold the key to deciding the next election

Politics, ultimately, is a numbers game. Government is formed by the party or parties that can command a majority in the House of Representatives.

While no one region can be the sole focus of a campaign looking to win a working majority in parliament, at many elections the seats in play can be concentrated in particular parts of the country. This is for a range of demographic, economic and political reasons, and the specific region with such a concentration varies over time. As can be seen in figure 3, our results suggest that if an election were held now, this concentration may be along the coastal strip from Port Stephens, through Sydney and Newcastle (and their hinterlands in the Hunter and the Blue Mountains), to the south coast of NSW.² This area contains five seats that at present look likely to change hands (see figure 15 for details on these electorates), and seven that are too close to call (see figure 14).

Melbourne, and in particular the metropolitan fringe, also contains a large number of seats in play: one electorate estimated to be likely to change hands and five that are too close to call (figure 4).

The problem for the Labor Party is that the seats in play in both metropolitan areas, and their outskirts, are mostly their own. All electorates currently estimated to be changing hands are from Labor to the Coalition,

²That a cluster of key seats may be located in this part of the country should not come as a surprise. This region contains the greatest concentration of voters in Australia.

and with the exception of two divisions,³ those that are too close to call in these regions are Labor-held. Additionally, the trend across 2024 in these electorates is mostly in favour of the Coalition (see figures 11 and 12).

Unlike most other recent elections, Queensland looks to be less pivotal. Our model does not currently predict that any seats in that state will change hands, or are currently too close to call. This is also the case in the ACT. Each of WA, Tasmania and the NT have one (nominal) Labor seat that we estimate will be won by the Coalition.⁴ Both WA and SA have one seat that is too close to call: the formerly blue ribbon Liberal seat of Curtin, which is currently held by an Independent; and Sturt, the Liberal Party's last seat in metropolitan Adelaide.

³The Independent-held Mackellar in Sydney's north, and the Liberal-held Casey on the north-eastern edge of Melbourne.

⁴Bullwinkel is a new seat, but based on the 2022 results, would have been won by Labor at the last election.

Estimated trends in the two-candidate preferred vote across 2024

In key seats in NSW

Coalition Labor Other

Shortland

Werriwa

Macquarie

Dobell

Reid

Hunter

Mackellar

60%

50%

40%

Macarthur

Robertson

Bennelong

Paterson

Gilmore

Lindsay

60%

50%

40%

May Aug Nov

Figure 11: Estimated two-candidate results for key seats in NSW across the three waves of the MRPs run in 2024. Curves are the predicted two-candidate vote for division. Shaded areas around these curves represent 95 per cent confidence intervals, indicating uncertainty in the results.

Estimated trends in the two-candidate preferred vote across 2024

In key seats in Victoria and Tasmania

Coalition Labor

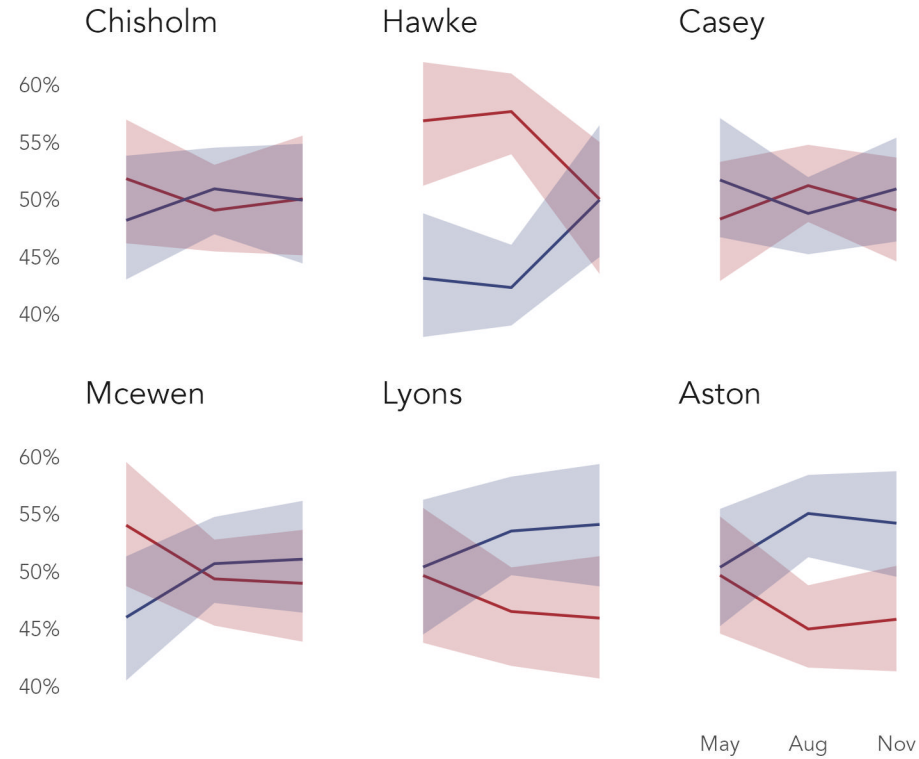


Figure 12: Estimated two-candidate results for key seats in Victoria and Tasmania across the three waves of the MRPs run in 2024. Curves are the predicted two-candidate vote for division. Shaded areas around these curves represent 95 per cent confidence intervals, indicating uncertainty in the results.

Estimated trends in the two-candidate preferred vote across 2024

In key seats in all other states and territories

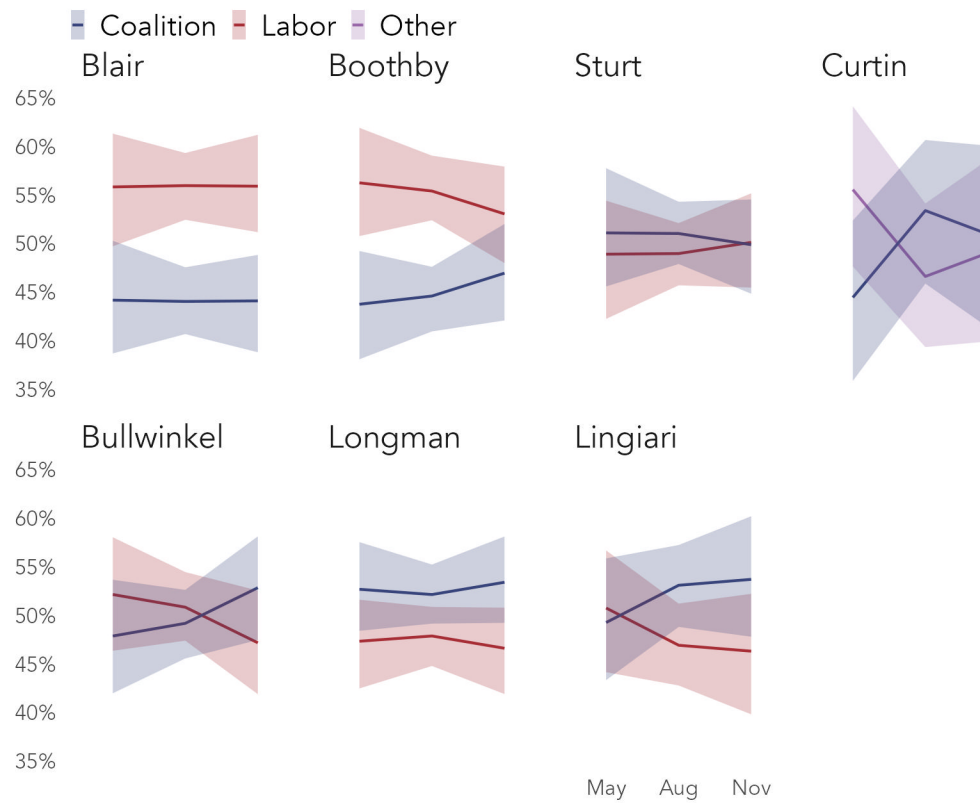


Figure 13: Estimated two-candidate results for key seats in all other states and territories across the three waves of the MRPs run in 2024. Curves are the predicted two-candidate vote for division. Shaded areas around these curves represent 95 per cent confidence intervals, indicating uncertainty in the results.

Divisions that are too close to call

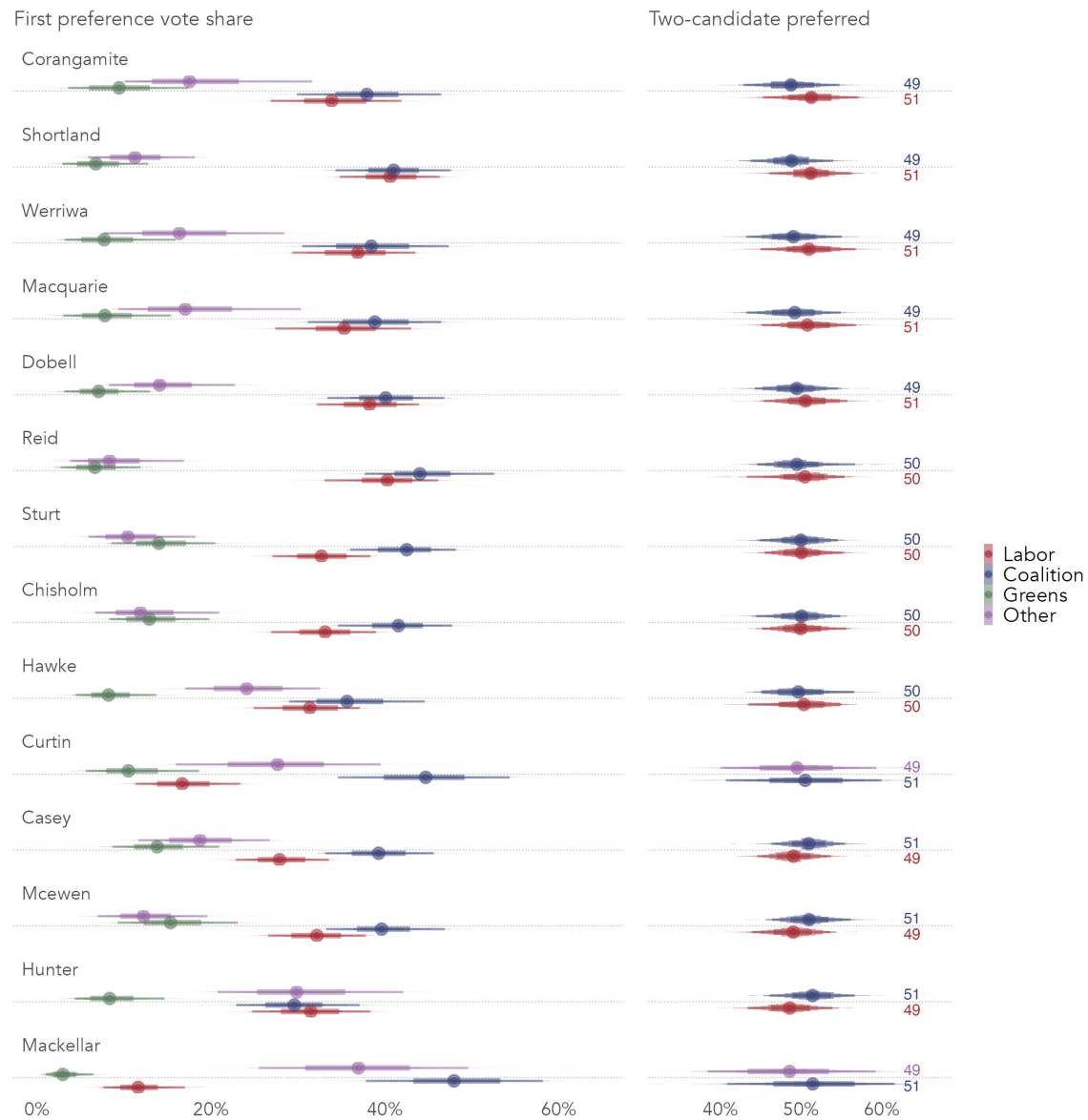


Figure 14: Estimated first preference and two-candidate preferred vote shares for divisions that are too close to call. Horizontal error bars represent confidence intervals. These provide a sense of both uncertainty in the models — the longer the bars on the x-axis, the more uncertainty in the results — and also the likelihood an outcome will occur, with greater density representing more likely outcomes.

Divisions predicted to be changing hands

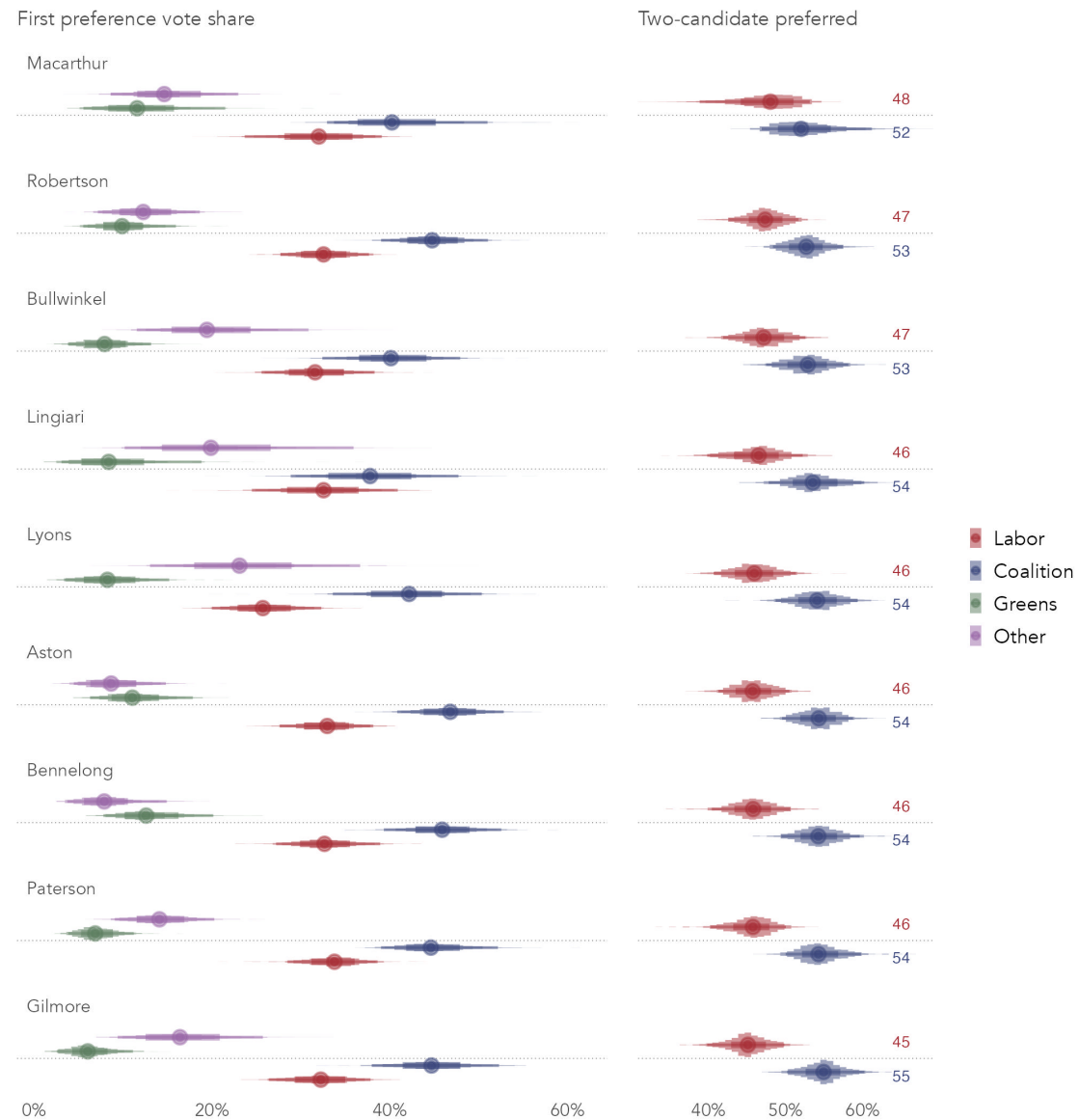


Figure 15: Estimated first preference and two-candidate preferred vote shares for divisions that are predicted to change hands if an election were held now. Horizontal error bars represent confidence intervals. These provide a sense of both uncertainty in the models — the longer the bars on the x-axis, the more uncertainty in the results — and also the likelihood an outcome will occur, with greater density representing more likely outcomes.

Divisions to keep an eye on

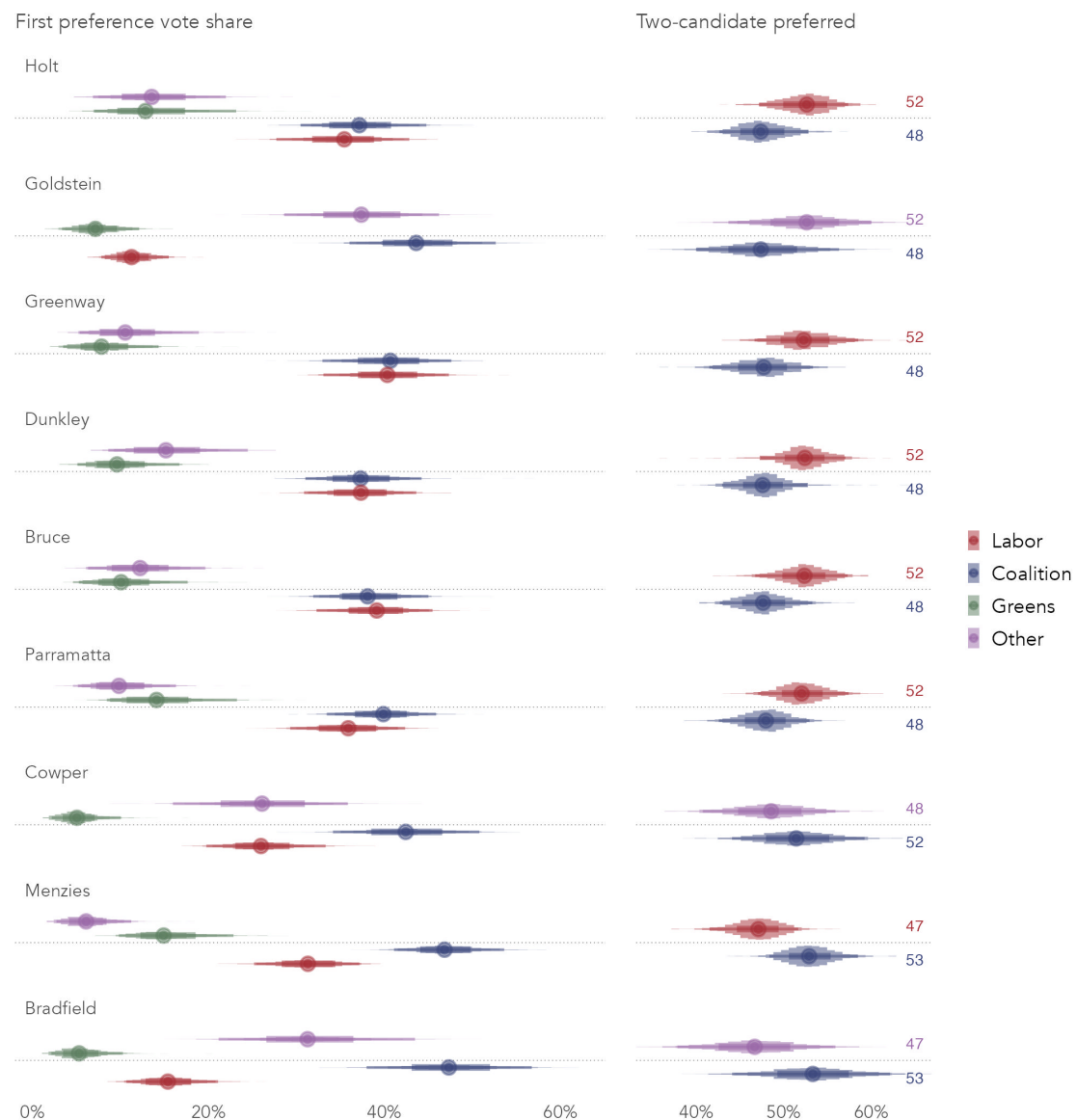


Figure 16: Estimated first preference and two-candidate preferred vote shares for other divisions to keep an eye on. Horizontal error bars represent confidence intervals. These provide a sense of both uncertainty in the models — the longer the bars on the x-axis, the more uncertainty in the results — and also the likelihood an outcome will occur, with greater density representing more likely outcomes.

Appendix

Appendix 1: Methodology

The primary method used to produce the estimates for this report was a model-assisted approach called Multilevel Regression with Post-stratification (MRP).

This model was fit to a nationally representative sample of 4,909 Australian voters aged 18 and older. The fieldwork for this survey was conducted between Tuesday 29 October and Wednesday 20 November. The sample was recruited over online panel, using quotas for age, gender, location, education and vote at the 2022 federal election to ensure the sample is representative of the Australian electorate.

This methodology combines both individual-level information from survey respondents, and division-level information (such as primary vote share at the previous election, or weighted population density of each division), which helps improve the fit of these models and to obtain reasonable division-level inferences.

These data are high quality. They match the age, gender, geographic and educational characteristics of the Australian electorate closely. However, while the sample is representative and appropriate for nation-level analysis, they are less well placed for division-level estimates in their raw form, with a median sample size of 33 respondents per division. This sample is not large enough to conduct small area estimates down to the division level using descriptive statistics. Rather, it requires a model-assisted procedure. For this, we use MRP.

This is a two-step process. First models are fit to the survey data predicting the outcome in which we are interested. This can be vote intention or attitudes towards different issues. We then post-stratify these estimates

on a frame created with Census data, allowing us to make a prediction for population sub-groups, including small area estimates for residents of each electoral division.

Assumptions

The results in this report rely on several assumptions. These are:

1. That electoral divisions will have similar demographic and other socio-economic characteristics as they did at the time of the 2021 Census. We do take into account redistributions in NSW, VIC and WA, and those changes that can be adapted from updates of the electoral roll.
2. That incumbent independents and those who did well at the last election would run again if an election were held now.
3. That preference flows will mirror the 2022 results at the level of individual electoral divisions.
4. That the ability to provide an answer to the vote intention question in the surveys used for this research was used as an equivalent to turnout. Respondents who answered 'do not know' when asked how they would vote if an election were held at the time the survey was collected are treated as equivalent to non-voters. While these were included in the modelling approach used for the MRP, they have not been included in the published results.

None of these assumptions are necessarily wrong, and are expected to be close approximations to reality in most instances. However, it is also unlikely they will be entirely correct for every electorate.

Question wording

If a federal election for the House of Representatives were held today, which of the following would you give your first preference vote to?

1. Labor Party
2. Liberal Party *shown in electorates where Liberals ran a candidate in 2022*
3. National Party *shown in electorates where Nationals ran a candidate in 2022*
4. The Liberal-National Party *shown in Qld*
5. The Country Liberal Party *shown in the NT*
6. The Greens
7. Other parties and candidates *relevant options shown in electorates where they ran in 2022*
8. Will not vote
9. Undecided

If answered 'Undecided' above

If you had to pick, which of these are you leaning towards?

1. Labor Party
2. Liberal Party *shown in electorates where Liberals ran a candidate in 2022*
3. National Party *shown in electorates where Nationals ran a candidate in 2022*
4. The Liberal-National Party *shown in Qld*
5. The Country Liberal Party *shown in the NT*
6. The Greens
7. Other parties and candidates *relevant options shown in electorates where they ran in 2022*
8. Will not vote
9. Undecided

Variable selection

Two types of variables are used for MRP: individual- and division-level predictors.

Individual-level predictors are characteristics of individual voters, which are obtained from respondents through surveys, but also have matching data from the Census for post-stratification.

Individual-level predictors are selected for two main reasons. First, the variables selected includes those that require weighting (such as by education and religion). Those that have predictive value (such as home ownership) are also used.

In addition, aggregate population-level information about the electorates in which voters live is also included in the model. This incorporates prior election results. It also includes socio-economic predictors, such as median household income, and population density and diversity. These division-level socio-economic predictors tend to be highly correlated, so are reduced down to two dimensions using factor analysis.

Fitting the model

Using these data, we fit a multinomial multilevel logistic regression model for vote intention Y as a function of predictors X (our individual and division level variables).

Vote intention Y is measured as one of five outcomes k : support for the Labor Party, Liberal-National Coalition parties, the Greens, Other parties and candidates, and those who will not vote or are undecided.

This treats the probability of a particular choice for any type of individual respondent as a function of the demographic and geographic characteristics that define them. For example, each of the demographic characteristics of respondents included in the model is allocated its own cell c for voters' age, gender, education, religion, whether they own their home and the electoral division in which they live (and its various characteristics).

Post-stratification

To weight the predictions from these models, a set of cells are extracted from the Census using the Australian Bureau of Statistics' (ABS) Table-Builder website to create a post-stratification frame, enabling the cross-classification of X by division. This consists of 14,400 cells, with an individual cell for each cross-classification of age (3) x gender (2) x education (2) x religion (4) x home ownership (2) x division (150). The estimate for each cell is weighted by the number of Australian citizens found matching those demographic characteristics in the actual population. Additional demographics would mean additional cells. This potentially produces more noise in the estimates, but also provides greater predictive power and additional characteristics on which we can weight these data. Non-Census variables may also be imputed onto the post-stratification frame. We do this with 2022 House of Representatives vote.

The frame from this process is then used to post-stratify vote intention. These cells are treated as a data set with which to predict Y , using the model derived from the survey data. For a multinomial outcome Y , such

as an elector's first preference vote, θ_c , we predict the probability that elector i in the corresponding Census cell c has attribute $Y = k$.

Each cell is assigned the relevant population frequency N_c , calculated by multiplying the probability of Y for each cell with the population count from the Census. Summing over cells and dividing by the total cell count gives us an estimate for the proportion of citizens within a division with attribute $Y = k$. Using this approach, we can measure electors' vote intention in all 150 electoral divisions represented in the next Australian parliament.

Appendix 2: Detailed division-level vote results

Table 1: Detailed electorate results

	Division	First preference				Two-candidate preferred				
		Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other	Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other	
ACT										
	Bean	33	38	21	8	39	61			Labor retain
	Canberra	26	48	19	7		67	33		Labor retain
	Fenner	31	37	16	16	43	57			Labor retain
NSW										
	Banks	49	32	7	12	57	43			Coalition retain
	Barton	33	40	14	13	43	57			Labor retain
	Bennelong	46	33	13	8	54	46			Coalition gain
	Berowra	49	29	10	13	58	42			Coalition retain
	Blaxland	35	43	10	13	44	56			Labor retain
	Bradfield	47	16	6	32	53			47	Coalition retain
	Calare	53	23	6	18	62			38	Coalition retain
	Chifley	34	41	9	16	46	54			Labor retain
	Cook	55	25	6	14	63	37			Coalition retain
	Cowper	42	26	5	26	52			48	Coalition retain
	Cunningham	28	44	16	12	37	63			Labor retain
	Dobell	40	38	7	14	49	51			Too close to call
	Eden-monaro	37	39	7	17	46	54			Labor retain
	Farrer	47	17	9	27	65	35			Coalition retain
	Fowler	23	22	7	47		34		66	Other retain
	Gilmore	45	32	6	17	55	45			Coalition gain
	Grayndler	25	48	21	6		66	34		Labor retain
	Greenway	41	40	8	11	48	52			Labor retain
	Hughes	44	31	10	16	53	47			Coalition retain
	Hume	48	24	5	23	60	40			Coalition retain
	Hunter	30	31	9	30	51	49			Too close to call
	Kingsford Smith	35	40	16	9	43	57			Labor retain
	Lindsay	48	29	7	16	59	41			Coalition retain
	Lyne	40	22	8	30	62	38			Coalition retain

Table 1: Detailed electorate results (*continued*)

Division	First preference				Two-candidate preferred				
	Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other	Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other	
Macarthur	41	32	12	15	52	48			Coalition gain
Mackellar	43	13	3	40	51			49	Too close to call
Macquarie	39	35	8	18	49	51			Too close to call
Mcmahon	36	41	11	12	45	55			Labor retain
Mitchell	56	25	10	9	63	37			Coalition retain
New England	46	19	8	27	64	36			Coalition retain
Newcastle	26	43	11	19	37	63			Labor retain
Page	44	22	10	24	58	42			Coalition retain
Parkes	43	19	5	33	67	33			Coalition retain
Parramatta	40	36	14	10	48	52			Labor retain
Paterson	45	34	7	14	54	46			Coalition gain
Reid	44	40	7	9	50	50			Too close to call
Richmond	27	36	21	17	40	60			Labor retain
Riverina	40	23	10	26	58	42			Coalition retain
Robertson	45	33	10	12	53	47			Coalition gain
Shortland	41	41	7	11	49	51			Too close to call
Sydney	21	44	23	12		63	37		Labor retain
Warringah	36	17	7	40	45			55	Other retain
Watson	38	41	11	11	46	54			Labor retain
Wentworth	38	17	8	37	46			54	Other retain
Werriwa	38	37	8	17	49	51			Too close to call
Whitlam	33	37	12	17	45	55			Labor retain
NT									
Lingiari	38	33	9	21	54	46			Coalition gain
Solomon	29	45	14	12	39	61			Labor retain
QLD									
Blair	28	34	15	23	44	56			Labor retain
Bonner	47	32	12	9	55	45			Coalition retain
Bowman	52	30	11	8	59	41			Coalition retain

Table 1: Detailed electorate results (*continued*)

	Division	First preference				Two-candidate preferred				
		Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other	Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other	
	Brisbane	37	25	31	7	45		55		Greens retain
	Capricornia	45	26	5	23	60	40			Coalition retain
	Dawson	52	24	8	16	64	36			Coalition retain
	Dickson	48	33	6	12	56	44			Coalition retain
	Fadden	45	25	10	19	59	41			Coalition retain
	Fairfax	45	22	9	24	61	39			Coalition retain
	Fisher	49	25	8	17	62	38			Coalition retain
	Flynn	45	32	5	18	58	42			Coalition retain
	Forde	37	26	16	21	53	47			Coalition retain
	Griffith	29	26	34	10	41		59		Greens retain
	Groom	46	24	7	24	55			45	Coalition retain
	Herbert	49	23	9	19	62	38			Coalition retain
	Hinkler	49	29	7	15	59	41			Coalition retain
	Kennedy	27	19	8	45	42			58	Other retain
	Leichhardt	41	30	9	20	54	46			Coalition retain
	Lilley	34	44	17	5	40	60			Labor retain
	Longman	42	31	10	16	53	47			Coalition retain
	Maranoa	54	14	4	29	73	27			Coalition retain
	McPherson	48	27	7	18	61	39			Coalition retain
	Moncrieff	48	22	11	18	61	39			Coalition retain
	Moreton	36	44	16	5	41	59			Labor retain
	Oxley	29	40	17	13	41	59			Labor retain
	Petrie	47	33	9	11	55	45			Coalition retain
	Rankin	31	42	16	11	41	59			Labor retain
	Ryan	37	21	33	8	46		54		Greens retain
	Wide Bay	49	24	7	20	63	37			Coalition retain
	Wright	46	21	7	26	64	36			Coalition retain
SA										
	Adelaide	32	46	14	8	37	63			Labor retain
	Barker	47	15	5	33	68	32			Coalition retain

Table 1: Detailed electorate results (*continued*)

Division	First preference				Two-candidate preferred			
	Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other	Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other
Boothby	41	37	14	8	47	53		Labor retain
Grey	46	20	8	26	61	39		Coalition retain
Hindmarsh	37	39	14	10	45	55		Labor retain
Kingston	33	44	12	11	40	60		Labor retain
Makin	33	42	10	15	43	57		Labor retain
Mayo	29	20	9	42	41			59 Other retain
Spence	29	36	16	19	41	59		Labor retain
Sturt	42	33	14	11	50	50		Too close to call
TAS								
Bass	44	27	12	17	54	46		Coalition retain
Braddon	46	22	7	25	59	41		Coalition retain
Clark	10	27	13	51		32		68 Other retain
Franklin	31	41	18	9	37	63		Labor retain
Lyons	42	26	9	24	54	46		Coalition gain
VIC								
Aston	47	33	11	9	54	46		Coalition gain
Ballarat	35	44	7	13	44	56		Labor retain
Bendigo	34	40	12	14	43	57		Labor retain
Bruce	38	39	10	12	48	52		Labor retain
Calwell	31	40	12	17	43	57		Labor retain
Casey	39	28	14	19	51	49		Too close to call
Chisholm	41	33	13	12	50	50		Too close to call
Cooper	23	43	25	9		62	38	Labor retain
Corangamite	38	34	10	18	49	51		Too close to call
Corio	31	39	11	18	43	57		Labor retain
Deakin	45	33	10	11	53	47		Coalition retain
Dunkley	37	37	10	15	48	52		Labor retain
Flinders	48	25	8	19	58	42		Coalition retain
Fraser	28	37	23	12	36	64		Labor retain

Table 1: Detailed electorate results (*continued*)

Division	First preference				Two-candidate preferred				
	Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other	Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other	
Gellibrand	31	38	11	20	45	55			Labor retain
Gippsland	45	14	7	34	74	26			Coalition retain
Goldstein	44	11	7	37	48			52	Other retain
Gorton	33	40	10	17	43	57			Labor retain
Hawke	36	31	8	24	50	50			Too close to call
Holt	37	35	14	14	48	52			Labor retain
Hotham	35	42	14	8	41	59			Labor retain
Indi	37	8	3	52	39			61	Other retain
Isaacs	38	43	11	8	44	56			Labor retain
Jagajaga	37	41	12	10	44	56			Labor retain
Kooyong	42	11	9	37	47			53	Other retain
La Trobe	42	24	9	25	60	40			Coalition retain
Lalor	32	40	13	14	42	58			Labor retain
Macnamara	35	35	21	9	42	58			Labor retain
Mallee	46	18	6	30	67	33			Coalition retain
Maribyrnong	30	39	14	18	42	58			Labor retain
Mcewen	40	32	16	13	51	49			Too close to call
Melbourne	21	27	44	7		45	55		Greens retain
Menzies	47	31	15	6	53	47			Coalition retain
Monash	44	26	8	22	57	43			Coalition retain
Nicholls	44	18	5	33	53			47	Coalition retain
Scullin	31	44	13	11	39	61			Labor retain
Wannon	48	24	6	21	55			45	Coalition retain
Wills	21	41	25	12		62	38		Labor retain
WA									
Brand	30	48	9	14	39	61			Labor retain
Bullwinkel	40	32	8	20	53	47			Coalition gain
Burt	32	47	12	10	40	60			Labor retain
Canning	41	24	7	28	57	43			Coalition retain
Cowan	36	43	11	11	43	57			Labor retain

Table 1: Detailed electorate results (*continued*)

Division	First preference				Two-candidate preferred				
	Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other	Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other	
Curtin	39	19	12	31	51			49	Too close to call
Durack	44	21	6	28	62	38			Coalition retain
Forrest	44	25	9	22	58	42			Coalition retain
Fremantle	29	44	18	9	35	65			Labor retain
Hasluck	37	41	11	11	45	55			Labor retain
Moore	43	31	11	14	53	47			Coalition retain
O'Connor	42	31	8	19	54	46			Coalition retain
Pearce	34	36	15	14	45	55			Labor retain
Perth	28	44	19	9	35	65			Labor retain
Swan	32	41	14	13	41	59			Labor retain
Tangney	40	38	14	8	47	53			Labor retain