Australia's political landscape: Winter 2024

An Accent Research and RedBridge Group report



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MRP Results for July-August

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.

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Executive summary

- We are now firmly in minority government territory.
- The Labor vote has declined slightly, with a small increase in inner city areas offset by a larger drop in suburban and regional electorates.
- The Coalition primary vote is up approximately two points. This has resulted in a near tie on a two-party basis, with Labor just slightly ahead.
- This is resulting in seat gains for the Coalition in the House of Representatives, largely at the expense of the Labor Party, but also potentially from the Community Independents that won seats off the Liberal Party at the last election.
- Electorates held by Labor in the regions and the edges of the big cities look especially vulnerable. Gilmore, Paterson, Lingiari and Lyons in particular; but also Robertson, Dobell and Hunter. Some suburban electorates held by Labor also look at risk. These include Bennelong, McEwen, Chisholm, Tangney, Bullwinkel,¹ Bruce and Aston.²
- Labor has opportunities to gain some seats in the suburbs of Sydney Melbourne and Brisbane: Hughes, Casey and Forde. But these are all too close to call at present, and except for Casey, look likely to be retained by the Coalition.
- ¹A new seat from the redistribution, nominally Labor.

- The Coalition also looks competitive to win back Goldstein and Curtin from the Community Independents that won them in 2022.
 However, Cowper appears at risk of being lost to an Independent, and Wannon is estimated to be close.
- However, despite these gains, this is unlikely enough to make the Coalition the largest bloc in parliament. Based on these results, the Liberal and National parties are estimated to be on track to win between 61 and 73 seats in the House of Representatives, with 68 seats being the most likely estimated outcome.
- Labor remains the favourite to win the largest share of seats in parliament, with a predicted range of 65 to 75, with a median estimate of 69 seats.
- The composition of the cross bench also makes it easier for Labor to form a working majority in the House. The Greens are estimated to be on track to win between two and five seats (with a median prediction of three), while all other parties and candidates are estimated to win between eight and 13 (with a median prediction of 10).

²Aston was won by the Coalition in 2022, but then by Labor in a by-election in 2023. It looks likely to go back to the Liberal Party if an election were held now.

- These results are estimates from a model-based approach called Multilevel Regression with Post-stratification (MRP), fit to data from a survey of 5,976 Australian voters conducted between 10 July and 27 August, 2024. Electorate-level results have average 95 per cent confidence intervals of 5.5 per cent for the Coalition vote share, 5.2 per cent for Labor, 6 per cent for the Greens and 7.1 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 draft redistribution electoral boundaries for 150 seats. A federal redistribution is currently underway, with the final boundaries released for the states of Western Australia, Victoria and New South Wales in September and October, 2024. These final boundaries may change the results slightly.

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The political landscape: Winter 2024

Figure 1 shows the distribution of predicted outcomes produced from the Accent Research and RedBridge Group MRP. The results show the estimated share of votes received by each party in the House of Representatives if an election was held now. The more frequently an outcome occurs in these simulations, the greater the estimated probability of it occurring. The left-hand plot in this figure shows the range of estimated first preference vote shares. Next to this, we have the range of predictions for the Labor and Coalition two-party preferred vote.

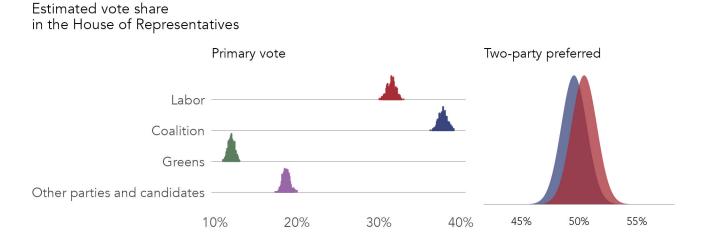


Figure 1: The distribution of predicted scenarios for the House of Representatives vote share, by party. A higher density in the distribution shows outcomes that appeared more often from 1,000 simulations produced by the MRP models fit for this report. Undecided voters have been excluded from this analysis. Two-party preferred assumes the same preference flows as the 2022 federal election.

Figure 2 shows the most likely outcome for first preference vote share, as estimated by this model. According to these results, the most likely result for Labor is a first preference vote share of 32 per cent, and a two-party preferred vote of 50 per cent. Conversely, the mean estimate for the Coalition first preference vote share was 38 per cent, and a two-party preferred of 50 per cent. A small swing to the Coalition since the last election. For the Greens, the estimated first preference vote share was 12 per cent, while for all other parties and candidates, the mean estimated first preference vote was holding steady at 19 per cent.

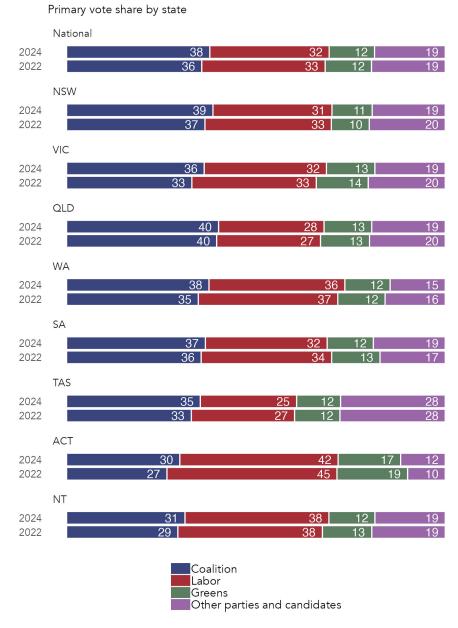


Figure 2: Estimated national and state first preference vote shares for a federal House of Representatives election.

The geography of partisan support

Figure 3 shows these regional breakdowns, with results from the 2022 election and the estimates calculated from the MRP shown for electorates in the inner cities, and middle and outer suburbs of the major metropolitan areas, provincial cities and rural areas. Detailed results for each electoral division are provided in the Appendix. Figure 4 shows swings by party and region.

These patterns resulted in significant variations in outcomes across different parts of the country.

The Coalition primary vote is increasing in most in the suburbs of major metropolitan areas, and regional cities. While the Labor vote is holding up in inner-city areas, it is declining everywhere else, particularly the suburbs and provincial cities. The Greens, meanwhile, are estimated to be going backwards in inner cities and middle suburbs. Conversely, the primary vote share of 'other' parties and candidates is increasing most in rural electorates.

Of course, federal elections in Australia are not decided by the absolute total number of votes won by each party. It is the party or parties with majority support in the House of Representatives that form government. These regional variations in swings mean that the electoral outcomes are not always what the headline vote shares would suggest.

In the next section we examine the electoral ramifications of these results in detail.

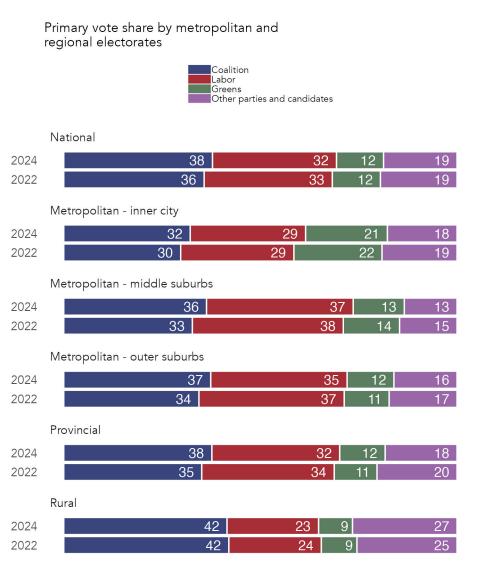


Figure 3: Estimated first preference vote shares for a federal House of Representatives election in metropolitan and regional areas. Electorates are allocated using AEC defined regions.

Mean swings across metropolitan and regional electorates

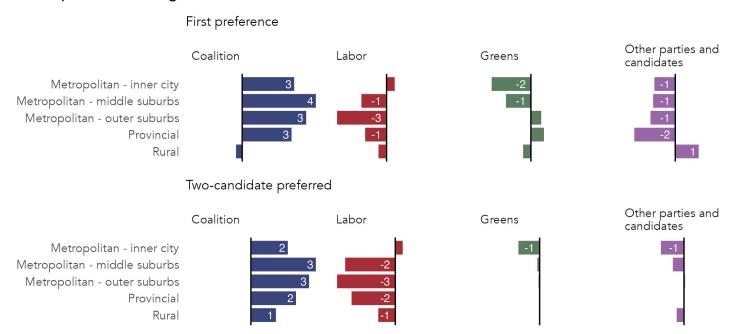


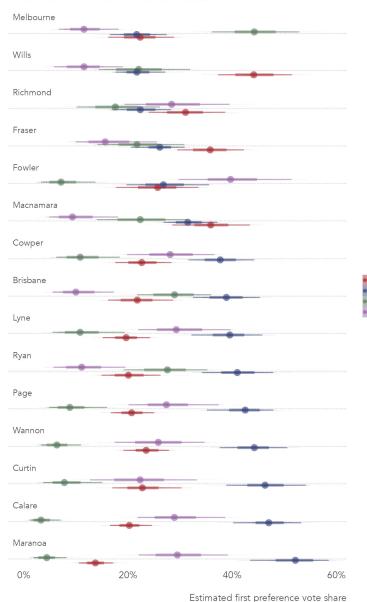
Figure 4: Average estimated electorate-level swings for first preference and two-candidate preferred vote in metropolitan and regional areas. Here, the average swing is the mean division-level swing for each party across each area. Electorates are allocated using AEC defined regions. Figures are only shown for changes over one percentage point, and are rounded to the nearest percent.

The political implications of these results

The results from the MRP can be used to estimate the number of seats each party would win according to these data. Figure 6 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 are too close to call. The breakdown of seats won, with these close electorates removed, is shown in figure 8 and discussed below.

For this analysis, the two-candidate preferred flows from the last election has been used for each seat. However, some divisions are potential three-cornered contests, which may complicate which candidates make the final two. These are shown in figure 5.

Potential three-cornered contests



Labor

Coalition Greens

Other parties and candidates

Figure 5: Estimated results for divisions predicted to have a high chance of being three-cornered contests. Horizontal error bars represent confidence intervals for the results.

Estimated seat wins in the House of Representatives, by party

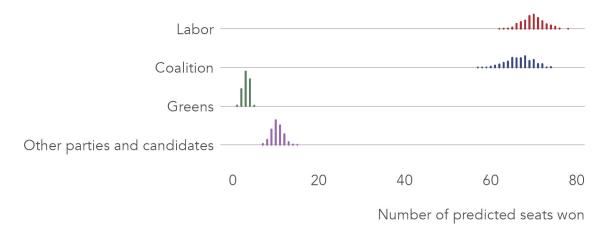


Figure 6: Estimated possible House of Representatives outcomes for the Coalition parties, Labor, the Greens, and all other parties and candidates. A higher density in the distribution shows outcomes that appeared more often from 1,000 simulations produced by the MRP models fit for this analysis.

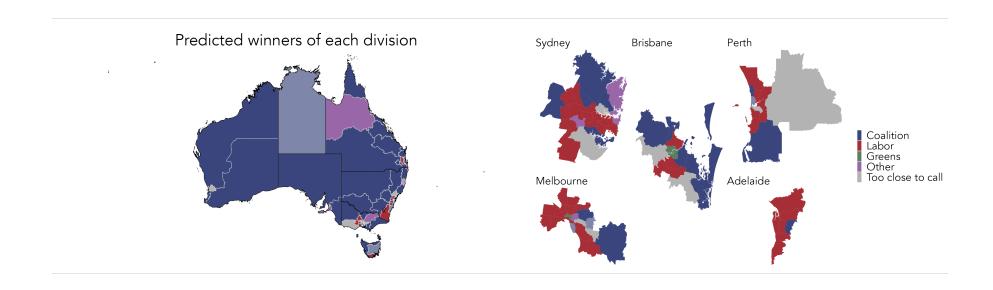


Figure 7: Predicted winners for each electoral division. Gains are shaded lighter to highlight where seats are changing hands, and those that are too close to call are shaded grey.

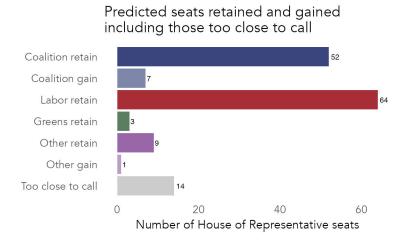


Figure 8: Estimated most likely number of seats gained, lost or retained by each party. Predicted seat outcomes were obtained from first preference votes calculated using MRP, with preference flows assumed to be the consistent with the 2022 federal election. These figures treat electorates that changed hands at by-elections since the 2022 federal election as though they are still held by the party that won them at that election.

The results from this model indicate that Labor will almost certainly lose seats at present, and the Coalition will gain. However, wins by the latter are unlikely enough to make the Coalition the largest bloc in parliament. Labor remains the favourite to win the largest share of seats. If a House of Representatives election was held during the fieldwork period in which these data were collected, it is estimated there is nearly a zero per cent probability that Labor would win a majority of seats. The chances of the Coalition doing so are also essentially zero. As a result, there is a nearly 100 per cent probability of a minority government.

Labor remains the most likely to form government. This is for two reasons.

One: it is more likely to be the larger party, with it estimated that there is a 75 per cent chance of this being the outcome, based on these results.

Figure 8 shows the most likely number of electorates each party (or groups of parties and candidates) is predicted to gain or retain based on these results. Those electorates that are too close to call are shown in figure 9. The divisions that are expected to change hands based on these results are shown in figure 10

The likely range of seats won by Labor is estimated to have a low end of 65 and an upper range of 75. For the Coalition, the estimated range of seats they would win if an election were held during the fieldwork period is between 61 and 73.

Two: the composition of the cross bench, likely makes it easier for Labor to form a working majority in the House of Representatives.

For the Greens, the estimated low end for seats won is 2 and an upper range of 5. For all other parties and candidates, the range of seats won is estimated to be between 8 and 13.

Divisions that are too close to call First preference vote share

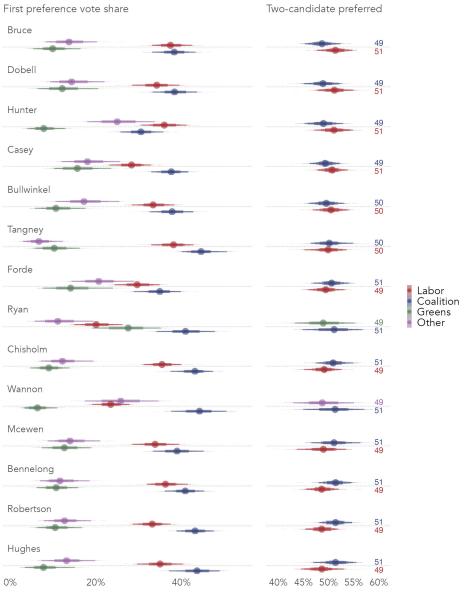


Figure 9: Estimated first preference and two candidate vote shares for divisions that are too close to call.

Divisions predicted to be changing hands

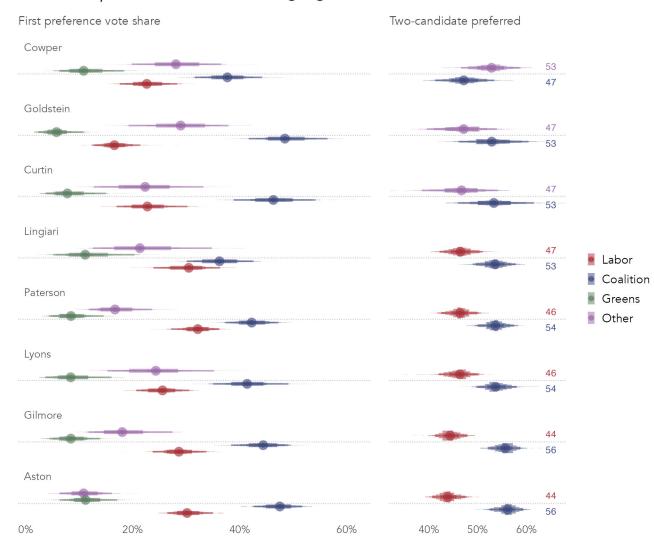


Figure 10: Estimated first preference and two-candidate vote shares for divisions that are predicted to change hands if an election were held now.

Appendix

Appendix 1: Methodology

was a model-assisted approach called multilevel regression with post- for population sub-groups, including small area estimates for residents stratification (MRP).

This model was fit to a nationally representative sample of 5,976 Australian voters aged 18 and older. The fieldwork for this survey was conducted between Wednesday 10 July and Tuesday 27 August. 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 39.5 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 modelassisted 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

The primary method used to produce the estimates for this report on a frame created with Census data, allowing us to make a prediction of each electoral division.

Assumptions

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

- 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 those changes that can be adapted from updates of the electoral roll, however.
- 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 Old
- 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 Old
- 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 models 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 \boldsymbol{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 Figure 6 shows the estimated range of possible seat shares. 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.

Analysis of these results

To examine the results from our model, 1,000 simulations are run from its output to predict the vote share for the Labor Party, the Coalition, the Greens and all other parties and candidates. The scenarios produced by these simulations are used to obtain a probability estimate for each outcome.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of the predicted outcomes produced by these simulations, displaying the share of votes estimated for each party in the House of Representatives if an election was held during the period the survey was in the field. The more frequently a particular outcome occurs in these simulations (where the distribution in each plot is largest), the greater the estimated probability of it occurring. The left-hand plot in this figure shows the range of estimated first preference vote shares. Next to this, we have the range of predictions for the Labor and Coalition two-party preferred vote.

Appendix 2: Detailed division-level vote results

Table 1: Detailed electorate results

	Fi	rst prefere	ence share		Two				
Division	Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other	Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other	
ACT									
Bean	32	40	18	11	38	62			Labor retain
Canberra	24	45	19	12		66	34		Labor retain
Fenner	34	40	13	13	44	56			Labor retain
NSW									
Banks	49	33	5	14	58	42			Coalition retain
Barton	36	45	8	11	44	56			Labor retain
Bennelong	41	36	11	12	51	49			Too close to call
Berowra	48	28	11	13	58	42			Coalition retain
Blaxland	31	41	10	18	44	56			Labor retain
Bradfield	50	16	6	27	56			44	Coalition retain
Calare	47	20	4	29	56			44	Coalition retain
Chifley	30	44	13	13	41	59			Labor retain
Cook	57	25	6	12	64	36			Coalition retain
Cowper	38	23	11	28	47			53	Other gain
Cunningham	29	40	16	14	40	60			Labor retain
Dobell	38	34	13	15	49	51			Too close to call
Eden-Monaro	38	36	7	19	47	53			Labor retain
Farrer	51	19	7	23	66	34			Coalition retain
Fowler	27	26	7	40		39		61	Other retain
Gilmore	44	29	9	18	56	44			Coalition gain
Grayndler	20	46	26	7		63	37		Labor retain
Greenway	37	42	8	13	45	55			Labor retain
Hughes	44	35	8	13	51	49			Too close to call
Hume	44	27	6	23	56	44			Coalition retain
Hunter	31	36	8	25	49	51			Too close to call

 Table 1: Detailed electorate results (continued)

	Fi	rst prefere	ence share		Two	o-candida	te preferred	Н	
Division	Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other	Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other	
Kingsford Smith	33	41	17	10	42	58			Labor retain
Lindsay	48	28	9	15	58	42			Coalition retain
Lyne	39	20	11	30	62	38			Coalition retain
Macarthur	35	38	15	12	46	54			Labor retain
Mackellar	43	11	7	39	47			53	Other retain
Macquarie	37	30	19	13	46	54			Labor retain
Mcmahon	35	45	8	12	44	56			Labor retain
Mitchell	55	25	10	10	63	37			Coalition retain
New England	41	17	5	37	64	35			Coalition retain
Newcastle	28	41	15	15	37	63			Labor retain
Page	42	21	9	28	58	42			Coalition retain
Parkes	43	18	5	33	67	33			Coalition retain
Parramatta	40	40	9	11	48	52			Labor retain
Paterson	42	32	9	17	54	46			Coalition gain
Reid	39	38	16	7	45	55			Labor retain
Richmond	22	31	18	29	44	56			Labor retain
Riverina	45	26	7	22	59	41			Coalition retain
Robertson	43	33	11	13	51	49			Too close to call
Shortland	37	37	12	15	47	53			Labor retain
Sydney	23	52	18	6		70	30		Labor retain
Warringah	37	17	10	36	42			58	Other retain
Watson	30	40	14	17	42	58			Labor retain
Wentworth	40	17	9	33	45			55	Other retain
Werriwa	35	39	7	19	46	54			Labor retain
Whitlam	34	36	15	16	46	54			Labor retain

 Table 1: Detailed electorate results (continued)

	Fi	rst prefere	ence share		Two	o-candida			
Division	Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other	Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other	
Lingiari	36	30	12	22	53	47			Coalition gain
Solomon	26	46	13	15	38	62			Labor retain
QLD									
Blair	30	34	16	19	44	56			Labor retain
Bonner	46	27	17	10	55	45			Coalition retain
Bowman	44	27	13	16	57	43			Coalition retain
Brisbane	39	22	29	10	48		52		Greens retain
Capricornia	42	27	7	24	58	42			Coalition retain
Dawson	45	26	8	21	60	40			Coalition retain
Dickson	42	30	9	19	55	45			Coalition retain
Fadden	43	25	11	22	58	42			Coalition retain
Fairfax	42	24	9	25	58	42			Coalition retain
Fisher	44	25	11	20	59	41			Coalition retain
Flynn	40	30	9	21	55	45			Coalition retain
Forde	35	30	15	21	51	49			Too close to call
Griffith	31	20	38	11	42		58		Greens retain
Groom	44	27	5	24	53			47	Coalition retain
Herbert	46	27	8	19	58	42			Coalition retain
Hinkler	44	29	6	20	57	43			Coalition retain
Kennedy	32	22	6	40	40			60	Other retain
Leichhardt	34	31	6	29	52	48			Coalition retain
Lilley	31	39	22	8	39	61			Labor retain
Longman	40	32	9	18	53	47			Coalition retain
Maranoa	52	14	4	30	72	28			Coalition retain
McPherson	43	27	10	20	58	42			Coalition retain
Moncrieff	44	27	9	20	58	42			Coalition retain

 Table 1: Detailed electorate results (continued)

Moreton Societies Societ		Two-candidate preferred				ence share	rst prefere	Fii			
Oxley 32 42 11 14 43 57 Petrie 47 31 11 11 55 45 Rankin 31 40 9 20 45 55 Ryan 41 20 27 12 51 49 Wide Bay 43 23 10 24 60 40 Wright 42 19 11 28 62 38 SA Adelaide 32 38 17 13 41 59 Barker 50 16 10 23 67 33 Boothby 39 36 17 7 45 55 Grey 44 23 8 25 59 41 Hindmarsh 37 41 10 12 45 55 Kingston 29 44 12 15 38 62 Makin 34 39 15 12 43 57 Mayo 35 20		Other	Greens	Labor	Coalition	Other	Greens	Labor	Coalition	Division	
Petrie 47 31 11 11 55 45 45 Rankin 31 40 9 20 45 55 Ryan 41 20 27 12 51 49 Wide Bay 43 23 10 24 60 40 Wright 42 19 11 28 62 38 Adelaide 32 38 17 13 41 59 Barker 50 16 10 23 67 33 Boothby 39 36 17 7 45 55 Grey 44 23 8 25 59 41 Hindmarsh 37 41 10 12 45 55 Kingston 29 44 12 15 38 62 Makin 34 39 15 12 43 57 Mayo 35 20 9 37 41 Spence 26 35 12 28 42 58 Sturt 41 30 11 18 52 48 TAS TAS Bass 40 25 13 22 52 48 Braddon 43 21 10 25 57 43 Clark 22 18 13 47 Tas 72 28 72 48 Tas	Labor retain			57	43	9	17	39	35	Moreton	
Rankin 31 40 9 20 45 55 Ryan 41 20 27 12 51 49 Wide Bay 43 23 10 24 60 40 Wright 42 19 11 28 62 38 SA Adelaide 32 38 17 13 41 59 Barker 50 16 10 23 67 33 Boothby 39 36 17 7 45 55 Grey 44 23 8 25 59 41 Hindmarsh 37 41 10 12 45 55 Kingston 29 44 12 15 38 62 Makin 34 39 15 12 43 57 Mayo 35 20 9 37 41 59 Spence 26 35 12 28 42 58 Sturt 41 30<	Labor retain			57	43	14	11	42	32	Oxley	
Ryan 41 20 27 12 51 49 Wide Bay 43 23 10 24 60 40 Wright 42 19 11 28 62 38 5A SA Adelaide 32 38 17 13 41 59 Barker 50 16 10 23 67 33 Boothby 39 36 17 7 45 55 Grey 44 23 8 25 59 41 Hindmarsh 37 41 10 12 45 55 Kingston 29 44 12 15 38 62 Makin 34 39 15 12 43 57 Mayo 35 20 9 37 41 59 Spence 26 35 12 28 42 58 Sturt 41 30 11 18 52 48 Bass<	Coalition retain			45	55	11	11	31	47	Petrie	
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SA Adelaide 32 38 17 13 41 59 Barker 50 16 10 23 67 33 Boothby 39 36 17 7 45 55 Grey 44 23 8 25 59 41 Hindmarsh 37 41 10 12 45 55 Kingston 29 44 12 15 38 62 Makin 34 39 15 12 43 57 Mayo 35 20 9 37 41 59 Spence 26 35 12 28 42 58 Sturt 41 30 11 18 52 48 TAS Bass 40 25 13 22 52 48 Braddon 43 21 10 25 57 43 Clark 22 18 13 47 28 72	Coalition retain			40	60	24	10	23	43	Wide Bay	
Adelaide 32 38 17 13 41 59 Barker 50 16 10 23 67 33 Boothby 39 36 17 7 7 45 55 Grey 44 23 8 25 59 41 Hindmarsh 37 41 10 12 45 55 Kingston 29 44 12 15 38 62 Makin 34 39 15 12 43 57 Mayo 35 20 9 37 41 58 Spence 26 35 12 28 42 58 Sturt 41 30 11 18 52 48 TAS TAS Bass 40 25 13 22 52 48 Braddon 43 21 10 25 57 43 Clark 22 18 13 47 28 72	Coalition retain			38	62	28	11	19	42	Wright	
Barker 50 16 10 23 67 33 Boothby 39 36 17 7 45 55 Grey 44 23 8 25 59 41 Hindmarsh 37 41 10 12 45 55 Kingston 29 44 12 15 38 62 Makin 34 39 15 12 43 57 Mayo 35 20 9 37 41 59 Spence 26 35 12 28 42 58 Sturt 41 30 11 18 52 48 TAS Bass 40 25 13 22 52 48 Braddon 43 21 10 25 57 43 Clark 22 18 13 47 28 72											SA
Boothby 39 36 17 7 45 55 Grey 44 23 8 25 59 41 Hindmarsh 37 41 10 12 45 55 Kingston 29 44 12 15 38 62 Makin 34 39 15 12 43 57 Mayo 35 20 9 37 41 58 Spence 26 35 12 28 42 58 Sturt 41 30 11 18 52 48 TAS Bass 40 25 13 22 52 48 Braddon 43 21 10 25 57 43 Clark 22 18 13 47 28 72	Labor retain			59	41	13	17	38	32	Adelaide	
Grey 44 23 8 25 59 41 Hindmarsh 37 41 10 12 45 55 Kingston 29 44 12 15 38 62 Makin 34 39 15 12 43 57 Mayo 35 20 9 37 41 58 Spence 26 35 12 28 42 58 Sturt 41 30 11 18 52 48 TAS Bass 40 25 13 22 52 48 Braddon 43 21 10 25 57 43 Clark 22 18 13 47 28 72	Coalition retain			33	67	23	10	16	50	Barker	
Hindmarsh 37 41 10 12 45 55 Kingston 29 44 12 15 38 62 Makin 34 39 15 12 43 57 Mayo 35 20 9 37 41 59 Spence 26 35 12 28 42 58 Sturt 41 30 11 18 52 48 TAS Bass 40 25 13 22 52 48 Braddon 43 21 10 25 57 43 Clark 22 18 13 47 28 72	Labor retain			55	45	7	17	36	39	Boothby	
Kingston 29 44 12 15 38 62 Makin 34 39 15 12 43 57 Mayo 35 20 9 37 41 59 Spence 26 35 12 28 42 58 Sturt 41 30 11 18 52 48 TAS Bass 40 25 13 22 52 48 Braddon 43 21 10 25 57 43 Clark 22 18 13 47 28 72	Coalition retain			41	59	25	8	23	44	Grey	
Makin 34 39 15 12 43 57 Mayo 35 20 9 37 41 59 Spence 26 35 12 28 42 58 Sturt 41 30 11 18 52 48 TAS Bass 40 25 13 22 52 48 Braddon 43 21 10 25 57 43 Clark 22 18 13 47 28 72	Labor retain			55	45	12	10	41	37	Hindmarsh	
Mayo 35 20 9 37 41 59 Spence 26 35 12 28 42 58 Sturt 41 30 11 18 52 48 TAS Bass 40 25 13 22 52 48 Braddon 43 21 10 25 57 43 Clark 22 18 13 47 28 72	Labor retain			62	38	15	12	44	29	Kingston	
Spence 26 35 12 28 42 58 Sturt 41 30 11 18 52 48 TAS Bass 40 25 13 22 52 48 Braddon 43 21 10 25 57 43 Clark 22 18 13 47 28 72	Labor retain			57	43	12	15	39	34	Makin	
Sturt 41 30 11 18 52 48 TAS Bass 40 25 13 22 52 48 Braddon 43 21 10 25 57 43 Clark 22 18 13 47 28 72	Other retain	59			41	37	9	20	35	Mayo	
TAS Bass 40 25 13 22 52 48 Braddon 43 21 10 25 57 43 Clark 22 18 13 47 28 72	Labor retain			58	42	28	12	35	26	Spence	
Bass 40 25 13 22 52 48 Braddon 43 21 10 25 57 43 Clark 22 18 13 47 28 72	Coalition retain			48	52	18	11	30	41	Sturt	
Braddon 43 21 10 25 57 43 Clark 22 18 13 47 28 72											TAS
Clark 22 18 13 47 28 72	Coalition retain			48	52	22	13	25	40	Bass	
	Coalition retain			43	57	25	10	21	43	Braddon	
	Other retain	72		28		47	13	18	22	Clark	
Franklin 29 36 13 22 39 61	Labor retain			61	39	22	13	36	29	Franklin	
Lyons 41 25 9 24 54 46	Coalition gain			46	54	24	9	25	41	Lyons	
vic											VIC
Aston 47 30 11 11 56 44	Coalition gain			44	56	11	11	30	47	Aston	

 Table 1: Detailed electorate results (continued)

	Fi	rst prefere	ence share		Two				
Division	Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other	Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other	
Ballarat	33	37	17	12	43	57			Labor retain
Bendigo	33	37	12	18	45	55			Labor retain
Bruce	38	38	10	14	49	51			Too close to call
Calwell	28	37	16	19	42	58			Labor retain
Casey	38	28	16	18	49	51			Too close to call
Chisholm	43	36	9	12	51	49			Too close to call
Cooper	20	40	29	11		58	42		Labor retain
Corangamite	38	33	15	14	47	53			Labor retain
Corio	29	40	9	22	42	58			Labor retain
Deakin	46	31	14	9	53	47			Coalition retain
Dunkley	36	38	9	18	47	53			Labor retain
Flinders	46	26	9	19	56	44			Coalition retain
Fraser	26	36	22	16	36	64			Labor retain
Gellibrand	34	42	13	11	43	57			Labor retain
Gippsland	48	13	7	33	76	24			Coalition retain
Goldstein	49	17	6	29	53			47	Coalition gain
Gorton	34	41	9	16	44	56			Labor retain
Hawke	31	39	11	18	43	57			Labor retain
Holt	33	36	14	17	45	55			Labor retain
Hotham	36	43	12	9	43	57			Labor retain
Indi	32	9	5	54	35			65	Other retain
Isaacs	34	40	10	15	45	55			Labor retain
Jagajaga	35	40	16	9	41	59			Labor retain
Kooyong	43	12	4	41	47			53	Other retain
La Trobe	45	24	7	24	61	39			Coalition retain
Lalor	31	42	13	13	40	60			Labor retain
Macnamara	32	36	22	10	40	60			Labor retain

 Table 1: Detailed electorate results (continued)

		e preferred	-candidat	Two		ence share			
	Other	Greens	Labor	Coalition	Other	Greens	Labor	Coalition	Division
Coalition retain			33	67	33	6	16	45	Mallee
Labor retain			60	40	10	13	44	33	Maribyrnong
Too close to call			49	51	14	13	34	39	Mcewen
Greens retain		57	43		12	44	22	22	Melbourne
Coalition retain			47	53	9	12	33	46	Menzies
Coalition retain			46	54	28	9	25	39	Monash
Coalition retain	46			54	28	5	23	44	Nicholls
Labor retain			59	41	22	9	42	27	Scullin
Too close to call	49			51	26	7	24	44	Wannon
Labor retain		35	65		12	22	44	22	Wills
									VA
Labor retain			64	36	12	18	44	26	Brand
Too close to call			50	50	18	11	34	38	Bullwinkel
Labor retain			60	40	12	11	47	30	Burt
Coalition retain			45	55	17	9	30	44	Canning
Labor retain			57	43	13	10	43	35	Cowan
Coalition gain	47			53	22	8	23	46	Curtin
Coalition retain			39	61	23	7	23	46	Durack
Coalition retain			44	56	17	14	25	45	Forrest
Labor retain			65	35	12	17	45	27	Fremantle
Labor retain			58	42	10	11	44	35	Hasluck
Coalition retain			47	53	12	12	32	44	Moore
Coalition retain			40	60	25	10	22	43	O'Connor
Labor retain			57	43	13	12	42	33	Pearce
Labor retain			63	37	11	18	42	29	Perth
Labor retain			59	41	10	12	43	34	Swan

 Table 1: Detailed electorate results (continued)

	Fi	rst prefere	ence share		Two-candidate preferred				
Division	Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other	Coalition	Labor	Greens	Other	
Tangney	45	38	10	7	50	50			Too close to call