

Section 8

Analysis of the results of the 2006 Victorian State election

Participation and informal voting

Table 21 shows voter turnout and informal voting by electorates. The voter turnout rate for the State as a whole was 92.73% of electors enrolled, slightly lower than the 93.2% rate at the 2002 State election. Within Victoria, voter turnout was lowest in the inner suburban districts, where the population is very mobile, and highest in some country and outer suburban districts. The voter participation rate at

Victorian State elections has been gradually declining since a peak of 95.13% in 1992. The causes of this trend are a suitable subject for research.

Informal voting was highest in the northern and western suburbs of Melbourne, reaching 8.51% of total votes in Derrimut District. High informal voting coincided with areas with high proportions of residents who are not fluent in English. Informal voting was lowest in the more affluent suburbs of Melbourne.

Table 21 Voter turnout and informal voting

Electoral district	Electors enrolled	Total votes	Percentage of electors who voted	Informal votes	Informal votes as percentage of votes
Albert Park	43,926	37,655	85.72	1630	4.33
Altona	41,888	39,244	93.69	2398	6.11
Ballarat East	37,648	34,607	91.92	1328	3.84
Ballarat West	41,283	38,099	92.29	1395	3.66
Bass	39,847	37,474	94.04	1705	4.55
Bayswater	36,321	33,984	93.57	1955	5.75
Bellarine	40,888	38,504	94.17	1354	3.52
Benalla	35,788	33,335	93.15	1211	3.63
Benambra	35,224	32,503	92.28	1083	3.33
Bendigo East	38,000	35,627	93.76	1413	3.97
Bendigo West	39,557	36,743	92.89	1413	3.85
Bentleigh	37,250	35,011	93.99	1365	3.9
Box Hill	37,970	35,264	92.87	1171	3.32
Brighton	36,932	33,870	91.71	968	2.86
Broadmeadows	36,713	33,197	90.42	2743	8.26
Brunswick	39,734	35,474	89.28	2186	6.16
Bulleen	34,692	32,667	94.16	1325	4.06
Bundoora	35,354	33,325	94.26	1531	4.59
Burwood	38,284	35,592	92.97	989	2.78
Carrum	39,516	36,895	93.37	1741	4.72
Caulfield	36,491	33,174	90.91	1215	3.66
Clayton	33,398	31,559	94.49	1818	5.76
Cranbourne	40,541	37,929	93.56	2144	5.65
Dandenong	34,489	31,437	91.15	2178	6.93
Derrimut	35,906	32,909	91.65	2799	8.51
Doncaster	35,524	33,230	93.54	1325	3.99
Eltham	38,242	36,179	94.61	1189	3.29
Essendon	37,601	34,492	91.73	1639	4.75
Evelyn	37,693	35,549	94.31	1553	4.37
Ferntree Gully	40,994	38,721	94.46	2064	5.33
Footscray	37,293	33,686	90.33	2306	6.85
Forest Hill	36,669	34,531	94.71	1250	3.62
Frankston	35,465	32,914	92.81	1391	4.23
Geelong	39,307	36,181	92.05	1339	3.7
Gembrook	38,722	36,393	93.99	1551	4.26
Gippsland East	39,024	36,224	92.82	1496	4.13
Gippsland South	37,314	34,940	93.64	1615	4.62
Hastings	39,913	37,666	94.37	1475	3.92
Hawthorn	38,017	34,531	90.83	890	2.58
Ivanhoe	37,162	34,519	92.89	1567	4.54
Keilor	46,060	43,221	93.84	2718	6.29



Electoral district	Electors enrolled	Total votes	Percentage of electors who voted	Informal votes	Informal votes as percentage of votes
Kew	36,049	33,031	91.63	896	2.71
Kilsyth	38,358	36,026	93.92	1412	3.92
Kororoit	38,186	35,166	92.09	2745	7.81
Lara	40,485	37,495	92.61	2258	6.02
Lowan	38,181	36,171	94.74	1295	3.58
Lyndhurst	36,605	33,926	92.68	2249	6.63
Macedon	42,700	40,473	94.78	1534	3.79
Malvern	37,452	32,479	86.72	964	2.97
Melbourne	38,853	32,964	84.84	1214	3.68
Melton	38,693	35,999	93.04	2123	5.9
Mildura	36,320	33,471	92.16	1632	4.88
Mill Park	38,365	36,344	94.73	2036	5.6
Mitcham	36,374	34,365	94.48	1205	3.51
Monbulk	36,262	34,074	93.97	1415	4.15
Mordialloc	39,249	36,826	93.83	1480	4.02
Mornington	36,934	34,486	93.37	1203	3.49
Morwell	36,667	34,357	93.7	1455	4.23
Mount Waverley	36,604	34,492	94.23	1347	3.91
Mulgrave	33,982	31,621	93.05	1880	5.95
Murray Valley	36,739	34,227	93.16	1265	3.7
Narracan	38,846	36,432	93.79	1410	3.87
Narre Warren North	37,223	34,860	93.65	1575	4.52
Narre Warren South	45,871	43,213	94.21	1838	4.25
Nepean	36,451	33,853	92.87	1506	4.45
Niddrie	36,148	33,801	93.51	2113	6.25
Northcote	38,584	34,932	90.53	1625	4.65
Oakleigh	34,478	31,789	92.2	1230	3.87
Pascoe Vale	38,591	35,020	90.75	2272	6.49
Polwarth	40,403	37,954	93.94	1334	3.51
Prahran	38,332	32,572	84.97	1201	3.69
Preston	37,858	34,509	91.15	2339	6.78
Richmond	38,941	33,496	86.02	1485	4.43
Ripon	36,473	34,309	94.07	1268	3.7
Rodney	35,652	33,625	94.31	1757	5.23
Sandringham	36,376	33,984	93.42	1032	3.04
Scoresby	38,226	35,979	94.12	1464	4.07
Seymour	38,112	35,833	94.02	1390	3.88
Shepparton	36,206	33,849	93.49	1346	3.98
South Barwon	43,002	40,351	93.84	1239	3.07
South-West Coast	41,338	38,599	93.37	1618	4.19
Swan Hill	33,731	31,628	93.77	1476	4.67
Tarneit	41,235	38,689	93.83	2053	5.31
Thomastown	36,458	33,904	92.99	2753	8.12
Warrandyte	39,590	37,267	94.13	1228	3.3
Williamstown	37,437	34,364	91.79	1933	5.63
Yan Yean	41,083	38,907	94.7	1479	3.8
Yuroke	41,502	39,140	94.31	1916	4.9
TOTAL	3,353,845	3,109,907	92.73%	141914	4.56%

Electoral region	Electors enrolled	Total votes	Percentage of electors who voted	Informal votes	Informal votes as percentage of votes
Eastern Metropolitan	412,960	388,126	93.99	12,179	3.14
Eastern Victoria	417,673	391,826	93.81	12,625	3.22
Northern Metropolitan	419,105	381,879	91.12	21,730	5.69
Northern Victoria	408,029	380,817	93.33	15,426	4.05
South Eastern Metropolitan	412,943	385,747	93.41	20,200	5.24
Southern Metropolitan	413,587	373,225	90.24	11,420	3.06
Western Metropolitan	431,847	399,486	92.51	25,075	6.38
Western Victoria	437,701	409,066	93.46	14,588	3.57
TOTAL	3,353,845	3,110,172	92.73%	133,243	4.28%

An analysis of ballot papers

The informal voting rate for the Legislative Assembly increased from 3.42% in 2002 to 4.56% in 2006 – a record rate for a Victorian State election. Informal votes for the Legislative Council rose from 3.67% in 2002 to 4.28% in 2006. These increases coincided with the introduction of a new voting system for the Legislative Council. For the first time, the manner of voting differed between the two State election ballot papers. These factors prompted the VEC to conduct a survey of informal ballot papers at the State election. The aims of the survey were to measure the incidence of various types of informal voting, to discover whether the new Legislative Council system affected the informal vote, and to contribute to Australia-wide literature on this subject.

The VEC selected the following electorates for the survey:

- Brunswick District;
- Ferntree Gully District;
- Gippsland East District;
- Melbourne District;
- Mildura District;
- Northcote District;
- Richmond District;
- Rodney District;
- Shepparton District;
- Western Metropolitan Region; and
- Western Victoria Region.

These electorates cover a wide range of Victorians. The four inner-suburban districts (Brunswick, Melbourne, Northcote and Richmond) are characterised by high proportions of residents born overseas, relatively high household incomes, and a generally young, mobile population with a high rate of Internet usage. In contrast, the four country districts (Gippsland East, Mildura, Rodney and Shepparton) have small numbers of residents born overseas, lower household incomes, and a generally older population. The outer-suburban district of Ferntree Gully is distinguished by its high household income, low rate of unemployment and relatively young population. Of the two regions surveyed, Western Metropolitan had the highest informal vote in the State, and has the highest rate of unemployment in the State, a high proportion of residents born overseas, and a population that is less mobile than the State average. Western Victoria Region includes Geelong and Ballarat, as well as the rural areas of western Victoria, and has the lowest household income of any region and a low proportion of residents born overseas.

To increase the value of its analysis, the VEC divided the informal ballot papers into numerous categories. The primary classifications were blank, numbering errors, ticks and crosses and writing, but there were sub-categories within these classifications. In particular, the VEC tried to determine which ballot papers appeared to be deliberately informal.



Informal district ballot papers

Informal district ballot papers were sorted into the following eleven categories. A few ballot papers fell into more than one category (for instance, including both a tick and numbers); these were sorted to what appeared to be the more important category for that ballot paper.

Blank	The bulk of these ballot papers were presumably deliberately informal, though they might include ballot papers lodged by people who had difficulties with the whole voting process.
Numbers – 1 only	These include ballot papers cast by voters who misapplied the way to vote above-the-line for the Upper House.
Numbers – insufficient	Ballot papers including insufficient numbers to constitute a formal vote.
Numbers – apparently deliberate	Ballot papers including number sequences such as '1's, or '0', or '1', '10', '300', which indicate an intention to cast an informal vote.
Numbers – other	
Ticks/crosses – preference	Ballot papers indicating a clear preference for a candidate through a single tick or cross.
Ticks/crosses – apparently deliberate	Ballot papers with ticks or crosses in every square, indicating an intention to reject all the candidates.
Ticks/crosses – other	
Writing – apparently deliberate	Ballot papers with writing or drawings indicating opposition to all the candidates, including those with a cross over the whole paper.
Writing – other	Vague scrawls not indicating any intention.
Administrative error	Ballot papers which are really formal, or which have been issued for the wrong district.

Table 22 shows the results of the survey of district informal votes.



Table 22 Categories of district informal votes

District	Blank	Nos - 1 Only	Nos - Insufficient	Nos - deliberate	Nos - Other	Ticks - preference	Ticks - crosses - deliberate	Ticks - crosses - other	Writing - deliberate	Writing - other	Admin error	TOTAL
Brunswick	423 19.38%	528 24.19%	101 4.63%	98 4.49%	424 19.42%	161 7.38%	98 4.49%	35 1.60%	278 12.73%	16 0.73%	21 0.96%	2183
Ferntree Gully	505	630	71	110	175	159	75	4	319	5	11	2064
Gippsland East	270 24.47%	388 30.52%	182 3.44%	52 5.33%	260 8.48%	82 7.70%	44 3.63%	5 0.19%	190 15.46%	3 0.24%	24 0.53%	1500
Melbourne	259 18.00%	316 25.87%	73 12.13%	73 3.47%	151 17.33%	110 5.47%	51 2.93%	14 0.33%	124 12.67%	15 0.20%	27 1.60%	1213
Mildura	313 21.35%	314 26.05%	210 6.02%	74 6.02%	399 12.45%	125 9.07%	33 4.20%	6 1.15%	127 10.22%	1 1.24%	30 2.23%	1632
Northcote	378 19.18%	502 19.24%	46 12.87%	65 4.53%	149 24.45%	155 7.66%	75 2.02%	12 0.37%	228 7.78%	2 0.06%	9 1.84%	1621
Richmond	297 23.32%	376 30.97%	155 2.84%	62 4.01%	258 9.19%	136 9.56%	44 4.63%	13 0.74%	132 14.07%	3 0.12%	21 0.56%	1497
Rodney	359 19.84%	481 25.12%	153 10.35%	76 4.14%	313 17.23%	110 9.08%	36 2.94%	9 0.87%	179 8.82%	18 0.20%	11 1.40%	1745
Shepparton	345 20.57%	369 27.56%	40 8.77%	62 4.36%	131 17.94%	163 6.30%	57 2.06%	1 0.52%	129 10.26%	37 1.03%	9 0.63%	1343
TOTAL	3149 21.28%	3904 26.38%	1031 6.97%	672 4.54%	2260 15.27%	1201 8.12%	513 3.47%	99 0.67%	1706 11.53%	100 0.68%	163 1.10%	14798

Ballot papers with a single number '1' were the largest category of informal votes, both overall at 26.38% and in each district surveyed. Has the incidence of '1 only' voting increased, and, if so, what could have caused the increase?

Unfortunately there was no survey of informal ballot papers from the 2002 State election, and so there is no definitive answer as to whether there are more '1 only' votes than before. However, there are some indications. The last time the VEC conducted a survey of informal ballot papers was after the 1988 State election. At that time, ballot papers with insufficient numbering, including '1 only', constituted only 12% of all informal votes. The most equivalent jurisdiction for which information is available is Western Australia, where voters have to number every square on their Lower House ballot paper, and can either vote '1' for a party or vote for individual candidates on their Upper House ballot paper. At the 2005 Western Australian Legislative Assembly election, 26.95% of the informal votes indicated a first preference only. This rate is very similar to that for the '1 only' votes in Victoria.

It seems likely that the number of '1 only' votes has increased, and that this increase can be attributed to the new voting system for the Legislative Council. Despite the VEC's efforts to communicate the correct ways of voting, it appears that a significant number of voters became aware they could vote '1', and did so on both ballot papers.

Turning to broader categories, 53.16% of informal votes were the result of numbering errors. Ticks and crosses made up 12.25% - a much smaller proportion than numbers, but still significant. As it is very common to fill in forms with ticks, it is not surprising that some voters did the same on their ballot papers.

Apparently deliberate informal votes were 19.54% of the total. If blank votes are added, 40.82% of the informal votes were probably deliberate.

At least 41.47% of the informal votes indicated a clear preference, either as a number '1' or a tick or cross. Legislative change would be required to admit such votes to the count.





Informal region ballot papers

Region ballot papers are more complex than district ballot papers, with voters being able to vote either above or below-the-line on the ballot paper. There are more ways in which voters can make mistakes, and consequently more categories of informal votes. The 18 categories used in the survey are:

Blank	
Writing – apparently deliberate	
Writing – other	
Administrative error	
Fragments	Ballot papers which have been torn up. It can be difficult to determine how many pieces make up a single ballot paper.
Above-the-line (ATL): numbers – ALP/DLP	Ballot papers with '1' in both the ALP and DLP squares.
ATL: numbers – apparently deliberate	
ATL: numbers – other	
ATL: ticks/crosses – apparently deliberate	Ballot papers with ticks or crosses in every square, indicating an intention to reject all the candidates. (Ballot papers with a tick or cross in a square above-the-line are formal.)
ATL: ticks/crosses – other	
Below-the-line (BTL): numbers – 1 only	These are ballot papers cast by voters who misapplied the way to vote above-the-line.
BTL: numbers – insufficient	
BTL: numbers – repetitions	Ballot papers with sequences of '1' to '5', or '1' to the number of candidates in a group, in several or all of the groups below-the-line.
BTL: numbers – apparently deliberate	
BTL: numbers – other	
BTL: ticks/crosses – preference	
BTL: ticks/crosses – apparently deliberate	
BTL: ticks/crosses – other	

Table 23 shows the results of the survey of region informal votes.



Table 23 Categories of region informal votes

Category	Western Metro	WM %	Western Vic	WV %	Total	Total %
Blank	6838	30.75%	5375	36.77%	12213	33.14%
Writing - Deliberate	1907	8.58%	1745	11.94%	3652	9.91%
Writing - Other	566	2.55%	441	3.02%	1007	2.73%
Admin Error	17	0.08%	67	0.46%	84	0.23%
Fragments	17	0.08%	55	0.38%	72	0.20%
ATL: Nos - DLP/ALP	16	0.07%	208	1.42%	224	0.61%
ATL: Nos - Deliberate	481	2.16%	328	2.24%	809	2.20%
ATL: Nos - Other	386	1.74%	660	4.52%	1046	2.84%
ATL: Ticks/Crosses - Deliberate	201	0.90%	186	1.27%	387	1.05%
ATL: Ticks/Crosses - Other	201	0.90%	251	1.72%	452	1.23%
BTL: Nos - 1 Only	7028	31.61%	3055	20.90%	10083	27.36%
BTL: Nos - Insufficient	740	3.33%	274	1.87%	1014	2.75%
BTL: Nos - Repetitions	1379	6.20%	773	5.29%	2152	5.84%
BTL: Nos - Deliberate	453	2.04%	181	1.24%	634	1.72%
BTL: Nos - Other	350	1.57%	462	3.16%	812	2.20%
BTL: Ticks/Crosses - Preference	833	3.75%	184	1.26%	1017	2.76%
BTL: Ticks/Crosses - Deliberate	364	1.64%	125	0.86%	489	1.33%
BTL: Ticks/Crosses - Other	457	2.06%	246	1.68%	703	1.91%
	22234		14616		36850	
Total Writing					4659	12.64%
Total Numbers					16774	45.52%
Total Ticks/Crosses					3048	8.27%
Total Deliberate					5971	16.20%
Total ATL					2918	7.92%
Total BTL					16904	45.87%



Blank ballot papers were the largest category of informal ballot papers in the regions surveyed, comprising almost a third of the total. This contrasts with the position for the districts, where little more than one-fifth of the informal ballot papers were blank. It is possible that the sheer size of the region ballot papers deterred people from attempting to complete them.

The second largest category were below-the-line '1 only' ballot papers, at 27.36%. It appears that many voters read the direction to vote '1' above-the-line, and misapplied it to vote '1' for the lead candidate in their preferred group below-the-line. This category was much stronger in Western Metropolitan than in Western Victoria.

A significant category was below-the-line repetitions, which made up 5.84% of the total. Voters are directed to "place the numbers 1 to at least 5 in these squares to indicate your choice", and it seems that voters attempted to comply by voting "1" to "5" in several groups.

Looking now at broader categories, 45.52% of informal votes were the result of numbering errors. Ticks and crosses comprised 8.27% – a smaller proportion than for the districts, probably because a single tick or cross above-the-line is a formal vote.

Apparently deliberate informal votes were 16.2% of the total. If blank votes are added, 49.34% of the informal votes were probably deliberate.

Some 32.87% of the informal votes indicated a clear preference, either as a number '1' or a tick or cross below-the-line. This is a much lower proportion than for the districts, probably because it is easy for voters to vote '1' above-the-line.

The ease of voting above-the-line led to a significant contrast between the incidence of informal votes above-the-line and below-the-line. Only 7.92% of the region informal votes were above-the-line, while 45.87% were below-the-line. The difference is still more marked if the above-the-line and below-the-line informal votes are added to the formal votes. Below-the-line votes constituted 5% of the total formal Upper House votes. If 5% of the formal votes for Western Metropolitan and Western Victoria are added to the below-the-line informal votes for those regions, 30.54% of the below-the-line votes were informal. In contrast, only 0.4% of the above-the-line votes for Western Metropolitan and Western Victoria were informal.

Implications of the informal ballot paper survey

It appears that the increase in the informal vote at the 2006 State election can be partly attributed to the change in the voting system for the Upper House. Many voters voted '1' on their district ballot paper, just as they had on their region ballot paper. In the election for the Legislative Council, many voters voted '1' below-the-line, making their vote informal, or misinterpreted the instructions to vote '1' to at least '5'.

If voters deliberately vote informally, that is their decision, based on their views of the political system, parties and candidates. However, it is regrettable when voters attempt to vote correctly and make an error. The VEC aims to reduce the level of accidental informal voting, so that voters' wishes can have an effect.

Legislative change would be required for '1 only' votes or single ticks or crosses on district ballot papers to be accepted as formal. One possibility would be optional preferential voting, as in New South Wales and Queensland. Another possibility would be ticket voting as in South Australia, under which a '1 only' vote for a candidate would be accepted as formal provided the candidate had lodged a voting ticket with the State Electoral Office.

The directions on the region ballot paper may have confused some voters, leading to the significant number of below-the-line repetitions discovered in the survey. However, the wording on the ballot paper could only be changed through an amendment to the *Electoral Act 2002*.

In the absence of legislative change, the VEC might consider modifying the design of the region ballot paper. For instance, the line on the ballot paper might be thickened to deter voters from voting '1 only' below-the-line. Also, the VEC will look at ways of making its how-to-vote information as clear as possible. Sections 9 and 10 consider areas for improvement, including matters for Parliament to consider.

How-to-vote card conformity survey

As well as examining informal ballot papers, the VEC surveyed formal ballot papers for their degree of conformity with how-to-vote (HTV) cards.

HTV cards play an important part in Australian elections. Australia's preferential and proportional voting systems make the act of voting more difficult than in countries where a voter simply has to make a single mark on a ballot paper. The Australian systems also encourage parties and candidates to negotiate favourable preference deals. To ensure that voters vote in accordance with the party's strategy, party members distribute HTV cards to voters outside voting centres. HTV cards are considered so important that in Victoria (and also in New South Wales, Queensland and South Australia) legislation provides for the registration of HTV cards.

In this context, it would be useful to learn the degree to which voters actually follow their party's HTV card. The VEC examined the formal ballot papers for Brunswick, Gippsland East, Mildura, Melbourne, Northcote, Richmond, Rodney and Shepparton districts.

Table 24 shows the results of the survey.



Table 24 How-to-vote card conformity

District	ALP	ALP %	Liberal	Lib %	National	Nat %	Green	Green %	Family First	FF %	People Power	PP %	Socialist	Soc %	Independent	Ind %
Brunswick	7815	49.2	2612	45			2874	29.1	37	6.6	129	25.5	223	34.6		
Gippsland East	2119	52.4	4169	55.1	3447	52.8	345	20.2	352	31					5252	38.2
Mildura	577	27.2	1281	34.8	4959	38.7			215	18.9					3188	27.9
Melbourne	6735	47.6	2694	38.4			2521	29	84	16.9	35	6.7			171	19.7
Northcote	10196	58.2	2142	42.1			3790	41.5	124	11.6					139	27.2
Richmond	7301	49.1	1918	30.1			2409	30.5	64	14.4	16	3.2			480	26.6
Rodney	1867	32.3	4916	48.5	6004	47.1	147	14.4	313	29					176	16.6
Shepparton	2847	46.1	4976	57.9	8439	53.6	292	19.2	178	27.8						
TOTAL	39457	49	24708	45.7	22849	47.8	12378	31	1367	20.8	180	11.8	223	34.6	9406	32

The outstanding feature is that less than half of the voters in these eight districts followed their party's HTV card. Although voters knew which party they wanted to support, they made up their own minds about the allocation of preferences.

Supporters of the major parties (Labor, Liberal and National) tended to conform most with their party's HTV cards. The strongest conformists were Labor voters in Northcote (58.2%), followed closely by Liberal voters in Shepparton (57.6%). Overall, 49% of Labor voters followed the ALP HTV cards, 45.7% of Liberal voters followed the Liberal cards, and 47.8% of National voters followed the National cards. A possible reason for this behaviour is that a high proportion of voters for the major parties would be lifelong supporters, who would tend to heed their party's instructions. Also, the major parties have more members and so are more able to station members at every voting centre to hand out HTV cards. It is worth noting that in districts where a major party was weak, such as the ALP in Mildura, there tended to be a lower rate of conformity with the party's HTV card.

Voters for the smaller parties were less inclined to follow HTV cards. Less than a third of Green voters voted according to the Green cards, 20.8% of Family First voters followed Family First cards, and the figure for People Power voters was only 11.8%. A surprisingly high 32% of voters for Independent candidates followed their candidate's HTV card, but most of these votes were for the sitting members for Gippsland East and Mildura, who were well known and had strong support. The smaller parties tend not to have a large, long-standing support base. It is likely that many of their voters vote for an alternative to the major parties and are more interested in a protest vote than in following an HTV card. As well, they are less likely to see a HTV card of a smaller party, because these parties may not have the numbers to cover all voting centres.

The registration of HTV cards is discussed further in Section 10 of this report.

Analysis of result

Changes in Parliament

The changes to the size and structure of the Legislative Council led to a substantial turnover in the membership of that House. The Legislative Council was reduced from 44 members to 40. Moreover, for the first time in Victoria's history, the whole of the Council was to be elected at once, and the change to a proportional representation vote counting system altered the pattern of seats and spurred the parties to select different candidates. Thirteen members of the Legislative Council retired when Parliament expired, while seven members were defeated at the State election. Six members attempted to switch to the Assembly, two of them successfully (Marsha Thomson for Footscray and John Eren for Lara). There were 18 new members of the Legislative Council, including two members (Bernard Finn and Inga Peulich) who had previously sat in the Legislative Assembly.

Turnover in the Legislative Assembly was less dramatic. Thirteen members stood down at the State election, eight were defeated, and there were 19 new members (excluding the two members who transferred from the Legislative Council).

Overall, there were 26 retirements at the State election. Eleven of the retiring members belonged to the ALP, 11 to the Liberal Party, two to the National Party, and there were two independents. The members who did not re-contest included a former leader of the Opposition, Mr Robert Doyle; a former Deputy Leader of the Opposition, the Hon. Phil Honeywood; a former Leader of the Opposition in the Legislative Council, the Hon. Bill Forwood; a former President of the Legislative Council, Ms Monica Gould; and four other former ministers, the Hons. Bill Baxter, Robin Cooper, Mary Delahunty and Sherryl Garbutt.

Of the 106 Parliamentarians who did stand at the State election, 91 were re-elected and 15 were defeated. Of the 15 defeated members, 12 belonged to the ALP, one to the National Party and two were independents.

Thirty-seven new members were elected to replace the retiring and defeated members. The party affiliations of the new members were: ALP, 13; Liberal Party, 17; National Party, three; Australian Greens, three; and Democratic Labor Party, one. Overall, 29% of the members elected were new, compared with 34% at the 2002 State election.

Figures 5 and 6 show the composition of both Houses of Parliament following the 2002 and 2006 State elections.

Tables 25 and 26 list the members elected for each seat at the 2006 State election.

Figure 5 Composition of the Legislative Assembly after the 2002 and 2006 Victorian State elections

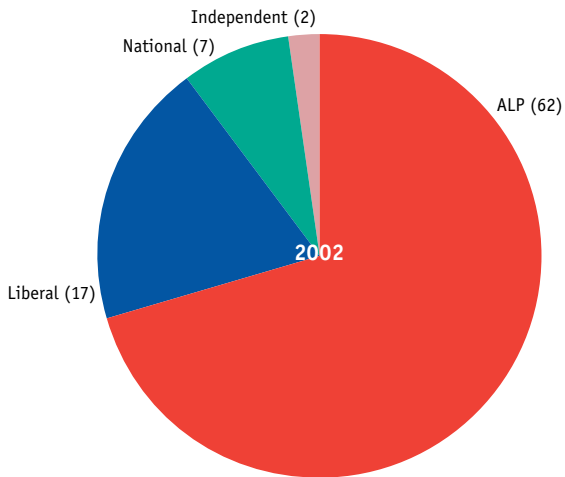
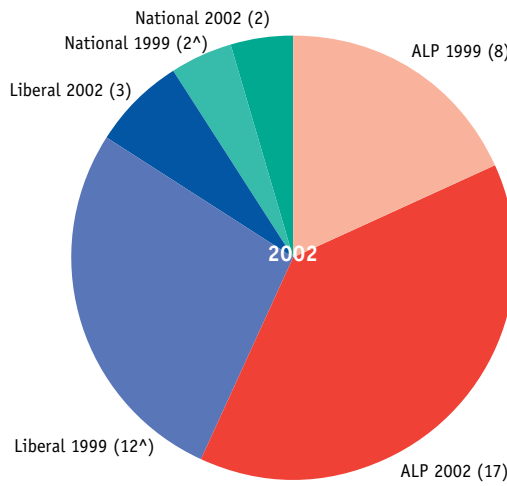


Figure 6 Composition of the Legislative Council after the 2002 and 2006 Victorian State elections



^ Two by-elections were held in conjunction with the 2002 State election for seats contested at the 1999 State election. As a result of these by-elections, the National Party lost one seat (Western) to the Liberals.

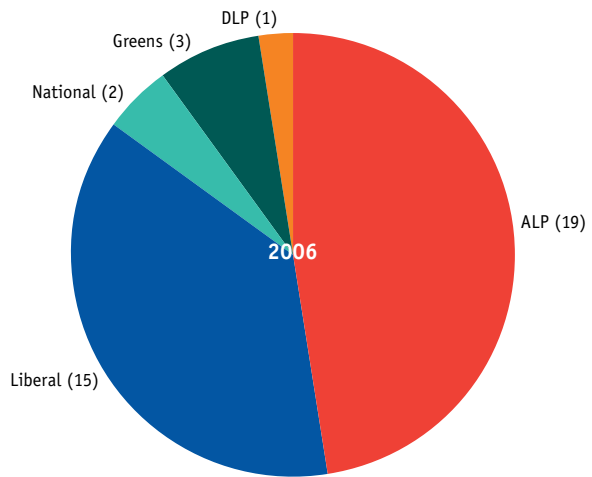
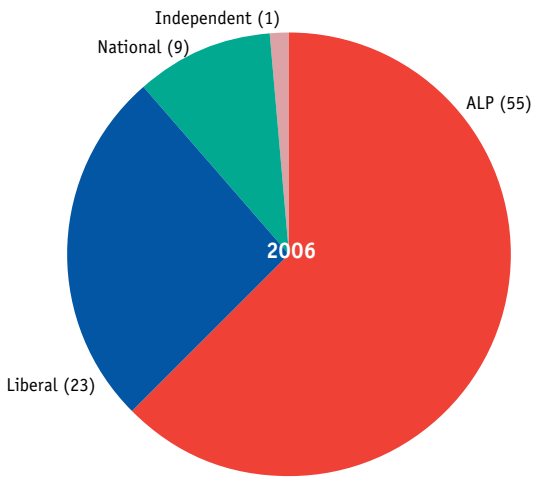


Table 25 Legislative Assembly: members elected at the 2006 State election

District	Name	Party
Albert Park	Hon. John Thwaites	ALP
Altona	Hon. Lynne Kosky	ALP
Ballarat East	Geoff Howard	ALP
Ballarat West	Karen Overington	ALP
Bass	Hon Ken Smith	Liberal
Bayswater	Heidi Victoria*	Liberal
Bellarine	Lisa Neville	ALP
Benalla	Bill Sykes	The Nationals
Benambra	Bill Tilley*	Liberal
Bendigo East	Jacinta Allan	ALP
Bendigo West	Hon. Bob Cameron	ALP
Bentleigh	Rob Hudson	ALP
Box Hill	Robert Clark	Liberal
Brighton	Hon. Louise Asher	Liberal
Broadmeadows	Hon. John Brumby	ALP
Brunswick	Carlo Carli	ALP
Bulleen	Nicholas Kotsiras	Liberal
Bundoora	Colin Brooks*	ALP
Burwood	Bob Stensholt	ALP
Carrum	Hon. Jenny Lindell	ALP
Caulfield	Helen Shardey	Liberal
Clayton	Hong Lim	ALP
Cranbourne	Jude Perera	ALP
Dandenong	Hon. John Pandazopoulos	ALP
Derrimut	Telmo Languiller	ALP
Doncaster	Mary Wooldridge*	Liberal
Eltham	Steve Herbert	ALP
Essendon	Judy Maddigan	ALP
Evelyn	Christine Fyffe*	Liberal
Ferntree Gully	Nick Wakeling*	Liberal
Footscray	Marsha Thomson	ALP
Forest Hill	Kirstie Marshall	ALP
Frankston	Alistair Harkness	ALP
Geelong	Ian Trezise	ALP
Gembrook	Tammy Lobato	ALP
Gippsland East	Craig Ingram	Independent
Gippsland South	Peter Ryan	The Nationals
Hastings	Neale Burgess*	Liberal
Hawthorn	Ted Baillieu	Liberal
Ivanhoe	Craig Langdon	ALP
Keilor	George Seitz	ALP
Kew	Andrew McIntosh	Liberal
Kilsyth	David Hodgett	Liberal
Kororoit	Hon. André Haermeyer	ALP

District	Name	Party
Lara	John Eren	ALP
Lowan	Hugh Delahunty	The Nationals
Lyndhurst	Hon. Tim Holding	ALP
Macedon	Joanne Duncan	ALP
Malvern	Michael O'Brien*	Liberal
Melbourne	Hon. Bronwyn Pike	ALP
Melton	Don Nardella	ALP
Mildura	Peter Crisp*	The Nationals
Mill Park	Lily D'Ambrosio	ALP
Mitcham	Tony Robinson	ALP
Monbulk	James Merlino	ALP
Mordialloc	Janice Munt	ALP
Mornington	David Morris*	Liberal
Morwell	Russell Northe	The Nationals
Mount Waverley	Maxine Morand	ALP
Mulgrave	Daniel Andrews	ALP
Murray Valley	Ken Jasper	The Nationals
Narracan	Gary Blackwood	Liberal
Narre Warren North	Luke Donnellan	ALP
Narre Warren South	Judith Graley*	ALP
Nepean	Martin Dixon	Liberal
Niddrie	Hon. Rob Hulls	ALP
Northcote	Fiona Richardson*	ALP
Oakleigh	Ann Barker	ALP
Pascoe Vale	Hon. Christine Campbell	ALP
Polwarth	Terry Mulder	Liberal
Prahran	Tony Lupton	ALP
Preston	Robin Scott*	ALP
Richmond	Richard Wynne	ALP
Ripon	Joe Helper	ALP
Rodney	Paul Weller	The Nationals
Sandringham	Murray Thompson	Liberal
Scoresby	Kim Wells	Liberal
Seymour	Ben Hardman	ALP
Shepparton	Jeanette Powell	The Nationals
South Barwon	Michael Crutchfield	ALP
South-West Coast	Hon. Denis Napthine	Liberal
Swan Hill	Peter Walsh	The Nationals
Tarneit	Tim Pallas*	ALP
Thomastown	Hon. Peter Batchelor	ALP
Warrandyte	Ryan Smith*	Liberal
Williamstown	Hon. Steve Bracks	ALP
Yan Yean	Danielle Green	ALP
Yuroke	Liz Beattie	ALP

* New Member of Parliament

Table 26 Legislative Council: members after the 2006 State election (in order of election for each region)

Region	Name	Party
Eastern Metropolitan	Richard Dalla-Riva	Liberal
	Shaun Leane*	ALP
	Bruce Atkinson	Liberal
	Brian Tee*	ALP
	Jan Kronberg*	Liberal
Eastern Victoria	Philip Davis	Liberal
	Matt Viney	ALP
	Edward O'Donohue*	Liberal
	Johan Scheffer	ALP
Northern Metropolitan	Peter Hall	The Nationals
	Theo Theophanous	ALP
	Matthew Guy*	Liberal
	Jenny Mikakos	ALP
	Greg Barber*	Australian Greens
Northern Victoria	Nazih Elasmr*	ALP
	Candy Broad	ALP
	Wendy Lovell	Liberal
	Damian Drum	The Nationals
	Donna Petrovich*	Liberal
South Eastern Metropolitan	Kaye Darveniza	ALP
	Gavin Jennings	ALP
	Gordon Rich-Phillips	Liberal
	Adem Somyurek	ALP
	Inga Peulich*	Liberal
Southern Metropolitan	Robert Smith	ALP
	David Davis	Liberal
	John Lenders	ALP
	Andrea Coote	Liberal
	Sue Pennicuik*	Australian Greens
Western Metropolitan	Evan Thornley*	ALP
	Justin Madden	ALP
	Bernard Finn*	Liberal
	Khalil Eideh*	ALP
	Martin Pakula*	ALP
Western Victoria	Colleen Hartland*	Australian Greens
	Jaala Pulford*	ALP
	John Vogels	Liberal
	Gayle Tierney*	ALP
	David Koch	Liberal
	Peter Kavanagh*	Democratic Labor Party

* New Member of Parliament

Candidates and parties

A total of 707 candidates nominated to contest the 2006 State election – a record number for a Victorian State election. This compares with 477** candidates who contested the 2002 election and 406** at the 1999 election (see Figure 7). The increase in the number of candidates in 2006 can be attributed mainly to the changes to the Legislative Council, under which for the first time, the entire House was to be elected at once. As well, the emergence of the new political parties Family First, People Power and the Country Alliance increased the number of candidates.

At the 2006 State election, 459 candidates contested the 88 Legislative Assembly seats, and 248 candidates contested the 40 Legislative Council seats.

With the Labor, Liberal, Greens and Family First parties standing candidates in every seat, the minimum number of candidates in any district was four. There were more five-candidate contests than any other (occurring in 35 districts), while the maximum number of candidates in a district was eight (in Bayswater). For the Upper House, the number of candidates per region ranged from 26 (in Western Metropolitan Region) to 38 (in Eastern Victoria and Northern Victoria Regions).

The number of women nominating as candidates was 235, compared with 158 at the 2002 State election. This was a substantial increase, but the proportion of women candidates barely moved, from 33.1% in 2002 to 33.2% in 2006. The number of women in Parliament declined, from 40 (30% of all MPs) after the 2002 election to 37 (29%) after the 2006 election.

The *Results and Statistics Report* lists all candidates contesting the 2006 State election in alphabetical order.

** Includes the candidates for the simultaneous Legislative Council by-elections.

* New Member of Parliament



Figure 7 Number of candidates contesting Victorian State elections 1992-2006

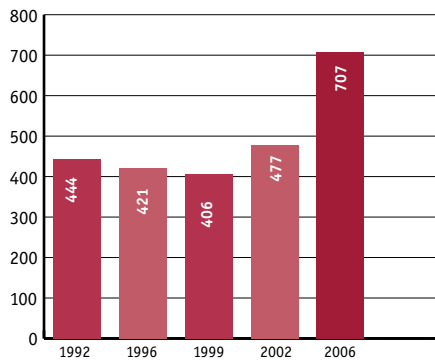
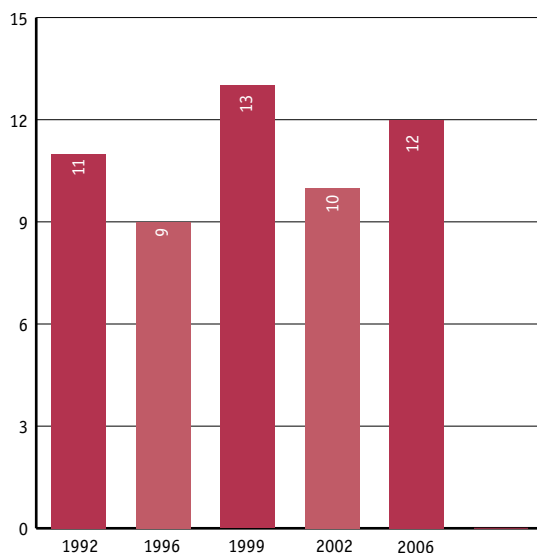


Figure 8 Number of registered political parties contesting Victorian State elections 1992-2006



Twelve registered political parties stood candidates in 2006, compared with 10 in 2002 (see Figure 8).

Sixty-three candidates were not endorsed by any registered party, which was very similar to the figure of 65 in 2002. Some of those candidates may have belonged to unregistered political parties, but the VEC's database does not enable such candidates to be distinguished from independents. The change to a proportional representation system for the Legislative Council, under which groups of independents could stand with almost the same advantages as party candidates, encouraged an increase in independent candidates for the Upper House from four in 2002 to 20 in 2006, but this was balanced by a decline in the number of independent candidates for the Assembly from 61 to 43. One independent was elected in 2006, compared with two at the previous State election.

Figure 9 shows the percentage of first-preference votes received by the parties in elections for the Legislative Assembly since 1996.

Tables 27 and 28 show the results for parties and candidates for both Houses of Parliament at the 2006 State election.

Figure 9 Legislative Assembly: first-preference votes 1992-2006

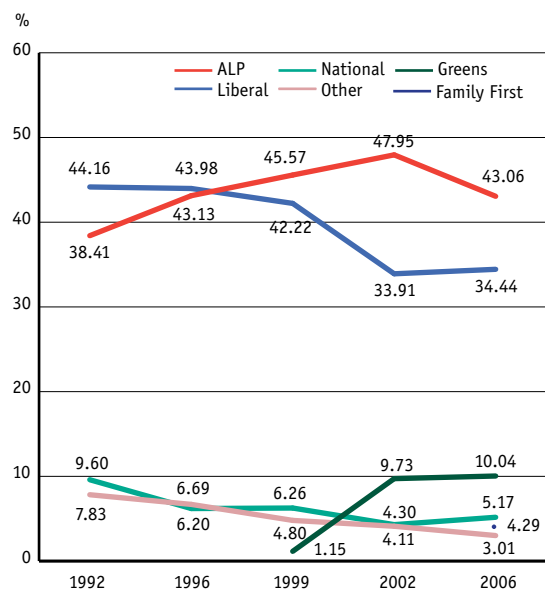




Table 27 Legislative Assembly votes at the 2006 Victorian State election

Party	Candidates	Successful candidates	Votes	Formal vote (%)	Change since 2002 (% point)
ALP	88	55	1,278,046	43.06	-4.89
Liberal Party	88	23	1,022,110	34.44	+0.53
Australian Greens	88	0	297,931	10.04	+0.31
The Nationals	20	9	153,299	5.17	+0.87
Family First	88	0	127,266	4.29	NA
People Power	27	0	15,226	0.51	NA
Citizens Electoral Council	15	0	5,187	0.17	-0.16
Socialist Alliance	2	0	1,102	0.04	-0.07
Other candidates	43	1	67,826	2.29	-1.11
Total	459	88	2,967,993	100.00	

Note: There were 141,914 informal votes, making a total of 3,109,907 votes cast for the Legislative Assembly.

Table 28 Legislative Council: votes at the 2006 Victorian State election

Party	Candidates	Successful candidates	Votes	Formal vote (%)	Change since 2002 (% point)
ALP	40	19	1,234,082	41.45	-6.04
Liberal Party	37	15	1,028,421	34.55	+0.04
Australian Greens	36	3	314,847	10.58	-0.29
The Nationals	12	2	131,946	4.43	+0.06
Family First	35	0	114,739	3.85	NA
Democratic Labor Party	23	1	58,722	1.97	NA
People Power	16	0	30,433	1.02	NA
Democrats	15	0	24,673	0.83	-0.96
Country Alliance	6	0	13,329	0.45	NA
Christian Democratic Party	6	0	5,819	0.20	+0.06
Socialist Alliance	2	0	1,130	0.04	NA
Other candidates	20	0	18,788	0.63	-0.04
Total	248	40	2,976,929	100.00	

Note: There were 133,243 informal votes, making a total of 3,110,172 votes cast for the Legislative Council.



Candidates' deposits forfeited

Of the 707 candidates, 215 forfeited their deposits, because they were not elected and/or because they, or their Upper House group, obtained less than 4% of the first-preference votes in their electorates. These candidates comprised 60 Family First candidates, 32 People Power candidates, 20 Democratic Labor Party candidates, 15 Australian Democrats, 14 Citizens Electoral Council candidates, six Christian Democrats, six Country Alliance candidates, four Nationals, four Socialists, three Greens and 51 independent candidates.

Two-party-preferred vote

Since 1985, the Victorian Electoral Commission (and its predecessor, the State Electoral Office) has prepared two-party-preferred vote statistics for each State election. The purpose of the two-party-preferred vote is to show, for each electorate and for the State as a whole, how the vote was divided between the ALP and the Liberal and National parties, taking into account the preferences of people who vote for minor parties and independents.

The two-party-preferred vote was calculated in the following way:

- In districts where a preference distribution was conducted to determine the result, where the distribution continued until only two candidates were left in the count, and where the final distribution was between a Labor and a Liberal/National candidate, the final result of the preference distribution constituted the two-party-preferred vote. There were 32 such districts in the 2006 State election.
- In districts where a preference distribution was not conducted or could not be used (because the distribution determined the result when there were more than two candidates still in the count, or because the distribution was not between a Labor and a Liberal/National candidate), and where the two-candidate-preferred count was between a Labor and a Liberal/National candidate, the two-candidate-preferred count constituted the two-party-preferred vote. There were 48 such districts in the 2006 State election.

- In districts where neither the preference distribution nor the two-candidate-preferred count was between a Labor and a Liberal/National candidate, a special two-party-preferred count was conducted. There were eight such districts in the 2006 State election. In five of these districts the special two-party-preferred count distributed preferences from the other candidates to the Labor and Liberal candidates, while in Mildura, Rodney and Shepparton the special two-party-preferred count was between the Labor and National candidates.

In districts where both Liberal and National candidates were standing, the leading candidate of the two parties in that electorate was chosen as the Liberal/National candidate for the two-party-preferred vote. There were 20 such districts in the 2006 State election. In 11 districts the Liberal candidates were chosen for the two-party-preferred vote, while in nine districts the National candidates were chosen.

It is worth noting that the two-party-preferred vote is obtained for information purposes only. It provides a measure – in each district and for the State as a whole – of support for the parties most likely to form government. The two-party-preferred vote does not alter the result of the election in any district. The result is determined according to law by the count of first-preference votes and by preference distributions where required, regardless of the party affiliations of the candidates.

In most State elections, there are a number of cases where the Labor or Liberal/National candidates are not the two leading candidates in an electorate. There were four such cases in the 1996 State election, six in the 1999 State election, eleven in the 2002 State election, and nine in the 2006 State election (Brunswick, Melbourne, Northcote and Richmond districts, in which the Liberal candidate was third in terms of first-preference votes; Rodney, Shepparton and Swan Hill districts, in which the Labor candidate came third on the first-preference votes; and Gippsland East and Mildura districts, in which the Labor candidate came fourth on the first-preference votes). In each case, preferences were distributed to the Labor and the leading Liberal/National candidate, in order to maintain a consistent approach and establish a two-party-preferred vote. The two-party-preferred vote was 54.38% Labor and 45.62% Liberal/National.

Figure 10 Legislative Assembly: two-party-preferred votes at Victorian State elections 1992-2006

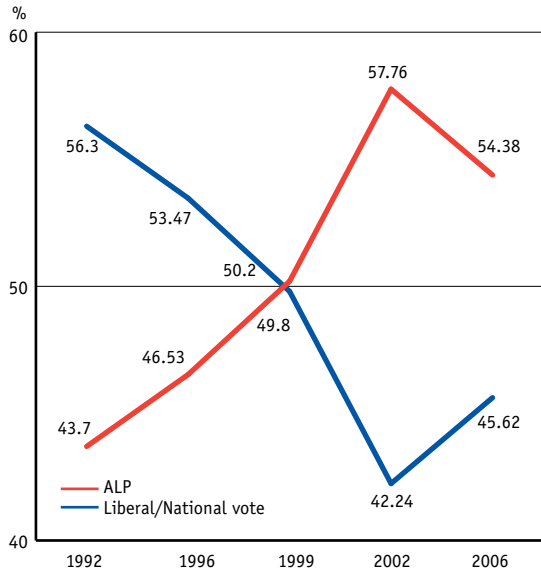


Table 29 Legislative Assembly: two-party-preferred vote at the 2006 State election

District	Labor votes	%	Liberal/ National votes	%	Swing 2002-2006 (%)
Albert Park	21,502	59.69%	14,523	40.31%	3.8 against Labor
Altona	25,869	70.21%	10,974	29.79%	4.5 against Labor
Ballarat East	18,850	56.64%	14,429	43.36%	1.0 against Labor
Ballarat West	20,751	56.54%	15,953	43.46%	2.5 against Labor
Bass	15,926	44.48%	19,882	55.52%	4.9 against Labor
Bayswater	15,088	47.11%	16,941	52.89%	5.6 against Labor
Bellarine	21,528	57.95%	15,622	42.05%	0.3 against Labor
Benalla	10,437	32.49%	21,687	67.51%	15.5 against Labor
Benambra	13,288	42.29%	18,132	57.71%	3.7 against Labor
Bendigo East	19,009	55.39%	15,309	44.61%	7.6 against Labor
Bendigo West	21,447	60.56%	13,965	39.44%	5.4 against Labor
Bentleigh	18,950	56.32%	14,696	43.68%	1.6 to Labor
Box Hill	15,267	44.78%	18,827	55.22%	4.1 against Labor
Brighton	12,853	39.07%	20,041	60.93%	3.5 against Labor
Broadmeadows	24,878	81.89%	5,500	18.11%	1.1 to Labor
Brunswick	25,915	77.85%	7,372	22.15%	0.2 against Labor
Bulleen	12,935	41.57%	18,182	58.43%	5.8 against Labor
Bundoora	20,701	65.12%	11,086	34.88%	2.5 against Labor
Burwood	18,594	53.74%	16,009	46.26%	1.4 against Labor
Carrum	19,935	56.71%	15,219	43.29%	5.5 against Labor
Caulfield	13,526	42.37%	18,400	57.63%	5.4 against Labor
Clayton	20,884	70.27%	8,836	29.73%	3.6 against Labor
Cranbourne	21,927	61.29%	13,851	38.71%	0.5 to Labor
Dandenong	20,077	68.67%	9,162	31.33%	1.6 against Labor
Derrimut	22,365	74.30%	7,735	25.70%	3.0 against Labor
Doncaster	13,359	41.88%	18,541	58.12%	7.4 against Labor
Eltham	19,764	56.48%	15,226	43.52%	1.7 to Labor
Essendon	20,276	61.70%	12,586	38.30%	4.2 against Labor
Evelyn	16,053	47.22%	17,943	52.78%	3.1 against Labor
Ferntree Gully	18,315	49.96%	18,342	50.04%	2.3 against Labor
Footscray	23,428	74.67%	7,948	25.33%	0.2 against Labor
Forest Hill	16,896	50.77%	16,385	49.23%	5.0 against Labor
Frankston	16,775	53.22%	14,748	46.78%	2.6 against Labor
Geelong	20,213	58.33%	14,441	41.67%	0.2 to Labor
Gembrook	17,670	50.71%	17,172	49.29%	0.9 against Labor
Gippsland East	12,662	36.46%	22,064	63.54%	3.4 against Labor
Gippsland South	11,393	34.19%	21,932	65.81%	5.0 against Labor
Hastings	17,737	49.01%	18,454	50.99%	1.8 against Labor
Hawthorn	12,694	37.74%	20,941	62.26%	6.4 against Labor
Ivanhoe	19,918	60.45%	13,034	39.55%	2.0 against Labor
Keilor	28,107	69.41%	12,385	30.59%	1.4 to Labor



District	Labor votes	%	Liberal/ National votes	%	Swing 2002-2006 (%)
Kew	12,990	40.44%	19,131	59.56%	3.6 against Labor
Kilsyth	17,183	49.65%	17,428	50.35%	2.4 against Labor
Kororoit	24,482	75.56%	7,920	24.44%	1.5 against Labor
Lara	22,268	67.93%	10,514	32.07%	4.4 against Labor
Lowan	9,748	27.92%	25,169	72.08%	5.0 against Labor
Lyndhurst	22,642	71.48%	9,034	28.52%	3.6 against Labor
Macedon	22,649	58.17%	16,290	41.83%	1.1 against Labor
Malvern	12,180	38.68%	19,313	61.32%	1.1 against Labor
Melbourne	22,677	71.43%	9,070	28.57%	0.7 against Labor
Melton	21,513	63.54%	12,345	36.46%	1.8 against Labor
Mildura	9,330	29.31%	22,507	70.69%	14.0 against Labor
Mill Park	24,276	70.79%	10,018	29.21%	6.0 against Labor
Mitcham	17,234	51.97%	15,926	48.03%	5.7 against Labor
Monbulk	18,511	56.68%	14,148	43.32%	1.6 against Labor
Mordialloc	18,926	53.54%	16,420	46.46%	1.0 against Labor
Mornington	12,695	38.15%	20,582	61.85%	10.0 against Labor
Morwell	15,755	47.88%	17,147	52.12%	7.0 against Labor
Mount Waverley	16,675	50.31%	16,470	49.69%	2.0 against Labor
Mulgrave	18,280	65.77%	9,515	34.23%	0.5 against Labor
Murray Valley	9,302	28.24%	23,637	71.76%	7.9 against Labor
Narracan	16,582	47.35%	18,440	52.65%	9.5 against Labor
Narre Warren North	19,716	59.23%	13,569	40.77%	0.5 against Labor
Narre Warren South	25,965	60.94%	16,641	39.06%	1.7 against Labor
Nepean	13,138	40.62%	19,203	59.38%	9.2 against Labor
Niddrie	19,396	61.22%	12,288	38.78%	5.4 against Labor
Northcote	26,737	80.29%	6,562	19.71%	2.0 to Labor
Oakleigh	19,031	62.37%	11,481	37.63%	2.8 against Labor
Pascoe Vale	23,828	72.78%	8,912	27.22%	1.4 against Labor
Polwarth	14,394	39.31%	22,220	60.69%	1.2 against Labor
Prahran	16,800	53.55%	14,571	46.45%	0.9 against Labor
Preston	24,222	75.30%	7,944	24.70%	0.5 against Labor
Richmond	24,060	75.17%	7,948	24.83%	0.4 against Labor
Ripon	17,964	54.35%	15,090	45.65%	3.1 against Labor
Rodney	8,026	25.19%	23,841	74.81%	8.4 against Labor
Sandringham	13,615	41.32%	19,332	58.68%	5.7 against Labor
Scoresby	13,400	38.83%	21,110	61.17%	7.9 against Labor
Seymour	19,517	56.66%	14,926	43.34%	2.8 against Labor
Shepparton	8,239	25.35%	24,264	74.65%	9.5 against Labor
South Barwon	20,446	52.28%	18,666	47.72%	2.7 against Labor
South-West Coast	17,018	45.99%	19,982	54.01%	3.3 against Labor



District	Labor votes	%	Liberal/ National votes	%	Swing 2002-2006 (%)
Swan Hill	8,029	26.60%	22,152	73.40%	9.3 against Labor
Tarneit	22,879	62.47%	13,747	37.53%	4.9 against Labor
Thomastown	25,152	81.07%	5,872	18.93%	0.7 against Labor
Warrandyte	14,767	41.01%	21,244	58.99%	2.6 against Labor
Williamstown	24,066	74.25%	8,346	25.75%	1.5 against Labor
Yan Yean	21,675	57.91%	15,753	42.09%	1.6 against Labor
Yuroke	26,126	70.19%	11,095	29.81%	2.7 against Labor
TOTAL	1,611,866	54.38%	1,352,258	45.62%	3.38 against Labor

Number of districts swinging to Labor 2002-2006: 7

Number of districts swinging to Liberal/National 2002-2006: 81

Gippsland East – additional distribution

The VEC received a request from the Liberal Party on 28 December 2006, to complete one final distribution for the district of Gippsland East.

The VEC had selected candidates Ingram (Ind) and Nixon (Nat) for the ‘two-candidate-preferred’ count, but in fact the leading two candidates following the final preference distribution were Ingram and Bommer (Lib).

At the completion of the Gippsland East preference distribution, when candidate Ingram achieved an absolute majority, candidates Bommer and Nixon still remained but candidate Nixon’s ballot papers were not distributed.

The VEC agreed to distribute candidate Nixon’s ballot papers as part of its statistical analysis in March 2007.

The results of the final distribution are as follows:

Totals when Ingram elected	Ingram	Bommer	Nixon	Total
	18,538	8,295	7,895	34,728
Transfer of 7895 ballot papers of Nixon	1,988	5,907		7,895
TOTAL	20,526	14,202		34,728
	59.11%	40.89%		

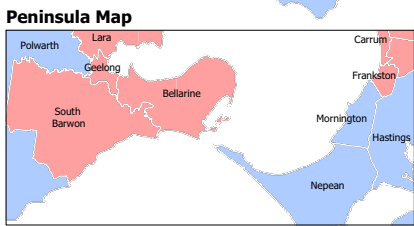
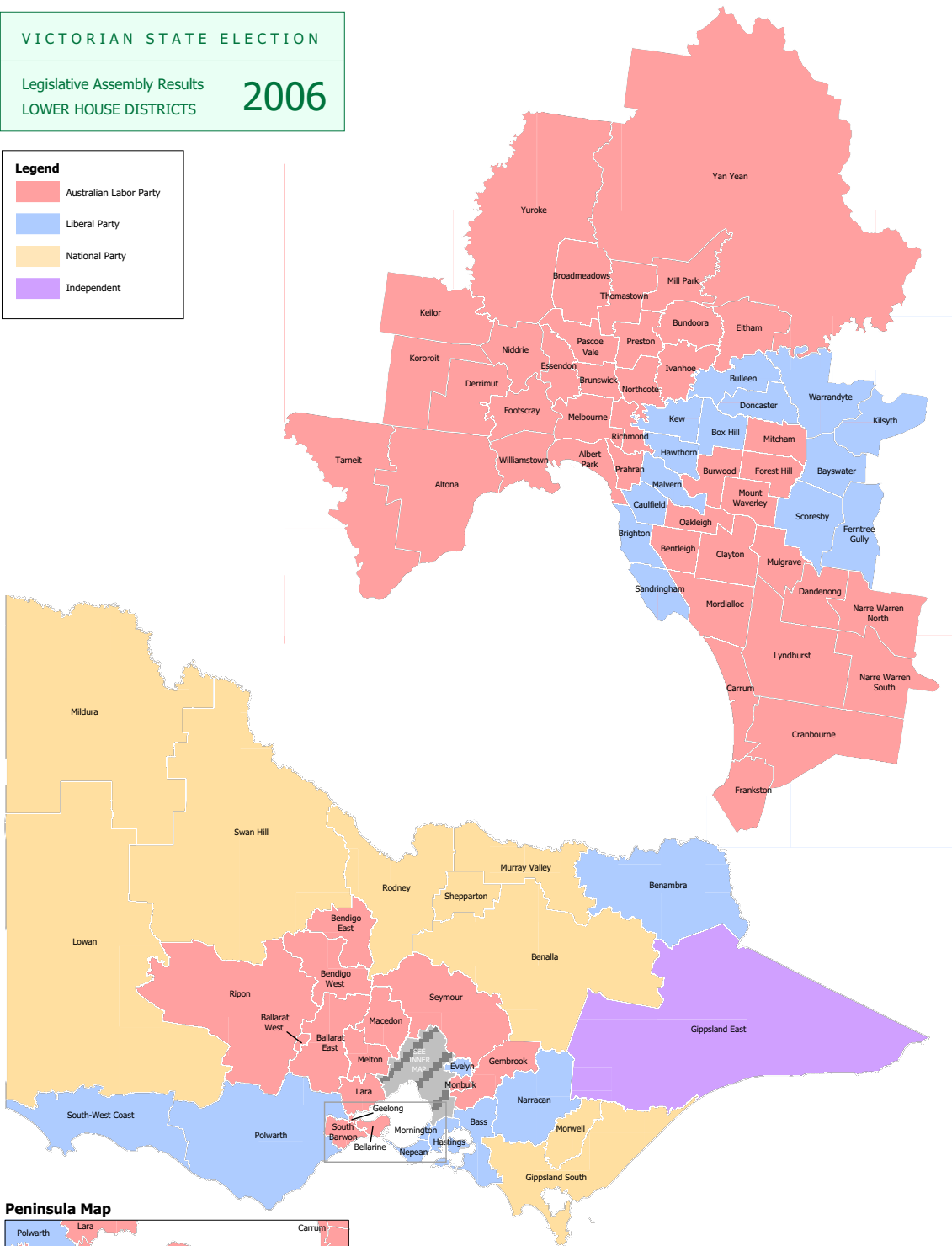
Maps of electoral districts and regions



VICTORIAN STATE ELECTION
 Legislative Assembly Results
 LOWER HOUSE DISTRICTS
2006

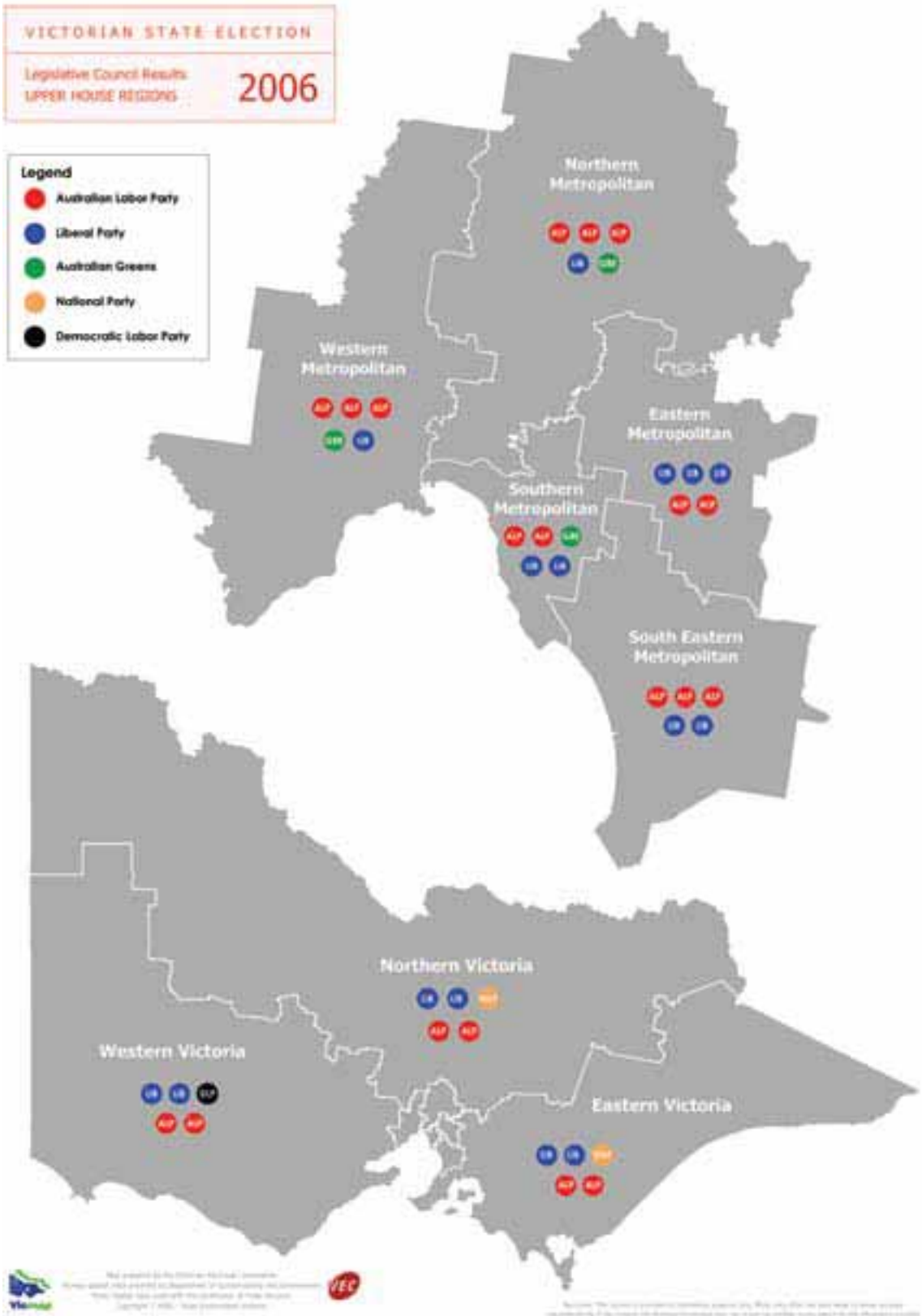
Legend

- Australian Labor Party
- Liberal Party
- National Party
- Independent



Map prepared by the Victorian Electoral Commission
 Vicmap spatial data provided by Department of Sustainability and Environment
 Parks digital data used with the permission of Parks Victoria
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Margins by which seats are held

The following tables show the final votes for the first and second-placed candidates in each seat, and the percentage point swing required for each seat to change hands. The figures are derived from:

- preference distributions where they were conducted; and
- two-candidate-preferred counts for the remaining seats.

The seats are grouped by party, and ranked from safest to most marginal.

Table 30 Legislative Assembly: margins by which Labor members hold their seats

District	Labor votes	%	Non-Labor votes	%	Swing required (% point)
Broadmeadows	24,878	81.89%	5,500	18.11%	31.90 to Liberal
Thomastown	25,152	81.07%	5,872	18.93%	31.08 to Liberal
Koroit	24,482	75.56%	7,920	24.44%	25.57 to Liberal
Preston	24,222	75.30%	7,944	24.33%	25.31 to Liberal
Footscray	23,428	74.67%	7,948	25.10%	24.68 to Liberal
Derrimut	22,365	74.30%	7,735	25.70%	24.31 to Liberal
Williamstown	24,066	74.25%	8,346	25.75%	24.26 to Liberal
Pascoe Vale	23,828	72.78%	8,912	27.22%	22.79 to Liberal
Lyndhurst	22,642	71.48%	9,034	28.52%	21.49 to Liberal
Mill Park	24,276	70.79%	7,536	23.22%	20.80 to Liberal
Clayton	20,884	70.27%	8,836	29.73%	20.28 to Liberal
Altona	25,869	70.21%	10,974	29.79%	20.22 to Liberal
Yuroke	26,126	70.19%	11,095	29.81%	20.20 to Liberal
Keilor	28,107	69.41%	12,385	30.59%	19.42 to Liberal
Dandenong	20,077	68.67%	9,162	31.33%	18.68 to Liberal
Lara	22,268	67.93%	10,514	32.07%	17.94 to Liberal
Mulgrave	18,280	65.77%	9,515	34.23%	15.78 to Liberal
Bundoora	20,701	65.12%	11,086	34.88%	15.13 to Liberal
Melton	21,513	63.54%	12,345	36.46%	13.55 to Liberal
Tarneit	22,879	62.47%	13,747	37.53%	12.48 to Liberal
Oakleigh	19,031	62.37%	11,481	37.63%	12.38 to Liberal
Essendon	20,276	61.70%	12,586	38.30%	11.71 to Liberal
Cranbourne	21,927	61.29%	13,851	38.71%	11.30 to Liberal
Niddrie	19,396	61.22%	12,288	38.78%	11.23 to Liberal
Narre Warren South	25,965	60.94%	16,641	39.06%	10.95 to Liberal
Bendigo West	21,447	60.56%	13,965	39.44%	10.57 to Liberal
Ivanhoe	19,918	60.45%	13,034	39.55%	10.46 to Liberal
Albert Park	21,503	59.69%	14,523	40.31%	9.70 to Liberal
Narre Warren North	19,716	59.23%	13,569	40.77%	9.24 to Liberal
Northcote (1)	19,484	58.52%	13,813	41.48%	8.53 to Greens
Geelong	20,213	58.33%	14,441	41.67%	8.34 to Liberal
Macedon	22,649	58.17%	16,290	41.83%	8.18 to Liberal
Bellarine	21,528	57.95%	15,622	42.05%	7.96 to Liberal
Yan Yean	21,675	57.91%	15,753	42.09%	7.92 to Liberal
Carrum	19,935	56.71%	15,219	43.29%	6.72 to Liberal
Monbulk	18,511	56.68%	14,148	43.32%	6.69 to Liberal
Seymour	19,517	56.66%	14,926	43.34%	6.67 to Liberal
Ballarat East	18,850	56.64%	14,429	43.36%	6.65 to Liberal

District	Labor votes	%	Non-Labor votes	%	Swing required (% point)
Ballarat West	20,751	56.54%	15,953	43.46%	6.55 to Liberal
Eltham	19,764	56.48%	15,226	43.52%	6.49 to Liberal
Bentleigh	18,950	56.32%	14,696	43.68%	6.33 to Liberal
Bendigo East	19,009	55.39%	15,309	44.61%	5.40 to Liberal
Ripon	17,964	54.35%	15,090	45.65%	4.36 to Liberal
Burwood	18,594	53.74%	16,009	46.26%	3.75 to Liberal
Richmond (2)	17,170	53.64%	14,841	46.36%	3.65 to Greens
Brunswick (3)	17,853	53.63%	14,435	46.37%	3.64 to Greens
Prahran	16,800	53.55%	14,571	46.45%	3.56 to Liberal
Mordialloc	18,926	53.54%	16,420	46.46%	3.55 to Liberal
Frankston	16,775	53.22%	14,748	46.78%	3.23 to Liberal
South Barwon	20,446	52.28%	18,666	47.72%	2.29 to Liberal
Melbourne (4)	16,512	52.01%	15,238	47.99%	2.02 to Greens
Mitcham	17,234	51.97%	15,926	48.03%	1.98 to Liberal
Forest Hill	16,896	50.77%	16,385	49.23%	0.78 to Liberal
Gembrook	17,670	50.71%	17,172	49.29%	0.72 to Liberal
Mount Waverley	16,675	50.31%	16,470	49.69%	0.32 to Liberal

(1) Northcote calculated on ALP vs Greens basis. On ALP vs Liberal basis, swing required is 30.30 to Liberal.

(2) Richmond calculated on ALP vs Greens basis. On ALP vs Liberal basis, swing required is 25.18 to Liberal.

(3) Brunswick calculated on ALP vs Greens basis. On ALP vs Liberal basis, swing required is 27.86 to Liberal.

(4) Melbourne calculated on ALP vs Greens basis. On ALP vs Liberal basis, swing required is 21.44 to Liberal.

Election results



Table 31 Legislative Assembly: margins by which Liberal members hold their seats

District	Liberal votes	%	Labor votes	%	Swing required (% point)
Hawthorn	20,941	62.26%	12,694	37.74%	12.27 to Labor
Mornington	20,582	61.85%	12,695	38.15%	11.86 to Labor
Malvern	19,313	61.32%	12,180	38.68%	11.33 to Labor
Scoresby	21,110	61.17%	13,400	38.83%	11.18 to Labor
Brighton	20,041	60.93%	12,853	39.07%	10.94 to Labor
Polwarth	22,220	60.69%	14,394	39.31%	10.70 to Labor
Kew	19,131	59.56%	12,990	40.44%	9.57 to Labor
Nepean	19,203	59.38%	13,138	40.62%	9.39 to Labor
Warrandyte	21,244	58.99%	14,767	41.01%	9.00 to Labor
Sandringham	19,332	58.68%	13,615	41.32%	8.69 to Labor
Bulleen	18,182	58.43%	12,935	41.57%	8.44 to Labor
Doncaster	18,541	58.12%	13,359	41.88%	8.13 to Labor
Benambra	18,132	57.71%	13,288	42.29%	7.72 to Labor
Caulfield	18,400	57.63%	13,526	42.37%	7.64 to Labor
Bass	19,882	55.52%	15,926	44.48%	5.53 to Labor
Box Hill	18,827	55.22%	15,267	44.78%	5.23 to Labor
South-West Coast	19,982	54.01%	17,018	45.99%	4.02 to Labor
Bayswater	16,941	52.89%	15,088	47.11%	2.90 to Labor
Evelyn	17,943	52.78%	16,053	47.22%	2.79 to Labor
Narracan	18,440	52.65%	16,582	47.35%	2.66 to Labor
Hastings	18,454	50.99%	17,737	49.01%	1.00 to Labor
Kilsyth	17,428	50.35%	17,183	49.65%	0.36 to Labor
Ferntree Gully	18,342	50.04%	18,315	49.96%	0.05 to Labor

Table 32 Legislative Assembly: margins by which National members hold their seats

District	National votes	%	Non-National votes	%	Swing required (% point)
Swan Hill	22,152	73.40%	8,029	26.60%	23.41 to Labor
Lowan	25,169	72.08%	9,748	27.92%	22.09 to Labor
Murray Valley	23,637	71.76%	9,302	28.24%	21.77 to Labor
Benalla	21,687	67.51%	10,437	32.49%	17.52 to Labor
Shepparton (1)	21,677	66.67%	10,838	33.33%	16.68 to Liberal
Gippsland South	21,932	65.81%	11,393	34.19%	15.82 to Labor
Mildura (2)	17,854	56.08%	13,985	43.92%	6.09 to Savage
Rodney (3)	17,334	54.39%	14,534	45.61%	4.40 to Liberal
Morwell	17,147	52.12%	15,755	47.88%	2.13 to Labor

(1) Shepparton calculated on National vs Liberal basis. On ALP vs National basis, swing required is 24.66 to ALP.

(2) Mildura calculated on National vs Savage basis. On ALP vs National basis, swing required is 20.70 to ALP.

(3) Rodney calculated on National vs Liberal basis. On ALP vs National basis, swing required is 24.82 to ALP.

Table 33 Legislative Assembly: margins by which independent members hold their seats

District	Independent votes	%	Liberal votes	%	Swing required (% point)
Gippsland East (1)	20,526	59.11%	14,202	40.89%	9.12 to Liberal

(1) Swing calculated on Ingram vs Liberal basis. On ALP vs Liberal basis, swing required is 13.55 to ALP.