

MALCOLM MACKERRAS
Visiting Fellow in Political Science

Mr Mackerras was born in Sydney in August 1939, completing a BEc at the University of Sydney in 1962. He joined the Department of Government at RMC Duntroon in February 1974 and, until his retirement in February 2004, he taught both Australian and US politics at Duntroon and later at the Australian Defence Force Academy. He is well known for his interest in Australian elections, and has written and contributed extensively to various media on most federal, state and territory elections. He was promoted to Associate Professor at the School of Politics, with effect from January 1999, until he retired in February 2004. Therefore, his service as an academic employed by the University of New South Wales spanned thirty years, from February 1974 to February 2004.

Research Interests

Australian and New Zealand elections; American politics and electoral systems.

The Mackerras Pendulum

Malcolm Mackerras is well known for “The Mackerras Pendulum” which applies to all Australian lower houses with single member electorates. These pendulums are usually published again in *The Australian* newspaper shortly before polling day. If you write to Mr Mackerras (as many people have done) he can send you (by “snail mail”) his newest pendulums for Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia and the Northern Territory. These are always kept up-to-date by him, his most recent being for Victoria following the November 2006 general election.

In the case of New South Wales his pendulums are those for the March 2003 general election and for that election as adjusted by the 2004 redistribution of electoral boundaries. His pendulum expressing the result of the March 2007 NSW general election will be available when the two-party preferred counts are completed. In all other cases the pendulum merely expresses the result of the most recent general election in the one diagram. When further redistributions are completed in Queensland and Western Australia in 2008 he will issue fresh pendulums based on the new boundaries.

In the case of South Australia his current pendulums are those for the March 2006 general election result and for that election as adjusted for boundary changes implemented in March 2007 by the Electoral Districts Boundaries Commission.

Pendulum for the 2007 Federal Election for the House of Representatives

Very soon after the October 2004 federal election was finalised Mr Mackerras published (in *The Australian* newspaper) his initial pendulum for the 2007 federal election for the House of Representatives. The exact reference is page 28 of *The Weekend Australian* under the heading "Pitch of the pendulum", 20-21 November 2004. If you write to Mr Mackerras he can send you (by "snail mail") a photocopy of the way it was set out in the paper.

However, for the purpose of this website he is not using the artwork which can be seen only in *The Australian*. The reason is that redistributions have occurred in New South Wales and Queensland during the current parliamentary term. These redistributions, in effect, transfer one seat from New South Wales to Queensland.

In *The Weekend Australian* for 30 September and 1 October 2006 under the heading "It's luck of the redraw" (page 29) can be found his updated federal pendulum together with an explanatory article. If you write to Mr Mackerras he can send you (by "snail mail") a photocopy of the way it was set out in the paper. When the date of the federal election is known this diagram will again be published in *The Australian*.

Table 1: Aggregate Two-Party Preferred Percentages, 1949–2004

Election	% Labor	% Lib-CP-Nat	% Swing
1949	49.0	51.0	5.1 to Lib-CP
1951	49.3	50.7	0.3 to Labor
1954	50.7	49.3	1.4 to Labor
1955	45.7	54.3	5.0 to Lib-CP
1958	45.9	54.1	0.2 to Labor
1961	50.5	49.5	4.6 to Labor
1963	47.4	52.6	3.1 to Lib-CP
1966	43.1	56.9	4.3 to Lib-CP
1969	50.2	49.8	7.1 to Labor
1972	52.7	47.3	2.5 to Labor
1974	51.7	48.3	1.0 to Lib-CP
1975	44.3	55.7	7.4 to Lib-CP
1977	45.4	54.6	1.1 to Labor
1980	49.6	50.4	4.2 to Labor
1983	53.2	46.8	3.6 to Labor
1984	51.8	48.2	1.4 to Lib-Nat
1987	50.8	49.2	1.0 to Lib-Nat
1990	49.9	50.1	0.9 to Lib-Nat
1993	51.4	48.6	1.5 to Labor
1996	46.4	53.6	5.0 to Lib-Nat
1998	51.0	49.0	4.6 to Labor
2001	49.1	50.9	1.9 to Lib-Nat
2004	47.3	52.7	1.8 to Lib-Nat

Table 2: Seats Won, October 2004 General Election

State/Territory	Labor	Liberal	National	Independent	Total
New South Wales	21	21	6	2	50
Victoria	19	16	2	–	37
Queensland	6	17	4	1	28
Western Australia	5	10	–	–	15
South Australia	3	8	–	–	11
Tasmania	3	2	–	–	5
Australian Capital Territory	2	–	–	–	2
Northern Territory	1	1	–	–	2
Total	60	75	12	3	150

Table 3: Seats Won, October 2004 General Election Adjusted to New Boundaries

State/Territory	Labor	Liberal	National	Independent	Total
New South Wales	21	21	6	1	49
Victoria	19	16	2	–	37
Queensland	6	17	5	1	29
Western Australia	5	10	–	–	15
South Australia	3	8	–	–	11
Tasmania	3	2	–	–	5
Australian Capital Territory	2	–	–	–	2
Northern Territory	1	1	–	–	2
Total	60	75	13	2	150

Note that Table 3 reflects a decision announced in March 2007 by Peter Andren to give the NSW seat of Calare to John Cobb, the current Nationals member for Parkes. Thus the sole remaining NSW Independent seat is New England, held by Tony Windsor.

Table 4 sets out the seats of Table 3 in the form of a pendulum table for the Coalition side.

Table 4: The Up-to-date “Mackerras Pendulum” (Coalition Side)

Coalition Seats

Liberal	75
National	13
Independent	1
Total	89
Majority	28

Table 4

Labor Majority	150	Mallee (Nat, Vic)	24.8
	148	Murray (Lib, Vic)	24.1
	146	Maranoa (Nat, Qld)	20.9
	144	Mitchell (Lib, NSW)	20.7
	142	Riverina (Nat, NSW)	20.7
	140	O'Connor (Lib, WA)	20.4
	138	Moncrieff (Lib, Qld)	19.9
	136	Barker (Lib, SA)	19.9
	134	Groom (Lib, Qld)	19.0
	132	Parkes (Nat, NSW)	17.6
	130	Bradfield (Lib, NSW)	17.5
	128	Indi (Lib, Vic)	16.3
	126	Mackellar (Lib, NSW)	15.8
	124	Farrer (Lib, NSW)	15.7
	122	Fadden (Lib, Qld)	15.6
	120	Curtin (Lib, WA)	14.7
	118	Berowra (Lib, NSW)	14.1
	116	Lyne (Nat, NSW)	14.0
	114	McPherson (Lib, Qld)	14.0
	112	Grey (Lib, SA)	13.9
	110	Cook (Lib, NSW)	13.7
	108	Mayo (Lib, SA)	13.6
	106	New England (Ind, NSW)	13.5
	104	Aston (Lib, Vic)	13.2
	102	Hume (Lib, NSW)	13.1
	100	Pearce (Lib, WA)	13.0
	98	Wannon (Lib, Vic)	12.4
	96	Fairfax (Lib, Qld)	12.4
	94	Wide Bay (Nat, Qld)	12.2
	92	Tangney (Lib, WA)	11.8
	90	Calare (Nat, NSW)	11.7
	88	Forde (Lib, Qld)	11.6
	86	Fisher (Lib, Qld)	11.5
	84	Casey (Lib, Vic)	11.4
	82	Warringah (Lib, NSW)	11.3
	80	Flinders (Lib, Vic)	11.2
78	Macarthur (Lib, NSW)	11.1	
76	Greenway (Lib, NSW)	11.0	
74	Moore (Lib, WA)	10.9	
72	Menzies (Lib, Vic)	10.7	
70	Forrest (Lib, WA)	10.5	
68	Ryan (Lib, Qld)	10.5	
66	Leichhardt (Lib, Qld)	10.3	
64	Goldstein (Lib, Vic)	10.1	
62	North Sydney (Lib, NSW)	10.1	
60	Dawson (Nat, Qld)	10.0	

Labor Majority	58	Kooyong (Lib, Vic)	9.6	
	56	Canning (Lib, WA)	9.6	
	54	Gilmore (Lib, NSW)	9.5	
	52	Dunkley (Lib, Vic)	9.4	
	50	Dickson (Lib, Qld)	9.0	
	48	Bowman (Lib, Qld)	8.9	
	46	Hughes (Lib, NSW)	8.8	
	44	Higgins (Lib, Vic)	8.8	
	42	Hinkler (Nat, Qld)	8.4	
	40	Gippsland (Nat, Vic)	7.8	
	38	Flynn (Nat, Qld)	7.5	
	36	Petrie (Lib, Qld)	7.4	
	34	Robertson (Lib, NSW)	6.9	
	32	Sturt (Lib, SA)	6.8	
	30	Longman (Lib, Qld)	6.5	
	28	Cowper (Nat, NSW)	6.5	
	26	McEwen (Lib, Vic)	6.5	
	24	Kalgoorlie (Lib, WA)	6.4	
	22	Paterson (Lib, NSW)	6.3	
	20	Herbert (Lib, Qld)	6.2	
	18	La Trobe (Lib, Vic)	5.9	
	16	Blair (Lib, Qld)	5.7	
	14	Page (Nat, NSW)	5.5	
	12	Boothby (Lib, SA)	5.4	
	10	Corangamite (Lib, Vic)	5.4	
	8	McMillan (Lib, Vic)	5.0	
	6	Deakin (Lib, Vic)	5.0	
	4	Dobell (Lib, NSW)	4.8	
	2	Bennelong (Lib, NSW)	4.0	
		0		
	Coalition Majority	2	Eden-Monaro (Lib, NSW)	3.3
		4	Lindsay (Lib, NSW)	2.9
		6	Solomon (Lib, NT)	2.9
		8	Moreton (Lib, Qld)	2.8
10		Bass (Lib, Tas)	2.7	
12		Wentworth (Lib, NSW)	2.5	
14		Stirling (Lib, WA)	2.1	
16		Hasluck (Lib, WA)	1.9	
18		Braddon (Lib, Tas)	1.2	
20		Makin (Lib, SA)	1.0	
22		Parramatta (Lib, NSW)	0.9	
24		Wakefield (Lib, SA)	0.7	
26		Bonner (Lib, Qld)	0.6	
28		Kingston (Lib, SA)	0.1	

Note in Table 4 that Parramatta is a seat actually held by Labor (Julie Owens) but notionally held by Liberal. Table 5 below sets out the seats of Table 3 in the form of a pendulum for the Labor side. Note that the even-numbered markings on the left-hand side read as “Coalition Majority”. Note also that Macquarie is a seat actually held by the Liberal Party (Kerry Bartlett) but is now notionally held by Labor.

Table 5: The Up-to-date “Mackerras Pendulum” (Labor Side)

		Opposition Seats	
		Labor	60
		Independent	1
		Total	61
Table 5	150	Batman (Vic)	21.4
	148	Grayndler (NSW)	21.3
	146	Melbourne (Vic)	21.2
	144	Sydney (NSW)	17.1
	142	Wills (Vic)	17.0
	140	Blaxland (NSW)	15.3
	138	Kennedy (Ind, Qld)	15.2
	136	Gellibrand (Vic)	15.0
	134	Gorton (Vic)	14.9
	132	Scullin (Vic)	14.8
	130	Watson (NSW)	14.6
	128	Throsby (NSW)	13.9
	126	Fowler (NSW)	13.5
	124	Fraser (ACT)	13.4
	122	Denison (Tas)	13.3
	120	Port Adelaide (SA)	13.0
	118	Chifley (NSW)	12.1
	116	Reid (NSW)	12.0
	114	Cunningham (NSW)	11.7
	112	Hunter (NSW)	11.0
	110	Canberra (ACT)	10.1
	108	Maribyrnong (Vic)	9.5
	106	Shortland (NSW)	9.3
	104	Newcastle (NSW)	9.1
	102	Lalor (Vic)	8.8
	100	Kingsford Smith (NSW)	8.7
	98	Griffith (Qld)	8.5
	96	Charlton (NSW)	8.4
	94	Calwell (Vic)	8.2
	92	Fremantle (WA)	7.8
	90	Lingiari (NT)	7.7
	88	Franklin (Tas)	7.6

86	Barton (NSW)	7.6
84	Hotham (Vic)	7.5
82	Oxley (Qld)	7.2
80	Werriwa (NSW)	7.0
78	Perth (WA)	6.8
76	Prospect (NSW)	6.4
74	Corio (Vic)	5.7
72	Lilley (Qld)	5.4
70	Brand (WA)	4.7
68	Jagajaga (Vic)	4.5
66	Capricornia (Qld)	4.1
64	Brisbane (Qld)	4.0
62	Melbourne Ports (Vic)	3.8
60	Lyons (Tas)	3.7
58	Bruce (Vic)	3.5
56	Banks (NSW)	3.3
54	Lowe (NSW)	3.2
52	Rankin (Qld)	3.0
50	Chisholm (Vic)	2.7
48	Ballarat (Vic)	2.3
46	Holt (Vic)	1.6
44	Isaacs (Vic)	1.5
42	Richmond (NSW)	1.5
40	Adelaide (SA)	1.4
38	Bendigo (Vic)	1.0
36	Cowan (WA)	0.8
34	Macquarie (NSW)	0.5
32	Swan (WA)	0.1
30	Hindmarsh (SA)	0.1

Explanation for Tables 4, 5 and 6

With the exception of the Queensland seat of Kennedy the “Mackerras Pendulum” (and, therefore, Tables 4 and 5) is based on Table 6 which sets out the two-party preferred votes as recorded at the October 2004 general election. Kennedy, however, is shown as though it were a Labor seat with the swing figure being that needed by the Nationals to take the seat from the sitting Independent member, Bob Katter.

Because of the uncertainty about which government the Independents would support (were they to get the balance of power) Mackerras decided, following the 2004 general election, to treat Bennelong as though it were the median seat. With the Liberal Party’s share in Bennelong at 54.33 per cent of the two-party preferred vote it was noted that Labor needed a 4.4 per cent swing to win Bennelong – and, therefore, government.

The redistribution has had the effect of weakening Bennelong for the Liberal Party by 0.4 of a per cent so the swing now needed by Labor to win Bennelong is now an even four per cent. Bennelong is the median seat on the new pendulum just as it was on the old.

It will be noticed that the percentage statistics of Table 6 have been reduced to one decimal place. There is a simple explanation for this. Mackerras has been drawing up electoral statistics for fifty years and he has always reduced them to one decimal place. Should any reader want two decimal places he or she is advised to go to the website of the Australian Electoral Commission. For example, there it is shown that in Bennelong John Howard's 41,735 votes were 54.33 per cent while the Labor candidate's 35,079 votes were 45.67 per cent. The swing to Labor in 2004 was 3.38 per cent. The address of the AEC website is www.aec.gov.au.

Finally it should be mentioned that, outside New South Wales, Queensland and the ACT, no boundaries have been changed. Consequently Mackerras gives just one example of how he has calculated a swing figure. In Bass (Tasmania) the Liberal candidate Michael Ferguson's vote was 32,860 (52.63 per cent) while the defeated Labor member, Michelle O'Byrne, secured 29,579 votes (47.37 per cent). Therefore the swing required for Labor now to win Bass is 2.7 per cent.

Table 6: Two-Party Preferred Votes and Swings in each Division, 2004

Division	Votes Preferring Labor		Votes Preferring Lib-Nat		% Swing to Lib-Nat
	Votes	%	Votes	%	
<i>New South Wales</i>					
Banks	37,468	51.1	35,914	48.9	1.8
Barton	42,772	57.5	31,557	42.5	-1.5
Bennelong	35,079	45.7	41,735	54.3	-3.4
Berowra	29,437	37.8	48,358	62.2	-3.5
Blaxland	43,383	62.9	25,622	37.1	2.3
Bradfield	25,434	31.5	55,336	68.5	-2.6
Calare	39,772	48.9	41,562	51.1	-0.6
Charlton	45,084	57.9	32,751	42.1	-1.3
Chifley	45,084	63.0	26,500	37.0	2.3
Cook	26,907	36.2	47,470	63.8	-0.2
Cowper (n)	33,830	43.6	43,853	56.4	1.7
Cunningham	45,026	61.5	28,229	38.5	-0.8
Dobell	33,247	44.1	42,151	55.9	5.5
Eden-Monaro	40,263	47.9	43,867	52.1	0.5
Farrer	22,968	30.2	53,129	69.8	3.5
Fowler	50,174	71.4	20,140	28.6	0.1
Gilmore	31,981	39.9	48,130	60.1	-4.6
Grayndler	54,798	72.6	20,686	27.4	-1.3
Greenway	37,498	49.4	38,381	50.6	3.7
Gwydir (n)	23,957	31.6	51,835	68.4	3.5
Hughes	30,813	39.0	48,279	61.0	0.6
Hume	29,038	35.9	51,908	64.1	4.3
Hunter (n)	51,401	63.8	29,231	36.2	-2.9
Kingsford Smith	43,498	59.0	30,217	41.0	-0.1
Lindsay	32,687	44.7	40,367	55.3	-0.2
Lowe	40,727	53.3	35,688	46.7	0.5
Lyne (n)	30,830	37.0	52,564	63.0	1.8
Macarthur	30,082	40.5	44,209	59.5	2.5
Mackellar	26,780	34.3	51,415	65.7	-1.1
Macquarie	32,403	41.1	46,482	58.9	0.2
Mitchell	24,865	29.3	59,950	70.7	-0.6
Newcastle	48,771	60.0	32,547	40.0	-3.1
New England (n)	29,594	36.8	50,847	63.2	-0.6
North Sydney	32,054	40.0	48,145	60.0	-3.2
Page (n)	35,534	45.8	42,099	54.2	1.5
Parkes (n)	26,823	35.6	48,512	64.4	5.7
Parramatta	38,083	50.8	36,926	49.2	-1.9
Paterson	34,176	43.0	45,244	57.0	5.6
Prospect	43,119	57.1	32,374	42.9	5.7
Reid	40,388	62.8	23,958	37.2	4.1
Richmond (n)	39,560	50.2	39,259	49.8	-1.9
Riverina(n)	23,854	29.3	57,440	70.7	0.8
Robertson	33,682	43.2	44,308	56.8	-0.2
Shortland	47,754	59.5	32,521	40.5	-0.7
Sydney	54,656	66.4	27,627	33.6	-1.4
Throsby	51,407	65.0	27,680	35.0	0.1
Warringah	29,566	39.5	45,250	60.5	-2.2
Watson	44,899	65.1	24,029	34.9	2.2
Wentworth	32,777	44.5	40,847	55.5	-2.4
Werriwa	46,012	59.3	31,570	40.7	-0.8
Total NSW	1,849,995	48.1	1,998,699	51.9	0.3

Table 6: Two-Party Preferred Votes and Swings in each Division, 2004 (cont.)

Division	Votes Preferring Labor		Votes Preferring Lib-Nat		% Swing to Lib-Nat
	Votes	%	Votes	%	
<i>Victoria</i>					
Aston	30,009	36.9	51,436	63.1	7.1
Ballarat	43,795	52.2	40,057	47.8	1.0
Batman	53,880	71.3	21,664	28.7	3.7
Bendigo	44,900	51.0	43,210	49.0	2.6
Bruce	41,954	53.5	36,497	46.5	3.0
Calwell	46,184	58.2	33,184	41.8	7.0
Casey	30,946	38.6	49,111	61.4	4.1
Chisholm	40,980	52.6	36,850	47.4	0.1
Corangamite	37,814	44.7	46,828	55.3	-0.1
Corio	44,588	55.6	35,549	44.4	2.9
Deakin	36,422	45.0	44,462	55.0	3.4
Dunkley	33,695	40.6	49,253	59.4	4.2
Flinders	32,255	38.9	50,689	61.1	3.7
Gellibrand	51,587	64.9	27,833	35.1	5.4
Gippsland (n)	36,053	42.3	49,181	57.7	5.1
Goldstein	32,721	40.0	49,147	60.0	0.5
Gorton	53,486	64.9	28,927	35.1	5.0
Higgins	32,678	41.2	46,561	58.8	0.4
Holt	42,036	51.5	39,577	48.5	6.4
Hotham	45,655	57.4	33,877	42.6	3.6
Indi	27,901	33.7	54,863	66.3	5.6
Isaacs	43,277	51.5	40,783	48.5	5.1
Jagajaga	46,531	54.4	39,006	45.6	0.9
Kooyong	32,229	40.4	47,498	59.6	-1.4
Lalor	48,218	58.8	33,806	41.2	3.3
La Trobe	34,337	44.2	43,394	55.8	2.2
McEwen	38,096	43.6	49,322	56.4	4.3
McMillan	33,954	45.0	41,477	55.0	2.1
Mallee (n)	21,175	25.2	62,680	74.8	3.9
Maribyrnong	46,431	59.5	31,643	40.5	5.9
Melbourne	57,766	71.1	23,438	28.9	-1.3
Melbourne Ports	43,873	53.7	37,763	46.3	2.0
Menzies	31,951	39.3	49,288	60.7	1.8
Murray	20,843	25.9	59,574	74.1	2.2
Scullin	50,726	64.8	27,563	35.2	5.4
Wannon	31,680	37.6	52,504	62.4	3.1
Wills	54,893	66.9	27,155	33.1	3.7
Total Victoria	1,475,519	49.0	1,535,650	51.0	3.1
<i>Queensland</i>					
Blair	31,724	38.8	50,057	61.2	4.6
Bonner	38,503	49.5	39,298	50.5	2.4
Bowman	31,805	40.9	46,004	59.1	6.1
Brisbane	42,759	53.9	36,564	46.1	-2.9
Capricornia (n)	45,531	55.1	37,044	44.9	0.4
Dawson (n)	32,420	39.6	49,399	60.4	2.4
Dickson	32,229	42.2	44,199	57.8	1.8
Fadden	24,680	34.7	46,393	65.3	2.2
Fairfax	29,267	39.2	45,452	60.8	1.7
Fisher	28,253	37.0	48,068	63.0	1.2
Forde	27,916	37.0	47,502	63.0	6.0
Griffith	47,207	58.6	33,313	41.3	-2.5

Table 6: Two-Party Preferred Votes and Swings in each Division, 2004 (cont.)

Division	Votes Preferring Labor		Votes Preferring Lib-Nat		% Swing to Lib-Nat
	Votes	%	Votes	%	
<i>Queensland (cont.)</i>					
Groom	25,275	31.0	56,121	69.0	3.9
Herbert	34,155	43.8	43,828	56.2	4.7
Hinkler (n)	38,311	45.2	46,458	54.8	2.5
Kennedy (n)	33,435	41.1	48,022	58.9	0.5
Leichhardt	31,022	40.0	46,541	60.0	3.6
Lilley	45,493	55.3	36,817	44.7	-0.7
Longman	32,926	42.3	44,848	57.7	5.1
McPherson	26,411	36.1	46,737	63.9	1.7
Maranoa (n)	22,986	29.1	56,085	70.9	5.6
Moncrieff	21,718	29.9	51,003	70.1	3.8
Moreton	36,118	45.8	42,694	54.2	1.6
Oxley	47,103	59.7	31,774	40.3	-1.8
Petrie	33,508	42.1	46,119	57.9	4.4
Rankin	41,774	53.2	36,707	46.8	-0.8
Ryan	31,438	39.6	47,997	60.4	0.9
Wide Bay (n)	30,388	37.1	51,489	62.9	3.0
Total Queensland	944,355	42.9	1,256,533	57.1	2.3
<i>Western Australia</i>					
Brand	40,499	54.6	33,605	45.4	5.4
Canning	30,189	40.5	44,434	59.5	9.2
Cowan	38,784	50.8	37,598	49.2	4.7
Curtin	26,771	35.4	48,887	64.6	0.7
Forrest	30,665	39.5	46,871	60.5	2.8
Fremantle	41,970	57.8	30,696	42.2	2.9
Hasluck	34,468	48.2	37,078	51.8	3.6
Kalgoorlie	28,329	43.7	36,502	56.3	2.0
Moore	26,710	39.2	41,486	60.8	4.8
O'Connor	21,620	29.6	51,389	70.4	1.3
Pearce	27,804	37.1	47,219	62.9	6.1
Perth	41,723	56.7	31,826	43.3	4.5
Stirling	36,468	48.0	39,578	52.0	3.6
Swan	34,714	50.1	34,610	49.9	2.0
Tangney	28,530	38.2	46,050	61.8	3.8
Total WA	489,244	44.6	607,829	55.4	3.8
<i>South Australia</i>					
Adelaide	43,671	51.3	41,405	48.7	-2.0
Barker	27,322	30.1	63,392	69.9	3.2
Boothby	38,478	44.6	47,730	55.4	-2.0
Grey	31,480	36.2	55,528	63.8	3.2
Hindmarsh	43,507	50.1	43,399	49.9	-1.1
Kingston	42,208	49.9	42,327	50.1	1.4
Makin	41,616	49.1	43,186	50.9	-2.8
Mayo	30,223	36.4	52,780	63.6	-0.7
Port Adelaide	53,888	62.9	31,769	37.1	3.1
Sturt	37,638	43.2	49,481	56.8	-1.7
Wakefield	39,768	49.3	40,848	50.7	1.9
Total SA	429,799	45.6	511,845	54.4	0.3

Table 6: Two-Party Preferred Votes and Swings in each Division, 2004 (cont.)

Division	Votes Preferring Labor		Votes Preferring Lib-Nat		% Swing to Lib-Nat
	Votes	%	Votes	%	
<i>Tasmania</i>					
Bass	29,579	47.4	32,860	52.6	4.7
Braddon	31,660	48.9	33,127	51.1	7.1
Denison	40,397	63.3	23,427	36.7	1.0
Franklin	37,139	57.6	27,350	42.4	0.4
Lyons	32,519	53.7	28,065	46.3	4.5
Total Tasmania	171,294	54.2	144,829	45.8	3.5
<i>ACT</i>					
Canberra	60,029	59.6	40,649	40.4	-0.2
Fraser	68,359	63.3	39,589	36.7	-0.6
Total ACT	128,388	61.5	80,238	38.5	-0.4
<i>Northern Territory</i>					
Lingiari	24,795	57.7	18,204	42.3	-2.4
Solomon	22,613	47.2	25,303	52.8	2.7
Total Northern Territory	47,408	52.2	43,507	47.8	0.3
Total Australia	5,536,002	47.3	6,179,130	52.7	1.8