

INFORMATION, ANALYSIS  
AND ADVICE FOR THE PARLIAMENT

INFORMATION AND RESEARCH SERVICES

Current Issues Brief  
No. 13 2002–03

## Victorian Election 2002

ISSN 1440-2009

© Copyright Commonwealth of Australia 2003

Except to the extent of the uses permitted under the *Copyright Act 1968*, no part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means including information storage and retrieval systems, without the prior written consent of the Department of the Parliamentary Library, other than by Senators and Members of the Australian Parliament in the course of their official duties.

This paper has been prepared for general distribution to Senators and Members of the Australian Parliament. While great care is taken to ensure that the paper is accurate and balanced, the paper is written using information publicly available at the time of production. The views expressed are those of the author and should not be attributed to the Information and Research Services (IRS). Advice on legislation or legal policy issues contained in this paper is provided for use in parliamentary debate and for related parliamentary purposes. This paper is not professional legal opinion. Readers are reminded that the paper is not an official parliamentary or Australian government document. IRS staff are available to discuss the paper's contents with Senators and Members and their staff but not with members of the public.

Published by the Department of the Parliamentary Library, 2003

Current Issues Brief  
No. 13 2002–03

Victorian Election 2002

Scott Bennett, Politics and Public Administration Group  
Gerard Newman, Statistics Group  
10 February 2003

## Acknowledgments

Thanks to Brian Costar, Cathy Madden, Sarah Miskin and Ian Holland.  
Maps by Klaus Inveen.

## Enquiries

Information and Research Services publications are available on the ParlInfo database.  
On the Internet the Department of the Parliamentary Library can be found at: <http://www.aph.gov.au/library/>

IRS Publications Office  
Telephone: (02) 6277 2778

# Contents

Major Issues .....	i
Introduction .....	1
An election is called .....	2
The impact of a redistribution .....	2
The contestants .....	3
Australian Labor Party .....	3
Liberal Party .....	4
VicNats .....	4
Greens .....	5
Australian Democrats .....	5
Independents .....	5
The campaign .....	6
Australian Labor Party .....	6
Liberal Party .....	6
VicNats .....	8
The result—Legislative Assembly .....	9
The result—Legislative Council .....	10
Explaining the outcome—Legislative Assembly .....	10
The standing of the Government .....	10
The Premier .....	11
The importance of winning across Melbourne .....	11
The Liberals .....	12
A refusal to accept the 1999 result .....	13
The Kennett legacy .....	13
Leadership infighting .....	13
Robert Doyle's leadership .....	13
The Dean fiasco .....	14
The Greens .....	14
Electorates of interest .....	14
Bass .....	14
Benalla .....	15
Forest Hill .....	15
Geelong .....	16

Gembrook.....	16
Macedon.....	17
Melbourne.....	17
Mitcham.....	18
Morwell.....	18
Shepparton.....	18
South-West Coast.....	19
Explaining the result—Legislative Council.....	19
The dust settles.....	20
Endnotes.....	20
Election results.....	24
Appendix 1.....	54
Legislative Assembly By-elections 1999-2002.....	54
Appendix 2.....	55
Legislative Council By-elections 1999-2002.....	55
Appendix 3.....	56
Legislative Assembly Elections 1950–2002.....	56
Appendix 4.....	57
Legislative Council Elections 1952–2002.....	57

### **List of Tables**

Table 1a Legislative Assembly, Seats Won.....	24
Table 1b Legislative Council, Seats Won.....	24
Table 2 Legislative Assembly, State Summary.....	25
Table 3 Legislative Assembly, Region Summary.....	26
Table 4a Legislative Assembly, District Summary, First Preference Votes.....	27
Table 4b Legislative Assembly, District Summary, First Preference Votes.....	29
Table 5 Legislative Assembly, District Summary, Two Party Preferred Votes.....	31
Table 6 Legislative Assembly, Electoral Pendulum.....	33
Table 7 Legislative Assembly, District Detail.....	34
Table 8 Legislative Council, State Summary.....	49
Table 9 Legislative Council, Province Summary, First Preference Votes.....	50
Table 10 Legislative Council, Province Summary, Two Party Preferred Votes.....	51
Table 11 Legislative Council, Electoral Pendulum.....	52
Table 12 Legislative Council, Province Details.....	53

## **Abbreviations**

AD	Australian Democrats
AG	Australian Greens
ALP	Australian Labor Party
ARP	Australian Reform Party
CEC	Citizens Electoral Council
CP	Christian Party
DLP	Democratic Labor Party
Grn	Greens
HP	Hope Party
IND	Independents
LP	Liberal Party
NP	National Party
ON	Pauline Hanson's One Nation
Sa	Socialist Alliance



## **Major Issues**

This paper discusses an important Victorian election in which:

- the ALP gained its largest-ever Legislative Assembly majority
- the Liberal Party suffered its most severe defeat in fifty years
- the National Party almost lost its parliamentary party status
- the Greens performed well enough to suggest that they may be able to win a Senate seat at the next Commonwealth election, and
- the Bracks Government gained control of the Legislative Council, the first time a Labor Government has gained long-term control of the upper house.

The factors behind this remarkable outcome seem to include:

- the standing of the Bracks Labor Government—a Government that seemed to be on top of things, and which had not made any egregious mistakes
- the Premier was popular—even though his popularity had dropped during 2002, Steve Bracks was still sitting on a 56 per cent approval figure on the eve of the election
- Labor had to do well in the eastern and south-eastern Melbourne suburbs if it was to win a majority of seats, and it did so with ease
- the failure of the Liberal Party to put the surprise 1999 defeat behind it, a failure that meant that it had not done sufficient work on policy development
- an ongoing internal fight over the leadership which finally saw Denis Napthine replaced by Robert Doyle on election-eve
- an apparent failure by Doyle to make any positive mark with voters. Evidence suggested that many voters had quickly decided that they did not like the new leader, something that was probably relevant to an assessment of his campaign efforts, and
- the failure of the Shadow Treasurer to keep his electoral roll registration up-to-date.



## **Introduction**

In our paper on the 1999 Victorian election we described that election as 'one of the most remarkable State elections of the last 50 years'.<sup>1</sup> At the risk of being accused of unoriginality, we believe that we can safely assert the same about the 2002 Victorian election, though for quite different reasons.

The earlier election removed the apparently impregnable Liberal–National Coalition Government, resulted in the retirement of two of the three party leaders, and pitchforked into office a party that was remarkably unprepared. It was also an election that was unusually prolonged.

In 2002, by contrast, there was no surprise about the outcome for the Bracks Government was comfortably returned, as expected. What made the result remarkable was the magnitude of the victory, combined with the parlous position of the two major conservative parties.

This paper gives a brief account of the election and makes some assessment of the factors that explain the outcome.

## **An election is called**

Despite the next Victorian election not being due until 3 January 2004, on 4 November 2002 the Victorian Premier Steve Bracks announced that an election would be held on 30 November 2002.

The minority Bracks Labor Government was seeking to gain control of the Legislative Assembly; the Liberal Party was seeking to regain the government benches so surprisingly taken from it in the election of 1999. Nipping at the heels of both was the National Party, which had performed poorly in 1999 and was attempting to restore some electoral respectability, and the Greens, encouraged by the recent Green triumph in the New South Wales House of Representatives seat of Cunningham.

There was also a Legislative Council election. The Legislative Council is a 44-member body, based on 22 two-person electorates. Half of the Legislative Council is elected at the same time as the full membership of the Legislative Assembly. In 2002, however, not only was there a half-Council election, but as two of the MLCs elected in 1999 were retiring, there were also by-elections to replace each for the balance of their term.

The upper house had long been dominated by the non-Labor side of politics, and on this occasion few expected that the position would change.

## **The impact of a redistribution**

A redistribution of Victoria's 88 Legislative Assembly districts and 22 Legislative Council provinces had been completed and was in place for the 2002 election. The redistribution threatened a marked alteration to the political landscape:

- some of Labor's seats had become nominally Liberal—these included Geelong, Yan Yean and Narracan
- on the Liberal side, Cranbourne had become nominally a Labor seat
- a number of Labor's seats—such as Seymour and Mitcham—had become highly marginal
- the seats of Bellarine, Frankston and Monbulk had become less safe for the Liberal Party
- the National seat of Wimmera was abolished
- the abolition of Susan Davies' seat of Gippsland West made the independent MP's chances of re-election very unlikely.

Overall, it seemed clear that Labor's vote had to increase for it to be sure of surviving, for an identical vote to its 45.6 per cent in 1999 would probably see it lose seats.<sup>2</sup>

All of this meant that Labor entered the election with a nominal 41 seats (44 actual), two of which were described as 'too close to call', the Liberals with 38 (35), and the Nationals 6 (6).<sup>3</sup> Although the opinion poll gap between the parties suggested that Labor would be able to comfortably overcome the impact of the redistribution, there was some press speculation that its effect would be to make the final seat margin closer than perhaps many expected. Apart from anything else occurring, however, it seemed unlikely that Labor would hold on to all of its surprise regional gains of 1999 and 2000—seats like Ripon, Seymour and Benalla.

## **The contestants**

### **Australian Labor Party**

Despite being in a minority position in the Parliament, the Bracks Government had managed the situation with little major difficulty. In the lower house the three independents (Russell Savage, Susan Davies and Craig Ingram) acted responsibly, giving the Government and the Parliament much stability.<sup>4</sup> The Legislative Council was controlled by the Liberal and National parties, and had caused the Government some angst, but essentially the Government had experienced relatively few problems in dealing with the upper house.

Above all else, the Bracks Government appeared determined to appear fiscally conservative. It was a moot point as to how much this was due to a desire to appear very different from the Cain-Kirner Governments, or whether it was essentially an indication of the cautious style of the Premier. Certainly it was very different from the Kennett Government's rather more flamboyant style. Although the Government's opponents and some commentators spoke of a cautious, do-nothing administration, obsessed with consultation and, therefore, extremely slow to do anything,<sup>5</sup> such criticism seemed not to hurt. The Age Poll gave it a 50 per cent approval rating during much of 2000 and 2001, and although it fell below this in the election year, by polling day its support seemed to be in the 47–48 per cent range, while another poll put Labor ahead of the Liberals in terms of 'economic management'.<sup>6</sup> Despite a journalist's claim that the election was 'up for grabs', a Labor victory had appeared highly likely a long way out from the election announcement—something that the Liberal campaign director acknowledged on the night of the election.<sup>7</sup>

Throughout its time in power the Labor Government retained a comfortable lead over the Liberal Party, with its opinion poll first preference figure usually close to, or slightly above, its 1999 first preference vote of 45.6 per cent. Its lead over the Liberal Party was usually in excess of ten per cent. The major exception was an Age Poll on the eve of the

election announcement that suggested a drop in support for Labor to 40 per cent, though that was still eight per cent ahead of its main rival.<sup>8</sup>

## **Liberal Party**

The Liberal Party had been stunned by the result in 1999, for most had expected that the Kennett Coalition Government would be comfortably returned.<sup>9</sup> In fact, if Premier Kennett had been prepared to accept the 'Charter of Independents' in its entirety, he may well have remained in office with the support of the three independents.<sup>10</sup>

After briefly toying with the possibility of remaining as leader of the Liberals, Kennett had stepped down, being replaced by Denis Napthine in late October 1999. For several months the opinion poll gap between the new Government and its opponents remained small, but unfortunately for the Liberals a clear gap had opened up by March 2000 which was never closed.<sup>11</sup> Napthine was unable to make any inroads into the popularity of the Premier and his Government with opinion polls soon suggesting a growing voter dissatisfaction with his performance.<sup>12</sup> As early as March 2000 there were press reports of unhappy Liberals discussing his replacement—names of possible challengers included Robert Doyle and Ted Baillieu.<sup>13</sup>

Eventually a successful push was made against Napthine on 20 August 2002, when Doyle was elected parliamentary leader, with Phil Honeywood replacing Louise Asher as deputy leader. As it turned out, the new leaders were to have just 102 days to pull their team together, to prepare and present a set of policies, and to make their mark in the electorate, before facing the electorate on 30 November.

## **VicNats**

In 1999 the National Party's election return of 7 of 88 seats was meagre; fifty years earlier it had held over a quarter of the Legislative Assembly seats. By common consent, it had suffered during its period in coalition during the Kennett years apparently due to its presence within the Government being overlooked or ignored.

In December 1999 the party had replaced Pat McNamara with Peter Ryan as leader. Ryan came to office convinced of the need for his party to make it clearer to the electorate that it was not just an appendage of the Liberal Party: 'People want to be able to see us as an individual party'.<sup>14</sup> In August 2002 the party re-badged itself with a new logo and a new name: 'VicNats'. According to Ryan, the new look was designed to identify the Party as solely focused on country Victoria where, he reminded journalists, 25 per cent of the state's population was to be found.<sup>15</sup>

Despite this effort, opinion polls suggested the party looked to have little chance of increasing its parliamentary representation in any substantial way. Outside of the metropolitan area its opinion poll rating registered at less than ten per cent of voters.<sup>16</sup> By the time of the election, the decision of the Liberal Party to contest every seat seemed

likely to further hurt the chances of the party's candidates. To add to the VicNats' difficulties the redistribution had abolished its seat of Wimmera. Despite all of the party's difficulties, however, Ryan expressed his confidence that the party would replace Wimmera with Lowan, and was optimistic of regaining Benalla, lost when the previous leader, Pat McNamara, left the Parliament in 2000. In the Legislative Council, though, there was a worry that the VicNats might at least lose the North Eastern province, and the by-election for Western Province gave them some concern.

## **Greens**

The Victorian Greens approached this election with some confidence, boosted by their New South Wales colleagues' unexpected win in the by-election for the House of Representatives seat of Cunningham just six weeks before. Opinion polls had them hovering in the 10–12 per cent range, suggesting that they might have a significant impact on the election result, not least through their preferences.

In the 2001 Commonwealth House of Representatives election the highest Green vote had been the 15.7 per cent in the seat of Melbourne, while the next highest Victorian Green returns came in Batman (11.6 per cent), Melbourne Ports (11.3 per cent), Kooyong (10.7 per cent) and Higgins (8.8 per cent), all of which shared boundaries with Melbourne. These were all inner-Melbourne seats in which there seemed to be much support for Green-sponsored issues. In the State election the Greens believed the Green inner-city vote would play an important part in the electorates of Melbourne, Richmond, Northcote and Brunswick.

## **Australian Democrats**

The Australian Democrats have not paid much attention to Victorian Legislative Assembly elections, running no candidates in 1995 and just six candidates in 1999 and 2002. They have concentrated their effort on upper house seats, winning a respectable 6.8 per cent from contesting 17 of 22 seats in 1999—not far from their 7.3 per cent in the 2001 Senate vote. In 2002 they were to contest 16 of 22 Legislative Council provinces, plus a by-election in another, though opinion polls suggested that their Victorian vote was diminishing.<sup>17</sup>

## **Independents**

Unlike Susan Davies' position in Bass, the redistribution of seats after the previous election seemed to do no serious damage to the chances of Craig Ingram in Gippsland East or Russell Savage in Mildura. Ingram, in fact, had won the major concession of an increased flow of the Snowy River that began with the opening of the aqueduct near Jindabyne (NSW) on 28 August 2002, an event that was likely to help him lift his first preferences from the 24.8 per cent he gained in 1999.

## **The campaign**

### **Australian Labor Party**

The Government under Premier Steve Bracks entered the election contest with considerable confidence shown by the Premier's announcement of the election on the first possible day. One of his justifications for the announcement was the frustration of governing in a minority position: 'people often forget we are in a minority government'.<sup>18</sup> As noted above, the Premier's point was more a matter of rhetoric than in accord with reality for the minority position seemed not to have greatly influenced his Government's performance. In going early, Bracks was in fact ignoring the wishes of the independents and acting contrary to a commitment he had made to them to support a full four-year term, but he obviously believed this would not be held against his party, despite him having said in May that he had 'no plans to advance the [election] timetable'.<sup>19</sup>

The Labor campaign was typical of modern government campaigns. The party was well organised, with its activities very tightly scripted and designed to fit well on each day's evening news. Premier Bracks bore the brunt of the campaign as is usual with popular leaders, and as he made no serious mistakes, he achieved what party planners had hoped, namely a controversy-free ride back into office. The only mildly controversial promise was the pledge to phase out logging in the Otways and woodchipping in the Wombat forest, promises that drew criticism in the areas affected but not elsewhere.

The ALP campaign slogan attempted to capitalise on Bracks' popularity, while deflecting criticism of the Government being obsessed with inquiries rather than decisive action: 'Steve Bracks. Thinks. Acts'. The Government made some promises, but there was little that could be criticised as too extravagant or too risky. In fact, there was nothing in Labor's campaign to modify the view that State government campaigns are typically built upon the leader of the government, for 'the Premier is usually seen as crucial to a [State] government's chances of re-election'.<sup>20</sup>

### **Liberal Party**

The Liberal campaign got off to an awkward beginning. Claims that violent crime had increased under Labor were proven to be incorrect, and the party briefly attempted to resurrect the 'guilty party' theme that had been used in the two Kennett victories. State director Brian Loughnane defended this by claiming that party polling indicated concerns in the community of a return to the Cain-Kirner style of economic management:

We think there is a very strong trend emerging about hesitations about a second-term Labor government that was not there six months ago.<sup>21</sup>

Effectively, neither this early foray, nor the replacement of Liberal leader, gave the party any sustained lift in the opinion polls upon which it might have been able to build. The Liberals struggled to gain the interest of the media in their policies, and seemed in danger

of being lost in Labor's wake. It has been noticed elsewhere that if a State or Territory government appears to be in control of events and can successfully portray itself as more competent than its rivals, such a government is often able to entrench itself.<sup>22</sup> The Bracks Government seemed to be just such a government.

Doyle worked hard to achieve media attention with policies that were new and different, with some success:

- commuter train fares from Frankston and Geelong would be reduced
- his Government would effectively increase the allowable speed of traffic on freeways to 121 km/h
- he spoke of making ministers lodge annual reports
- recognising the problem of access to water for many farmers, he promised to turn off the Snowy River flow so recently turned on, in order to give Victorian farmers access to the water
- furthermore, Melbourne would be placed on permanent water restrictions to ease future water shortages, and
- stamp duty would be reduced, especially for new house buyers and small businesses.

During the campaign, however, the party suffered the bombshell of a frontbencher, Robert Dean, admitting that he was unable to contest his seat due to his failure to keep his electoral roll registration up-to-date. Dean was removed from the electoral roll when the Victorian Electoral Commission discovered he was not living at his nominated address in the seat of Gembrook.<sup>23</sup> The announcement came the day before Dean had been due to comment upon the Government's revised Budget figures, and Doyle was thus forced to listen to Treasurer John Brumby querying how the Liberal Party could hope to govern the state if its Shadow Treasurer could not attend to his own affairs. Doyle later spoke of the Dean bombshell as having caused the party to lose crucial momentum in its campaigning.<sup>24</sup>

If all of this was not difficult enough for the Liberal Party to deal with, it also had to shake off the presence of former Premier Jeff Kennett who still loomed large over Victorian politics. Whenever the Government boasted of its restoration of local services, or warned of the Liberals threatening to return to the 'bad old days', it was, by implication, referring to the former Liberal Premier and his Government. Labor television advertisements continually reminded voters of this. Labor advertisements also ran a tape of Kennett's public criticisms of Doyle's leadership qualifications that were made when Napthine's position was being challenged. Kennett clearly remained newsworthy: the press coverage of the Liberal policy launch gave undue space to his presence in the audience, while his

departure from radio station 3AK in the last week of the campaign gained headlines that the Liberals would have preferred not to see.

As Labor's victory seemed more and more inevitable, Doyle began a stronger approach late in the campaign that was designed to minimise the size of the likely Labor majority:

- he warned of the collapse of the Victorian economy if Labor was re-elected
- he accused the Government of planning to introduce heroin injecting rooms, despite their denials
- claims were made that many suburban houses would be pulled down to be replaced by high-rise developments
- above all else, Doyle and fellow Liberals warned of a 'union free-for-all' were Bracks to be returned to power.<sup>25</sup> This claim took over Doyle's last week of campaigning, and pushed aside any last-minute promises that might otherwise have been made. In this Doyle was joined by other prominent Liberals, including Commonwealth Minister for Industrial Relations and Workplace Relations, Tony Abbott.

Eventually the Liberal Party seemed in fact to be conceding defeat when it produced an advertisement that began, 'If Labor wins easily next Saturday...'. Some Liberals were reported as resentful of what they saw as a defeatist approach.<sup>26</sup> A slightly different approach was that of Liberal MHR, Petro Georgiou, who warned of what lay ahead were the returning Labor Government to also gain control of the Legislative Council:

If the polls and the bookies are right ... a Labor juggernaut is heading our way. The first casualty will be responsible, accountable government in our state.<sup>27</sup>

## **VicNats**

Peter Ryan used the campaign to push further the idea that his party was a player separate from the Liberal Party. He undertook a great deal of campaigning across rural Victoria, repeatedly assuring voters that if he were to find himself in coalition negotiations with the Liberals he would be demanding certain non-negotiable concessions. Such assertions forced Doyle to respond to his claims.<sup>28</sup> By the end of the campaign Ryan was speaking of a non-negotiable fund of \$1.5 billion in targeted rural spending that would be the price of any coalition with the Liberals, with an associated delay of several city projects.<sup>29</sup> Despite all of Ryan's labours, however, the key question for the party was whether or not it could maintain official parliamentary party status by winning at least eleven parliamentary seats in both houses.

## **The result—Legislative Assembly**

Labor won 62 of the 88 seats, the Liberal Party won 17 and the VicNats won seven. Two of the three independents, Russell Savage and Craig Ingram, were re-elected.

The Legislative Assembly election was remarkable in a number of ways:

- Labor won its largest-ever proportion of Legislative Assembly seats (70.5 per cent); in recent times the only results to come close this were the Hamer Liberal victories of 1973 (63 per cent) and 1976 (64.2 per cent)
- despite this, Labor's first preferences (47.9 per cent) did not match the 50 per cent totals achieved by John Cain Jr in 1982 and 1985
- on the other hand, Labor's two-party preferred vote of 58.3 per cent and the two-party preferred swing to it of 8.1 per cent were both party records, and topped the figures achieved ten years before by the Liberal Party
- Labor mirrored the 1982 effort of John Cain Jr in winning seats to the east and south-east of Melbourne city
- the Liberal vote of 33.9 per cent was the party's lowest vote since 1952 (24.9 per cent), and was twelve per cent behind its best-ever tally in 1976 (45.9 per cent)
- the Liberal front bench was decimated. Apart from Dean's earlier disappearance, among those defeated were Leonie Burke (local government and women's affairs), Ian Cover (sport and recreation, racing and youth affairs), Lorraine Elliott (arts and community services), Carlo Furletti (natural resources and energy), Geoff Leigh (transport), Wendy Smith (small business) and Ron Wilson (health)
- in 1999 the National Party's twelve candidates garnered 4.8 per cent of the State vote. In 2002 the VicNats' sixteen candidates managed just 4.3 per cent. In the non-metropolitan region its vote of 11.6 per cent was a fall of 1.9 percentage points. Its 12 parliamentary seats (7 in the Legislative Assembly, 5 in the Legislative Council) meant that it retained parliamentary party status
- the Green tally of 9.7 per cent was the highest non-major party tally since the Democratic Labor Party's 13.3 per cent in 1970. Despite winning significant first preference votes in Richmond (28.6 per cent), Northcote (25.4 per cent), Brunswick (24.3 per cent), Melbourne (24.2 per cent) and Hawthorn (19.8 per cent), no Green won a seat, though in Richmond and Melbourne a Green candidate outlasted the Liberal candidate in the count.

## The result—Legislative Council

The electorate arrangements for the Legislative Council had long made it difficult for Labor to win a majority of Legislative Council seats being contested in a particular election. Few in the ALP seemed to believe these could be overcome—least of all in one cycle of elections. Labor needed to win 15 of the 22 seats being contested if it was to gain control of the Council. This really seemed unlikely, though some journalists believed it could be done, and as already noted the Liberal Party's Petro Georgiou clearly believed it a strong possibility.

The result was quite extraordinary, for Labor won 17 of the 22 seats increasing its membership from 14 to 25, giving it control of the chamber. This was almost unprecedented, for the ALP had previously controlled the upper house only for a few weeks following the election of 1985.<sup>30</sup> Seats such as Western Port Province and Monash Province had never before been won by the party.

The Liberals retained just three of the 13 seats they had held, and the VicNats won two seats. Liberal retention of East Yarra and VicNat retention of Western Province in by-elections meant that the non-Labor parties now held 19 seats (30 previously).

Despite concentrating on the upper house, the Australian Democrats performed weakly. This can be well illustrated by comparing their 1999 and 2002 figures:

- in 1999 they contested 17 seats, gained 190 940 votes, and had a statewide vote of 6.8 per cent
- in 2002 their vote in 16 seats<sup>31</sup> was now only 51 710 votes for a State-wide figure of 1.8 per cent.

It is hard to know just how much effort the party's Victorian office put into this campaign, for the Australian Democrats were barely heard or seen during the campaign.

## Explaining the outcome—Legislative Assembly

### The standing of the Government

Incumbent Commonwealth and State governments tend to be returned in Australia. In the past fifty years there have been just eight one-term governments.<sup>32</sup> In that period governments have been returned in 68.1 per cent of all elections—the Victorian figure has been 68.8 per cent. A government that seems to be on top of things, and which has not made any egregious errors, can usually count on being returned for another term, and the opinion polls had long suggested that this would be the case for the Bracks Government. All of which probably goes towards explaining why a *Herald Sun* editorial gave an unprecedented vote of support for Labor.<sup>33</sup> As Georgiou put it:

The unassailable conclusion is that a substantial majority of the Victorian electorate wanted Labor to win; they overwhelmingly thought that Labor would win and they voted to ensure that this was the final outcome.<sup>34</sup>

Former ALP national secretary Bob Hogg expressed no surprise at the result, claiming that it was:

... an endorsement of one of the constant verities of political life: that a reasonable government pitted against a hopeless, divided and incompetent opposition will invariably be re-elected.<sup>35</sup>

### **The Premier**

The Government was headed by a popular Premier. Early in Labor's term opinion poll returns suggested that in excess of 70 per cent of voters were satisfied with Steve Bracks' performance. Even though this dropped during 2002, he was still sitting on a 56 per cent approval figure on the eve of the election; for most of that time his opponent, whether Napthine or Doyle, was struggling to gain an approval rating of 30 per cent.<sup>36</sup> Polling in five marginal seats suggested that Bracks had a strong appeal for female voters.<sup>37</sup>

Labor strategists made a great deal of use of this positive image, and a number of Liberal candidates noted how the Bracks image appeared everywhere during the campaign. Overall, the Liberals seemed to have as much trouble coping with Bracks' popularity as Labor did with Premier Jeff Kennett's standing in the 1996 poll. Even Prime Minister John Howard later stated that the Liberal Party was 'never going to win' against Bracks.<sup>38</sup>

### **The importance of winning across Melbourne**

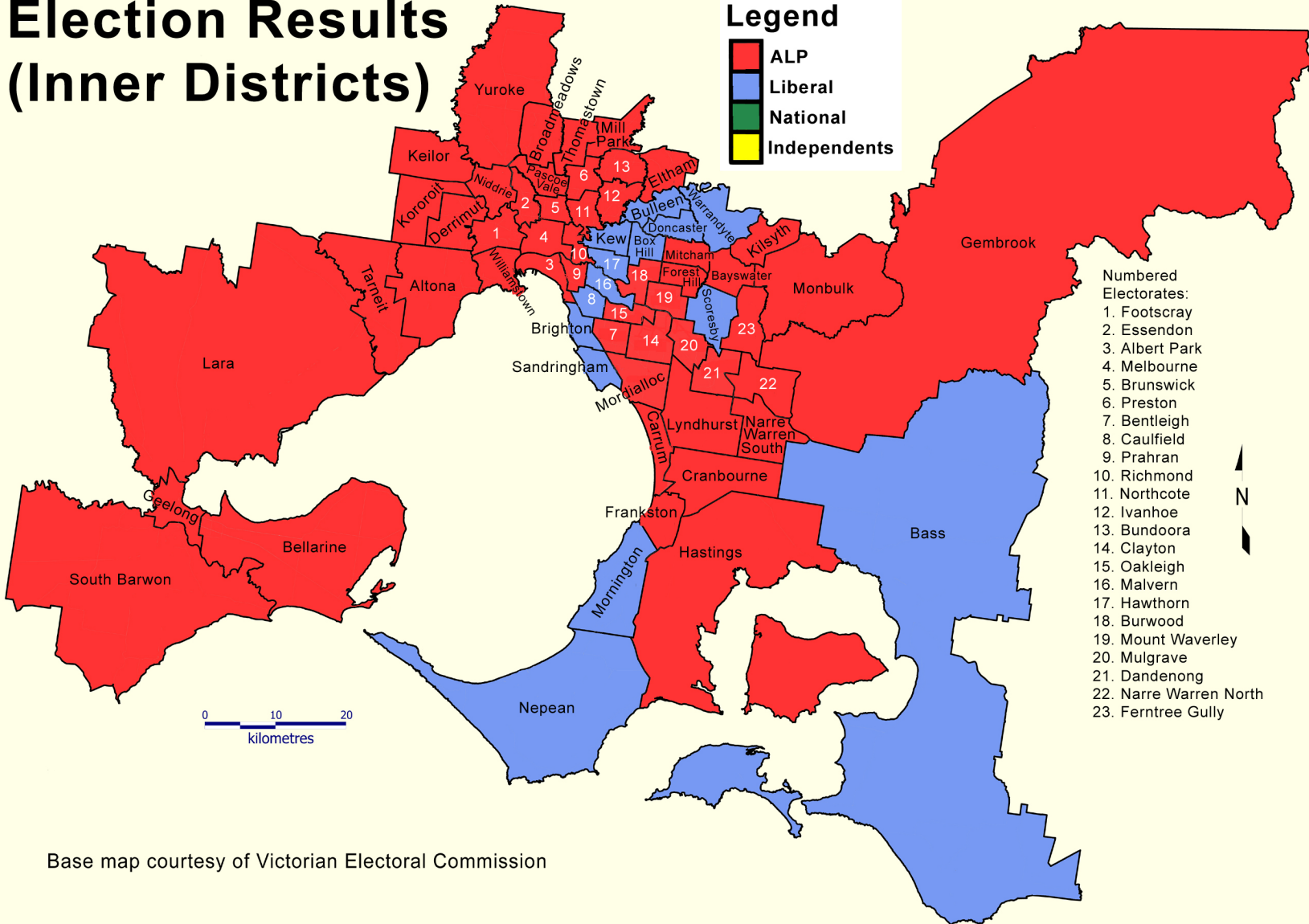
Labor's minority victory in 1999 was something of a fluke. For Labor to gain control of the Legislative Assembly they would normally need to build on their core Melbourne seats west of the Yarra by gaining a substantial number of the Melbourne seats east and south-east of the city centre, as John Cain Jr did in the election of 1982 that gave the party its first Assembly majority since 1952.<sup>39</sup> The 1999 victory saw them patch together enough seats from virtually everywhere else in Victoria except these suburbs to be able to reach a deal with the three independents—the coalition parties actually had a larger representation in the Legislative Assembly than did the ALP.

On this occasion a breakthrough east of the Yarra was essential, for Labor could not be certain of holding its surprise regional gains. The party did so quite spectacularly, pushing the Liberal Party out of some seats that had been held for a decade or more. Apart from Scoresby, Labor now holds a swathe of eastern Melbourne seats running from Mitcham and Kilsyth, through Monbulk, Gembrook and Narre Warren South, to Frankston and Hastings. These will be the seats which the Liberals will need to win back if they are to regain office in the next election (see map overleaf).

# 2002 Victorian Legislative Assembly Election Results (Inner Districts)

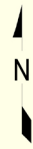
**Legend**

- ALP
- Liberal
- National
- Independents



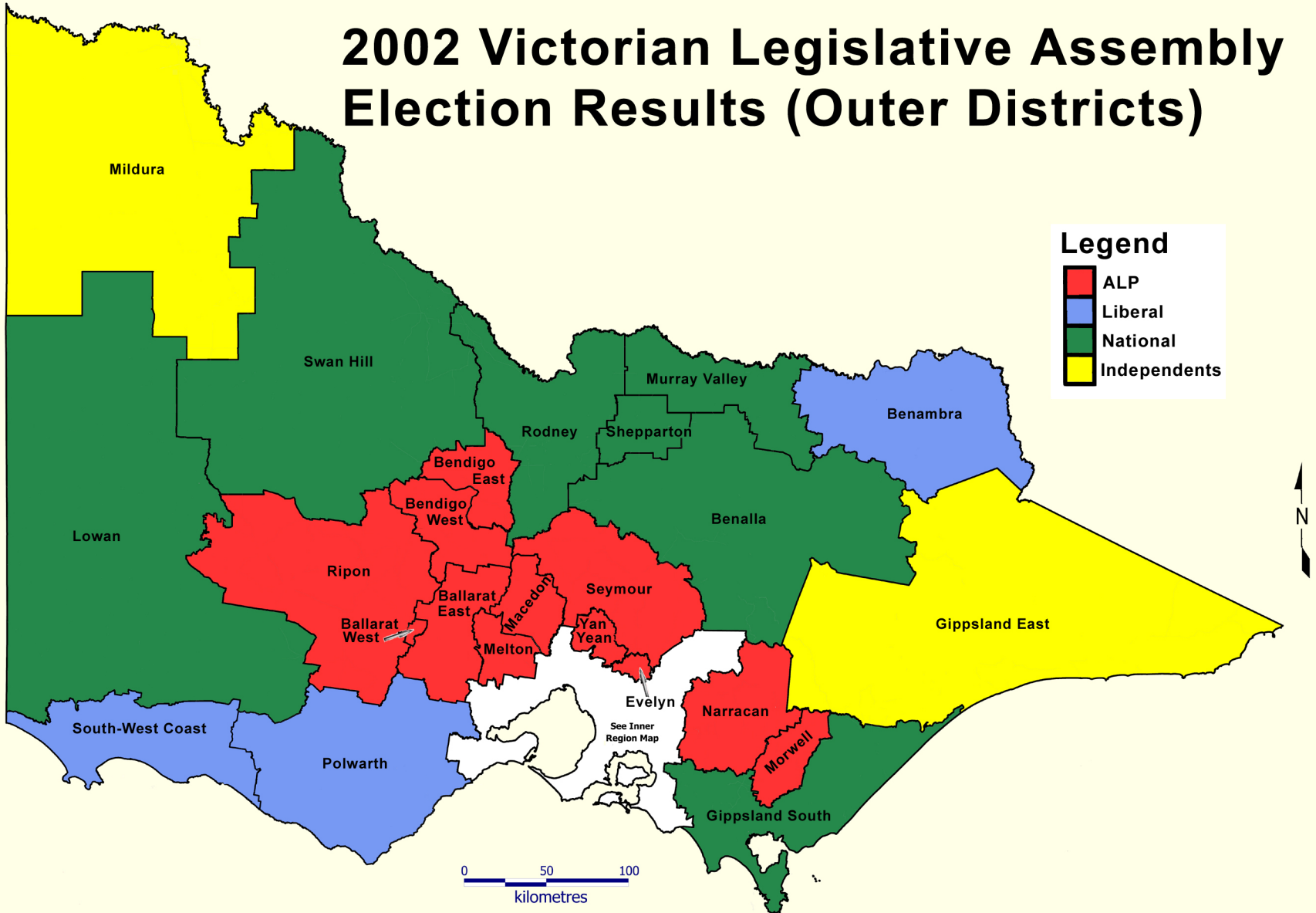
- Numbered Electorates:
1. Footscray
  2. Essendon
  3. Albert Park
  4. Melbourne
  5. Brunswick
  6. Preston
  7. Bentleigh
  8. Caulfield
  9. Prahran
  10. Richmond
  11. Northcote
  12. Ivanhoe
  13. Bundoora
  14. Clayton
  15. Oakleigh
  16. Malvern
  17. Hawthorn
  18. Burwood
  19. Mount Waverley
  20. Mulgrave
  21. Dandenong
  22. Narre Warren North
  23. Ferntree Gully

0 10 20  
kilometres



Base map courtesy of Victorian Electoral Commission

# 2022 Victorian Legislative Assembly Election Results (Outer Districts)



Base map courtesy of Victorian Electoral Commission

## **The Liberals**

It had long seemed clear that the Liberal Party would lose this election, so that the key aspects of their defeat would appear to be long term.

### **A refusal to accept the 1999 result**

Some Liberals and various commentators spoke of the party's collective failure to cope with the unexpected loss of government in 1999. According to Prime Minister Howard the Victorian Liberals 'spent too long pretending that somehow or another it had been an accident that Kennett was defeated'.<sup>40</sup> This difficulty was said to have made the party defensive and reluctant to criticise the Kennett Government.

### **The Kennett legacy**

As referred to above, a number of Labor Party advertisements referred disparagingly to the Kennett Government. This was presumably because Labor believed it could get the same mileage out of reminding voters of the former Premier, as Kennett himself had done with his 'Guilty Party' advertisements referring to the Cain-Kirner years. At least one writer has speculated that the Liberal loss of Kennett's seat in the Burwood by-election was an indication of Melburnians making up their minds against Kennett, and that this was still a potent factor in the 2002 election.<sup>41</sup>

### **Leadership infighting**

Opinion polls between the two elections suggested that the Liberal arguments over the leadership did not help the party, particularly as it only ended with Doyle's election on 20 August, barely ten weeks before the announcement of the election. Defeated Monbulk MP, Steve McArthur, believed it was an important factor in the result, comparing the Victorian infighting with similar battles in the New South Wales party.<sup>42</sup> It can be argued that if Napthine had needed to be replaced as many had claimed, then it should have been done much earlier in order to enable the party to present a united front to the electorate. This would also have given it more time to present a well-thought-through set of policies. For a long time policy seemed to be the last thing on people's minds, leading to Peter Costello's post-election comment that: 'You do not fatten a pig on market day, you work it up over a parliamentary term'.<sup>43</sup>

### **Robert Doyle's leadership**

Some Liberals maintained after the election that Robert Doyle had no responsibility for the huge Liberal defeat—in fact, it was claimed that he had rescued the party from an even greater catastrophe. The same view stated that Doyle's pushing of the anti-union strategy late in the election had played a part in this rescue.<sup>44</sup>

In light of such a view, Newspoll figures make interesting reading:

- in September-October 2002 the Labor vote was 41 per cent with the Liberal vote only three points behind
- in that poll's assessment of Doyle his 'uncommitted' figure was 40 per cent
- 30 per cent were 'dissatisfied' with his performance
- by late November, however, the 'dissatisfied' figure was now 44 per cent, most of which had come from the 'uncommitted' column.<sup>45</sup>

This suggests that many voters had quickly decided that they did not like the new leader, something that is probably relevant to an assessment of his campaign efforts. During the campaign there were comments about his born-to-rule voice and manner, and even the style of his pinstripe suits brought comment—possibly explaining his increasingly being seen later in the campaign in shirt sleeves. The image issue was serious enough for Doyle's wife to agree to a press interview in which she denied that her husband was a 'toff'.<sup>46</sup>

### **The Dean fiasco**

It is tempting to see the Dean blunder as intimately connected with the election result. Indeed, two journalists proclaimed it 'the defining incident of the 2002 election campaign'.<sup>47</sup> For Liberals it probably is comforting to be able to blame the 'derailing' of their campaign on this extraordinary occurrence.<sup>48</sup> They speak of private polling which indicated that their campaign had managed to close the gap on Labor until the Dean news broke, after which the gap opened up that the Liberals were unable to close. Without access to such figures it is impossible to be certain, but the longer-term factors already mentioned suggest that it had always been unlikely that the Liberal Party could win the 2002 contest. The day the Dean affair became public may well have been 'the day donations to the Liberals dried up', but it was probably not a major cause of Labor's victory.<sup>49</sup>

### **The Greens**

If there had been any doubts before, the Greens showed they have arrived as an important player in Victorian politics. They produced very respectable votes in several inner-Melbourne seats, and several Assembly and Council seats were finally decided on their preferences. They were at their strongest in inner-city electorates, however, and the further out they moved from central and near-northern Melbourne, the lower was their vote.

### **Electorates of interest**

#### **Bass**

Independent MLA Susan Davies' seat of Gippsland West had been abolished, leaving her the task of winning the new seat of Bass, some of which had been in Gippsland West, but

much of which had not. Davies' major problem was the difficult task of winning enough votes in Pakenham, a town that had not been in her seat and which now composed one-fifth of the electorate. Professor Brian Costar noted that she needed to wage a rural campaign in West Gippsland and an urban campaign in Pakenham.<sup>50</sup> Davies' chances seemed not to be helped by the decision of the victims-of-crime campaigner, Kay Nesbit, to contest the seat as an independent.

In 1999 Davies had received over one-third of first preferences in Gippsland West, but on this occasion no booth returned so high a figure—whether from the old Gippsland West or not. Davies in fact came third on preferences behind the Liberal and Labor candidates with barely one fifth of the vote, and was eliminated during the count of preferences. Her vote averaged just 13 per cent in the Pakenham booths, and although this Pakenham effort was described as 'the key' to the result, it is rather more significant to note her poor performance across the electorate.<sup>51</sup> The seat was won narrowly on preferences by the Liberals' Ken Smith, the former MLC for South Eastern Province.

### **Benalla**

In the 1999 election the National Party leader, Pat McNamara, comfortably retained the seat of Benalla, defeating Labor's Denise Allen (42.6 per cent) in a two-candidate contest. In the by-election following McNamara's resignation, Allen surprised by defeating the Nationals' Bill Sykes on preferences despite her first preference vote falling to 42.1 per cent. This was the first time the Labor Party had won the seat.

In the 2002 election Allen was likely to have another battle with Sykes who re-nominated for the VicNats, but the contest was now four-way, for a Liberal and a Green also nominated. Although Allen's first preference vote fell again (42.1 per cent) she still led Sykes (26.5 per cent) and Dwyer (26.1 per cent) comfortably. Although Allen gained 70 per cent of Green preferences, her vote was still only 45.6 per cent, well below the figure needed for victory. Sykes remained ahead of the Liberal at this stage, and in a model of how the classic three-cornered contest can work to the benefit of the two major non-Labor parties, Liberal preferences now saw the VicNat comfortably elected with a two-party preferred vote of 52 per cent. Allen had fallen too far below the 50 per cent mark for Green preferences to get her over the line.

### **Forest Hill**

In 1999 the Liberal Party's John Richardson won Forest Hill comfortably, gaining 55.9 per cent of first preferences. The redistribution of seats trimmed some of the retiring Richardson's two-party preferred margin, but the replacement for the long-term sitting member (since 1976), Vasan Srinivasan, still enjoyed a 6.4 per cent two-party preferred buffer.

Earlier in the year the Labor Party had been approached by Olympic and World Cup skier Kirstie Marshall seeking nomination for an Assembly seat. The tyro politician had been

allocated Forest Hill, a seat based on Blackburn South and Vermont South. After an awkward start, when she admitted to not knowing the electorate or its issues, the pregnant Marshall reportedly campaigned hard, but expressed doubt that she could win the seat. Her first preference vote of 47.1 per cent led her opponent by over eight per cent, and she won the seat comfortably on preferences. Although her victory can be seen as part of the remarkable Labor sweep through the eastern suburbs, she had reported a high level of voter familiarity with her background, so there may have been a higher personal factor in the vote she received than would be usual for a first-time candidate.<sup>52</sup>

## **Geelong**

Geelong had a symbolic importance for the Bracks Government. If Geelong sitting member, Ian Trezise, had received nine fewer votes in 1999 the Liberal Party would have won the seat—and Jeff Kennett probably would have hung onto power. In 2002 Trezise's task seemed harder, for the redistribution of seats saw Geelong become a nominal Liberal seat, though its claimed margin of 0.5 per cent did not pose too difficult a hurdle if Labor were to do well on election day.

The Liberal Party made a determined push to win the seat. It promised to build the ring road around the city that had been long promised by government, and it guaranteed the construction of a railway station at Grovedale designed to speed commuter journeys into Melbourne. During the campaign period Doyle surprised Labor by promising a reduction in commuter rail fares to and from Melbourne. The Liberals believed that their candidate, Stretch Kontelj, brought two important strengths—he had been a mayor of Geelong and was a member of a strong Slovenian community.<sup>53</sup>

At the close of counting the Liberal effort was all in vain for Trezise won on first preferences, over twelve per cent ahead of Kontelj. With Labor also retaining Lara and picking up the Liberal seats of South Barwon and Bellarine, it thus holds all four Geelong-dominated Assembly seats, plus both Geelong Province Legislative Council seats.<sup>54</sup>

## **Gembrook**

On 13 November 2002 Gembrook appeared to be a certain victory for the Liberal Party. It had a cushion of seven per cent following the redistribution and was being contested by the Shadow Treasurer, Robert Dean, formerly MLA for Berwick, part of which was now in the new seat. When the news broke of Dean's non-candidacy, the Liberals moved quickly to nominate the sitting MLC for Eumemmerring Province since 1996, Neil Lucas, so seemed to have rescued the situation.

The result was the election of a surprised Tammy Lobato for the ALP, despite her having won only 41.5 per cent of the first preferences. Lucas won 43.9 per cent but was swamped by the 71.2 per cent of Green preferences that flowed to Labor, giving Lobato a two-party preferred vote of 51.6 per cent. The Dean affair may have given the Labor Party two scalps, for Adem Somyurek won Lucas' old upper house seat of Eumemmerring Province,

though the final margin suggested that Labor may have won the seat whomever stood for the Liberals.

### **Macedon**

The seat of Gisborne had been held by the Liberal Party since 1967 until Labor's Joanne Duncan had surprised by winning the seat from Kennett minister, Rob Knowles, in 1999. It was one of the handful of regional seats that had pushed Labor to its narrow electoral victory. Unfortunately for Duncan, Gisborne was abolished in the redistribution of seats. She nominated for Macedon, a nominal Liberal seat, and one in which only 51 per cent of voters came from her old seat. The remainder of the voters came from the former neighbouring seat of Tullamarine.

Based on 1999 votes Duncan would need a swing of about 0.4 per cent to win the new seat, and various commentators saw Macedon as one which the Government might have some difficulty in winning, particularly as Duncan's main opponent was Bernie Finn, MLA for Tullamarine from 1992 to 1999.<sup>55</sup> Despite Finn's campaign beginning ingloriously when he broke his ankle four days after the election announcement, he was probably never really in the hunt, for Duncan won the seat easily on primary votes, reflecting other comfortable Labor victories in the adjacent seats of Melton, Seymour and Yuroke. Over the two elections, Labor has gained an increase in its Macedon Ranges vote of approximately 20 per cent.<sup>56</sup>

### **Melbourne**

Some Greens wondered if they had a chance to win the inner-city seat of Melbourne, a seat bounded by East Melbourne, Carlton North, Flemington and the Maribrynong River. As already noted, a Green candidate had done well in the House of Representatives seat of Melbourne in 2001 and it was felt that this support could be built on. Labor's Bronwyn Pike held the seat, and if her first preference vote could be brought well below 50 per cent, she might be beaten on preferences. An unpredictable element was the candidacy of a former Melbourne City councillor, Kevin Chamberlin, standing as an independent, who seemed likely to take a sizeable parcel of votes. The major issue that could hurt Labor was the Government's decision to use the Royal Park Psychiatric Hospital site for the Commonwealth Games village in 2006.

In the event, Pike's vote did fall below half (45.3 per cent), the Greens' Richard di Natale winning 24.2 per cent (the Green vote in Cunningham had been 23 per cent) and Chamberlin winning 6 per cent. Unlike Cunningham, however, where the absence of a Liberal candidate had played a crucial part in aiding the Green victory, the Liberals ran a candidate who won 21 per cent. Enough of her preferences (21.5 per cent) flowed to Pike for the sitting member to win narrowly by 1092 votes. Pike's two-party preferred vote of 51.9 per cent was 11.9 per cent less than it had been in 1999.

## **Mitcham**

Despite being won in 1997 by Labor in a by-election during the later Kennett years, Mitcham has been something of a litmus seat since 1967. At each general election the party winning the seat has formed the government, though the 1999 result almost ended that record. Labor's Tony Robinson had finished two per cent behind his Liberal challenger, but squeaked back into Parliament by just 343 votes after preferences. The redistribution of electorates saw Labor entering the election nominally holding the seat by just six votes. Green preferences were therefore likely to be important in determining the outcome.

Mitcham remained with the Labor Party, though the movement of votes to Labor was not as strong as in some other eastern Melbourne seats. Robinson's first preference vote climbed just 2.7 per cent and unlike in many other seats, Labor finished the first count with fewer than half the votes (47.9 per cent). The sitting member was successful as a consequence of the Liberal vote collapsing by nearly ten per cent, and of Labor gaining three-quarters of the Green candidate's preferences.

## **Morwell**

The Bracks Government's promise to end logging in the Otway ranges brought out much timber worker hostility. After toying with nominating for the Labor marginals of Geelong or Narracan, Construction Forestry Mining and Energy Union organiser for Gippsland, Brad Platschinda, decided to challenge Labor in the Gippsland seat of Morwell, a seat where the union was said to have more than 1200 members. A resident of Moe, Platschinda accused Labor of chasing Green votes at the expense of its long-term supporters. He was likely to strip valuable votes from Labor, especially as the sitting member, Bracks minister Keith Hamilton, was retiring from Parliament. It seemed implausible to suppose that this candidacy would be enough to shake the ALP's strong hold over the seat, but Labor's candidate, Brendan Jenkins, faced a more-than-usually-awkward contest, for he also faced Liberal, VicNat and Green candidates, plus another independent.<sup>57</sup>

Platschinda managed 14.5 per cent of the vote, no doubt causing much of the fall in the Labor vote of 12.2 per cent which forced Jenkins to preferences. During the count there were reports of the VicNat candidate possibly stealing the seat from fourth position, but that was never really likely and Jenkins finally gained 54.9 per cent of the two-party preferred vote ahead of the Liberal candidate. This was just 4 per cent less than the ALP's final figure in 1999.

## **Shepparton**

In 1999 the Mayor of Greater Shepparton, Chris Hazelman, had contested Shepparton as an independent, running second (35.4 per cent) to the National sitting member, Don Kilgour (39 per cent) on first preferences. Unfortunately for Hazelman, Labor directed

preferences to the VicNat candidate and Kilgour gained the victory—57.4 per cent of Labor preferences had lifted him over the line. In 2002 Hazelman re-nominated, and there was much speculation that he was now likely to win the seat due to a combination of Kilgour's retirement and Labor's decision to direct second preferences to him. Relatively little attention seemed to be paid to the chances of the former member for North Eastern Province, Jeanette Powell, who was contesting for the VicNats, or the fact that the Liberals also nominated a candidate, unlike in 1999.

The contest in fact turned out to be between Powell and the Liberal Party's Stephen Merrylees, with the Liberal leading on first preferences by 1.2 per cent. Hazelman came fourth, nearly six per cent behind the Labor candidate and with less than half of the vote he had secured three years earlier, suggesting that he had gained many Liberal supporters on that occasion. At the end of counting Powell had gained a total of 61.9 per cent of distributed preferences to win the seat comfortably.

### **South-West Coast**

Former Liberal leader, Denis Napthine, had seen his seat of Portland abolished in the mid-election redistribution. He nominated for South-West Coast, and in doing so increased his safety margin slightly from 4.5 per cent to 4.7 per cent in two-party preferred terms. Napthine's performance was watched with interest. Might his poor popularity rating as party leader flow through into his own personal vote, giving the Labor Party a most unexpected victory?

Napthine (40.3 per cent) in fact trailed Labor's Roy Reekie by one per cent on first preferences. He had failed to win a booth in the two major centres of Portland (where he resides) and Warrnambool, but had clung on to his opponent by gaining a healthy vote in rural booths. Unfortunately for Reekie the Green vote of seven per cent, while helpful, could not push him over the line, and Napthine won the seat when 71.5 per cent of VicNat preferences enabled him to pass his opponent. Napthine expressed himself 'satisfied' with the result and noted, ironically, that he had

... the dubious distinction of having the smallest swing against us [in any Victorian seat]. We have survived a 4.5 per cent or 4.6 per cent swing when seats [requiring swings] up as much as 9 or 10 per cent [to be lost by the Liberal Party] have changed hands.<sup>58</sup>

### **Explaining the result—Legislative Council**

Apart from the impact of the factors already mentioned in regard to the Legislative Assembly result, particular factors that aid our understanding of the Council outcome appear to have been:

- Labor's State vote rose by a healthy 5.3 percentage points to 47.5 per cent. It was Labor's third-highest Legislative Council vote

- the collapse of the Liberal vote was important—its 34.5 per cent return was 5.2 percentage points lower than in 1999—and 9.5 per cent below its 1996 figure
- although the Green vote for Legislative Council seats was a healthy 10.9 per cent—1.2 per cent higher than in Assembly seats—did not seriously impact upon Labor votes, for the Labor Legislative Council vote was only 0.5 per cent below its lower house return
- Labor's strong result across the eastern and south-eastern Melbourne suburbs, which enabled it to overcome the usual Liberal hegemony in that part of the city, helped in upper house electorates as well as for the Legislative Assembly
- Labor surprised by picking up some regional upper house seats never before won.

## The dust settles

It is often tempting to see particular large election victories as the start of an electoral dynasty—and the response to the Kennett victories in 1992 and 1996 gives examples of that. Without wanting to exaggerate the Bracks victory in 2002, at the very least the extent of the victory suggests that, barring an implosion within the Government, the Liberal Party will find it difficult to regain office in the next election. A great many Labor victories were achieved on first preferences and were clear-cut. If the new members for seats like Forest Hill, Gembrook, Mordialloc and Kilsyth can dig in and establish a positive presence in their seats, the Liberals may find it difficult to regain office, at least within the period of one term.

## Endnotes

- 
1. Scott Bennett and Gerard Newman, 'Victorian Election 1999', *Research Paper No. 19*, Department of the Parliamentary Library, Canberra, 1999–2000, p. 1.
  2. Ewin Hannan, 'Bracks looks good—so did Kennett', *Age*, 9 September 2002.
  3. The independents' standing could not be calculated since the electorates they were contesting now included areas that had not had them on the ballot paper in 1999.
  4. Adrian Rollins, 'Backing a winner', *Age*, 16 October 2000.
  5. See for example, Ewin Hannan, 'Promises made, kept and broken', *Age*, 12 March 2002.
  6. John Ferguson, 'Education, health top poll issues', *Herald Sun*, 25 November 2002.
  7. Shaun Carney, 'The prosperity poll', *Age*, 5 November 2002. For a view that the election looked 'set to be a tighter contest than many had imagined three months ago', see Antony Green, 'Election summary', <http://abc.net.au/public/elections/2002vic/summary.htm>. For Brian Loughnane's comment, see *Sunday Age*, 1 December 2002.
  8. See opinion poll details in *Age*, 30 August 2000, 19 July 2001, 18 November 2002.

9. Andrew Clark, Farah Farouque and Nicole Brady, 'State of shock? No, bemused', *Age*, 25 October 1999.
10. Woodward and Costar, *op. cit.*, pp. 131–2.
11. *Age*, 3 March, 29 March 2000.
12. See e.g. NewsPoll figures, *Australian*, 20 November 2002.
13. Ewin Hannan, 'Liberals, Kroger meet on Naphine', *Age*, 15 March 2000.
14. Ewin Hannan, 'Reinventing the Nats', *Age*, 22 March 2000.
15. 'Nationals Unveil New Image', Hon. Peter Hall MLC VicNats Media Release, [no date, but August 2002].
16. See e.g. Age Polls for 31 October–1 November 2002 and 15–16 November 2002.
17. 'Row hurt party's image', *Herald Sun*, 13 November 2002.
18. Attorney-General Rob Hulls quoted in Adrian Rollins, 'Backing a winner', *Age*, 16 October 2000.
19. Alison Crossweller, 'Bracks warned against going to polls early', *Australian*, 15 February 2002; Mark Skulley, 'Bracks denies early poll plan', *Australian Financial Review*, 9 May 2002.
20. Scott Bennett, *Affairs of State. Politics in the Australian States and Territories*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1992, p. 189.
21. Ewin Hannan, 'Libs guilty of adopting old tactics', *Age*, 5 November 2002; Amanda Keenan, 'Lib statistics backfire again', *Australian*, 16 September 2002. See also advertisement, 'Mr Bracks, you've given us record taxes', *Age*, 2 September 2002.
22. Scott Bennett, 'Parties and elections', in Brian Galligan (ed.), *Australian State Politics*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1986, p. 220.
23. 'So where, exactly, do you live, Dr Dean?', editorial, *Age*, 15 November 2002.
24. Karen Kissane, 'Robert Doyle', *Age*, 29 November 2002.
25. Larissa Dubecki and Ewin Hannan, 'Liberals opt for tough line on jobs', *Age*, 2 November 2002.
26. Ewin Hannan, 'Doyle turns to cynical scare tactics', *Age*, 29 November 2002.
27. Petro Georgiou, 'Labor landslide poses a threat to democracy', *Age*, 29 November 2002.
28. Fay Burstin and Ashley Gardiner, 'We'd knock back power, say Nats', *Herald Sun*, 29 November 2002.
29. Mark Skulley, 'Vic Nats name coalition price', *Australian Financial Review*, 26 November 2002.
30. For the circumstances of this brief Labor control of the upper house, see Paul Rodan, 'Victoria', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 32, no. 2, 1986, pp. 275–77.
31. Not including the by-elections the party contested.

32. Cain (Vic, ALP, 1952–5), Borbidge (Qld, Nat-Lib, 1996–8), Tonkin (WA, ALP, 1971–4), Walsh (SA, ALP, 1965–8), Hall (SA, Lib, 1968–70), Tonkin (SA, Lib, 1979–82), Bethune (Tas, Lib-Centre, 1969–72), Field (Tas, ALP, 1989-92).
33. 'Needed, a clear winner', Editorial, *Herald Sun*, 29 November 2002.
34. Petro Georgiou, 'It's David v. Goliath for the vanquished', *Age*, 2 December 2002.
35. Bob Hogg, 'Waiting for Costello is a poor strategy for Labor', *Australian Financial Review*, 2 January 2003.
36. See Newpoll figures, *Australian*, 3 May, 30 October 2002.
37. Jennifer Hewett, 'Bracks makes Greens, and husbands, jealous', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 November 2002.
38. Sophie Douez, 'We were never going to beat Bracks: PM', *Age*, 2 December 2002.
39. For the importance of performing well in the eastern and south-eastern suburbs, see Nick Economou, 'East, south-east could point to poll pain for Bracks', *Sunday Age*, 3 November 2002.
40. John Howard quoted in Andrew Probyn, 'PM blasts lazy state colleagues', *Herald Sun*, 2 December 2002; see also Bernie Finn, former MLA for Tullamarine, *Kilmore Free Press*, 4 December 2002.
41. Graham Young, 'What happened in the Victorian election', *On Line opinion*, 4 December 2002, <http://onlineopinion.com.au/2002/Dec02/Young.htm>.
42. 'McArthur blames Greens', *Knox Journal*, 4 December 2002.
43. Peter Costello quoted in Ross Peake, 'Vic Libs savaged over election loss', *Canberra Times*, 2 December 2002.
44. Karen Kissane, 'The day after, and blame sweeps through the Liberal ranks', *Age*, 2 December 2002.
45. Mike Steketee, 'No danger to Premier', *Weekend Australian*, 30 November-1 December 2002.
46. 'Fay Burstin, 'He's smart but he's not a toff', *Herald Sun*, 28 November 2002; see also John Ferguson, 'Hopes riding on a great unknown', *Herald Sun*, 5 November 2002, Shaun Carney, 'Playing the role of a lifetime', *Age*, 23 November 2002.
47. Ewin Hannan and Shaun Carney, 'The day Liberal donations dried up', *Age*, 2 December 2002.
48. See for example views of former Liberal MPs Ron Wilson, Gary Rowe and Steve McArthur, Fay Burstin and John Ferguson, 'Libs sharpen their knives', *Herald Sun*, 2 December 2002, 'Floodgates open', *Cranbourne Independent*, 4 December 2002, and 'McArthur blames Greens', *Knox Journal*, 4 December 2002.
49. Hannan and Carney, op. cit.
50. Brian Costar, 'Independents could again hold the key', *Sunday Age*, 10 November 2002.

51. Shannon McRae, 'Bass still "too close to call" ', *South Gippsland Sentinel Times*, 3 December 2002.
52. Genevieve Brammall, 'Kirstie's jumping with joy', *Herald Sun* 2 December 2002; Amanda Keenan, 'Skier walking on air after victory', *Australian*, 2 December 2002.
53. Paul Heinrichs, 'Battle for Geelong where 16 votes gave it to Labor last time', *Age*, 24 November 2001.
54. 'Region joins big switch to Labor', *Geelong News*, 3 December 2002.
55. 'Seat opened by changes to boundary', *Macedon Ranges–Sunbury Leader*, 12 November 2002.
56. 'Duncan sweeps to victory', *Kilmore Free Press*, 4 December 2002.
57. Paul Robinson, 'Timber unionist to tackle Labor', *Age*, 11 November 2002; see also Amanda Keenan, 'Logger has axe to grind', *Australian*, 12 November 2002.
58. Greg Best, 'Naphthine victorious', *Warrnambool Standard*, 6 December 2002.

## Election results

**Table 1a Legislative Assembly, Seats Won**

Party	Candidates	Seats Won	Change from Previous Parliament
Australian Labor Party	88	62	+18
Liberal Party	88	17	-18
Australian Greens	84		
National Party	17	7	+1
Citizens Electoral Council	18		
Australian Democrats	6		
Socialist Alliance	5		
Christian Party	3		
Democratic Labor Party	1		
Hope Party	1		
Other candidates	61	2	-1
<b>Total</b>	<b>372</b>	<b>88</b>	

**Table 1b Legislative Council, Seats Won**

Party	Candidates	Seats Won	Composition after Election
Australian Labor Party	22	17	25
Liberal Party	22	3	15
Australian Greens	22		
National Party	5	2	4
Australian Democrats	16		
Christian Party	2		
Hope Party	4		
Other candidates	4		
<b>Total</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>44</b>

**Table 2 Legislative Assembly, State Summary**

	Votes	Per cent	Enrolled 3 228 466 Swing
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Australian Labor Party	1 392 806	47.95	+2.38
Liberal Party	985 069	33.91	-8.31
Australian Greens	282 598	9.73	+8.58
National Party	125 025	4.30	-0.50
Citizens Electoral Council	9 654	0.33	+0.33
Australian Democrats	3 948	0.14	-0.14
Socialist Alliance	3 274	0.11	+0.11
Christian Party	1 723	0.06	+0.06
Democratic Labor Party	1 035	0.04	-0.18
Hope Party	914	0.03	-0.35
Other candidates	98 700	3.40	-1.96
Formal Votes	2 904 746	96.58	-0.40
Informal Votes	102 789	3.42	+0.40
Turnout/Total Votes	3 007 535	93.16	-0.07
<i>Two-Party Preferred Votes (a)</i>			
Australian Labor Party	1 617 184	58.26	+8.06
Liberal Party/National Party	1 158 439	41.74	-8.06

(a) Excludes Gippsland East, Melbourne, Mildura and Shepparton Districts.

**Table 3 Legislative Assembly, Region Summary**

<b>Metropolitan</b>	Enrolled 2 051 841		
	Votes	Per cent	Swing
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Australian Labor Party	954 961	52.20	+2.56
Liberal Party	624 192	34.12	-11.70
Australian Greens	199 359	10.90	+9.73
National Party	0	0.00	0.00
Citizens Electoral Council	8 180	0.45	+0.45
Australian Democrats	3 948	0.22	+0.17
Socialist Alliance	2 309	0.13	+0.13
Christian Party	532	0.03	+0.03
Democratic Labor Party	1 035	0.06	-0.23
Hope Party	914	0.05	-0.55
Other candidates	34 101	1.86	-0.57
Formal Votes	1 829 531	96.33	-0.40
Informal Votes	69 679	3.67	+0.40
Turnout/Total Votes	1 899 210	92.56	-0.07
<i>Two-Party Preferred Votes (a)</i>			
Australian Labor Party	1 112 251	61.77	+9.22
Liberal/National Party	688 509	38.23	-9.22

(a) Excludes Melbourne District.

<b>Non-Metropolitan</b>	Enrolled 1 176 625		
	Votes	Per cent	Swing
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Australian Labor Party	437 845	40.72	+2.58
Liberal Party	360 877	33.56	-2.09
Australian Greens	83 239	7.74	+6.63
National Party	125 025	11.63	-1.93
Citizens Electoral Council	1 474	0.14	+0.14
Australian Democrats	0	0.00	-0.07
Socialist Alliance	965	0.09	+0.09
Christian Party	1 191	0.11	+0.11
Democratic Labor Party	0	0.00	-0.09
Hope Party	0	0.00	0.00
Other candidates	64 599	6.01	-4.73
Formal Votes	1 075 215	97.01	-0.41
Informal Votes	33 110	2.99	+0.41
Turnout/Total Votes	1 108 325	94.20	-0.16
<i>Two-Party Preferred Votes (a)</i>			
Australian Labor Party	504 933	51.80	+5.89
Liberal/National Party	469 930	48.20	-5.89

(a) Excludes Gippsland East, Mildura and Shepparton Districts.

**Table 4a Legislative Assembly, District Summary, First Preference Votes Number**

District	First Preference Votes					Formal Votes	Informal Votes	Turnout	Enrolled
	ALP	LP	NP	AG	Others				
Albert Park	16053	10936		5774	571	33334	928	34262	38726
Altona	21888	7349		2888		32125	1381	33506	35773
Ballarat East	16268	12010		4373	673	33324	1037	34361	36480
Ballarat West	19221	13461		2552	1419	36653	929	37582	39714
Bass	9012	13021		1730	8415	32178	962	33140	35258
Bayswater	15215	14689		3380		33284	898	34182	36316
Bellarine	17861	14234		3804		35899	836	36735	38583
Benalla	13129	8306	8414	1961		31810	791	32601	34690
Benambra	11558	12179	3818	2111	684	30350	1119	31469	34122
Bendigo East	18778	9303	2988	2216		33285	635	33920	35520
Bendigo West	19865	8112	3642	3583		35202	888	36090	38420
Bentleigh	15983	14105		3195	271	33554	1039	34593	36801
Box Hill	12777	15935		5347		34059	943	35002	37475
Brighton	9926	17094		5116		32136	765	32901	36505
Broadmeadows	24060	5035		1433	1341	31869	1891	33760	37422
Brunswick	17075	5375		7972	2336	32758	1906	34664	37972
Bulleen	12517	15612		3330		31459	1115	32574	34839
Bundoora	18856	9381		3053	398	31688	1239	32927	35029
Burwood	15598	13850		3989	1148	34585	891	35476	37923
Carrum	18654	12325		3700	525	35204	1103	36307	38869
Caulfield	11138	15608		5061		31807	1082	32889	36314
Clayton	20223	7017		2377	831	30448	1374	31822	34674
Cranbourne	16582	11163		2400	435	30580	1196	31776	34009
Dandenong	20044	8062		1933	621	30660	1867	32527	35517
Derrimut	21278	4987			2514	28779	2169	30948	34611
Doncaster	13652	15324		2960		31936	1033	32969	35426
Eltham	15739	14810		4695		35244	728	35972	37879
Essendon	18255	10531		4167	519	33472	1081	34553	37369
Evelyn	14048	15386		2803	1129	33366	1192	34558	36974
Ferntree Gully	16700	16036		2740		35476	1052	36528	38626
Footscray	18589	4691		3181	4881	31342	2234	33576	37412
Forest Hill	16105	13213		3045	1813	34176	1118	35294	37492
Frankston	15833	13385		3472	385	33075	1046	34121	36523
Geelong	17680	13266		2568	1428	34942	1145	36087	38480
Gembrook	13054	13814		4018	553	31439	1044	32483	34586
Gippsland East	4997	4273	8061	1536	14810	33677	1365	35042	37475
Gippsland South	9505	7015	12891	3905		33316	1027	34343	36510
Hastings	14790	15695		3178	397	34060	1133	35193	37635
Hawthorn	10082	16407		6544		33033	921	33954	36951
Ivanhoe	17490	11498		4067	509	33564	1192	34756	37277
Keilor	21952	10061		2628		34641	1620	36261	37980
Kew	9926	15807		5543	638	31914	930	32844	35456
Kilsyth	15256	15320		3455		34031	1009	35040	37783
Kororoit	20894	5439			4057	30390	1924	32314	35235
Lara	22673	8921		2341	965	34900	1395	36295	38724

Victorian Election 2002

District	First Preference Votes					Formal Votes	Informal Votes	Turnout	Enrolled
	ALP	LP	NP	AG	Others				
Lowan	9683	9871	14568	1658		35780	917	36697	38381
Lyndhurst	20862	6388		2293	1021	30564	1551	32115	34760
Macedon	19119	12944		3830	426	36319	904	37223	39152
Malvern	9758	18036		4389	524	32707	874	33581	36655
Melbourne	12882	5971		6880	2689	28422	1212	29634	33859
Melton	17535	7919		2355	4007	31816	1495	33311	35458
Mildura	3075	3316	8136	563	17247	32337	1043	33380	36098
Mill Park	22746	6815		2014	878	32453	1484	33937	35926
Mitcham	16097	12735		3559	1253	33644	906	34550	36672
Monbulk	14303	12285		5182	1069	32839	974	33813	36119
Mordialloc	15832	14676		3463	356	34327	1034	35361	37617
Mornington	12424	15608		3591		31623	730	32353	34532
Morwell	14073	6289	4014	1917	6254	32547	1257	33804	36042
Mount Waverley	14902	14984		2849	844	33579	1036	34615	36752
Mulgrave	18804	9431		1845	410	30490	1325	31815	34337
Murray Valley	9846	6565	13778	1764		31953	964	32917	35081
Narracan	15908	11469	2840	2033	1995	34245	1044	35289	37315
Narre Warren North	17537	11874		2406		31817	1134	32951	35036
Narre Warren South	19868	12145		2066		34079	1240	35319	37578
Nepean	13636	15543		3733		32912	1010	33922	36176
Niddrie	19952	9810		2414	1035	33211	1527	34738	36896
Northcote	18229	5550		8394	858	33031	1434	34465	37722
Oakleigh	16999	9754		3389	1193	31335	1000	32335	34995
Pascoe Vale	21989	7400		2905	538	32832	1665	34497	37634
Polwarth	11141	17342	3700	3163	570	35916	1416	37332	39179
Prahran	11772	12713		5591	923	30999	921	31920	36856
Preston	22271	6267		4458	415	33411	1575	34986	38208
Richmond	15016	6251		9055	1297	31619	1063	32682	37052
Ripon	17439	11278	2588	1581	367	33253	967	34220	36044
Rodney	8212	9723	11040	1414	1812	32201	1071	33272	35177
Sandringham	11140	16036		4265	1264	32705	806	33511	36083
Scoresby	14118	17617		2588		34323	1023	35346	37667
Seymour	17143	12350		3178		32671	836	33507	35561
Shepparton	7050	9662	9268	1057	5129	32166	1202	33368	35754
South Barwon	17132	14278		3372	1359	36141	1078	37219	39290
South-West Coast	15161	14809	4213	2568		36751	1183	37934	40115
Swan Hill	8384	8438	11066	1635	2217	31740	1038	32778	34662
Tarneit	21246	9382			2811	33439	1270	34709	37135
Thomastown	25473	5561		2562		33596	1994	35590	38102
Warrandyte	12529	18742		3570	914	35755	879	36634	39069
Williamstown	21600	6274		3422	2122	33418	1178	34596	37526
Yan Yean	15980	12396		3503	380	32259	952	33211	34895
Yuroke	23161	8531			805	32497	1404	33901	35943
Total	1392806	985069	125025	282598	119248	2904746	102789	3007535	3228466
Region									
Metropolitan	954961	624192		199359	51019	1829531	69679	1899210	2051841
Non-Metropolitan	437845	360877	125025	83239	68229	1075215	33110	1108325	1176625

**Table 4b Legislative Assembly, District Summary, First Preference Votes**  
Per cent

District	First Preference Votes					Formal Votes	Informal Votes	Turnout
	ALP	LP	NP	AG	Others			
Albert Park	48.2	32.8		17.3	1.7	97.3	2.7	88.5
Altona	68.1	22.9		9.0		95.9	4.1	93.7
Ballarat East	48.8	36.0		13.1	2.0	97.0	3.0	94.2
Ballarat West	52.4	36.7		7.0	3.9	97.5	2.5	94.6
Bass	28.0	40.5		5.4	26.2	97.1	2.9	94.0
Bayswater	45.7	44.1		10.2		97.4	2.6	94.1
Bellarine	49.8	39.7		10.6		97.7	2.3	95.2
Benalla	41.3	26.1	26.5	6.2		97.6	2.4	94.0
Benambra	38.1	40.1	12.6	7.0	2.3	96.4	3.6	92.2
Bendigo East	56.4	27.9	9.0	6.7		98.1	1.9	95.5
Bendigo West	56.4	23.0	10.3	10.2		97.5	2.5	93.9
Bentleigh	47.6	42.0		9.5	0.8	97.0	3.0	94.0
Box Hill	37.5	46.8		15.7		97.3	2.7	93.4
Brighton	30.9	53.2		15.9		97.7	2.3	90.1
Broadmeadows	75.5	15.8		4.5	4.2	94.4	5.6	90.2
Brunswick	52.1	16.4		24.3	7.1	94.5	5.5	91.3
Bulleen	39.8	49.6		10.6		96.6	3.4	93.5
Bundoora	59.5	29.6		9.6	1.3	96.2	3.8	94.0
Burwood	45.1	40.0		11.5	3.3	97.5	2.5	93.5
Carrum	53.0	35.0		10.5	1.5	97.0	3.0	93.4
Caulfield	35.0	49.1		15.9		96.7	3.3	90.6
Clayton	66.4	23.0		7.8	2.7	95.7	4.3	91.8
Cranbourne	54.2	36.5		7.8	1.4	96.2	3.8	93.4
Dandenong	65.4	26.3		6.3	2.0	94.3	5.7	91.6
Derrimut	73.9	17.3			8.7	93.0	7.0	89.4
Doncaster	42.7	48.0		9.3		96.9	3.1	93.1
Eltham	44.7	42.0		13.3		98.0	2.0	95.0
Essendon	54.5	31.5		12.4	1.6	96.9	3.1	92.5
Evelyn	42.1	46.1		8.4	3.4	96.6	3.4	93.5
Ferntree Gully	47.1	45.2		7.7		97.1	2.9	94.6
Footscray	59.3	15.0		10.1	15.6	93.3	6.7	89.7
Forest Hill	47.1	38.7		8.9	5.3	96.8	3.2	94.1
Frankston	47.9	40.5		10.5	1.2	96.9	3.1	93.4
Geelong	50.6	38.0		7.3	4.1	96.8	3.2	93.8
Gembrook	41.5	43.9		12.8	1.8	96.8	3.2	93.9
Gippsland East	14.8	12.7	23.9	4.6	44.0	96.1	3.9	93.5
Gippsland South	28.5	21.1	38.7	11.7		97.0	3.0	94.1
Hastings	43.4	46.1		9.3	1.2	96.8	3.2	93.5
Hawthorn	30.5	49.7		19.8		97.3	2.7	91.9
Ivanhoe	52.1	34.3		12.1	1.5	96.6	3.4	93.2
Keilor	63.4	29.0		7.6		95.5	4.5	95.5
Kew	31.1	49.5		17.4	2.0	97.2	2.8	92.6
Kilsyth	44.8	45.0		10.2		97.1	2.9	92.7
Kororoit	68.8	17.9			13.3	94.0	6.0	91.7
Lara	65.0	25.6		6.7	2.8	96.2	3.8	93.7

District	First Preference Votes					Formal Votes	Informal Votes	Turnout
	ALP	LP	NP	AG	Others			
Lowan	27.1	27.6	40.7	4.6		97.5	2.5	95.6
Lyndhurst	68.3	20.9		7.5	3.3	95.2	4.8	92.4
Macedon	52.6	35.6		10.5	1.2	97.6	2.4	95.1
Malvern	29.8	55.1		13.4	1.6	97.4	2.6	91.6
Melbourne	45.3	21.0		24.2	9.5	95.9	4.1	87.5
Melton	55.1	24.9		7.4	12.6	95.5	4.5	93.9
Mildura	9.5	10.3	25.2	1.7	53.3	96.9	3.1	92.5
Mill Park	70.1	21.0		6.2	2.7	95.6	4.4	94.5
Mitcham	47.8	37.9		10.6	3.7	97.4	2.6	94.2
Monbulk	43.6	37.4		15.8	3.3	97.1	2.9	93.6
Mordialloc	46.1	42.8		10.1	1.0	97.1	2.9	94.0
Mornington	39.3	49.4		11.4		97.7	2.3	93.7
Morwell	43.2	19.3	12.3	5.9	19.2	96.3	3.7	93.8
Mount Waverley	44.4	44.6		8.5	2.5	97.0	3.0	94.2
Mulgrave	61.7	30.9		6.1	1.3	95.8	4.2	92.7
Murray Valley	30.8	20.5	43.1	5.5		97.1	2.9	93.8
Narracan	46.5	33.5	8.3	5.9	5.8	97.0	3.0	94.6
Narre Warren North	55.1	37.3		7.6		96.6	3.4	94.0
Narre Warren South	58.3	35.6		6.1		96.5	3.5	94.0
Nepean	41.4	47.2		11.3		97.0	3.0	93.8
Niddrie	60.1	29.5		7.3	3.1	95.6	4.4	94.2
Northcote	55.2	16.8		25.4	2.6	95.8	4.2	91.4
Oakleigh	54.2	31.1		10.8	3.8	96.9	3.1	92.4
Pascoe Vale	67.0	22.5		8.8	1.6	95.2	4.8	91.7
Polwarth	31.0	48.3	10.3	8.8	1.6	96.2	3.8	95.3
Prahran	38.0	41.0		18.0	3.0	97.1	2.9	86.6
Preston	66.7	18.8		13.3	1.2	95.5	4.5	91.6
Richmond	47.5	19.8		28.6	4.1	96.7	3.3	88.2
Ripon	52.4	33.9	7.8	4.8	1.1	97.2	2.8	94.9
Rodney	25.5	30.2	34.3	4.4	5.6	96.8	3.2	94.6
Sandringham	34.1	49.0		13.0	3.9	97.6	2.4	92.9
Scoresby	41.1	51.3		7.5		97.1	2.9	93.8
Seymour	52.5	37.8		9.7		97.5	2.5	94.2
Shepparton	21.9	30.0	28.8	3.3	15.9	96.4	3.6	93.3
South Barwon	47.4	39.5		9.3	3.8	97.1	2.9	94.7
South-West Coast	41.3	40.3	11.5	7.0		96.9	3.1	94.6
Swan Hill	26.4	26.6	34.9	5.2	7.0	96.8	3.2	94.6
Tarneit	63.5	28.1			8.4	96.3	3.7	93.5
Thomastown	75.8	16.6		7.6		94.4	5.6	93.4
Warrandyte	35.0	52.4		10.0	2.6	97.6	2.4	93.8
Williamstown	64.6	18.8		10.2	6.3	96.6	3.4	92.2
Yan Yean	49.5	38.4		10.9	1.2	97.1	2.9	95.2
Yuroke	71.3	26.3			2.5	95.9	4.1	94.3
Total	47.9	33.9	4.3	9.7	4.1	96.6	3.4	93.2
Region								
Metropolitan	52.2	34.1		10.9	2.8	96.3	3.7	92.6
Non-Metropolitan	40.7	33.6	11.6	7.7	6.3	97.0	3.0	94.2

**Table 5 Legislative Assembly, District Summary, Two Party Preferred Votes**

District	Number		Per cent		Swing to ALP (a)
	ALP	LP/NP	ALP	LP/NP	
Albert Park	20835	12499	62.5	37.5	5.9
Altona	23995	8130	74.7	25.3	9.2
Ballarat East	19199	14125	57.6	42.4	4.3
Ballarat West	21625	15027	59.0	41.0	7.5
Bass	15884	16294	49.4	50.6	n.a.
Bayswater	17553	15731	52.7	47.3	9.0
Bellarine	20896	14973	58.3	41.7	9.4
Benalla	15279	16531	48.0	52.0	4.7
Benambra	13953	16397	46.0	54.0	3.5
Bendigo East	20795	12232	63.0	37.0	10.1
Bendigo West	22456	11547	66.0	34.0	5.0
Bentleigh	18368	15186	54.7	45.3	6.6
Box Hill	16658	17401	48.9	51.1	6.8
Brighton	13686	18447	42.6	57.4	7.2
Broadmeadows	25736	6123	80.8	19.2	5.9
Brunswick	25554	7192	78.0	22.0	6.8
Bulleen	14898	16561	47.4	52.6	10.0
Bundoora	21411	10277	67.6	32.4	10.4
Burwood	19052	15533	55.1	44.9	10.9
Carrum	21873	13315	62.2	37.8	10.5
Caulfield	15187	16620	47.7	52.3	5.9
Clayton	22479	7962	73.8	26.2	11.9
Cranbourne	18576	11977	60.8	39.2	9.7
Dandenong	21554	9100	70.3	29.7	8.7
Derrimut	22245	6533	77.3	22.7	7.1
Doncaster	15723	16213	49.2	50.8	11.5
Eltham	19309	15935	54.8	45.2	8.5
Essendon	22065	11405	65.9	34.1	7.8
Evelyn	16793	16573	50.3	49.7	12.6
Ferntree Gully	18548	16927	52.3	47.7	9.9
Footscray	23382	7835	74.9	25.1	7.1
Forest Hill	19063	15113	55.8	44.2	12.0
Frankston	18446	14629	55.8	44.2	9.0
Geelong	20300	14638	58.1	41.9	8.5
Gembrook	16217	15222	51.6	48.4	8.3
Gippsland East					n.a.
Gippsland South	13042	20274	39.1	60.9	-2.9
Hastings	17321	16739	50.9	49.1	8.0
Hawthorn	14575	18458	44.1	55.9	8.2
Ivanhoe	20972	12586	62.5	37.5	7.7
Keilor	23566	11071	68.0	32.0	11.2
Kew	14049	17865	44.0	56.0	7.8
Kilsyth	17726	16305	52.1	47.9	10.0
Kororoit	23415	6973	77.1	22.9	6.3
Lara	25211	9638	72.3	27.7	9.6
Lowan	11779	24001	32.9	67.1	-5.2
Lyndhurst	22927	7610	75.1	24.9	14.5

Victorian Election 2002

District	Number		Per cent		Swing to
	ALP	LP/NP	ALP	LP/NP	ALP (a)
Macedon	21513	14798	59.2	40.8	9.6
Malvern	13014	19669	39.8	60.2	5.9
Melbourne					n.a.
Melton	20764	11022	65.3	34.7	8.7
Mildura					n.a.
Mill Park	24915	7536	76.8	23.2	13.0
Mitcham	19405	14239	57.7	42.3	7.7
Monbulk	19132	13707	58.3	41.7	10.7
Mordialloc	18717	15610	54.5	45.5	7.0
Mornington	15235	16388	48.2	51.8	10.0
Morwell	17855	14692	54.9	45.1	-4.4
Mount Waverley	17559	16020	52.3	47.7	11.3
Mulgrave	20183	10294	66.2	33.8	11.9
Murray Valley	11537	20416	36.1	63.9	1.8
Narracan	19471	14794	56.8	43.2	7.4
Narre Warren North	18991	12822	59.7	40.3	14.8
Narre Warren South	21331	12745	62.6	37.4	13.9
Nepean	16399	16513	49.8	50.2	6.0
Niddrie	22114	11088	66.6	33.4	10.2
Northcote	25857	7157	78.3	21.7	5.7
Oakleigh	20432	10902	65.2	34.8	12.3
Pascoe Vale	24359	8468	74.2	25.8	7.3
Polwarth	14317	21070	40.5	59.5	3.5
Prahran	16869	14130	54.4	45.6	9.1
Preston	25302	8100	75.7	24.3	6.9
Richmond	23933	7747	75.5	24.5	9.8
Ripon	19097	14155	57.4	42.6	5.8
Rodney	10790	21353	33.6	66.4	-2.1
Sandringham	15360	17345	47.0	53.0	9.1
Scoresby	16016	18291	46.7	53.3	11.5
Seymour	19434	13236	59.5	40.5	9.4
Shepparton					n.a.
South Barwon	19849	16240	55.0	45.0	9.7
South-West Coast	18104	18647	49.3	50.7	4.2
Swan Hill	11378	20362	35.8	64.2	-2.2
Tarneit	22538	10901	67.4	32.6	6.8
Thomastown	27451	6132	81.7	18.3	7.6
Warrandyte	15605	20145	43.7	56.3	7.5
Williamstown	25295	8114	75.7	24.3	7.6
Yan Yean	19204	13055	59.5	40.5	10.2
Yuroke	23683	8813	72.9	27.1	13.9
Total	1617184	1158439	58.3	41.7	8.1
Region					
Metropolitan	1112251	688509	61.8	38.2	9.2
Non-Metropolitan	504933	469930	51.8	48.2	5.9

(a) Swing from 1999 election adjusted for effects of 2000-01 Redivision.

**Table 6 Legislative Assembly, Electoral Pendulum**  
Per cent

District	Margin	District	Margin
<b>ALP Districts</b>		<b>ALP Districts</b>	
Thomastown	81.7	Frankston	55.8
Broadmeadows	80.8	Burwood	55.1
Northcote	78.3	South Barwon	55.0
Brunswick	78.0	Morwell	54.9
Derrimut	77.3	Eltham	54.8
Kororoit	77.1	Bentleigh	54.7
Mill Park	76.8	Mordialloc	54.5
Preston	75.7	Prahran	54.4
Williamstown	75.7	Bayswater	52.7
Richmond	75.5	Mount Waverley	52.3
Lyndhurst	75.1	Ferntree Gully	52.3
Footscray	74.9	Kilsyth	52.1
Altona	74.7	Melbourne (a)	51.9
Pascoe Vale	74.2	Gembrook	51.6
Clayton	73.8	Hastings	50.9
Yuroke	72.9	Evelyn	50.3
Lara	72.3		
Dandenong	70.3	<b>LP/NP Districts</b>	
Keilor	68.0	Lowan	67.1
Bundoora	67.6	Rodney	66.4
Tarneit	67.4	Swan Hill	64.2
Niddrie	66.6	Murray Valley	63.9
Mulgrave	66.2	Gippsland South	60.9
Bendigo West	66.0	Malvern	60.2
Essendon	65.9	Polwarth	59.5
Melton	65.3	Brighton	57.4
Oakleigh	65.2	Warrandyte	56.3
Bendigo East	63.0	Kew	56.0
Narre Warren South	62.6	Hawthorn	55.9
Albert Park	62.5	Shepparton (b)	54.3
Ivanhoe	62.5	Benambra	54.0
Carrum	62.2	Scoresby	53.3
Cranbourne	60.8	Sandringham	53.0
Narre Warren North	59.7	Bulleen	52.6
Yan Yean	59.5	Caulfield	52.3
Seymour	59.5	Benalla	52.0
Macedon	59.2	Mornington	51.8
Ballarat West	59.0	Box Hill	51.1
Monbulk	58.3	Doncaster	50.8
Bellarine	58.3	South-West Coast	50.7
Geelong	58.1	Bass	50.6
Mitcham	57.7	Nepean	50.2
Ballarat East	57.6		
Ripon	57.4	<b>IND Districts</b>	
Narracan	56.8	Mildura	68.4
Forest Hill	55.8	Gippsland East	61.7

(a) Margin over Australian Greens

(b) Margin over Liberal Party

**Table 7 Legislative Assembly, District Detail**

<b>Albert Park</b>				Enrolled 38 726
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent	
<i>First Preference Votes</i>				
Oke M	IND	571	1.7	
Middleton J	AG	5 774	17.3	
Browne V	LP	10 936	32.8	
Thwaites J	ALP	16 053	48.2	
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>				
Browne V	LP	12 499	37.5	
Thwaites J	ALP	20 835	62.5	
Formal		33 334	97.3	
Informal		924	2.7	
Turnout		34 262	88.5	

<b>Altona</b>				Enrolled 35 773
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent	
<i>First Preference Votes</i>				
Lambrinakos S	LP	7 349	22.9	
Briffa T	AG	2 888	9.0	
Kosky L	ALP	21 888	68.1	
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>				
Lambrinakos S	LP	8 130	25.3	
Kosky L	ALP	23 995	74.7	
Formal		32 125	95.9	
Informal		1 381	4.1	
Turnout		33 506	93.7	

<b>Ballarat East</b>				Enrolled 36 480
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent	
<i>First Preference Votes</i>				
Kinnear S	AG	4 373	13.1	
Halborg V	CEC	271	0.8	
Fitzgerald G	LP	12 010	36.0	
Howard G	ALP	16 268	48.8	
Pathy S	IND	402	1.2	
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>				
Fitzgerald G	LP	14 125	42.4	
Howard G	ALP	19 199	57.6	
Formal		33 324	97.0	
Informal		1 037	3.0	
Turnout		34 361	94.2	

<b>Ballarat West</b>				Enrolled 39 714
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent	
<i>First Preference Votes</i>				
Backstrom F	AG	2 552	7.0	
Overington K	ALP	19 221	52.4	
Verlin J	LP	13 461	36.7	
Donker R	CP	507	1.4	
Sullivan G	IND	912	2.5	
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>				
Overington K	ALP	21 625	59.0	
Verlin J	LP	15 027	41.0	
Formal		36 653	97.5	
Informal		929	2.5	
Turnout		37 582	94.6	

<b>Bass</b>				Enrolled 35 258
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent	
<i>First Preference Votes</i>				
Ludlow N	AG	1 730	5.4	
Nesbit K	IND	1 401	4.4	
Smith K	LP	13 021	40.5	
Davies S	IND	7 014	21.8	
Anderson J	ALP	9 012	28.0	
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>				
Smith K	LP	16 294	50.6	
Anderson J	ALP	15 884	49.4	
Formal		32 178	97.1	
Informal		962	2.9	
Turnout		33 140	94.0	

<b>Bayswater</b>				Enrolled 36 316
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent	
<i>First Preference Votes</i>				
Bannan J	AG	3 380	10.2	
Ashley G	LP	14 689	44.1	
Lockwood P	ALP	15 215	45.7	
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>				
Ashley G	LP	15 731	47.3	
Lockwood P	ALP	17 553	52.7	
Formal		33 284	97.4	
Informal		898	2.6	
Turnout		34 182	94.1	

<b>Bellarine</b>			
Enrolled 38 583			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Jones C	AG	3 804	10.6
Neville L	ALP	17 861	49.8
Kelloway F	LP	14 234	39.7
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Neville L	ALP	20 896	58.3
Kelloway F	LP	14 973	41.7
Formal		35 899	97.7
Informal		836	2.3
Turnout		36 735	95.2

<b>Benalla</b>			
Enrolled 34 690			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Sykes B	NP	8 414	26.5
Stewart P	AG	1 961	6.2
Allen D	ALP	13 129	41.3
Dwyer A	LP	8 306	26.1
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Sykes B	NP	16 531	52.0
Allen D	ALP	15 279	48.0
Formal		31 810	97.6
Informal		791	2.4
Turnout		32 601	

<b>Benambra</b>			
Enrolled 34 122			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Murdoch B	ALP	11 558	38.1
Seymour H	CP	684	2.3
Lucas H	AG	2 111	7.0
Plowman T	LP	12 179	40.1
Reid G	NP	3 818	12.6
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Murdoch B	ALP	13 953	46.0
Plowman T	LP	16 397	54.0
Formal		30 350	96.4
Informal		1 116	3.6
Turnout		31 469	92.2

<b>Bendigo East</b>			
Enrolled 35 520			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Ruffell L	LP	9 303	27.9
Petersen D	AG	2 216	6.7
Allan J	ALP	18 778	56.4
Spiby T	NP	2 988	9.0
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Ruffell L	LP	12 232	37.0
Allan J	ALP	20 795	63.0
Formal		33 285	98.1
Informal		635	1.9
Turnout		33 920	95.5

<b>Bendigo West</b>			
Enrolled 38 420			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Ralph D	AG	3 583	10.2
Taylor R	NP	3 642	10.3
Austerberry G	LP	8 112	23.0
Cameron B	ALP	19 865	56.4
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Austerberry G	LP	11 547	34.0
Cameron B	ALP	22 456	66.0
Formal		35 202	97.5
Informal		888	2.5
Turnout		36 090	93.9

<b>Bentleigh</b>			
Enrolled 36 801			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Peulich I	LP	14 105	42.0
Mitchell P	AG	3 195	9.5
Hall S	CEC	271	0.8
Hudson R	ALP	15 983	47.6
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Peulich I	LP	15 186	45.3
Hudson R	ALP	18 368	54.7
Formal		33 554	97.0
Informal		1 039	3.0
Turnout		34 593	94.0

Victorian Election 2002

<b>Box Hill</b>		Enrolled 37 475	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Chong R	ALP	12 777	37.5
Harris H	AG	5 347	15.7
Clark R	LP	15 935	46.8
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Chong R	ALP	16 658	48.9
Clark R	LP	17 401	51.1
Formal		34 059	97.3
Informal		943	2.7
Turnout		35 002	93.4

<b>Brighton</b>		Enrolled 36 505	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Asher L	LP	17 094	53.2
Davies C	AG	5 116	15.9
Sapir R	ALP	9 926	30.9
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Asher L	LP	18 447	57.4
Sapir R	ALP	13 686	42.6
Formal		32 136	97.7
Informal		765	2.3
Turnout		32 901	90.1

<b>Broadmeadows</b>		Enrolled 37 422	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Gibson B	LP	5 035	15.8
Kaliniy J	IND	453	1.4
Geradts K	AG	1 433	4.5
Yohanna S	CEC	888	2.8
Brumby J	ALP	24 060	75.5
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Gibson B	LP	6 123	19.2
Brumby J	ALP	25 736	80.8
Formal		31 869	94.4
Informal		1 891	5.6
Turnout		33 760	90.2

<b>Brunswick</b>		Enrolled 37 972	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Morton T	IND	857	2.6
Taylor K	IND	752	2.3
McVey J	SA	573	1.7
Gauci C	LP	5 375	16.4
Carli C	ALP	17 075	52.1
Bird S	CEC	154	0.5
Curr P	AG	7 972	24.3
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Gauci R	LP	7 192	22.0
Carli C	ALP	25 554	78.0
Formal		32 758	94.5
Informal		1 906	5.5
Turnout		34 664	91.3

<b>Bulleen</b>		Enrolled 34 839	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Kotsiras N	LP	15 612	49.6
Miras C	ALP	12 517	39.8
Wright M	AG	3 330	10.6
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Kotsiras N	LP	16 561	52.6
Miras C	ALP	14 898	47.4
Formal		31 459	96.6
Informal		1 115	3.4
Turnout		32 574	93.5

<b>Bundoora</b>		Enrolled 35 029	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
McDonald G	AG	3 053	9.6
Mellado W	CEC	398	1.3
Garbutt S	ALP	18 856	59.5
Randall M	LP	9 381	29.6
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Garbutt S	ALP	21 411	67.6
Randall M	LP	10 277	32.4
Formal		31 688	96.2
Informal		1 239	3.8
Turnout		32 927	94.0

<b>Burwood</b>			
Enrolled 37 923			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Stensholt B	ALP	15 598	45.1
Morrissey T	IND	1 148	3.3
Lee J	AG	3 989	11.5
Rule D	LP	13 850	40.0
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Stensholt B	ALP	19 052	55.1
Rule D	LP	15 533	44.9
Formal		34 585	97.5
Informal		891	2.5
Turnout		35 476	93.5

<b>Carrum</b>			
Enrolled 38 869			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Lindell J	ALP	18 654	53.0
Good M	IND	525	1.5
Bujeya D	AG	3 700	10.5
MacInnes R	LP	12 325	35.0
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Lindell J	ALP	21 873	62.2
MacInnes R	LP	13 315	37.8
Formal		35 204	97.0
Informal		1 103	3.0
Turnout		36 307	93.4

<b>Caulfield</b>			
Enrolled 36 314			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Becker R	AG	5 061	15.9
Simon H	ALP	11 138	35.0
Shardey H	LP	15 608	49.1
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Simon H	ALP	15 187	47.7
Shardey H	LP	16 620	52.3
Formal		31 807	96.7
Informal		1 082	3.3
Turnout		32 889	90.6

<b>Clayton</b>			
Enrolled 34 674			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Wong A	LP	7 017	23.0
Lim H	ALP	20 223	66.4
Kirby G	AG	2 377	7.8
Berk D	AD	831	2.7
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Wong A	LP	7 962	26.2
Lim H	ALP	22 479	73.8
Formal		30 448	95.7
Informal		1 374	4.3
Turnout		31 822	91.8

<b>Cranbourne</b>			
Enrolled 34 009			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Kennedy G	AG	2 400	7.8
Perera J	ALP	16 582	54.2
Rowe G	LP	11 163	36.5
Stanton H	CEC	435	1.4
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Perera J	ALP	18 576	60.8
Rowe G	LP	11 977	39.2
Formal		30 580	96.2
Informal		1 196	3.8
Turnout		31 776	93.4

<b>Dandenong</b>			
Enrolled 35 517			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Pandazopoulos J	ALP	20 044	65.4
Kelly J	LP	8 062	26.3
Keegel E	IND	209	0.7
Cox J	IND	412	1.3
Kelly M	AG	1 933	6.3
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Pandazopoulos J	ALP	21 554	70.3
Kelly J	LP	9 100	29.7
Formal		30 660	94.3
Informal		1 867	5.7
Turnout		32 527	91.6

Victorian Election 2002

<b>Derrimut</b>			
Enrolled 34 611			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Kozlowski A	CEC	2 514	8.7
Lim A	LP	4 987	17.3
Languiller T	ALP	21 278	73.9
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Lim A	LP	6 533	22.7
Languiller T	ALP	22 245	77.3
Formal		28 779	93.0
Informal		2 169	7.0
Turnout		30 948	89.4

<b>Doncaster</b>			
Enrolled 35 426			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Dunn K	ALP	13 652	42.7
Dawborn K	AG	2 960	9.3
Perton V	LP	15 324	48.0
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Dunn K	ALP	15 723	49.2
Perton V	LP	16 213	50.8
Formal		31 936	96.9
Informal		1 033	3.1
Turnout		32 969	93.1

<b>Eltham</b>			
Enrolled 37 879			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Gray M	AG	4 695	13.3
Phillips W	LP	14 810	42.0
Herbert S	ALP	15 739	44.7
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Phillips W	LP	15 935	45.2
Herbert S	ALP	19 309	54.8
Formal		35 244	98.0
Informal		728	2.0
Turnout		35 972	95.0

<b>Essendon</b>			
Enrolled 37 369			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Horne C	CEC	519	1.6
Lewis-Hansom V	AG	4 167	12.4
Maddigan J	ALP	18 255	54.5
Reynolds S	LP	10 531	31.5
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Maddigan J	ALP	22 065	65.9
Reynolds S	LP	11 405	34.1
Formal		33 472	96.9
Informal		1 081	3.1
Turnout		34 553	92.5

<b>Evelyn</b>			
Enrolled 36 974			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
McTaggart H	ALP	14 048	42.1
Hay R	AG	2 803	8.4
Byrne G	IND	1 129	3.4
Fyffe C	LP	15 386	46.1
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
McTaggart H	ALP	16 793	50.3
Fyffe C	LP	16 573	49.7
Formal		33 366	96.6
Informal		1 192	3.4
Turnout		34 558	93.5

<b>Ferntree Gully</b>			
Enrolled 38 626			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Lupton H	LP	16 036	45.2
Bullock S	AG	2 740	7.7
Eckstein A	ALP	16 700	47.1
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Lupton H	LP	16 927	47.7
Eckstein A	ALP	18 548	52.3
Formal		35 476	97.1
Informal		1 052	2.9
Turnout		36 528	94.6

<b>Footscray</b>				Enrolled 37 412
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent	
<i>First Preference Votes</i>				
Kamprad J	SA	848	2.7	
Mildenhall B	ALP	18 589	59.3	
D'Souza C	LP	4 691	15.0	
Nguyen M	IND	778	2.5	
Rice J	AG	3 181	10.1	
Cumming C	IND	3 255	10.4	
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>				
Mildenhall B	ALP	23 382	74.9	
D'Souza C	LP	7 835	25.1	
Formal		31 342	93.3	
Informal		2 234	6.7	
Turnout		33 576	89.7	

<b>Forest Hill</b>				Enrolled 37 492
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent	
<i>First Preference Votes</i>				
Pepper A	AG	3 045	8.9	
Campbell R	IND	708	2.1	
Marshall K	ALP	16 105	47.1	
Srinivasan V	LP	13 213	38.7	
Spurr N	IND	1 105	3.2	
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>				
Marshall K	ALP	19 063	55.8	
Srinivasan V	LP	15 113	44.2	
Formal		34 176	96.8	
Informal		1 118	3.2	
Turnout		35 294	94.4	

<b>Frankston</b>				Enrolled 36 523
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent	
<i>First Preference Votes</i>				
Kelsall H	AG	3 472	10.5	
Harkness A	ALP	15 833	47.9	
McCall A	LP	13 385	40.5	
Chapple C	CEC	385	1.2	
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>				
Harkness A	ALP	18 446	55.8	
McCall A	LP	14 629	44.2	
Formal		33 075	96.9	
Informal		1 046	3.1	
Turnout		34 121	93.4	

<b>Geelong</b>				Enrolled 38 480
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent	
<i>First Preference Votes</i>				
Kontelj S	LP	13 266	38.0	
Nixon R	IND	228	0.7	
Trezise I	ALP	17 680	50.6	
Hodge M	IND	967	2.8	
Battistella A	IND	233	0.7	
Teer E	AG	2 568	7.3	
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>				
Kontelj S	LP	14 638	41.9	
Trezise I	ALP	20 300	58.1	
Formal		34 942	96.8	
Informal		1 145	3.2	
Turnout		36 087	93.8	

<b>Gembrook</b>				Enrolled 34 586
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent	
<i>First Preference Votes</i>				
Lobato T	ALP	13 054	41.5	
Ridgway N	AG	4 018	12.8	
Dean F	IND	553	1.8	
Lucas N	LP	13 814	43.9	
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>				
Lobato T	ALP	16 217	51.6	
Lucas N	LP	15 222	48.4	
Formal		31 439	96.8	
Informal		1 044	3.2	
Turnout		32 483	93.9	

<b>Gippsland East</b>				Enrolled 37 475
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent	
<i>First Preference Votes</i>				
Grange T	ALP	4 997	14.8	
McKeown J	IND	447	1.3	
Buckley B	IND	444	1.3	
Ingram C	IND	13 919	41.3	
Chester D	NP	8 061	23.9	
Dent L	LP	4 273	12.7	
Thiele K	AG	1 536	4.6	
<i>Two-Candidate Preferred</i>				
Ingram C		20 791	61.7	
Chester D		12 886	38.3	
Formal		33 677	96.1	
Informal		1 365	3.9	
Turnout		35 042	93.5	

Victorian Election 2002

<b>Gippsland South</b>		Enrolled 36 510	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Aitken C	AG	3 905	11.7
Forbes J	LP	7 015	21.2
Cook G	ALP	9 505	28.5
Ryan P	NP	12 891	38.7
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Cook G	ALP	13 042	39.1
Ryan P	NP	20 274	60.9
Formal		33 316	97.0
Informal		1 027	3.0
Turnout		34 343	94.1

<b>Hastings</b>		Enrolled 37 635	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Burgess N	LP	15 695	46.1
Olivier W	AG	3 178	9.3
Broadbent H	CEC	397	1.2
Buchanan R	ALP	14 790	43.4
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Burgess N	LP	16 739	49.1
Buchanan R	ALP	17 321	50.9
Formal		34 060	96.8
Informal		1 133	3.2
Turnout		35 193	93.5

<b>Hawthorn</b>		Enrolled 36 951	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Giles T	AG	6 544	19.8
Baillieu T	LP	16 407	49.7
Meddings A	ALP	10 082	30.5
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Baillieu T	LP	18 458	55.9
Meddings A	ALP	14 575	44.1
Formal		33 033	97.3
Informal		921	2.7
Turnout		33 954	91.9

<b>Ivanhoe</b>		Enrolled 37 277	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Nolan P	LP	11 498	34.3
Langton C	ALP	17 490	52.1
Appleby M	IND	187	0.6
Morton A	IND	265	0.8
Schorel-Hlavka G	IND	57	0.2
Doreian G	AG	4 067	12.1
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Nolan P	LP	12 586	37.5
Langton C	ALP	20 972	62.5
Formal		33 564	96.6
Informal		1 192	3.4
Turnout		34 756	93.2

<b>Keilor</b>		Enrolled 37 980	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Buller D	LP	10 061	29.0
Nosal S	AG	2 628	7.6
Seitz G	ALP	21 952	63.4
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Buller D	LP	11 071	32.0
Seitz G	ALP	23 566	68.0
Formal		34 641	95.5
Informal		1 620	4.5
Turnout		36 261	95.5

<b>Kew</b>		Enrolled 35 456	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Clark C	AG	5 543	17.4
Dettman M	AD	638	2.0
McIntosh A	LP	15 807	49.5
Williams M	ALP	9 926	31.1
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
McIntosh A	LP	17 865	56.0
Williams M	ALP	14 049	44.0
Formal		31 914	97.2
Informal		930	2.8
Turnout		32 844	92.6

<b>Kilsyth</b>			
Enrolled 37 783			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Beard D	ALP	15 256	44.8
Elliott L	LP	15 320	45.0
Leach L	AG	3 455	10.2
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Beard D	ALP	17 726	52.1
Elliott L	LP	16 305	47.9
Formal		34 031	97.1
Informal		1 009	2.9
Turnout		35 040	92.7

<b>Kororoit</b>			
Enrolled 35 235			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Fenech J	LP	5 439	17.9
Haermeyer A	ALP	20 894	68.8
George A	IND	2 384	7.8
Reilly B	IND	1 673	5.5
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Fenech J	LP	6 973	22.9
Haermeyer A	ALP	23 415	77.1
Formal		30 390	94.0
Informal		1 924	6.0
Turnout		32 314	91.7

<b>Lara</b>			
Enrolled 38 724			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Ellery B	SA	965	2.8
Baranowski K	AG	2 341	6.7
Loney P	ALP	22 673	65.0
Ristevski L	LP	8 921	25.6
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Loney P	ALP	25 211	72.3
Ristevski L	LP	9 638	27.7
Formal		34 900	96.2
Informal		1 395	3.8
Turnout		36 295	93.7

<b>Lowan</b>			
Enrolled 38 381			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Williams C	ALP	9 683	27.1
Brain D	AG	1 658	4.6
Templeton H	LP	9 871	27.6
Delahunty H	NP	14 568	40.7
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Williams C	ALP	11 779	32.9
Delahunty H	NP	24 001	67.1
Formal		35 780	97.5
Informal		917	2.5
Turnout		36 697	95.6

<b>Lyndhurst</b>			
Enrolled 34 760			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Patrinos T	AG	2 293	7.5
Holding T	ALP	20 862	68.3
Ford G	IND	1 021	3.3
Hood A	LP	6 388	20.9
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Holding T	ALP	22 927	75.1
Hood A	LP	7 610	24.9
Formal		30 564	95.2
Informal		1 551	4.8
Turnout		32 115	92.4

<b>Macedon</b>			
Enrolled 39 152			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Finn B	LP	12 944	35.6
Ward M	AG	3 830	10.5
Scott B	CEC	426	1.2
Duncan J	ALP	19 119	52.6
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Finn B	LP	14 798	40.8
Duncan J	ALP	21 513	59.2
Formal		36 319	97.6
Informal		904	2.4
Turnout		37 223	95.1

Victorian Election 2002

<b>Malvern</b>		Enrolled 36 655	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Pollack N	IND	524	1.6
Doyle R	LP	18 036	55.1
Trafficante R	AG	4 389	13.4
Sorensen R	ALP	9 758	29.8
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Doyle R	LP	19 669	60.2
Sorensen R	ALP	13 014	39.8
Formal		32 707	97.4
Informal		874	2.6
Turnout		33 581	91.6

<b>Melbourne</b>		Enrolled 33 859	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Beck J	CEC	242	0.9
Fensom M	IND	253	0.9
Bourke S	LP	5 971	21.0
Pike B	ALP	12 882	45.3
Chamberlin K	IND	1 690	5.9
Di Natale R	AG	6 880	24.2
Pradham A	SA	290	1.0
Cebon M	IND	214	0.8
<i>Two-Candidate Preferred</i>			
Pike B	ALP	14 757	51.9
Di Natale R	AG	13 665	48.1
Formal		28 422	95.9
Informal		1 212	4.1
Turnout		29 634	87.5

<b>Melton</b>		Enrolled 35 458	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Muscat T	IND	669	2.1
McCull F	IND	111	0.3
Nardella D	ALP	17 535	55.1
Stewart K	AG	2 355	7.4
Goodman J	IND	1 028	3.2
Hyett J	IND	2 199	6.9
Gough R	LP	7 919	24.9
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Nardella D	ALP	20 764	65.3
Gough R	LP	11 022	34.7
Formal		31 816	95.5
Informal		1 495	4.5
Turnout		33 311	93.9

<b>Mildura</b>		Enrolled 36 098	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Crouch T	NP	8 136	25.2
Cursaro T	IND	535	1.7
Rivendell B	AG	563	1.7
Zigouras J	ALP	3 075	9.5
Savage R	IND	16 712	51.7
Sleep S	LP	3 316	10.3
<i>Two-Candidate Preferred</i>			
Savage R	IND	22 121	68.4
Sleep S	LP	10 197	31.6
Formal		32 337	96.9
Informal		1 043	3.1
Turnout		33 380	92.5

<b>Mill Park</b>		Enrolled 35 926	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Ahmed B	AG	2 014	6.2
D'Ambrosio L	ALP	22 746	70.1
Mawhinney B	AD	878	2.7
Kostadinowski L	LP	6 815	21.0
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
D'Ambrosio L	ALP	24 915	76.8
Kostadinowski L	LP	7 536	23.2
Formal		32 453	95.6
Informal		1 484	4.4
Turnout		33 937	94.5

<b>Mitcham</b>		Enrolled 36 672	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Robinson T	ALP	16 097	47.8
Turner L	IND	307	0.9
Hannan R	LP	12 735	37.9
Way K	IND	946	2.8
Pemberton B	AG	3 559	10.6
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Robinson T	ALP	19 405	57.7
Hannan R	LP	14 239	42.3
Formal		33 644	97.4
Informal		906	2.6
Turnout		34 550	94.2

<b>Monbulk</b>			
Enrolled 36 119			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Merlino J	ALP	14 303	43.6
Smith C	AG	5 182	15.8
Holland T	AD	537	1.6
McArthur S	LP	12 285	37.4
Voigt W	CP	532	1.6
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Merlino J	ALP	19 132	58.3
McArthur S	LP	13 707	41.7
Formal		32 839	97.1
Informal		974	2.9
Turnout		33 813	93.6

<b>Mordialloc</b>			
Enrolled 37 617			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Leigh G	LP	14 676	42.8
Gigliotti F	CEC	356	1.0
Munt J	ALP	15 832	46.1
Monagle S	AG	3 463	10.1
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Leigh G	LP	15 610	45.5
Munt J	ALP	18 717	54.5
Formal		34 327	97.1
Informal		1 034	2.9
Turnout		35 361	94.0

<b>Mornington</b>			
Enrolled 34 532			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Johnson P	AG	3 591	11.4
Graley J	ALP	12 424	39.3
Cooper R	LP	15 608	49.4
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Graley J	ALP	15 235	48.2
Cooper R	LP	16 388	51.8
Formal		31 623	97.7
Informal		730	2.3
Turnout		32 353	93.7

<b>Morwell</b>			
Enrolled 36 042			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Platschinda B	IND	4 733	14.5
Hammett J	NP	4 014	12.3
Jenkins B	ALP	14 073	43.2
Alexander H	IND	1 521	4.7
Blackwood D	LP	6 289	19.3
Thompson C	AG	1 917	5.9
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Jenkins B	ALP	17 855	54.9
Blackwood D	LP	14 692	45.1
Formal		32 547	96.3
Informal		1 257	3.7
Turnout		33 804	93.8

<b>Mount Waverley</b>			
Enrolled 36 752			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Morand M	ALP	14 902	44.4
Bennett T	AD	560	1.7
Wilson R	LP	14 984	44.6
Poppins J	AG	2 849	8.5
Bond M	IND	284	0.8
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Morand M	ALP	17 559	52.3
Wilson R	LP	16 020	47.7
Formal		33 579	97.0
Informal		1 036	3.0
Turnout		34 615	94.2

<b>Mulgrave</b>			
Enrolled 34 337			
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Andrews D	ALP	18 804	61.7
Kelly C	LP	9 431	30.9
Smith C	AG	1 845	6.1
Chabdjian D	IND	410	1.3
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Andrews D	ALP	20 183	66.2
Kelly C	LP	10 294	33.8
Formal		30 490	95.8
Informal		1 325	4.2
Turnout		31 815	92.7

Victorian Election 2002

<b>Murray Valley</b>		Enrolled 35 081	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
O'Neill L	ALP	9 846	30.8
Jasper K	NP	13 778	43.1
Joyce D	LP	6 565	20.5
Scott T	AG	1 764	5.5
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
O'Neill L	ALP	11 537	36.1
Jasper K	NP	20 416	63.9
Formal		31 953	97.1
Informal		964	2.9
Turnout		32 917	93.8

<b>Narracan</b>		Enrolled 34 315	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Needham I	NP	2 840	8.3
Sayers T	IND	1 995	5.8
Maxfield I	ALP	15 908	46.5
Stoll K	LP	11 469	33.5
Jackson K	AG	2 033	5.9
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Maxfield I	ALP	19 471	56.8
Stoll K	LP	14 794	43.2
Formal		34 245	97.0
Informal		1 044	3.0
Turnout		35 289	94.6

<b>Narre Warren North</b>		Enrolled 35 036	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Haywood G	AG	2 406	7.6
Luckins M	LP	11 874	37.3
Donnellan L	ALP	17 537	55.1
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Luckins M	LP	12 822	40.3
Donnellan L	ALP	18 991	59.7
Formal		31 817	96.6
Informal		1 134	3.4
Turnout		32 951	94.0

<b>Narre Warren South</b>		Enrolled 37 578	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Wilson D	ALP	19 868	58.3
Lyons T	AG	2 066	6.1
Shepherdson M	LP	12 145	35.6
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Wilson D	ALP	21 331	62.6
Shepherdson M	LP	12 745	37.4
Formal		34 079	96.5
Informal		1 240	3.5
Turnout		35 319	94.0

<b>Nepean</b>		Enrolled 36 176	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
De Rango D	AG	3 733	11.3
Ford C	ALP	13 636	41.4
Dixon M	LP	15 543	47.2
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Ford C	ALP	16 399	49.8
Dixon M	LP	16 513	50.2
Formal		32 912	97.0
Informal		1 010	3.0
Turnout		33 922	93.8

<b>Niddrie</b>		Enrolled 36 896	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Hulls R	ALP	19 952	60.1
Crea P	DLP	1 035	3.1
Klugman M	AG	2 414	7.3
Jennison S	LP	9 810	29.5
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Hulls R	ALP	22 114	66.6
Jennison S	LP	11 088	33.4
Formal		33 211	95.6
Informal		1 527	4.4
Turnout		34 738	94.2

<b>Northcote</b>				Enrolled 37 722
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent	
<i>First Preference Votes</i>				
Watt G	LP	5 550	16.8	
Lynch J	SA	598	1.8	
Gallagher P	CEC	260	0.8	
Nicholson S	AG	8 394	25.4	
Delahunty M	ALP	18 229	55.2	
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>				
Watt G	LP	7 157	21.7	
Delahunty M	ALP	25 857	78.3	
Formal		33 031	95.8	
Informal		1 434	4.2	
Turnout		34 465	91.4	

<b>Polwarth</b>				Enrolled 39 179
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent	
<i>First Preference Votes</i>				
Atherden N	AG	3 163	8.8	
Chant D	NP	3 700	10.3	
Garland S	ALP	11 141	31.0	
Mulder T	LP	17 342	48.3	
Mitchell A	IND	570	1.6	
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>				
Garland S	ALP	14 317	40.5	
Mulder T	LP	21 070	59.5	
Formal		35 916	96.2	
Informal		1 416	3.8	
Turnout		37 332	95.3	

<b>Oakleigh</b>				Enrolled 34 995
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent	
<i>First Preference Votes</i>				
Skouzis T	IND	1 193	3.8	
Barker A	ALP	16 999	54.2	
Bennett O	AG	3 389	10.8	
Goudge P	LP	9 754	31.1	
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>				
Barker A	ALP	20 432	65.2	
Goudge P	LP	10 902	34.8	
Formal		31 335	96.9	
Informal		1 000	3.1	
Turnout		32 335	92.4	

<b>Prahran</b>				Enrolled 36 856
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent	
<i>First Preference Votes</i>				
Lincoln A	IND	419	1.4	
Gourlay J	AD	504	1.6	
Lupton T	ALP	11 772	38.0	
Burke L	LP	12 713	41.0	
Mathew D	AG	5 591	18.0	
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>				
Lupton T	ALP	16 869	54.4	
Burke L	LP	14 130	45.6	
Formal		30 999	97.1	
Informal		921	2.9	
Turnout		31 920	86.6	

<b>Pascoe Vale</b>				Enrolled 37 634
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent	
<i>First Preference Votes</i>				
Campbell C	ALP	21 989	67.0	
Clancy S	LP	7 400	22.5	
Elgood P	AG	2 905	8.8	
Isherwood C	CEC	538	1.6	
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>				
Campbell C	ALP	24 359	74.2	
Clancy S	LP	8 468	25.8	
Formal		32 832	95.2	
Informal		1 665	4.8	
Turnout		34 497	91.7	

<b>Preston</b>				Enrolled 38 208
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent	
<i>First Preference Votes</i>				
Chaplin C	AG	4 458	13.3	
Dean L	LP	6 267	18.8	
Leighton M	ALP	22 271	66.7	
Isherwood N	CEC	415	1.2	
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>				
Dean L	LP	8 100	24.3	
Leighton M	ALP	25 302	75.7	
Formal		33 411	95.5	
Informal		1 575	4.5	
Turnout		34 986	91.6	

Victorian Election 2002

<b>Richmond</b>		Enrolled 37 052	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Teiwes P	LP	6 251	19.8
Jolly S	IND	629	2.0
Mees P	IND	668	2.1
Wynne R	ALP	15 016	47.5
Pinnell G	AG	9 055	28.6
<i>Two-Candidate Preferred</i>			
Wynne R	ALP	16 787	53.1
Pinnell G	AG	14 832	46.9
Formal		31 619	96.7
Informal		1 063	3.3
Turnout		32 682	88.2

<b>Ripon</b>		Enrolled 36 044	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Erwin K	NP	2 588	7.8
de Fegely R	LP	11 278	33.9
Helper J	ALP	17 439	52.4
McCallum J	IND	367	1.1
Millar P	AG	1 581	4.8
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
de Fegely R	LP	14 155	42.6
Helper J	ALP	19 097	57.4
Formal		33 253	97.2
Informal		967	2.8
Turnout		34 220	94.9

<b>Rodney</b>		Enrolled 35 177	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Maughan N	NP	11 040	34.3
McCullough M	ALP	8 212	25.5
Frost S	LP	9 723	30.2
Toll G	IND	1 812	5.6
Williams P	AG	1 414	4.4
<i>Two-Candidate Preferred</i>			
Maughan N	NP	19 305	60.0
Frost S	LP	12 896	40.0
Formal		32 201	96.8
Informal		1 071	3.2
Turnout		33 272	94.6

<b>Sandringham</b>		Enrolled 36 083	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Watkins S	AG	4 265	13.0
Eden N	IND	1 264	3.9
Caruana J	ALP	11 140	34.1
Thompson M	LP	16 036	49.0
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Caruana J	ALP	15 360	47.0
Thompson M	LP	17 345	53.0
Formal		32 705	97.6
Informal		806	2.4
Turnout		33 511	92.9

<b>Scoresby</b>		Enrolled 37 667	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Wells K	LP	17 617	51.3
Williams P	ALP	14 118	41.1
O'Connell G	AG	2 588	7.5
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Wells K	LP	18 291	43.3
Williams P	ALP	16 016	46.7
Formal		34 323	97.1
Informal		1 023	2.9
Turnout		35 346	93.8

<b>Seymour</b>		Enrolled 35 561	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Hardman B	ALP	17 143	52.5
Dalmau M	LP	12 350	37.8
McNab C	AG	3 178	9.7
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Hardman B	ALP	19 434	59.5
Dalmau M	LP	13 236	40.5
Formal		32 671	97.5
Informal		836	2.5
Turnout		33 507	94.2

<b>Shepparton</b>		Enrolled 35 754	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Powell J	NP	9 268	28.8
Merrylees S	LP	9 662	30.0
Calder A	ALP	7 050	21.9
Griffiths J	AG	1 057	3.3
Hazelman C	IND	5 129	15.9
<i>Two-Candidate Preferred</i>			
Powell J	NP	17 458	54.3
Merrylees S	LP	14 708	45.7
Formal		32 166	96.4
Informal		1 202	3.6
Turnout		33 368	93.3

<b>South Barwon</b>		Enrolled 39 290	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Crutchfield M	ALP	17 132	47.4
Paterson A	LP	14 278	39.5
Hepner A	IND	1 212	3.4
Bullmore E	IND	147	0.4
Lygo I	AG	3 372	9.3
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Crutchfield M	ALP	19 849	55.0
Paterson A	LP	16 240	45.0
Formal		36 141	97.1
Informal		1 078	2.9
Turnout		37 219	94.7

<b>South-West Coast</b>		Enrolled 40 115	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Madden G	NP	4 213	11.5
Reekie R	ALP	15 161	41.3
Napthine D	LP	14 809	40.3
Blair G	AG	2 568	7.0
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Reekie R	ALP	18 104	49.3
Napthine D	LP	18 647	50.7
Formal		36 751	96.9
Informal		1 183	3.1
Turnout		37 934	94.6

<b>Swan Hill</b>		Enrolled 34 662	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Kelly J	AG	1 635	5.2
Sonogan R	IND	2 217	7.0
Hill G	ALP	8 384	26.4
Walsh P	NP	11 066	34.9
Tomamicel S	LP	8 438	26.6
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Hill G	ALP	11 378	35.8
Walsh P	NP	20 362	64.2
Formal		31 740	96.8
Informal		1 038	3.2
Turnout		32 778	94.6

<b>Tarneit</b>		Enrolled 37 135	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Hanrahan J	LP	9 382	28.1
Gillett M	ALP	21 246	63.5
Hudson C	IND	2 811	8.4
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Hanrahan J	LP	10 901	32.6
Gillett M	ALP	22 538	67.4
Formal		33 439	96.3
Informal		1 270	3.7
Turnout		34 709	93.5

<b>Thomastown</b>		Enrolled 38 102	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Woolcock A	LP	5 561	16.6
Batchelor P	ALP	25 473	75.8
Rendevski Z	AG	2 562	7.6
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Woolcock A	LP	6 132	18.3
Batchelor P	ALP	27 451	81.7
Formal		33 596	94.4
Informal		1 994	5.6
Turnout		35 590	93.4

Victorian Election 2002

<b>Warrandyte</b>		Enrolled 39 069	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Petherbridge T	HP	914	2.6
Honeywood P	LP	18 742	52.4
Panter J	ALP	12 529	35.0
Watson B	AG	3 570	10.0
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Honeywood P	LP	20 145	56.3
Panter J	ALP	15 605	43.7
Formal		35 755	97.6
Informal		879	2.4
Turnout		36 634	93.8

<b>Yuroke</b>		Enrolled 35 943	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Beattie L	ALP	23 161	71.3
Chowdhury T	CEC	805	2.5
Dunstan R	LP	8 531	26.3
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Beattie L	ALP	23 683	72.9
Dunstan R	LP	8 813	27.1
Formal		32 497	95.9
Informal		1 404	4.1
Turnout		33 901	94.3

<b>Williamstown</b>		Enrolled 37 526	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Westbury J	IND	2 122	6.3
Finey M	AG	3 422	10.2
Bracks S	ALP	21 600	64.6
Evers-Buckland A	LP	6 274	18.8
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Bracks S	ALP	25 295	75.7
Evers-Buckland A	LP	8 114	24.3
Formal		33 418	96.6
Informal		1 178	3.4
Turnout		34 596	92.2

<b>Yan Yean</b>		Enrolled 34 895	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Steer S	CEC	380	1.2
Vaughan P	AG	3 503	10.9
Green D	ALP	15 980	49.5
Guy M	LP	12 396	38.4
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Green D	ALP	19 204	59.5
Guy M	LP	13 055	40.5
Formal		32 259	97.1
Informal		952	2.9
Turnout		33 211	95.2

**Table 8 Legislative Council, State Summary**

	Enrolled 3 228 466		
	Votes	Per cent	Swing
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Australian Labor Party	1 375 515	47.49	+5.26
Liberal Party	999 957	34.52	-5.18
Australian Greens	314 744	10.87	+8.64
National Party	126 419	4.36	-2.92
Australian Democrats	51 710	1.79	-5.00
Hope Party	4 614	0.16	+0.16
Christian Party	4 158	0.14	+0.14
Other candidates	19 533	0.67	-1.09
Formal Votes	2 896 650	96.33	-0.30
Informal Votes	110 472	3.67	+0.30
Turnout/Total Votes	3 007 122	93.14	+0.19
<i>Two-Party Preferred Votes (a)</i>			
Australian Labor Party	1 675 273	57.84	+7.12
Liberal Party/National Party	1 220 950	42.16	-7.12

**Table 9 Legislative Council, Province Summary, First Preference Votes**

	First Preference Votes						Formal Votes	Informal Votes	Turnout	Enrolled
	ALP	LP	NP	AG	AD	Others				
<b>Number</b>										
Ballarat	72519	48645		14182	2809		138155	4317	142472	150804
Central Highlands	57245	48352	9563	12206	1925		129291	4470	133761	142120
Chelsea	68986	42291		11871	4468		127616	5187	132803	144161
Doutta Galla	84236	31808		8714	2753		127511	7210	134721	144722
East Yarra	47909	61066		20314	2098	1793	133180	5005	138185	147805
Eumemmerring	67534	46120		14059			127713	5546	133259	142717
Geelong	72683	51059		11904	3255	2970	141871	4395	146266	155077
Gippsland	52917	31120	36086	9910	3767		133800	4674	138474	147342
Higinbotham	52445	60580		16451	2952		132428	3845	136273	147006
Jika Jika	78773	28462		18991	5309		131535	5830	137365	146885
Koonung	64757	58338		12598		1583	137276	4421	141697	150457
Melbourne	61810	30771		31481	2878		126940	4652	131592	146252
Melbourne North	90720	25976		10674	3333		130703	7276	137979	149101
Melbourne West	78617	32350		15007	4123		130097	6314	136411	147846
Monash	46697	55855		23154	2795		128501	4015	132516	148551
North Eastern	40279	41725	30134	7243	3465	2332	125178	5576	130754	140134
North Western	47302	29776	30494	7328		16308	131208	4472	135680	144700
Silvan	56588	59906		14793	2333	1347	134967	4549	139516	149287
Templestowe	56952	54670		17469		1972	131063	5195	136258	145421
Waverley	67950	43226		11238	3447		125861	4915	130776	140758
Western	54815	56497	20142	9823			141277	4611	145888	153719
Western Port	53781	61364		15334			130479	3997	134476	143601
<b>Total</b>	<b>1375515</b>	<b>999957</b>	<b>126419</b>	<b>314744</b>	<b>51710</b>	<b>28305</b>	<b>2896650</b>	<b>110472</b>	<b>3007122</b>	<b>3228466</b>
<b>Per cent</b>										
Ballarat	52.5	35.2		10.3	2.0		97.0	3.0	94.5	
Central Highlands	44.3	37.4	7.4	9.4	1.5		96.7	3.3	94.1	
Chelsea	54.1	33.1		9.3	3.5		96.1	3.9	92.1	
Doutta Galla	66.1	24.9		6.8	2.2		94.6	5.4	93.1	
East Yarra	36.0	45.9		15.3	1.6	1.3	96.4	3.6	93.5	
Eumemmerring	52.9	36.1		11.0			95.8	4.2	93.4	
Geelong	51.2	36.0		8.4	2.3	2.1	97.0	3.0	94.3	
Gippsland	39.5	23.3	27.0	7.4	2.8		96.6	3.4	94.0	
Higinbotham	39.6	45.7		12.4	2.2		97.2	2.8	92.7	
Jika Jika	59.9	21.6		14.4	4.0		95.8	4.2	93.5	
Koonung	47.2	42.5		9.2		1.2	96.9	3.1	94.2	
Melbourne	48.7	24.2		24.8	2.3		96.5	3.5	90.0	
Melbourne North	69.4	19.9		8.2	2.6		94.7	5.3	92.5	
Melbourne West	60.4	24.9		11.5	3.2		95.4	4.6	92.3	
Monash	36.3	43.5		18.0	2.2		97.0	3.0	89.2	
North Eastern	32.2	33.3	24.1	5.8	2.8	1.9	95.7	4.3	93.3	
North Western	36.1	22.7	23.2	5.6		12.4	96.7	3.3	93.8	
Silvan	41.9	44.4		11.0	1.7	1.0	96.7	3.3	93.5	
Templestowe	43.5	41.7		13.3		1.5	96.2	3.8	93.7	
Waverley	54.0	34.3		8.9	2.7		96.2	3.8	92.9	
Western	38.8	40.0	14.3	7.0			96.8	3.2	94.9	
Western Port	41.2	47.0		11.8			97.0	3.0	93.6	
<b>Total</b>	<b>47.5</b>	<b>34.5</b>	<b>4.4</b>	<b>10.9</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>96.3</b>	<b>3.7</b>	<b>93.1</b>	

**Table 10 Legislative Council, Province Summary, Two Party Preferred Votes**

Province	Number		Per cent		Swing to ALP (a)
	ALP	LP/NP	ALP	LP/NP	
Ballarat	84713	53426	61.3	38.7	9.0
Central Highlands	70460	58831	54.5	45.5	9.7
Chelsea	78760	48776	61.8	38.2	8.9
Doutta Galla	91581	35797	71.9	28.1	5.5
East Yarra	66184	66996	49.7	50.3	9.7
Eumemmerring	76438	51230	59.9	40.1	10.5
Geelong	86253	55564	60.8	39.2	8.8
Gippsland	64210	69590	48.0	52.0	0.0
Higinbotham	66711	65717	50.4	49.6	6.5
Jika Jika	98740	32769	75.1	24.9	9.2
Koonung	74853	62423	54.5	45.5	11.9
Melbourne	90577	36410	71.3	28.7	7.9
Melbourne North	101705	28979	77.8	22.2	10.8
Melbourne West	91780	38237	70.6	29.4	5.8
Monash	66740	61761	51.9	48.1	7.5
North Eastern	51640	73538	41.3	58.7	1.4
North Western	65008	66200	49.5	50.5	5.3
Silvan	69885	65082	51.8	48.2	8.3
Templestowe	70611	60452	53.9	46.1	9.6
Waverley	78478	47362	62.4	37.6	10.0
Western	64505	76772	45.7	54.3	4.7
Western Port	65441	65038	50.2	49.8	8.5
Total	1675273	1220950	57.8	42.2	7.1

**Table 11 Legislative Council, Electoral Pendulum**  
Per cent

District	Margin	District	Margin
<b>ALP Districts</b>		<b>LP/NP Districts</b>	
Melbourne North	77.8	North Eastern	58.7
Jika Jika	75.1	Western	54.3
Doutta Galla	71.9	Gippsland	52.0
Melbourne	71.3	North Western	50.5
Melbourne West	70.6	East Yarra	50.3
Waverley	62.4		
Chelsea	61.8		
Ballarat	61.3		
Geelong	60.8		
Eumemmerring	59.9		
Koonung	54.5		
Central Highlands	54.5		
Templestowe	53.9		
Monash	51.9		
Silvan	51.8		
Higinbotham	50.4		
Western Port	50.2		

**Table 12 Legislative Council, Province Details**

<b>Ballarat</b>		Enrolled 150 804	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
McQuilten J	ALP	72 519	52.5
Bath H	LP	48 645	35.2
Bridges C	AG	14 182	10.3
Lutz G	AD	2 809	2.0
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
McQuilten J	ALP	84 713	61.3
Bath H	LP	53 426	38.7
Formal		138 155	97.0
Informal		4 317	3.0
Turnout		142 472	94.5

<b>Central Highlands</b>		Enrolled 142 120	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Parisotto R	NP	9 563	7.4
Mitchell R	ALP	57 245	44.3
Vandersman J	AD	1 925	1.5
Mackenzie J	AG	12 206	9.4
Marriott C	LP	48 352	37.4
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Mitchell R	ALP	70 460	54.5
Marriott C	LP	58 831	45.5
Formal		129 291	96.7
Informal		4 470	3.3
Turnout		133 761	94.1

## Appendix 1

### Legislative Assembly By-elections 1999-2002

<b>Burwood (11/12/99)</b>				Enrolled
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent	Swing
<i>First Preference Votes</i>				
Stensholt B	ALP	13 410	45.0	+3.5
McLean L	LP	12 054	40.5	-15.0
Crohn P	AG	1 875	6.3	+6.3
Ferwerda P	DLP	453	1.5	+1.5
Mayne S	IND	1 975	6.6	+6.6
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>				
Stensholt B	ALP	15 963	53.6	+10.4
McLean L	LP	13 804	46.4	-10.4
Formal		29 767	97.6	0.0
Informal		741	2.4	0.0
Turnout		30 508	87.3	-5.7

<b>Benalla (13/5/00)</b>				Enrolled
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent	Swing
<i>First Preference Votes</i>				
Smith M	IND	234	0.8	+0.8
Hill B	IND	1 983	6.7	+6.7
Thorpe A	ARP	101	0.3	+0.3
Allen D	ALP	12 514	42.1	-0.5
Mackenzie J	AG	597	2.0	+2.0
Sykes B	NP	12 244	41.2	-16.2
Rowe G	IND	2 072	7.0	+7.0
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>				
Allen D	ALP	14 991	50.4	+7.8
Sykes B	NP	14 754	49.6	-7.8
Formal		29 745	97.2	+0.8
Informal		849	2.8	-0.8
Turnout		30 594	89.6	-3.4

## Appendix 2

### Legislative Council By-elections 1999-2002

<b>East Yarra (30/11/02)</b>		Enrolled 141 384	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Sharp A	AD	3 805	3.0
Salter W	AG	21 096	16.6
Dalla-Riva R	LP	58 145	45.8
Fowles W	ALP	43 964	34.6
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Dalla-Riva R	LP	65 489	51.6
Fowles W	ALP	61 521	48.4
Formal		127 010	97.0
Informal		3 933	3.0
Turnout		130 943	92.6

<b>Western (30/11/02)</b>		Enrolled 130 708	
Candidate	Party	Votes	Per cent
<i>First Preference Votes</i>			
Brown S	AG	10 973	9.2
Clegg S	ALP	40 984	34.3
Miller D	NP	21 263	17.8
Koch D	LP	46 321	38.7
<i>Two-Party Preferred</i>			
Clegg S	ALP	52 588	44.0
Koch D	LP	66 953	56.0
Formal		119 541	96.7
Informal		4 019	3.3
Turnout		123 560	94.5

## Appendix 3

### Legislative Assembly Elections 1950–2002

<b>Election</b>	<b>ALP</b>	<b>LP</b>	<b>NP</b>	<b>AD</b>	<b>DLP</b>	<b>Grn</b>	<b>ON</b>	<b>Oth</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>ALP</b>	<b>LP/NP</b>
	<i>First Preference Votes</i>								<i>Two Party Votes</i>		
1950	45.3	40.7	10.6					3.4	100.0	50.4	49.6
1952	49.1	24.9	8.3					17.7	100.0	56.7	43.3
1955	32.6	37.8	9.5		12.6			7.5	100.0	42.1	57.9
1958	37.7	37.2	9.3		14.4			1.4	100.0	42.2	57.8
1961	38.6	36.4	7.1		17.0			0.9	100.0	42.1	57.9
1964	36.2	39.6	8.8		15.0			0.4	100.0	41.0	59.0
1967	37.9	37.5	8.6		14.3			1.7	100.0	41.6	58.4
1970	41.4	36.7	6.4		13.3			2.2	100.0	45.8	54.2
1973	41.6	42.3	6.0		7.8			2.3	100.0	44.8	55.2
1976	42.4	45.9	7.1		2.6			2.1	100.0	44.2	55.8
1979	45.2	41.4	5.6	5.4	0.5			1.8	100.0	49.5	50.5
1982	50.0	38.3	5.0	5.3	0.3			1.0	100.0	53.8	46.2
1985	50.0	41.9	7.3					0.8	100.0	50.7	49.3
1988	46.5	40.6	7.8	1.1	0.2			3.8	100.0	49.5	50.5
1992	38.4	44.2	7.8	0.2		0.1		9.3	100.0	43.7	56.3
1996	43.1	44.0	6.7					6.2	100.0	46.5	53.5
1999	45.6	42.2	4.8	0.3	0.2	1.2	0.3	5.4	100.0	50.2	49.8
2002	48.0	33.9	4.3	0.1	0.0	9.7		4.0	100.0	58.3	41.7
	<i>Seats Won</i>										
1950	24	27	13					1	65		
1952	37	11	12					5	65		
1955	20	33	11		1			1	66		
1958	18	39	9						66		
1961	17	39	9					1	66		
1964	18	38	10						66		
1967	16	44	12					1	73		
1970	22	42	8					1	73		
1973	18	46	8					1	73		
1976	21	52	7					1	81		
1979	32	41	8						81		
1982	49	24	8						81		
1985	47	31	10						88		
1988	46	33	9						88		
1992	27	52	9						88		
1996	29	49	9					1	88		
1999	42	36	7					3	88		
2002	62	17	7					2	88		

## Appendix 4

## Legislative Council Elections 1952–2002

Election	ALP	LP	NP	AD	DLP	Grn	Oth	Total	ALP	LP/NP	
			<i>First Preference Votes</i>							<i>Two Party Votes</i>	
1952	37.2	37.2	11.0				14.6	100.0			
1955	38.9	30.5	6.1		16.5		7.9	100.0			
1958	39.2	35.8	5.5		14.9		4.6	100.0			
1961	38.9	37.9	6.2		16.7		0.3	100.0			
1964	35.5	40.1	8.9		15.5			100.0			
1967	37.3	38.7	9.6		14.4		0.8	100.0			
1970	42.1	37.5	6.2		14.1		0.2	100.0			
1973	40.8	43.1	6.4		8.7		1.0	100.0			
1976	42.8	48.5	7.9		0.6		0.1	100.0			
1979	45.3	43.7	5.9	2.9	0.2		2.1	100.0			
1982	49.6	39.2	5.5	5.0			0.7	100.0			
1985	47.3	41.1	6.7	4.0			0.9	100.0	50.6	49.4	
1988	48.1	43.5	7.5				0.8	100.0	49.1	50.9	
1992	38.6	43.5	8.7	0.3	4.5		4.4	100.0	43.3	56.7	
1996	40.5	44.0	6.6	5.7			3.2	100.0	46.0	54.0	
1999	42.2	39.7	7.3	6.8		2.2	1.8	100.0	50.7	49.3	
2002	47.5	34.5	4.4	1.8		10.9	1.0	100.0	57.8	42.2	
			<i>Seats Won</i>								
1952	11	1	4				1	17			
1955	4	9	4					17			
1958	5	8	4					17			
1961	4	9	4					17			
1964	4	9	4					17			
1967	4	10	4					18			
1970	5	10	3					18			
1973	4	11	3					18			
1976	5	15	2					22			
1979	8	12	2					22			
1982	12	8	2					22			
1985	11	8	3					22			
1988	9	10	3					22			
1992	5	14	3					22			
1996	5	14	3					22			
1999	8	11	3					22			
2002	17	3	2					22			
			<i>Composition of Council</i>								
1952	15	10	8				1	34			
1955	14	11	8				1	34			
1958	9	17	8					34			
1961	9	17	8					34			
1964	8	18	8					34			
1967	9	18	8					35			
1970	9	20	7					36			
1973	9	21	6					36			
1976	9	26	5					40			
1979	13	27	4					44			
1982	20	20	4					44			
1985	23	16	5					44			
1988	18	19	6				1	44			
1992	14	24	6					44			
1996	10	28	6					44			
1999	14	24	6					44			
2002	25	15	4					44			