



Current Issues Brief
No. 15 2000–01

Queensland Election 2001

ISSN 1440-2009

© Copyright Commonwealth of Australia 2001

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, 2001

Current Issues Brief
No. 15 2000–01

Queensland Election 2001

Scott Bennett, Politics and Public Administration Group
Gerard Newman, Statistics Group
3 April 2001

Acknowledgments

This is to acknowledge the help given by Zac Dadic, Rob Lundie, Cathy Madden, Leanne Manthorpe, Rose Verspaandonk, John Wanna and Glenn Worthington in producing this paper.

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
The Beattie Government—living on a knife edge	1
Queensland goes to the polls	2
The major party contest.....	3
Labor.....	3
The Coalition	4
Minor parties	5
The result.....	6
The major party vote	6
Labor.....	7
National.....	7
Liberal.....	7
Pauline Hanson's One Nation	8
The City Country Alliance	9
Greens versus Australian Democrats.....	9
Independents.....	10
Voting methods factors	11
Preference flows	11
'Just Vote 1'.....	11
Three-cornered contests.....	11
The verdict.....	12
Government stability	12
Ineffectiveness of the Opposition.....	13
Coalition disunity	14
Federal factors	15
A postscript to the Queensland election—the by-election in Ryan	16
Endnotes	19
Appendix 1: Voter support 1998–2001	23

Appendix 2: One Nation MLAs elected 1998	24
Appendix 3: Results	25
Table 1 Legislative Assembly: State Summary	25
Table 2a Legislative Assembly: First Preference Votes, District Summary Number	26
Table 2b Legislative Assembly: First Preference Votes, District Summary Per cent	28
Table 3 Legislative Assembly: District Detail	30
Table 4 Legislative Assembly: Two Candidate Preferred Vote	45
Table 5 Legislative Assembly: Electoral Pendulum (a)	47
Table 6 Legislative Assembly By-elections 1998–2000	48
Table 7 Legislative Assembly Elections 1950–2001	49

Major Issues

Premier Beattie's first Queensland Government lived on a knife edge after narrowly winning office in 1998. It had won 44 of the 89 Assembly seats, with a first preference vote of only 38.9 per cent. The Government's position was eased slightly when it gained an additional seat in a December 1998 by-election. Because of the 'electoral rorts' affair, Beattie came under pressure to call an election early in 2001. Although he could have waited until September 2001, Beattie set the Queensland election date for 24 February 2001: 'It may not be in my best interests for there to be an early election but it is in the best interests of Queenslanders'. The election was conducted using electoral boundaries drawn up during 1998 and 1999.

Labor's biggest asset appeared to be Peter Beattie. Beattie had long enjoyed a high opinion poll rating among the six Premiers, and it showed no sign of waning prior to the election.

Neither the Nationals, led by former Premier Rob Borbidge, nor the Liberals, led by David Watson, had been able to make any long-term inroad into Labor's support. This position did not seem to alter during the election. Between 1998 and 2001, Borbidge's approval rating remained significantly below that of the Premier.

The Coalition parties were not free from tensions. The Nationals were split over the issue of dealing with One Nation for their preferences, and some appeared to be angling for Borbidge's position. Meanwhile, a number of Liberals were publicly less than impressed with the performance of their leader, David Watson.

A key factor seemed to be the re-emergence of One Nation as a genuine electoral force in the Western Australian election held a week earlier, where the party gained a Legislative Assembly vote of 9.6 per cent, together with three upper house seats. One Nation appeared likely to do at least as well in Queensland. Although it had only 39 nominations, this was enough for the major parties to be concerned about their possible impact on particular electorate results.

Labor's campaign was dominated by the Premier, with the general instruction to voters of 'Just vote 1'. His opponents were disunited and appeared to have trouble in making themselves heard, and, in fact, on a number of occasions Borbidge seemed to be conceding victory to Labor.

The result of the election was never in doubt on election night—the ABC commentary team had given the result to Labor within minutes of the start of the television coverage of the counting. Labor won 66 of the 89 seats, the Coalition won 15 (Nationals 12, Liberals 3), One Nation won 3 and 5 independents were successful, two of whom were MLAs who had won their seats under the One Nation banner in 1998.

Among the interesting figures:

- Labor's 66 seats represented 74.2 per cent of the Legislative Assembly, equalling the party's best-ever result in 1935
- the National Party vote was its lowest on record. Its 12 seats equalled its lowest total gained in 1944, and the earlier figure was in an Assembly of 62
- the Liberal Party's vote was its lowest since the party first contested Queensland elections in 1950. Its three seats represent the lowest number it has ever won in the Assembly
- the combined major party (ALP/LIB/NP) vote of 77.4 per cent was the second lowest on record in a Queensland election
- the Greens and Australian Democrats improved their electorate-level vote, but in the electorates they both contested, no Democrat finished ahead of a Green rival
- in 25 of 89 electorates (28.1 per cent) one of the final two candidates in the count did not come from a major party. For this reason the term 'two-party-preferred' is not used in this paper, and the term 'two-candidate-preferred' is used in its place
- in fifteen electorates, the One Nation candidate was one of the final two left in the count when the two-candidate-preferred vote was ascertained, and
- in the electorate of Nicklin the final two candidates in the two-candidate-preferred count were an independent and a One Nation candidate—no major party candidate remained at that stage. As far as can be ascertained, this is the only instance of this occurring since preferential elections have been given full counts in each electorate.

Among the relevant factors explaining the result, the strength and unity of Labor's leadership, the lacklustre Coalition effort in Opposition, the disunity in Coalition ranks and the intrusion of federal factors are highlighted.

The paper concludes with a brief summary of the subsequent Commonwealth by-election in Ryan.

Introduction

The 2001 Western Australian and Queensland elections produced two remarkable results that helped turn a time of apparent electoral calm into one of electoral volatility. In the West, the Court Coalition Government failed in its bid for a third term. Labor gained its largest haul of seats since the election of 1911, winning office in a fashion that few commentators had believed likely.¹ One week later, Queensland voters increased Labor's Legislative Assembly numbers to a level that equalled the party's best-ever result in that State, achieved in 1935. It was also remarkable that many voters maintained the clear decline in support for major parties in Australian elections that is increasingly being commented upon by many observers. These two elections, together with the by-election for the Commonwealth electorate of Ryan, have left parties and observers wondering what this might presage for the forthcoming Commonwealth election.

The Beattie Government—living on a knife edge

In June 1998 the Beattie Government had won office as a minority government only after securing the support of the independent MLA for Nicklin, Peter Wellington. The Independent MLA for Gladstone, Liz Cunningham, gave Labor support on their budget and confidence issues. Premier Beattie's first Government lived on a knife edge. It had won only 44 of the 89 Assembly seats, with its first preference vote of 38.9 per cent being over 11 per cent lower than the party had secured under the leadership of Wayne Goss in 1989. The Government's position was eased slightly in December 1998, when a by-election for the seat of Mulgrave held by Pauline Hanson's One Nation (hereafter referred to as 'One Nation'), was won for the Government by Warren Pitt. Premier Beattie now had just over half of the Legislative Assembly seats.

The parliamentary advantage thus gained was overshadowed by the various crises that battered the Government, including:

- ongoing battles with the Australian Workers' Union over various union and Labor Party issues
- controversy over Lang Park football stadium being chosen as the venue for a new 60 000 seat sports stadium

- the Netbet affair where the Government awarded an online gambling licence to a company linked to ALP figures, including former deputy leader, Bill D'Arcy.
- the resignation, trial and gaoling of Bill D'Arcy for child sex offences. This included public criticism of the size of D'Arcy's superannuation payout, and
- the decision of accident-prone Treasurer, David Hamill, not to recontest his seat at the next election.

The Premier's major problem, however, seemed to be the emergence of the 'electoral rorts' affair. This became national news with the gaoling in August 2000 of Karen Ehrmann, a former State Labor candidate, for electoral fraud.² In the aftermath of this, a Queensland Criminal Justice Commission inquiry was established to investigate Labor Party electoral practices from 1993 to 1997, while the Commonwealth Parliament's Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters also began an inquiry.

As information emerged concerning doubtful practices that appeared to be long entrenched in the Labor Party, Premier Beattie moved to cauterise the problem. Changes were announced to the way in which Labor would henceforth hold party pre-selections, and over thirty party workers were forced to leave the party, pushed by Beattie's chosen 'hard-headed son-of-a-bitch', Terry Mackenroth.³ Of greater possible significance electorally, were the forced resignations of three MLAs, including Deputy Premier, Jim Elder (Capalaba), Grant Musgrove (Springwood) and former State Secretary, Mike Kaiser (Woodridge). Beattie made a strong effort to suggest that rorting was not widespread, and that swift action would eradicate the problem from the party:

I think the electorate can distinguish between a competent executive government and a few bad eggs within a political party that has thousands of members.

The success of this tactic was felt to be uncertain, but the *Bulletin*, at least, was impressed, describing the Premier's handling of the affair as 'masterful' and the weeding-out of members as 'brutal'.⁴

Despite the effort to lessen the impact of this issue, the Premier seemed increasingly under threat. Wellington's withdrawal of support for the Government, and the Premier's closing down of Parliament, seemed symptomatic of a government whose days were numbered. The Leader of the Opposition, Rob Borbidge, accused the Premier of avoiding facing the public and called for an election to 'clear the air'. Eventually Borbidge got his way.

Queensland goes to the polls

Although he could have waited until as late as September 2001, Beattie set the Queensland election date for 17 February 2001. Interestingly, by the time that the date was settled, the opinion poll standing of the Premier and his party was higher than might have been

expected if the electoral rorts affair was to be a factor in the election outcome. The Premier's reneging on an earlier promise of going full term seemed not likely to hurt his chances, though he suggested the early election was not necessarily the best outcome for his party: 'It may not be in my best interests for there to be an early election but it is in the best interests of Queenslanders'.⁵

The 2001 Queensland election was conducted using electoral boundaries drawn up as a consequence of a redistribution in 1998 and 1999. About three-quarters of all electorates had their boundaries altered:⁶

- the number of seats remained at 89 (the 2001 election was the sixth since this number was established prior to the 1986 election)
- two Brisbane seats (Chermside and Kedron) held by the ALP, were merged to form Stafford
- two western seats (Western Downs and Crows Nest) held by the National Party, were merged to form Darling Downs
- Gaven was created on the Gold Coast, and Glass House created on the Sunshine Coast
- nine other electorate names were new: Algester (based on Archerfield), Kawana (Mooloolah), Mudgeeraba (Nerang), Nanango (Barambah), Pumicestone (Caboolture), Robina (Merrimac), Southern Downs (Warwick), Stretton (Sunnybank) and Yeerongpilly (Yeronga).

Among long-standing Members of the Parliament who were not re-contesting were Tony Elliott (Cunningham, NP, MLA since 1977), Len Stephan (Gympie, NP, 1979), Brian Littleproud (Western Downs, NP, 1983), and David Hamill (Ipswich, ALP, 1983, former Treasurer under Beattie). Russell Cooper, former Premier (September–December 1989) (NP, Crows Nest, 1983) was also departing. Since the 1998 election, former Labor Ministers, Bob Gibbs (Bundamba, 1977) and Bill D'Arcy (Woodridge, 1977) had also left the Parliament, the former to take up a government position in Los Angeles, the latter to face a court case and 14 years in gaol.

The major party contest

Labor

As has become the norm in modern State elections, the Premier dominated the Labor campaign to such an extent that it was difficult to tell who else was in the Government team. Premiers such as Wran (NSW), Bjelke-Petersen (Qld) and Kennett (Vic) have all done so, and Beattie was acknowledging both the way the media covers modern elections,

as well as his apparent 'clean-skin' standing in regard to the 'electoral rorts' controversy. The Beattie website (Beattie2001.com) with its linking of only the Premier's name with the election, was a reminder of the Kennett-dominated site (jeff.com) during the 1999 Victorian State election.⁷ In such a climate, there was little focus upon policies, even though the parties kept making announcements throughout the campaign. Professor John Wanna has noted that as the parties said very similar things about policy, the effect was 'to neutralise policy as a campaign issue'.⁸ Beattie did spend a lot of time criticising the Commonwealth Government for its policies that, he claimed, were hurting his State. This also is part and parcel of State elections, for Premiers often believe an anti-Commonwealth stance does them no harm in the ballot box.

Since 1992, Queensland elections have used optional preferential voting (OPV). To cast a valid vote, only a first preference vote need be marked, though the voter may mark more than a single preference. The Labor Party decided that its how-to-vote instructions to voters would be simple: 'Just vote 1'. In other words, Labor voters should give the party their first preference, and no preferences should be given to any other candidate. In seeking to take advantage of OPV in this way, Labor sought to minimise the impact of the exchange of preferences that might favour Coalition candidates. It also hoped that many One Nation voters would stop after casting a first preference. The Coalition parties tried to make an issue of Labor's tactic, but it seemed to be no more controversial with voters than when the Wran Labor Government followed the same tactic in the New South Wales election of 1981.

The Coalition

The Opposition was not united in its efforts. The parties issued various policies, but seemed distracted by internal problems:

- the issue of whether or not to put One Nation ahead of Labor on how-to-vote cards divided the Nationals. Despite the existence of much support for putting Labor last, early in the campaign Rob Borbidge claimed that no Nationals would put One Nation ahead of Labor. His position in the party was weakened, however, by his being forced to accept that many National candidates would ignore his words. As David Moore, the party's candidate in Mundingburra, put it, directing preferences to the ALP ahead of One Nation might work in Brisbane, but 'makes no sense in the north'. Despite at least 19 of the party's 50 candidates eventually favouring One Nation, State Director, Ken Crooke, denied that party members were at odds with their leader, but Borbidge himself saw this as a setback.⁹
- Borbidge probably earned no friends within the Coalition for his acknowledgment on several occasions that the Labor Party would probably win the election. In talking of the Premier, he was even prepared to acknowledge: 'you have got to concede his [i.e. Beattie's] popularity'.¹⁰

- these matters were presumably among the reasons for the emergence during the campaign of media stories suggesting that various Nationals were angling for Borbidge's position as party leader.¹¹
- the One Nation preferences issue also caused tensions between many Nationals and the Liberal Party. The Liberals had been hurt by their dalliance with One Nation in the 1998 Queensland election, and the party's leader, David Watson, was determined that the same would not occur on this occasion: 'we believe the cancer of extremism has to be resisted'¹²
- the Liberal leadership was criticised for its less-than-dynamic campaigning and was said to be in some danger of becoming 'an ineffectual sideshow to public life in Queensland'¹³
- by early 2000 the three-cornered contest, that running sore of Coalition relations, had re-appeared, with each party expressing its opposition to the other's intentions¹⁴
- if these problems were not enough to seriously weaken the Coalition, the leaders at times sounded desperate in their attacks on the Labor Party. In one example that was redolent of the Bjelke-Petersen period, Borbidge promised that a Coalition government would 'go back to basics on core issues and core values'. To make his point, he claimed that Queensland schools needed to teach about the career of Winston Churchill rather than that of Ho Chi Minh. Borbidge also followed the federal Coalition's line that a vote for One Nation was a vote for Labor, a claim that may have been too subtle for voters, who were also hearing National politicians calling for an exchange of preferences with One Nation. Watson picked up the same theme, asserting that the no preference policy was Labor 'climbing into bed' with a 'racist rabble'.¹⁵

On balance, if there was support to be won or lost because of party campaigns, the advantages seemed to lie with the Labor Party.

Minor parties

As is usual, the focus of the media was largely upon the three major parties. In such a setting, it was therefore difficult for the minor parties, including the Greens and Australian Democrats, to gain a hearing. Only in the final week of the campaign did Pauline Hanson, fresh from One Nation's upper house success in Western Australia, manage to break through the domination of the media enjoyed by Labor, National and Liberal Parties. After the election, the leader of the City Country Alliance (CCA), Bill Feldman, acknowledged the difficulties that are usually experienced by the minor players in an election:

We were steamrolled by the Beattie smile at the start of the campaign and by Pauline Hanson's legs at the end of it. The media ignored us the whole way through the campaign and it's hard to get support when you can't get your message out.¹⁶

Despite the late entry of One Nation into the contest, its Western Australian performance persuaded some commentators that One Nation voters, past and present, would be crucial to the election outcome.¹⁷

The result

The result of the 2001 Queensland election was never in doubt on election night—the ABC's Antony Green had given the result to Labor within minutes of the start of the television coverage of the counting. Labor won comfortably (for full figures, see Appendix 3).

Party	Formal vote	%	Seats won	Seats contested
Australian Labor Party	1 007 231	48.9 (+10.0)	66 (+22)	89
Liberal Party	294 922	14.3 (-1.8)	3 (-6)	45
National Party	291 330	14.2 (-1.0)	12 (-11)	50
Pauline Hanson's One Nation	178 950	8.7 (-14.0)	3 (-8)	39
The Greens	51 623	2.5 (+0.1)	-	31
City Country Alliance	49 258	2.4 (+2.4)	-	25
Australian Democrats	7 027	0.3 (-1.3)	-	6
Other candidates	178 169	8.6 (+5.3)	5 (+3)	-
Total formal votes	2 058 510			
Informal votes	47 840	2.3		
Total enrolment	2 276 044			

Source: Electoral Commission of Queensland

For the first time a substantial number of women was elected to the Legislative Assembly. From having the second lowest Assembly percentage of women in any State Parliament (18.3 per cent), Queensland now has the highest: 37.1 per cent. In the Queensland ALP Caucus 40.9 per cent are women.

The major party vote

In the last two Queensland elections (1998 and 2001) the combined major party (ALP/LIB/NP) vote has averaged 73.8 per cent. By contrast, the eight elections between 1974 and 1995 averaged 95.2 per cent. Thus continues the decline in the major party vote that has been noted elsewhere.¹⁸ In 25 of 89 electorates (28.1 per cent), one of the final two candidates in the count did not come from a major party. For this reason, the term 'two-party-preferred' is not used in this paper, with the term 'two-candidate-preferred' being used in its place. Perhaps the most startling detail of all, however, came in the electorate of Nicklin. In this contest, the final two candidates in the two-candidate-preferred count were an independent and a One Nation candidate—no major party

candidate remained. This is possibly the only instance of this occurring in a Commonwealth, State or Territory election in the past 50 years.

Labor

Labor's primary vote of 48.9 per cent was 10 percentage points higher than its 1998 return. The 18 Labor victories since the election of 1912 have produced an average vote of 48.8 per cent. The Government's 66 seats represent 74.2 per cent of the Legislative Assembly, equalling the party's best-ever result, achieved in a house of 62 after the election of 1935. Labor contested all 89 electorates. According to the ABC's Antony Green, Labor's vote rose over 11 per cent in South East of the State, with eight of nine Gold Coast electorates garnered. Its vote climbed 9.5 per cent in regional cities and over six per cent in rural areas. The party won unlikely victories in electorates such as Indooroopilly in Brisbane and Burdekin in the North.¹⁹

A possible measure of the electoral rorts issue was Labor's vote in the three electorates where the sitting members had felt it necessary to resign after the Shepherdson Inquiry had begun its work. In Springwood, Labor's 1998 vote of 38.2 per cent jumped to 45.6 per cent. In Woodridge, Labor's 1998 vote of 51.7 per cent had risen in the 2000 by-election to 56.5 per cent, and it climbed further in 2001 to 57.3 per cent. Only in Capalaba, was Labor's 1998 vote (54.9%) not sustained. Analysis of the returns, however, suggest that Labor's 43.6 per cent in that electorate was due largely to the campaigns of two strong independents, whose combined vote totalled more than 29 per cent. In two Townsville electorates, where the rorts affair came to prominence, the Labor vote rose by 7.4 per cent in Townsville, and 4.2 per cent in Mundingburra.

National

The National Party won 14.2 per cent of the Queensland vote, though it contested only 45 electorates. In the previous election it contested one fewer electorate and won one per cent more of the first preference vote. The 14.2 per cent is the party's lowest State-wide vote on record. Its 12 seats equalled its lowest total gained in 1944, and the earlier figure was in an Assembly of 62. It now holds just 13.5 per cent of the Assembly seats. The fact that the party finished behind a One Nation candidate on first preferences in 11 electorates is another measure of the decline in the fortunes of a party that dominated non-Labor politics for so long. Among Nationals to be defeated were Allan Grice (Broadwater), Rob Mitchell (Charters Towers) and Doug Slack (Burnett).

Liberal

The Liberal Party's effort of 14.3 per cent was 1.8 per cent lower than in 1998—when it also contested three fewer electorates. In fact, the vote was the party's lowest since it first

contested Queensland elections in 1950. Its previous lowest return had been 14.9 percent in 1983. Its three seats represent its lowest number in the Assembly (it had won 9 in each of 1989, 1992 and 1998), and opened the question of whether it ought to receive the type of resource allocation in Parliament normally granted the largest parties. The Liberals lost Santo Santoro (Clayfield), John Goss (Aspley) and Denver Beanland (Indooroopilly), and for some days it was thought that its leader, David Watson, and former leader, Joan Sheldon, had been defeated. Each eventually managed to retain their seat.

Pauline Hanson's One Nation

For a long time, the severe implosion in the One Nation Party had suggested that it would have difficulty in restoring the electoral credibility that it had earned in 1998. The figures in Appendix 1 indicate that for much of the period 1999–2000 many voters were unprepared to express their support for the party. Before the end of the first year of the Parliament, six of the eleven MLAs had left the party, and the other five resigned in late 1999. Some of these chose to sit as members of the newly-formed City Country Alliance, some declared their independence from parties, and one left the Parliament. The members cited the absence of democratic and accountable structures within the party as the main reason for their defection, though Wanna has also pointed to clashes of personality and claims of dishonesty within the party (for a summary of the fate of the eleven One Nation MLAs elected in 1998, see Appendix 2).²⁰ In addition to these defections, the party was found to have been fraudulently registered at the time of the 1998 election. After a struggle to raise funds, more than \$500 000 of public funding given to One Nation by the Electoral Commission of Queensland was repaid.

A key factor in the re-emergence of One Nation as a genuine electoral force seems to have been the Western Australian election held a week earlier. The party contested this State on the back of its 10.4 per cent vote in the 1998 Senate election. Spurred on by a flurry of publicity for Pauline Hanson when she campaigned around that State, the party's Legislative Assembly vote was 9.6 per cent. In the Legislative Council, the party did even better, gaining 9.9 per cent and three upper house seats, two more than was managed by the National Party (2.9 per cent of the vote).

In Queensland, the party had been deregistered for some time. Its late re-registration, shortly before the deadline for the nomination of candidates, meant that only 39 nominations were lodged, but it was a large enough number for the major parties to be concerned about their possible impact on particular electorate results. It certainly produced much discussion about deals for the party's preferences. Hanson stated that the party would direct preferences on a seat-by-seat basis, though it was also likely to direct preferences against sitting members, as it had done in Western Australia.

With only 39 candidates, 40 fewer than in 1998, it was unrealistic to imagine that One Nation's remarkable 22.7 per cent of the State-wide vote would be repeated. However, despite the small number of candidates, and the party's late entry into the campaign, it

managed to average 20.3 per cent of first preferences in those 39 electorates, and secured the election of three candidates in Gympie, Lockyer and Tablelands. One indication of the breadth of support for One Nation can be seen in the fact that in fifteen electorates, the One Nation candidate was one of the final two left in the count when the two-candidate-preferred figure was established.

Overall, though, its vote per seat did decline. In 1998, its first preference vote averaged 25.4 per cent in the seats it contested, and it topped 40 per cent in three seats (Barambah, Maryborough, Tablelands). In 2001, however, it could manage just three electorates with a vote in excess of 30 per cent.²¹ Newman has drawn attention to the fact that One Nation's 1998 vote was higher outside of Brisbane than in the capital, and this was also the case in 2001.²²

One Nation first preferences were higher than Labor first preferences in five electorates, were higher than Liberal first preferences in seven electorates, and higher than National Party first preferences in eleven electorates. With the National and Liberal votes falling in 2001, presumably Labor was the major beneficiary of the fourteen per cent drop in the One Nation State-wide figure.

The City Country Alliance

Five of the former One Nation party MPs contested the election as members of the CCA, along with 20 other candidates. Bill Feldman offered to campaign 'alongside' One Nation candidates who had similar goals to CCA, but Hanson rejected the offer.²³ None of the CCA candidates was successful, including its five sitting members. Although the CCA averaged only 8.5 per cent in the electorates it contested, Jeff Knuth managed 20.9 per cent in Burdekin, David Dalglish 18.5 per cent in Hervey Bay and Feldman 15.5 per cent in Pumicestone. Six other candidates received at least 10 per cent of first preferences.

How much combined support was there for One Nation and the CCA? Because they did not contest all electorates, this is impossible to answer, but even with this limitation, we can at least point to their aggregate vote being 11.1 per cent State-wide. Some electorates revealed a great deal of support: in the 11 electorates contested by both, the average first preference vote was 31.9 per cent. In Lockyer (46.3 per cent) and in Burdekin (40.6 per cent) the One Nation/CCA vote topped 40 per cent. Even in Ipswich (22.2 per cent) and Cunningham (22.9 per cent) over one-fifth of voters cast ballots for one or the other.

Greens versus Australian Democrats

One contest which some people claimed had national overtones, was that between the Greens and the Australian Democrats, despite the fact that both had been almost invisible during the campaign. The Greens ran 31 candidates, a drop of 15 on the 1998 figure, while

Democrat candidates almost disappeared, with just six candidates compared with 42 in the previous election.

Both parties improved their electorate-level vote, but overall the Greens overshadowed the Australian Democrats. The Green average first preference vote was seven per cent (4.4 per cent in 1998), while the Democrats averaged 4.8 per cent (3.4 per cent in 1998). In the Brisbane electorates of Mount Coot-tha (11.9 per cent) and Indooroopilly (10.1 per cent) the Green vote topped 10 per cent. In the six electorates contested by both, the Greens comfortably won the head-to-head contest, leading the Australian Democrats in all, with 8.3 per cent to 4.8 per cent of first preferences.

These two parties were very much on the fringe of the election action, and their votes were tiny by comparison with those already discussed, but it has not stopped partisans from drawing federal implications from them. Just how much basis the claims may have is a matter of interpretation. Senator Bob Brown (Tas, TG), for instance, spoke of the Green vote being a good springboard for the Greens winning a Senate seat in Queensland.²⁴ Assuming that this State result is relevant to the forthcoming Commonwealth contest, it can be noted that in 1993 Dee Margetts won a Western Australian Senate position with a Green first preference vote of 5.5 per cent, while Brown himself entered the Senate on a Tasmanian Green vote of 8.7 per cent. A 2001 figure in this range might leave the party in a tight fight with the Australian Democrats and One Nation for the final Senate seat later in the year.

For their part the Australian Democrats talked down the Green claim. National Campaign Director, Jim Downey, noted that the party's State election results were invariably higher than in Commonwealth elections, while Meg Lees noted that the Australian Democrats had never had 'much of a profile in Queensland state politics'.²⁵ The Democrats won seats in each of the last two Queensland Senate contests with first preference votes of 13.2 per cent (1996) and 7.8 per cent (1998).

Independents

Six MLAs stood as independents. Apart from Liz Cunningham (Gladstone) and Peter Wellington (Nicklin), former One Nation parliamentarians, John Kingston (Maryborough), Dorothy (Dolly) Pratt (Barambah, now Nanango), Shaun Nelson (Tablelands) and Ken Turner (Thuringowa) had left their party and had sat as independents (see Appendix 2). There were also a number of prominent local independent candidates, including Toni Bowler, Murray Elliott (both Capalaba), Sno Bonneau (Barron River) and Ray Hopper (Darling Downs).

In the event, Cunningham, Wellington, Kingston and Pratt (the latter supported by Joh Bjelke-Petersen) were all re-elected. Only Kingston (33.5 per cent) had a struggle, with the other three all well ahead on first preferences. Cunningham won her third election, this time with an absolute majority, her vote having risen on the two occasions

she has re-contested the electorate. These four were joined by local dairy farmer, Ray Hopper, in Darling Downs, an electorate that the National Party had expected to win.

Voting methods factors

Preference flows

In Western Australia, One Nation's policy of targeting sitting members hurt the Liberal Party more than Labor, though not by a large margin. Newman's figures suggest that Labor may have done marginally better (51.8 per cent) than the Coalition (48.2 per cent) from One Nation preferences.²⁶ This suggests that One Nation might not be able to control its preferences as tightly as the more experienced parties. The Electoral Commission of Queensland is now not releasing full count figures until at least June 2001, so this paper is unable to make any assessment of either One Nation or Green preference flows.

'Just Vote 1'

For a similar reason, it is not possible at this stage to make any statistical analysis of the Labor Party's 'Just vote 1' tactic, though John Wanna has called it 'the most impressive and masterful tactic of the campaign', and 'a major turning point!'²⁷

Three-cornered contests

Three-cornered contests produce a lot of heat in Coalition relations, particularly when the Liberal Party is seen to be intruding in an electorate that the National Party regards as one of its natural constituencies. The claim that such contests essentially do more harm than good is hard to sustain, for it is possible to find many electorates where the tactic has probably increased the total vote for the Coalition parties—which is the original reason for the emergence of this tactic many years ago. Worthington has noted, for example, that in the 1996 Western Australian election, the tactic certainly aided the parties, and helped the Liberals win the seat of Ningaloo from the ALP.²⁸ At the same time, one reason why Labor introduced OPV in Queensland was to lessen the impact of three-cornered contests. Coalition opponents therefore argue that three-cornered contests are pointless if OPV is the voting method. It is also said that they can cause more trouble than they are worth, on the grounds that they are often interpreted in the media as an indication of Coalition tensions.

During 2000 the Liberal and National Parties had argued over this issue, especially in relation to the electorates of Albert, Cunningham and Springwood, with neither prepared to back down. In the event, three-cornered contests occurred in six electorates, including these three. Because the two parties performed so weakly across the State, however, it is

not possible to argue that the tactic had any deleterious impact on the overall Coalition effort. In Cunningham, the one electorate where the Coalition had a realistic chance of winning, the Nationals actually took the electorate, so that the three-cornered tactic certainly did not prevent this victory.²⁹

Three-cornered contests

Electorate	Liberal vote	National vote	Combined vote	Winning candidate (1 st preferences)
Albert	13.6	12.0	25.6	ALP 50.7
Cunningham	14.8	24.9	39.7	Coalition (NP)
Glass House	10.7	18.0	28.7	ALP 40.8
Nicklin	9.2	7.8	17.0	Ind 46.3
Springwood	14.6	18.8	33.4	ALP 45.6
Thuringowa	10.1	18.7	28.8	ALP 41.0

Source: Electoral Commission of Queensland.

The verdict

Government stability

Within six months of narrowly winning office in 1998, the Premier had the satisfaction of seeing his Government's support climb approximately ten percentage points in opinion polling conducted by Newspoll. Apart from a brief period in late 2000 when the party seemed to lose support, though not its lead over the Coalition parties, Labor maintained remarkably even support across the State (see Appendix 1). To a large extent, the 2001 Labor victory may have been won by early 1999. Certainly Newspoll's Sol Lebovic believed that the electorate had made up its mind well before polling day.³⁰ In summary, it was Labor's very healthy and continuing support that was probably the key factor to explaining the electoral outcome.

This was probably aided by the electorate's perception of Premier Beattie, who appeared to be Labor's biggest asset. Before the announcement of the premature election, the Premier had attempted to suggest that there had been a sea-change in the party. Beattie did his best to convince voters that the 'rorters' had been expelled, and that electoral rorting was a thing of the past. In January he travelled to Barcaldine to stand under the Tree of Knowledge, a place of importance to Labor's Queensland history, where he announced a series of reforms to Labor's internal processes that he labelled 'a rebirth, a renewal, a fresh start for the Labor Party'.³¹ Beattie also embarked on a two week 'listening tour', where he claimed to have met 'real people'. He explained that this was the only way he could break a commitment to Peter Wellington that he would not go to an election before May 2001.³² Despite the *Australian* labelling such a claim as 'rubbish', suggesting that it was more to do with seeking to protect his team from the dangers associated with the recall of Parliament,

it seemed not to hurt his party's chances. It may well have been seen as the Premier trying to do the correct thing by his party and the public.³³

Labor's electoral position seems therefore to have been given strength by a perception of Beattie as likely to give stability and safety for Queensland, unlike the divided Coalition (see below). The *Courier-Mail* could see weaknesses in the Government's performance, but the newspaper may well have summed up the prevailing mood in its last words on the Premier:

For all his Government's faults, he combines an inclusive leadership style with generally sound economic policies that ought to see the state right over the next three years.

The *Courier-Mail* believed, therefore, that Labor had earned voter support.³⁴ The *Townsville Bulletin* expressed a similar view, though it noted that this was as much by default as through any clear strengths that Labor possessed.³⁵ Quite remarkably, Beattie even entered the election with the ninety-year old Joh Bjelke-Petersen praising his efforts.³⁶

The issue of government stability was possibly given emphasis by the uncertainty caused by the late entry of One Nation into the campaign. A number of observers, including Antony Green, claimed that as voters were leaving Labor for independent candidates, 'the most likely result is a hung Parliament'.³⁷ Even such experienced commentators as John Wanna (Griffith University) and Paul Reynolds (University of Queensland) believed the result would be close. Wanna spoke of a possible five seat margin to the ALP, while Reynolds surmised that Labor's seeming comfortable margin prior to One Nation's re-emergence was now likely to have disappeared, though he still predicted a narrow Labor win.³⁸ Peter Botsman of the University of Queensland predicted a Coalition victory.³⁹ In such an atmosphere, the leadership issue and the question of governmental stability might have helped persuade doubtful voters. Both Beattie and Borbidge warned of the dangers of minority government and the need for stability—if voters were concerned about this, presumably Beattie gave the better chance of delivering it.

Ineffectiveness of the Opposition

The continued strong voter support for Labor meant that neither the Nationals nor the Liberals was able to make any obvious inroad into Labor's support. A number of newspapers spoke of the challenge this gave the parties, especially as their leadership team was seen as having been decidedly 'lacklustre' in its performance since the 1998 election. The Coalition was also criticised for its policy inertia. The *Townsville Bulletin*, for instance, took it to task for 'more than two years of sitting on its hands'.⁴⁰ Even when Labor's popularity seemed to waver in late 2000, the Newspoll findings (Appendix 1) suggested that the apparent shifting from the Government that occurred in late 2000, may

have been voters by-passing the Coalition as they looked for alternatives to the major parties.

As a measure of the Opposition's ineffectual performance, Borbidge's approval rating remained significantly lower than that of the Premier throughout the period between the two elections. In a poll published three days before polling day, the advantage was shown starkly, when Newspoll suggested a 'satisfaction with leaders' gap of 40 percentage points in Brisbane (69:29 per cent). Even outside of the capital, among voters not normally friendly towards Labor, there was a gap of 34 percentage points (54:20 per cent).⁴¹ Anecdotal evidence suggested voter disenchantment with Borbidge's negativity since losing the Premiership. At the announcement of the election date, he seemed to suggest that such criticism had hit home, when he promised voters:

The whinging, whining Opposition you get in the adversarial climate of the parliament has gone and we are now the alternative government.⁴²

By then it was probably far too late for him to reach voters.

Coalition disunity

The ineffectiveness of the Opposition was probably emphasised by the obvious tensions that existed within and between the Coalition parties. Apart from Borbidge's frustration over One Nation preferences, there was also some doubt about Borbidge's keenness for the leadership of his party. He had even flown a flag at one stage that he was thinking of contesting the Commonwealth electorate of Moncrieff, where the Liberals' Kathy Sullivan was rumoured to be retiring at the next Commonwealth election. The *Courier-Mail* expressed its amazement that, in effect, Borbidge 'saw fit to remind voters how good the Beattie Government's chances of another term are'.⁴³ Nothing came of this, but it did not suggest a leader who was totally focused on the State election.

A number of Liberals were publicly less than impressed with the performance of their own leader, David Watson. Public expressions of disappointment with his leadership had been expressed during 2000 by MLAs Bruce Davidson (Noosa) and Santo Santoro (Clayfield), and in June 2000 Santoro stood down from the frontbench in protest at his leader's labelling of him as 'an ego-driven prima donna'. Elsewhere, Watson criticised 'certain colleagues...[who] lacked political credibility and acumen', and he antagonised federal colleagues by his refusal to defend Commonwealth Government petrol excise policy.⁴⁴ Eventually, dissident Liberal voices were sufficiently loud for former Northern Territory Chief Minister and Queensland Liberal Party President, Paul Everingham, to call for federal intervention to 'clean up' the Queensland division.⁴⁵

As long ago as 1977, Professor Don Aitkin made the claim that, 'There can be no doubt that the electorate prizes unity in its parties ... and that it is alert to any signs of party or

cabinet *disunity*'.⁴⁶ Academic research and the experience of political practitioners would still agree with Aitkin's words. The central message of the figures in Appendix 1 is that the Beattie Government remained ahead of the Coalition partners for the entire time between the 1998 and 2001 elections. If the Premier's personal popularity was a factor, so, we might suppose, was the generally difficult relationship between the National and Liberal Parties and the intra-party bickering. As the *Courier-Mail* lamented in mid-2000, while the parties argued, 'the main business of government goes on without much effective contribution from them'.⁴⁷ The position had not altered by polling day 2001.

Federal factors

Unpopular Commonwealth governments can make life very difficult for State parties of the same political colour. It is impossible to establish with any precision just how much this might influence voting behaviour, but it is commonly accepted that often this has to be considered as a possible factor in accounting for a State election result.⁴⁸

In both the Western Australian and Queensland elections in 2001, claims were made that federal factors were of great importance. In the West, for instance, former Liberal Deputy leader, Colin Barnett, blamed the Commonwealth Government for the defeat of the Court Government, singling out Commonwealth Minister for Forestry and Conservation, Wilson Tuckey, himself a Western Australian, for particular criticism.⁴⁹ Overall, however, it is clear, that there were a number of local factors that seem to have played a greater role than the popularity or otherwise of the Howard Government.⁵⁰

The argument is easier to sustain in the case of Queensland, where a number of Coalition politicians certainly believed that federal factors were important. These included the Liberal Party's State Director, Graeme Jaeschke, who stated that there was no denying that federal issues helped the Labor victory, while National Senator, Ron Boswell, believed federal issues were 'at play'. Doug Slack, MLA of 14 years standing, stated 'There's no doubt if there had been a Labor government I would still be member for Burnett'.⁵¹

Three aspects, at least, may have been important in giving some substance to these views:

- The election occurred at a time when the media was running many stories about the fall in voter support for the Howard Government. It was therefore clearly to the Premier's advantage to confuse federal and State matters, and some Queenslanders may have been influenced by the Premier's criticism of what he described as the unpopular policies of the Howard Government. In particular, Beattie emphasised how significant the constant increases in the price of petrol was for Queenslanders. To keep this issue in the public eye, he even nominated 10 February as a 'day of protest' against petrol prices, and he asked voters to send the Howard Government a message on the issue by voting for Labor.⁵² The fact that only two weeks before the election the latest fuel excise rise occurred, therefore played into Beattie's hands. Apart from petrol prices, Senator Boswell nominated national competition policy, and the Business Activity Statement involved in GST reporting, as

important for Queensland voters.⁵³ The victory in Darling Downs of the independent, Ray Hopper, was said to have been caused by opposition to dairy deregulation, something that was believed to have been a factor in a number of seats in the State.⁵⁴

- The figures in Appendix 1 indicate a sharp fall in Liberal support shortly before the election. What might have caused this sudden drop? Although the local Liberal Party earned criticism for its lack of vigour, this had been a constant media refrain virtually since the 1998 election. Whether or not such criticism had any impact on voters is difficult to establish, but it seems unlikely that it would, of itself, have brought about such a sudden fall. On the other hand, it is plausible that there may have been something of a 'by-election factor' involved in voting in the Queensland State election—voters could have hit out against Commonwealth policies, despite this being a State election. Was this akin to the defeat of the Tonkin Government in Western Australia in 1974, or the unexpected near-defeat of the Dunstan Government in South Australia in 1975, when unpopular Whitlam Government policies seem to have affected the final vote in these two State elections?⁵⁵
- The entry of Pauline Hanson into the campaign seemed guaranteed to keep federal issues prominent in voters' minds. Three days prior to polling day, Ms Hanson probably ensured that would be the case when she launched her party's policies in the Sunshine Coast electorate of Caloundra. Her speech was basically a criticism of the Commonwealth Government: its leader, its Treasurer, the sale of Telstra, the failure to send boat people back from whence they came, and the GST. Referring specifically to the Howard Government, she asserted she was 'there to get rid of the bastards'.⁵⁶ Whether or not she was correct, such a tactic probably helped justify an anti-Coalition vote for some voters. At least one Queensland newspaper felt it necessary to warn voters that they must 'put into perspective' Hanson's 'list of federal grievances'.⁵⁷

A postscript to the Queensland election—the by-election in Ryan

It would not normally be relevant to refer to a Commonwealth by-election in a study of a State general election. However, the proximity of the by-election (17 March) to the State election (17 February), the large movement of voters to the ALP in both, and the widespread assumption that together they could be read as presaging another large movement of voters in the forthcoming Commonwealth election, all suggest that a brief note on the by-election is not out of place in this paper.

Ryan was created in 1949. Between then and 2001 it had just two representatives, both Liberal. The retiring member, John Moore, had held the seat since 1975. After the 1998 election it was the fifth-safest Coalition electorate in Queensland. In that election, Moore's first preference margin over Labor was 20.1 per cent, and 19.0 per cent in two-party-preferred terms. It was therefore unlikely to fall to Labor in normal circumstances. In fact, Labor's first response to the by-election was to question the wisdom of even running a candidate. According to the Leader of the Opposition, the by-election was unlikely to be an indicator 'about anything much at all'.⁵⁸

Despite this early uncertainty, Labor eventually decided to contest the by-election. By the time the campaign began, the change in the fortunes of the parties saw Labor's candidate, Leonie Short, campaigning as if the seat was winnable. The Liberals' Bob Tucker certainly did not assume the result was another inevitable Liberal victory. Tucker's campaign included the mail-out of a personal video detailing his background and ideas for the future. As was the case with the State election, Tucker's discussion of such local-level matters as local crime and congestion of local roads, showed yet again how issues cross borders in a federal system—presumably this was intended to contrast him with the performance of the previous sitting member. The blurring of federal boundaries was probably exaggerated by the regular presence of Premier Beattie in the campaign.

Tucker finished 3398 first preferences ahead of Short. Labor gained a first preference swing of 8.3 per cent; the Liberal slippage was 7.2 per cent. Short eventually won the electorate on preferences, and by 0.4 per cent in two-party-preferred terms. Labor's share of the two-party-preferred vote had increased by 9.7 per cent.⁵⁹

Most observers put the result down to a loss of popularity of the Howard Government rather than a positive acceptance of the Opposition's policies. The research and strategic marketing firm, Marketshare, analysed swing voters, and noted certain 'key factors associated with the primary swing to the ALP':

- where persons in the construction industry (ranging from engineers to labourers) comprised 5.5 per cent of all workers in a voting area, the swing exceeded 8 per cent
- such a movement of votes was exacerbated in any area with a high proportion of retail employees.
- age seemed important, so that the proportion of 35–55 year-olds 'was positively related to the ALP swing', and
- households in the \$50 000–65 000 bracket 'were most likely to swing from Liberal to Labor'.

These findings seemed to suggest a loss of support for the Government among such categories of voter.⁶⁰

Some observers, including the Prime Minister, described the Ryan result as a 'protest' vote, an interpretation implying that such voters were likely to 'come back to us in the general election'.⁶¹ By contrast, others put the emphasis on Ryan as 'the beginning of the end' for a government whose days were numbered. In fact, a lot of assertions (and counter-assertions) were made about whether the Ryan result could be called another 'Bass' (1975) or 'Canberra' (1995), by-elections that gave what could later be seen as a clear indication of the terminal position of the Whitlam and Keating Governments, respectively.⁶² Such speculation is essentially futile before the event, for it would only be possible to so label Ryan if the Coalition actually lost the 2001 election. One possible protest factor that did

not feature in the post-election discussion was the controversy over the Liberal Party's preselection for Ryan, which had caused public protest over the barring of a prominent candidate from the preselection ballot.

Minister for Employment, Workplace Relations and Small Business, Tony Abbott, was one observer who did not believe Ryan to be any type of harbinger of inevitable electoral doom. In an address to the Sydney Institute three days after polling, he spoke of what he described as three forces in Australia 'that were driving a sense of crisis':

- 'a long standing popular disquiet' that was a product of both the pace of change in Australian society, as well as the 'human cost of economic re-structuring'
- 'elite resentment of the Howard Government's social conservatism', and
- the propensity for the Opposition to seize on bad news 'to talk Australia down'.

Giving a voice to these factors was the 'bad press' that was 'almost a "given" of Australian politics'. The result, according to the Minister, was that people who are 'essentially conservative', had become 'Labor's polling booth fodder'. The message implied in Abbott's analysis was that the Government's position could be restored, providing it could succeed in combating what he labelled the Labor- and media-inspired 'culture of despair'.⁶³ Although disagreeing with much of Abbott's analysis, Leader of the Opposition, Kim Beazley, seemed to be in agreement about the value of Ryan as a predictor of the 2001 election: 'I don't read into this an ultimate election victory for the Labor Party'.⁶⁴

Another possible factor was resentment at an unnecessary by-election. Writing in the *Canberra Times* shortly before polling day, Malcolm Mackerras asserted that a Liberal defeat would be 'the result of growing public anger at politicians resigning their seats'.⁶⁵ He offered no evidence for this view. However, Newman's recent work on by-elections has suggested that voters may well react differently if a House of Representatives by-election is caused by death, rather than by a resignation. Between 1949 and 2001, the average two-party-preferred swing away from the party holding the electorate has been 2.5 per cent after a death, and 4.9 per cent after a resignation. In the past twenty years, indeed, the latter figure has been 5.8 per cent, suggesting an increasingly jaundiced electorate reacting to by-elections that could have been avoided.⁶⁶ The 'voter resentment' thesis may have also been lent weight by Prime Minister Howard's claim that he had agreed to the resignation of John Moore only after commissioned polling had suggested that the Liberals would retain Ryan easily.⁶⁷ If that polling was accurate, it suggests a massive shift of support in a very short time.

Whether or not Ryan is eventually seen as another 'Bass' or 'Canberra', it is likely to be remembered as a by-election that was part of a much bigger picture than just the replacement of a single MHR. Whatever the fate of the Howard Government, the State elections in Western Australia and Queensland, plus the Ryan contest, are likely to be regarded as indicators of a general loss of support for the national Government. An

editorial in a rural Queensland newspaper indicated how likely this was, when, even before a vote had been cast in Ryan, the writer could assert that the Prime Minister would:

... mark down the first three months of 2001 as the time when, not only the voters of Ryan, but the voters of Australia sent him a message.⁶⁸

Endnotes

1. Glenn Worthington, 'Western Australian Election 2001', *Current Issues Brief* no. 10, 2000–01, Department of the Parliamentary Library, Canberra.
2. John Wanna, 'A conservative debacle: the electoral rout in Queensland 2001', *Australasian Parliamentary Review*, vol. 16, no. 1, Autumn 2001, pp. 36–7; Scott Bennett, 'The Ehrmann Case—Aberration or Symptom?', *Research Note* no. 10, 2000–01, Department of the Parliamentary Library, Canberra.
3. Matthew Franklin, 'It helps to be an SOB', *Courier-Mail*, 27 November 2000.
4. Paul Syvret, 'Queensland's One Man Band', *Bulletin*, 6 February 2001.
5. 'ALP keeps the faith and its majority', *Australian*, 7 February 2000; *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 24 January 2001.
6. Antony Green, '1999 Queensland redistribution: analysis of final boundaries', *Research Bulletin* 99/9, Queensland Parliamentary Library, December 1999.
7. Scott Bennett and Gerard Newman, 'Victorian Election 1999', *Research Paper* no. 19, 1999–2000, Department of the Parliamentary Library, Canberra, p. 7.
8. Wanna, op. cit., p. 40.
9. *Australian*, 26 January 2001, *Courier-Mail*, 2 February 2001; Wanna, op. cit., p. 41.
10. Paul Syvret, 'Queensland's One Man Band', *Bulletin*, 6 February 2001, p. 18.
11. *Australian*, 15 February 2001.
12. *Courier-Mail*, 10 February 2001.
13. 'Labor better chance to see state right', editorial, *Courier-Mail*, 16 February 2001.
14. See, for example, 'Showdown looms for Libs, Nats', *Australian*, 10 March 2000; 'Three-way contest for Albert seat', *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 26 May 2000; 'Liberal candidate's doubts fire Nats' fury at Coalition partner', *Australian*, 5 June 2000; 'Poll contest strains Lib, Nat unity', *Courier-Mail*, 9 October 2000.
15. *Australian*, 13 February 2001, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 February 2001, *Australian*, 9 February 2001.
16. 'Shocked Feldman vows to fight on', *Courier-Mail*, 19 February 2001.
17. Jacob Greber, 'Former One Nation voters hold the key', *Courier-Mail*, 24 January 2001.

18. Scott Bennett, 'The Decline in Support for the Major Parties and the Prospect of Minority Government', *Research Paper* no. 10, 1998–99, Department of the Parliamentary Library, Canberra; Scott Bennett and Gerard Newman, 'New South Wales Election 1999', *Research Paper* no. 22, 1998–99, Department of the Parliamentary Library, Canberra, p. 6, Worthington, op. cit., p. 18.
19. *Age*, 17 February 2001.
20. John Wanna, 'Queensland July to December 1999', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 46, no. 2, June 2000, p. 244.
21. For the fate of the 11 One Nation MPs elected in 1998, see Appendix 2.
22. Gerard Newman, '1998 Queensland Election', *Current Issues Brief* no. 2, 1998–99, Department of the Parliamentary Library, Canberra, p. 4.
23. *Courier-Mail*, 24 January 2001.
24. 'Buoyant Greens set their sights on Senate seat', *Courier-Mail*, 19 February 2001.
25. Jim Downey, 'Democrat vote holding in polls', Media Release, 21 February 2001; Meg Lees, 'Statement', 27 February 2001.
26. Gerard Newman, 'Western Australian Election 2001: Statistical Analysis', *Current Issues Brief* no. 14, 2000–01, p. 31.
27. John Wanna to author, 17 April 2001.
28. Worthington, op. cit., p. 5.
29. For more on three-cornered contests, see Scott Bennett, *Winning and Losing*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1996, pp. 52–3, Scott Bennett and Gerard Newman, 'New South Wales Election 1999', *Research Paper* no. 22, 1998–99, Department of the Parliamentary Library, Canberra, pp. 14–15, Scott Bennett and Gerard Newman, 'Victorian Election 1999', *Research Paper* no. 19, 1999–2000, Department of the Parliamentary Library, Canberra, pp. 5–6.
30. *Australian*, 19 February 2001.
31. 'Beattie returns to ALP's roots for fresh start', *Canberra Times*, 22 January 2001.
32. *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 12 January 2001.
33. *Australian*, 16 January 2001.
34. 'Labor better chance to see state right', editorial, *Courier-Mail*, 16 February 2001.
35. 'State needs stability', *Townsville Bulletin*, 17 February 2001.
36. *Australian*, 12 January 2001.
37. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 January 2001.
38. Wanna quoted in *Courier-Mail*, 17 February 2001, Reynolds quoted in *Townsville Bulletin*, 17 February 2001.
39. 'Labor the analysts' favourite', *Courier-Mail*, 17 February 2001.

40. 'State needs stability', *Townsville Bulletin*, 17 February 2001; 'Fighting for his political life', *Australian Financial Review*, 24 January 2001.
41. *Australian*, 14 February 2001.
42. *Australian*, 25 January 2001.
43. 'Borbidge and his political opportunities', *Courier-Mail*, 16 June 2000.
44. Tracey Arklay, 'Queensland January to June 2000', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 46, no. 4, December 2000, p. 577.
45. 'Powerbroker quits front bench in Liberal feud', *Australian*, 8 June 2000.
46. Don Aitkin, *Stability and change in Australian politics*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1977, p. 246.
47. 'Borbidge and his political opportunities', *Courier-Mail*, 16 June 2000.
48. Scott Bennett, *Affairs of State. Politics in the Australian States and Territories*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1992, pp. 192–3
49. 'Scapegoat search reaches Canberra', *West Australian*, 12 February 2001.
50. Worthington, op. cit., p. 17.
51. *Courier-Mail*, 19 February 2001.
52. *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 7 February 2001; *Weekend Australian*, 10–11 February 2001.
53. *Courier-Mail*, 19 February 2001.
54. *Courier-Mail*, 26 February 2001; www.rayhopper.net.
55. Scott Bennett, *Affairs of State*, op. cit., pp. 192–3.
56. *Australian*, 15 February 2001.
57. 'State needs stability', *Townsville Bulletin*, 17 February 2001.
58. 'Labor may not contest Moore's safe seat', *Australian Financial Review*, 21 December 2000.
59. Figures from Australian Electoral Commission:
<http://www.aec.gov.au/ryan/results/post/qldryan.htm>.
60. 'Construction industry and middle income earners most likely to switch from Liberal to Labor at Federal election', Marketshare News Release, 30 March 2001, p. 1.
61. 'Howard vows to woo back Ryan voters next time', *Australian Financial Review*, 26 March 2001.
62. For example, Dean Jaensch, 'Ryan by-election could be like Whitlam's Bass of 1975', *Advertiser*, 15 March 2001.
63. Tony Abbott, 'Against Roonism—Combating the Culture of Despair', speech to Sydney Institute, 20 March 2001.
64. 'Bruised but defiant Howard plots to woo Ryan swingers', *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 20 March 2001.

65. Malcolm Mackerras, 'Electoral anger at Liberal "rats" ', *Canberra Times*, 21 March 2001.
66. Gerard Newman, 'House of Representatives By-elections 1949–2001', *Current Issues Brief* no. 12, 2000–01, p. 6.
67. 'Howard accepts blame for by-election loss', *Age*, 28 March 2001.
68. 'The State decides', *Queensland Times* (Ipswich), 17 March 2001.

Appendix 1: Voter support 1998–2001

'If a State election was held in Queensland today, which one of the following would you vote for?'

If "uncommitted", to which one of these do you have a leaning?'

	ALP %	LIB %	NP %	PHON %	GREEN %	AD %	OTHERS %
Election							
13 Jun 1998	38.8	16.1	15.2	22.7	2.4	1.6	3.2
Newspoll							
Jan–Mar 1999	48	26	13	5	3	2	3
Newspoll							
Apr–Jun 1999	47	24	16	5	2	3	3
Newspoll							
Jul–Sep 1999	48	24	16	3	2	3	4
Newspoll							
Oct–Dec 1999	45	28	16	3	2	2	4
Newspoll							
Jan–Mar 2000	47	26	13	2	2	2	8
Newspoll							
Apr–Jun 2000	50	22	15	2	2	1	8
Newspoll							
Jul–Sep 2000	49	23	15	3	3	1	6
Newspoll							
Oct–Dec 2000	43	23	16	3	3	3	9
Newspoll							
30 Jan–1 Feb	52	18	16	4	3	n.a.	7
Newspoll							
14–15 Feb	49	13	13	12	2	n.a.	11
Election							
17 Feb 2001	49	14	14	9	3	0.3	11

Sources: *Courier-Mail*, 24 January 2001, *Weekend Australian*, 17–18 February 2001.

Appendix 2: One Nation MLAs elected 1998

Member	Electorate	Won from	Affiliation at 2001 election	2001 election fate	Electorate affiliation after 2001
Harry Black	Whitsunday	ALP	CCA	Defeated	ALP
David Dalgleish	Hervey Bay	ALP	CCA	Defeated	ALP
Bill Feldman	Caboolture	ALP	CCA	Defeated (Pumicestone)	ALP
John Kingston	Maryborough	ALP	Independent	Retained electorate	Independent
Jeff Knuth	Burdekin	NPA	CCA	Defeated	ALP
Shaun Nelson	Tablelands	NPA	Independent	Defeated	ON
Jack Paff	Ipswich West	ALP	CCA	Defeated	ALP
Dolly Pratt	Barambah	NPA	Independent	Won (Nanango)	Independent
Peter Prenzler	Lockyer	NPA	CCA	Defeated	ON
Charles Rappolt	Mulgrave	NPA	Resigned Parliament 1998	Won by ALP, by-election	ALP
Ken Turner	Thuringowa	ALP	Independent	Defeated	ALP

Appendix 3: Results

Table 1 Legislative Assembly: State Summary

	Candidates	Seats	First Preference Votes		Change from 1998	
		Won	Number	Per cent	Seats	Votes
Australian Labor Party	89	66	1 007 737	48.93	+22	+10.07
Liberal Party	50	3	294 968	14.32	-6	-1.77
National Party	45	12	291 605	14.16	-11	-1.01
Pauline Hanson's One Nation	39	3	179 076	8.69	-8	-13.99
The Greens	31		51 630	2.51		+0.15
City Country Alliance	25		49 263	2.39		+2.39
Australian Democrats	6		7 029	0.34		-1.27
Christian Democratic Party	1		919	0.04		-0.07
Independents	77	5	177 334	8.61	+3	+5.48
Formal Votes			2 059 561	97.73		-0.82
Informal Votes			47 849	2.27		+0.82
Total/Turnout	363	89	2 107 410	92.59		-0.26
Electors Enrolled			2 276 044			

Table 2a Legislative Assembly: First Preference Votes, District Summary Number

District	ALP	LP	NP	ON	GRN	CCA	Oth	Formal	Informal	Total	Enrolled
Albert	11 551	3 092	2 725	5 438				22 806	578	23 384	25 364
Algeester	15 709	5 343					2 494	23 546	632	24 178	25 796
Ashgrove	13 630	7 263			1 459		2 223	24 575	414	24 989	26 977
Aspley	13 150	10 894						24 044	770	24 814	26 372
Barron River	9 511	3 588		3 587	1 212		4 213	22 111	336	22 447	24 818
Beaudesert	8 868		8 297	7 680			1 166	26 011	433	26 444	28 051
Brisbane Central	14 894	4 839			1 579		1 698	23 010	441	23 451	26 646
Broadwater	12 388		11 231					23 619	1 092	24 711	27 267
Bulimba	16 295	5 960						22 255	814	23 069	25 208
Bundaberg	15 812		8 552					24 364	1 079	25 443	27 155
Bundamba	15 356	3 196			2 881			21 433	896	22 329	23 897
Burdekin	7 808		4 836	4 180		4 439		21 263	341	21 604	23 291
Burleigh	11 445		10 020	4 385				25 850	588	26 438	29 191
Burnett	11 169		10 433					21 602	1 179	22 781	24 416
Cairns	11 170		4 819	4 394	1 297			21 680	419	22 099	24 882
Callide	5 694		9 598	8 648				23 940	424	24 364	25 950
Caloundra	8 658	9 200		4 555			1 430	23 843	423	24 266	26 046
Capalaba	10 577	3 051		2 958			7 668	24 254	633	24 887	26 328
Charters Towers	7 575		5 984	3 745				17 304	165	17 469	18 645
Chatsworth	14 530	6 813		2 813	1 389			25 545	532	26 077	27 566
Clayfield	10 839	9 948			1 228		1 582	23 597	394	23 991	26 067
Cleveland	13 529	5 880					4 099	23 508	613	24 121	25 779
Cook	10 727		2 610	3 465				16 802	282	17 084	19 587
Cunningham	5 686	3 368	5 661	4 700		502	2 834	22 751	301	23 052	24 787
Curumbin	13 801	6 251		3 823			590	24 465	421	24 886	27 294
Darling Downs	4 749		8 855				9 069	22 673	400	23 073	24 272
Everton	15 719	6 990				2 302		25 011	517	25 528	27 058
Ferny Grove	16 466	6 756			2 774			25 996	599	26 595	28 114
Fitzroy	13 599		6 187			1 879		21 665	351	22 016	23 457
Gaven	9 969		7 178		1 839		2 479	21 465	767	22 232	24 357
Gladstone	10 992		571		450		12 336	24 349	285	24 634	26 088
Glass House	9 989	2 612	4 408	4 993	1 628	867		24 497	439	24 936	26 683
Greenslopes	13 744	7 639			2 491	915		24 789	498	25 287	27 320
Gregory	6 897		10 047					16 944	476	17 420	18 723
Gympie	8 563		6 330	6 587		4 139		25 619	399	26 018	27 757
Hervey Bay	9 707		3 915	4 186		4 193	723	22 724	379	23 103	24 613
Hinchinbrook	5 313		5 862	5 362		270	3 534	20 341	362	20 703	22 236
Inala	14 434	2 180					4 585	21 199	551	21 750	23 269
Indooroopilly	9 028	8 686		879	2 351		2 375	23 319	260	23 579	26 105
Ipswich	12 282	2 641		5 237	642	243	3 610	24 655	410	25 065	26 593
Ipswich West	10 768		4 469	6 002	1 016	1 200		23 455	390	23 845	25 180
Kallangur	13 312	4 366			1 656	1 740	1 750	22 824	642	23 466	25 045
Kawana	10 446	9 438		4 708				24 592	496	25 088	26 943
Keppel	9 281		9 285			3 030		21 596	404	22 000	23 668
Kurwongbah	16 889	5 757			1 762	963	1 460	26 831	663	27 494	29 147
Lockyer	6 428		3 947	6 608	665	4 197	1 495	23 340	434	23 774	25 189
Logan	15 645		6 001					21 646	1 275	22 921	24 752
Lytton	16 305	5 329			2 736			24 370	697	25 067	26 483

Table 2a Legislative Assembly: First Preference Votes, District Summary continued
Number

District	ALP	LP	NP	ON	GRN	CCA	Oth	Formal	Informal	Total	Enrolled
Mackay	14 235		7 594			2 433		24 262	580	24 842	27 063
Mansfield	13 296	8 646					2 960	24 902	463	25 365	27 018
Maroochydore	9 762		9 446	4 530				23 738	492	24 230	26 914
Maryborough	10 081		3 492			1 844	8 579	23 996	582	24 578	25 833
Mirani	7 296		7 672	4 729			2 275	21 972	303	22 275	23 623
Moggill	9 408	9 872			1 566		3 618	24 464	373	24 837	26 733
Mt Coot-tha	11 741	6 135			2 740		2 409	23 025	348	23 373	26 343
Mt Gravatt	13 187	6 509		2 248	1 141		1 066	24 151	490	24 641	26 271
Mt Isa	8 981		3 220	3 384				15 585	216	15 801	17 811
Mt Ommaney	12 483	4 731			1 141		5 657	24 012	322	24 334	26 213
Mudgeeraba	9 371	6 952			2 025		4 334	22 682	750	23 432	25 732
Mulgrave	11 903		4 443	5 847				22 193	383	22 576	24 503
Mundingburra	11 640	6 780		4 056	904	439		23 819	484	24 303	26 566
Murrumba	14 839	4 498					4 408	23 745	635	24 380	25 882
Nanango	5 882		5 400				9 680	20 962	451	21 413	22 710
Nicklin	4 224	2 305	1 941	3 992	932		11 554	24 948	304	25 252	27 249
Noosa	10 828	10 391		4 543				25 762	486	26 248	28 739
Nudgee	18 252	6 042						24 294	882	25 176	26 860
Pumicestone	11 360	4 380		3 953	610	3 805	453	24 561	439	25 000	26 648
Redcliffe	13 989	5 789				866	4 091	24 735	606	25 341	27 292
Redlands	10 797		6 500			1 731	3 210	22 238	611	22 849	24 229
Robina	10 909	12 822						23 731	1 171	24 902	27 655
Rockhampton	15 926		5 053			2 056		23 035	592	23 627	25 306
Sandgate	16 242	4 890					3 179	24 311	565	24 876	26 426
South Brisbane	14 329	4 720			2 150		2 725	23 924	638	24 562	27 729
Southern Downs	6 459		13 092				5 818	25 369	451	25 820	27 551
Southport	11 245		6 434	3 351			1 083	22 113	551	22 664	25 127
Springwood	11 192	3 590	4 613				5 140	24 535	624	25 159	27 138
Stafford	16 190	5 982			2 590			24 762	591	25 353	27 169
Stretton	14 778	8 805						23 583	894	24 477	26 604
Surfers Paradise	9 259		12 033		2 899			24 191	784	24 975	28 321
Tablelands	5 325		3 522	7 722			4 889	21 458	313	21 771	23 448
Thuringowa	9 952	2 447	4 532			762	6 569	24 262	633	24 895	26 763
Toowoomba North	9 772		8 795			1 529	2 061	22 157	527	22 684	24 335
Toowoomba South	7 439		10 028	4 577			857	22 901	374	23 275	25 152
Townsville	11 494	7 848					2 775	22 117	725	22 842	25 513
Warrego	3 243		6 737	4 733			5 193	19 906	239	20 145	21 600
Waterford	12 378	3 267		5 465			910	22 020	625	22 645	24 793
Whitsunday	10 026		5 237	2 677		2 919	799	21 658	334	21 992	24 015
Woodridge	11 992	1 272		4 336			3 330	20 930	579	21 509	23 605
Yeerongpilly	15 135	5 215			1 877		2 247	24 474	545	25 019	27 130
Total	1 007 737	294 968	291 605	179 076	51 630	49 263	185 282	2 059 561	47 849	2 107 410	2 276 044
Regions											
Brisbane	523 329	203 494	21 583	29 938	37 169	9 960	78 494	903 967	22 432	926 399	997 137
Gold/Sunshine											
Coasts	165 205	67 443	65 416	48 271	9 933	4 672	21 923	382 863	9 781	392 644	429 530
Regional/Rural	319 203	24 031	204 606	100 867	4 528	34 631	84 865	772 731	15 636	788 367	849 377

Table 2b Legislative Assembly: First Preference Votes, District Summary
Per cent

District	ALP	LP	NP	ON	GRN	CCA	Oth	Formal	Informal	Total
Albert	50.6	13.6	11.9	23.8				97.5	2.5	92.2
Algerger	66.7	22.7					10.6	97.4	2.6	93.7
Ashgrove	55.5	29.6			5.9		9.0	98.3	1.7	92.6
Aspley	54.7	45.3						96.9	3.1	94.1
Barron River	43.0	16.2		16.2	5.5		19.1	98.5	1.5	90.4
Beaudesert	34.1		31.9	29.5			4.5	98.4	1.6	94.3
Brisbane Central	64.7	21.0			6.9		7.4	98.1	1.9	88.0
Broadwater	52.4		47.6					95.6	4.4	90.6
Bulimba	73.2	26.8						96.5	3.5	91.5
Bundaberg	64.9		35.1					95.8	4.2	93.7
Bundamba	71.6	14.9			13.4			96.0	4.0	93.4
Burdekin	36.7		22.7	19.7		20.9		98.4	1.6	92.8
Burleigh	44.3		38.8	17.0				97.8	2.2	90.6
Burnett	51.7		48.3					94.8	5.2	93.3
Cairns	51.5		22.2	20.3	6.0			98.1	1.9	88.8
Callide	23.8		40.1	36.1				98.3	1.7	93.9
Caloundra	36.3	38.6		19.1			6.0	98.3	1.7	93.2
Capalaba	43.6	12.6		12.2			31.6	97.5	2.5	94.5
Charters Towers	43.8		34.6	21.6				99.1	0.9	93.7
Chatsworth	56.9	26.7		11.0	5.4			98.0	2.0	94.6
Clayfield	45.9	42.2			5.2		6.7	98.4	1.6	92.0
Cleveland	57.6	25.0					17.4	97.5	2.5	93.6
Cook	63.8		15.5	20.6				98.3	1.7	87.2
Cunningham	25.0	14.8	24.9	20.7		2.2	12.5	98.7	1.3	93.0
Curumbin	56.4	25.6		15.6			2.4	98.3	1.7	91.2
Darling Downs	20.9		39.1				40.0	98.3	1.7	95.1
Everton	62.8	27.9				9.2		98.0	2.0	94.3
Ferny Grove	63.3	26.0			10.7			97.7	2.3	94.6
Fitzroy	62.8		28.6			8.7		98.4	1.6	93.9
Gaven	46.4		33.4		8.6		11.5	96.6	3.4	91.3
Gladstone	45.1		2.3		1.8		50.7	98.8	1.2	94.4
Glass House	40.8	10.7	18.0	20.4	6.6	3.5		98.2	1.8	93.5
Greenslopes	55.4	30.8			10.0	3.7		98.0	2.0	92.6
Gregory	40.7		59.3					97.3	2.7	93.0
Gympie	33.4		24.7	25.7		16.2		98.5	1.5	93.7
Hervey Bay	42.7		17.2	18.4		18.5	3.2	98.4	1.6	93.9
Hinchinbrook	26.1		28.8	26.4		1.3	17.4	98.3	1.7	93.1
Inala	68.1	10.3					21.6	97.5	2.5	93.5
Indooroopilly	38.7	37.2		3.8	10.1		10.2	98.9	1.1	90.3
Ipswich	49.8	10.7		21.2	2.6	1.0	14.6	98.4	1.6	94.3
Ipswich West	45.9		19.1	25.6	4.3	5.1		98.4	1.6	94.7
Kallangur	58.3	19.1			7.3	7.6	7.7	97.3	2.7	93.7
Kawana	42.5	38.4		19.1				98.0	2.0	93.1
Keppel	43.0		43.0			14.0		98.2	1.8	93.0
Kurwongbah	62.9	21.5			6.6	3.6	5.4	97.6	2.4	94.3
Lockyer	27.5		16.9	28.3	2.8	18.0	6.4	98.2	1.8	94.4
Logan	72.3		27.7					94.4	5.6	92.6
Lytton	66.9	21.9			11.2			97.2	2.8	94.7

Table 2b Legislative Assembly: First Preference Votes, District Summary continued
Per cent

District	ALP	LP	NP	ON	GRN	CCA	Oth	Formal	Informal	Total
Mackay	58.7		31.3			10.0		97.7	2.3	91.8
Mansfield	53.4	34.7					11.9	98.2	1.8	93.9
Maroochydore	41.1		39.8	19.1				98.0	2.0	90.0
Maryborough	42.0		14.6			7.7	35.8	97.6	2.4	95.1
Mirani	33.2		34.9	21.5			10.4	98.6	1.4	94.3
Moggill	38.5	40.4			6.4		14.8	98.5	1.5	92.9
Mt Coot-tha	51.0	26.6			11.9		10.5	98.5	1.5	88.7
Mt Gravatt	54.6	27.0		9.3	4.7		4.4	98.0	2.0	93.8
Mt Isa	57.6		20.7	21.7				98.6	1.4	88.7
Mt Ommaney	52.0	19.7			4.8		23.6	98.7	1.3	92.8
Mudgeeraba	41.3	30.6			8.9		19.1	96.8	3.2	91.1
Mulgrave	53.6		20.0	26.3				98.3	1.7	92.1
Mundingburra	48.9	28.5		17.0	3.8	1.8		98.0	2.0	91.5
Murrumba	62.5	18.9					18.6	97.4	2.6	94.2
Nanango	28.1		25.8				46.2	97.9	2.1	94.3
Nicklin	16.9	9.2	7.8	16.0	3.7		46.3	98.8	1.2	92.7
Noosa	42.0	40.3		17.6				98.1	1.9	91.3
Nudgee	75.1	24.9						96.5	3.5	93.7
Pumicestone	46.3	17.8		16.1	2.5	15.5	1.8	98.2	1.8	93.8
Redcliffe	56.6	23.4				3.5	16.5	97.6	2.4	92.9
Redlands	48.6		29.2			7.8	14.4	97.3	2.7	94.3
Robina	46.0	54.0						95.3	4.7	90.0
Rockhampton	69.1		21.9			8.9		97.5	2.5	93.4
Sandgate	66.8	20.1					13.1	97.7	2.3	94.1
South Brisbane	59.9	19.7			9.0		11.4	97.4	2.6	88.6
Southern Downs	25.5		51.6				22.9	98.3	1.7	93.7
Southport	50.9		29.1	15.2			4.9	97.6	2.4	90.2
Springwood	45.6	14.6	18.8				20.9	97.5	2.5	92.7
Stafford	65.4	24.2			10.5			97.7	2.3	93.3
Stretton	62.7	37.3						96.3	3.7	92.0
Surfers Paradise	38.3		49.7		12.0			96.9	3.1	88.2
Tablelands	24.8		16.4	36.0			22.8	98.6	1.4	92.8
Thuringowa	41.0	10.1	18.7			3.1	27.1	97.5	2.5	93.0
Toowoomba North	44.1		39.7			6.9	9.3	97.7	2.3	93.2
Toowoomba South	32.5		43.8	20.0			3.7	98.4	1.6	92.5
Townsville	52.0	35.5					12.5	96.8	3.2	89.5
Warrego	16.3		33.8	23.8			26.1	98.8	1.2	93.3
Waterford	56.2	14.8		24.8			4.1	97.2	2.8	91.3
Whitsunday	46.3		24.2	12.4		13.5	3.7	98.5	1.5	91.6
Woodridge	57.3	6.1		20.7			15.9	97.3	2.7	91.1
Yeerongpilly	61.8	21.3			7.7		9.2	97.8	2.2	92.2
Total	48.9	14.3	14.2	8.7	2.5	2.4	9.0	97.7	2.3	92.6
Regions										
Brisbane	57.9	22.5	2.4	3.3	4.1	1.1	8.7	97.6	2.4	92.9
Gold/Sunshine Coasts	43.1	17.6	17.1	12.6	2.6	1.2	5.7	97.5	2.5	91.4
Regional/Rural	41.3	3.1	26.5	13.1	0.6	4.5	11.0	98.0	2.0	92.8

Table 3 Legislative Assembly: District Detail

Albert				Aspley			
Enrolled 25 364				Enrolled 26 372			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>				<i>First Preferences</i>			
Evans	ONP	5 438	23.8	Barry	ALP	13 150	54.7
Keech	ALP	11 551	50.6	Goss	LP	10 894	45.3
Johanson	LP	3 092	13.6				
McMullan	NP	2 725	11.9	Formal		24 044	96.9
				Informal		770	3.1
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>				<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Evans	ONP	7 875	37.4	Turnout		24 814	94.1
Keech	ALP	13 207	62.6				
Exhausted		1 724					
Formal		22 806	97.5				
Informal		578	2.5				
Turnout		23 384	92.2				
Algerger				Barron River			
Enrolled 25 796				Enrolled 24 818			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>				<i>First Preferences</i>			
Struthers	ALP	15 709	66.7	Starr	ONP	3 587	16.2
Cole	LP	5 343	22.7	Warwick	LP	3 588	16.2
Lamb	CDP	919	3.9	Clark	ALP	9 511	43.0
Watt	IND	1 575	6.7	Bonneau	IND	4 213	19.1
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>				<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Struthers	ALP	16 140	72.6	Walls	GRN	1 212	5.5
Cole	LP	6 082	27.4				
Exhausted		1 324		Clark	ALP	10 759	57.3
Formal		23 546	97.4	Bonneau	IND	8 031	42.7
Informal		632	2.6	Exhausted		3 321	
Turnout		24 178	93.7	Formal		22 111	98.5
				Informal		336	1.5
				Turnout		22 447	90.4
Ashgrove				Beaudesert			
Enrolled 26 977				Enrolled 28 051			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>				<i>First Preferences</i>			
Matthews	AD	1 300	5.3	Benson	ONP	7 680	29.5
Fouras	ALP	13 630	55.5	Limburg	IND	1 166	4.5
Anderson	IND	923	3.8	Lingard	NP	8 297	31.9
Carey-Smith	GRN	1 459	5.9	Stephenson	ALP	8 868	34.1
Cook	LP	7 263	29.6				
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>				<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Fouras	ALP	15 068	65.0	Lingard	NP	10 876	52.0
Cook	LP	8 102	35.0	Stephenson	ALP	10 042	48.0
Exhausted		1 405		Exhausted		5 093	
Formal		24 575	98.3	Formal		26 011	98.4
Informal		414	1.7	Informal		433	1.6
Turnout		24 989	92.6	Turnout		26 444	94.3

Table 3 Legislative Assembly: District Detail

Brisbane Central		Enrolled 26 646	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Skyring	IND	127	0.6
Buckley	IND	112	0.5
Beattie	ALP	14 894	64.7
Wynter	IND	200	0.9
Dalton	IND	84	0.4
Tonite	IND	974	4.2
Tornatore	IND	201	0.9
Vasta	LP	4 839	21.0
Nielsen	GRN	1 579	6.9
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Beattie	ALP	15 936	75.0
Vasta	LP	5 322	25.0
Exhausted		1 752	
Formal		23 010	98.1
Informal		441	1.9
Turnout		23 451	88.0

Broadwater		Enrolled 27 267	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Croft	ALP	12 388	52.4
Grice	NP	11 231	47.6
Formal		23 619	95.6
Informal		1 092	4.4
Turnout		24 711	90.6

Bulimba		Enrolled 25 208	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Woollett	LP	5 960	26.8
Purcell	ALP	16 295	73.2
Formal		22 255	96.5
Informal		814	3.5
Turnout		23 069	91.5

Bundaberg		Enrolled 27 155	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Cunningham	ALP	15 812	64.9
Porter	NP	8 552	35.1
Formal		24 364	95.8
Informal		1 079	4.2
Turnout		25 443	93.7

Bundamba		Enrolled 23 897	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Miller	ALP	15 356	71.7
McLean	LP	3 196	14.9
McKeon	GRN	2 881	13.4
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Miller	ALP	16 043	80.9
McLean	LP	3 786	19.1
Exhausted		1 604	
Formal		21 433	96.0
Informal		896	4.0
Turnout		22 329	93.4

Burdekin		Enrolled 23 291	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Knuth	CCA	4 439	20.9
Poletto	ONP	4 180	19.7
Rodgers	ALP	7 808	36.7
Morato	NP	4 836	22.7
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Rodgers	ALP	8 863	55.1
Morato	NP	7 215	44.9
Exhausted		5 185	
Formal		21 263	98.4
Informal		341	1.6
Turnout		21 604	92.8

Burleigh		Enrolled 29 191	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Pepperell	ONP	4 385	17.0
Gamin	NP	10 020	38.8
Smith	ALP	11 445	44.3
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Gamin	NP	11 233	48.2
Smith	ALP	12 062	51.8
Exhausted		2 555	
Formal		25 850	97.8
Informal		588	2.2
Turnout		26 438	90.6

Table 3 Legislative Assembly: District Detail

Burnett				Enrolled 24 416			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%				
<i>First Preferences</i>							
Strong	ALP	11 169	51.7				
Slack	NP	10 433	48.3				
Formal		21 602	94.8				
Informal		1 179	5.2				
Turnout		22 781	93.3				
Cairns				Enrolled 24 882			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%				
<i>First Preferences</i>							
Boyle	ALP	11 170	51.5				
Wilson	NP	4 819	22.2				
Hart	GRN	1 297	6.0				
Gargan	ONP	4 394	20.3				
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>							
Boyle	ALP	12 400	64.8				
Wilson	NP	6 730	35.2				
Exhausted		2 550					
Formal		21 680	98.1				
Informal		419	1.9				
Turnout		22 099	88.8				
Callide				Enrolled 25 950			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%				
<i>First Preferences</i>							
Seeney	NP	9 598	40.1				
Allen	ALP	5 694	23.8				
Dwyer	ONP	8 648	36.1				
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>							
Seeney	NP	10 265	52.3				
Dwyer	ONP	9 355	47.7				
Exhausted		4 320					
Formal		23 940	98.3				
Informal		424	1.7				
Turnout		24 364	93.9				
Caloundra				Enrolled 26 046			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%				
<i>First Preferences</i>							
Wilkinson	IND	1 430	6.0				
Anthony	ALP	8 658	36.3				
Tannock	ONP	4 555	19.1				
Sheldon	LP	9 200	38.6				
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>							
Anthony	ALP	10 234	49.0				
Sheldon	LP	10 637	51.0				
Exhausted		2 972					
Formal		23 843	98.3				
Informal		423	1.7				
Turnout		24 266	93.2				
Capalaba				Enrolled 26 328			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%				
<i>First Preferences</i>							
Elliott	IND	3 835	15.8				
Choi	ALP	10 577	43.6				
Reimers	IND	158	0.7				
Bowler	IND	3 403	14.0				
Brown	IND	272	1.1				
O'Rourke	ONP	2 958	12.2				
Costello	LP	3 051	12.6				
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>							
Choi	ALP	11 650	64.6				
Bowler	IND	6 379	35.4				
Exhausted		6 225					
Formal		24 254	97.5				
Informal		633	2.5				
Turnout		24 887	94.5				
Charters Towers				Enrolled 18 645			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%				
<i>First Preferences</i>							
Mitchell	NP	5 984	34.6				
Scott	ALP	7 575	43.8				
Ree	ONP	3 745	21.6				
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>							
Mitchell	NP	7 460	47.8				
Scott	ALP	8 138	52.2				
Exhausted		1 706					
Formal		17 304	99.1				
Informal		165	0.9				
Turnout		17 469	93.7				

Table 3 Legislative Assembly: District Detail

Chatsworth		Enrolled 27 566	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Echaubard	ONP	2 813	11.0
Wilson	GRN	1 389	5.4
Leu	LP	6 813	26.7
Mackenroth	ALP	14 530	56.9
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Leu	LP	8 322	34.9
Mackenroth	ALP	15 555	65.1
Exhausted		1 668	
Formal		25 545	98.0
Informal		532	2.0
Turnout		26 077	94.6

Clayfield		Enrolled 26 067	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Clark	ALP	10 839	45.9
Santoro	LP	9 948	42.2
Hegge	GRN	1 228	5.2
Brittan	IND	1 582	6.7
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Clark	ALP	11 593	52.0
Santoro	LP	10 708	48.0
Exhausted		1 296	
Formal		23 597	98.4
Informal		394	1.6
Turnout		23 991	92.0

Cleveland		Enrolled 25 779	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Friis	LP	5 880	25.0
Briskey	ALP	13 529	57.6
Barton	IND	4 099	17.4
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Friis	LP	7 152	33.3
Briskey	ALP	14 300	66.7
Exhausted		2 056	
Formal		23 508	97.5
Informal		613	2.5
Turnout		24 121	93.6

Cook		Enrolled 19 587	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Webb	ONP	3 465	20.6
Hollingsworth	NP	2 610	15.5
Bredhaurer	ALP	10 727	63.8
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Webb	ONP	4 162	27.1
Bredhaurer	ALP	11 175	72.9
Exhausted		1 465	
Formal		16 802	98.3
Informal		282	1.7
Turnout		17 084	87.2

Cunningham		Enrolled 24 787	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Collins	IND	2 834	12.5
Drinan	ONP	4 700	20.7
King	ALP	5 686	25.0
Copeland	NP	5 661	24.9
Reynolds	CCA	502	2.2
Rookas	LP	3 368	14.8
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
King	ALP	6 893	41.4
Copeland	NP	9 769	58.6
Exhausted		6 089	
Formal		22 751	98.7
Informal		301	1.3
Turnout		23 052	93.0

Currumbin		Enrolled 27 294	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Rose	ALP	13 801	56.4
Stuckey	LP	6 251	25.6
Horsburgh	ONP	3 823	15.6
Rossini	IND	590	2.4
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Rose	ALP	14 581	64.5
Stuckey	LP	8 009	35.5
Exhausted		1 875	
Formal		24 465	98.3
Informal		421	1.7
Turnout		24 886	91.2

Table 3 Legislative Assembly: District Detail

Darling Downs				Fitzroy			
Enrolled 24 272				Enrolled 23 457			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>				<i>First Preferences</i>			
Martin	ALP	4 749	20.9	Schuback	CCA	1 879	8.7
Taylor	NP	8 855	39.1	Pearce	ALP	13 599	62.8
Hopper	IND	9 069	40.0	Lawrie	NP	6 187	28.6
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>				<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Taylor	NP	9 226	48.9	Pearce	ALP	13 915	67.2
Hopper	IND	9 651	51.1	Lawrie	NP	6 797	32.8
Exhausted		3 796		Exhausted		953	
Formal		22 673	98.3	Formal		21 665	98.4
Informal		400	1.7	Informal		351	1.6
Turnout		23 073	95.1	Turnout		22 016	93.9
Everton				Gaven			
Enrolled 27 058				Enrolled 24 357			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>				<i>First Preferences</i>			
Edwards	CCA	2 302	9.2	Spain	GRN	1 839	8.6
Dangerfield	LP	6 990	27.9	Poole	ALP	9 969	46.4
Welford	ALP	15 719	62.8	Connolly	IND	1 883	8.8
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>				<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Dangerfield	LP	7 749	32.5	Cassidy	IND	596	2.8
Welford	ALP	16 063	67.5	Baumann	NP	7 178	33.4
Exhausted		1 199		<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Formal		25 011	98.0	Poole	ALP	10 776	57.6
Informal		517	2.0	Baumann	NP	7 933	42.4
Turnout		25 528	94.3	Exhausted		2 756	
Ferny Grove				Gladstone			
Enrolled 28 114				Enrolled 26 088			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>				<i>First Preferences</i>			
Eaton	LP	6 756	26.0	Warren	GRN	450	1.8
Stasse	GRN	2 774	10.7	Cunningham	IND	12 336	50.7
Wilson	ALP	16 466	63.3	Ellingsen	ALP	10 992	45.1
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>				<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Eaton	LP	7 302	29.5	Hamann	NP	571	2.3
Wilson	ALP	17 488	70.5	<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Exhausted		1 206		Cunningham	IND	12 772	53.5
Formal		25 996	97.7	Ellingsen	ALP	11 103	46.5
Informal		599	2.3	Exhausted		474	
Turnout		26 595	94.6	Formal		24 349	98.8
Gladstone				Gladstone			
Enrolled 26 088				Enrolled 26 088			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>				<i>First Preferences</i>			
Warren	GRN	450	1.8	Warren	GRN	450	1.8
Cunningham	IND	12 336	50.7	Cunningham	IND	12 336	50.7
Ellingsen	ALP	10 992	45.1	Ellingsen	ALP	10 992	45.1
Hamann	NP	571	2.3	Hamann	NP	571	2.3
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>				<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Cunningham	IND	12 772	53.5	Cunningham	IND	12 772	53.5
Ellingsen	ALP	11 103	46.5	Ellingsen	ALP	11 103	46.5
Exhausted		474		Exhausted		474	
Formal		24 349	98.8	Formal		24 349	98.8
Informal		285	1.2	Informal		285	1.2
Turnout		24 634	94.4	Turnout		24 634	94.4

Table 3 Legislative Assembly: District Detail

Glass House		Enrolled 26 683	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Chippendale	NP	4 408	18.0
Ferraro	ONP	4 993	20.4
Janke	CCA	867	3.5
Cannon	GRN	1 628	6.6
Male	ALP	9 989	40.8
Taylor	LP	2 612	10.7
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Chippendale	NP	7 869	40.4
Male	ALP	11 598	59.6
Exhausted		5 030	
Formal		24 497	98.2
Informal		439	1.8
Turnout		24 936	93.5

Greenslopes		Enrolled 27 320	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Fenlon	ALP	13 744	55.4
Edwards	LP	7 639	30.8
Whitney	CCA	915	3.7
Curley	GRN	2 491	10.0
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Fenlon	ALP	14 791	64.1
Edwards	LP	8 289	35.9
Exhausted		1 709	
Formal		24 789	98.0
Informal		498	2.0
Turnout		25 287	62.6

Gregory		Enrolled 18 723	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
McDonell	ALP	6 897	40.7
Johnson	NP	10 047	59.3
Formal		16 944	97.3
Informal		476	2.7
Turnout		17 420	93.0

Gympie		Enrolled 27 757	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Gate	ALP	8 563	33.4
Petersen	CCA	4 139	16.2
Roberts	ONP	6 587	25.7
Duff	NP	6 330	24.7
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Gate	ALP	9 766	46.7
Roberts	ONP	11 130	53.3
Exhausted		4 723	
Formal		25 619	98.5
Informal		399	1.5
Turnout		26 018	93.7

Hervey Bay		Enrolled 24 613	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Robinson	ONP	4 186	18.4
McLellan	NP	3 915	17.2
Donnelly	IND	723	3.2
Dagleish	CCA	4 193	18.5
McNamara	ALP	9 707	42.7
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Robinson	ONP	7 762	42.4
McNamara	ALP	10 559	57.6
Exhausted		4 403	
Formal		22 724	98.4
Informal		379	1.6
Turnout		23 103	93.9

Hinchinbrook		Enrolled 22 236	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Steley	CCA	270	1.3
Lancini	IND	3 534	17.4
Rowell	NP	5 862	28.8
Small	ALP	5 313	26.1
Ralph	ONP	5 362	26.4
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Rowell	NP	7 192	52.8
Ralph	ONP	6 436	47.2
Exhausted		6 713	
Formal		20 341	98.3
Informal		362	1.7
Turnout		20 703	93.1

Table 3 Legislative Assembly: District Detail

Inala		Enrolled 23 269	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Palaszczuk	ALP	14 434	68.1
Pugh	IND	4 585	21.6
Jackson	LP	2 180	10.3
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Palaszczuk	ALP	14 606	52.8
Pugh	IND	5 836	47.2
Exhausted		757	
Formal		21 199	97.5
Informal		551	2.5
Turnout		21 750	93.5

Indooroopilly		Enrolled 26 105	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Sakzewski	IND	997	4.3
Lee	ALP	9 028	38.7
Hutton	GRN	2 351	10.1
Freemarijuana	IND	434	1.9
Drew	ONP	879	3.8
Beanland	LP	8 686	37.2
McIntyre	AD	944	4.0
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Lee	ALP	11 245	52.9
Beanland	LP	10 022	47.1
Exhausted		2 052	
Formal		23 319	98.9
Informal		260	1.1
Turnout		23 579	90.3

Ipswich		Enrolled 26 593	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Jaenke	IND	1 303	5.3
Nolan	ALP	12 282	49.8
Nardi	IND	2 200	8.9
Mahoney	GRN	642	2.6
Cameron	IND	107	0.4
Atkin	CCA	243	1.0
Magnussen	ONP	5 237	21.2
Forbes	LP	2 641	10.7
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Nolan	ALP	14 029	66.8
Magnussen	ONP	6 985	33.2
Exhausted		3 641	
Formal		24 655	98.4
Informal		410	1.6
Turnout		25 065	94.3

Ipswich West		Enrolled 25 180	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Dutton	ONP	6 002	25.6
Livingstone	ALP	10 768	45.9
Glass	GRN	1 016	4.3
Paff	CCA	1 200	5.1
Pahlke	NP	4 469	19.1
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Dutton	ONP	8 679	42.7
Livingstone	ALP	11 645	57.3
Exhausted		3 131	
Formal		23 455	98.4
Informal		390	1.6
Turnout		23 845	94.7

Kallangur		Enrolled 25 045	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Hayward	ALP	13 312	58.3
Eldridge	CCA	1 740	7.6
Tooke	GRN	1 656	7.3
Jones	IND	1 750	7.7
Driscoll	LP	4 366	19.1
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Hayward	ALP	14 165	71.4
Driscoll	LP	5 681	28.6
Exhausted		2 978	
Formal		22 824	97.3
Informal		642	2.7
Turnout		23 466	93.7

Kawana		Enrolled 26 943	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Savage	ONP	4 708	19.1
Cummins	ALP	10 446	42.5
Laming	LP	9 438	38.4
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Cummins	ALP	11 801	52.6
Laming	LP	10 625	47.4
Exhausted		2 166	
Formal		24 592	98.0
Informal		496	2.0
Turnout		25 088	93.1

Table 3 Legislative Assembly: District Detail

Keppel		Enrolled 23 668	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Mather	CCA	3 030	14.0
Hoolihan	ALP	9 281	43.0
Lester	NP	9 285	43.0
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Hoolihan	ALP	9 620	48.5
Lester	NP	10 198	51.5
Exhausted		1 778	
Formal		21 596	98.2
Informal		404	1.8
Turnout		22 000	93.0

Kurwongbah		Enrolled 29 147	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Pantano	GRN	1 762	6.6
Harrison	AD	1 460	5.4
Lavarch	ALP	16 889	62.9
Purtill	CCA	963	3.6
Martin	LP	5 757	21.5
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Lavarch	ALP	17 987	72.7
Martin	LP	6 755	27.3
Exhausted		2 089	
Formal		26 831	97.6
Informal		663	2.4
Turnout		27 494	94.3

Lockyer		Enrolled 25 189	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Micallef	IND	325	1.4
Clarke	ALP	6 428	27.5
Christensen	NP	3 947	16.9
Nemeth	GRN	665	2.8
Prenzler	CCA	4 197	18.0
Murray	IND	1 170	5.0
Flynn	ONP	6 608	28.3
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Clarke	ALP	7 533	42.7
Flynn	ONP	10 108	57.3
Exhausted		5 699	
Formal		23 340	98.2
Informal		434	1.8
Turnout		23 774	94.4

Logan		Enrolled 24 752	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Drescher	NP	6 001	27.7
Mickel	ALP	15 645	72.3
Formal		21 646	94.4
Informal		1 275	5.6
Turnout		22 921	92.6

Lytton		Enrolled 26 483	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Lucas	ALP	16 305	66.9
Smith	GRN	2 736	11.2
Ladner	LP	5 329	21.9
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Lucas	ALP	17 150	74.4
Ladner	LP	5 902	25.6
Exhausted		1 318	
Formal		24 370	97.2
Informal		697	2.8
Turnout		25 067	94.7

Mackay		Enrolled 27 063	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Townsend	CCA	2 433	10.0
Bella	NP	7 594	31.3
Mulherin	ALP	14 235	58.7
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Bella	NP	8 323	36.5
Mulherin	ALP	14 494	63.5
Exhausted		1 445	
Formal		24 262	97.7
Informal		580	2.3
Turnout		24 842	91.8

Table 3 Legislative Assembly: District Detail

Mansfield				Enrolled 27 018			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%				
<i>First Preferences</i>							
Leworthy	IND	2 960	11.9				
Carroll	LP	8 646	34.7				
Reeves	ALP	13 296	53.4				
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>							
Carroll	LP	9 746	41.4				
Reeves	ALP	13 806	58.6				
Exhausted		1 350					
Formal		24 902	98.2				
Informal		463	1.8				
Turnout		25 365	93.9				
Maroochydore				Enrolled 26 914			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%				
<i>First Preferences</i>							
Baillie	ALP	9 762	41.1				
Simpson	NP	9 446	39.8				
Wellard	ONP	4 530	19.1				
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>							
Baillie	ALP	10 318	49.2				
Simpson	NP	10 650	50.8				
Exhausted		2 770					
Formal		23 738	98.0				
Informal		492	2.0				
Turnout		24 230	90.0				
Maryborough				Enrolled 25 833			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%				
<i>First Preferences</i>							
Smith	IND	545	2.3				
Douglas	CCA	1 844	7.7				
Holmes	ALP	10 081	42.0				
Kingston	IND	8 034	33.5				
Harris	NP	3 492	14.6				
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>							
Holmes	ALP	10 466	49.5				
Kingston	IND	10 678	50.5				
Exhausted		2 852					
Formal		23 996	97.6				
Informal		582	2.4				
Turnout		24 578	95.1				
Mirani				Enrolled 23 623			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%				
<i>First Preferences</i>							
Staker	ALP	7 296	33.2				
Gomersall	IND	1 546	7.0				
Vaughan	IND	729	3.3				
Malone	NP	7 672	34.9				
Robinson	ONP	4 729	21.5				
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>							
Staker	ALP	8 042	46.2				
Malone	NP	9 366	53.8				
Exhausted		4 564					
Formal		21 972	98.6				
Informal		303	1.4				
Turnout		22 275	94.3				
Moggill				Enrolled 26 733			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%				
<i>First Preferences</i>							
Searle	IND	2 263	9.3				
Watson	LP	9 872	40.4				
Lumsden	ALP	9 408	38.5				
Yesberg	AD	1 355	5.5				
Taylor	GRN	1 566	6.4				
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>							
Watson	LP	11 404	50.9				
Lumsden	ALP	11 008	49.1				
Exhausted		2 052					
Formal		24 464	98.5				
Informal		373	1.5				
Turnout		24 837	92.9				
Mount Coot-tha				Enrolled 26 343			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%				
<i>First Preferences</i>							
Zaborszky	AD	985	4.3				
Bocabella	IND	1 424	6.2				
Edmund	ALP	11 741	51.0				
Copeman	GRN	2 740	11.9				
Cannon	LP	6 135	26.6				
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>							
Edmund	ALP	13 888	66.1				
Cannon	LP	7 116	33.9				
Exhausted		2 021					
Formal		23 025	98.5				
Informal		348	1.5				
Turnout		23 373	88.7				

Table 3 Legislative Assembly: District Detail

Mount Gravatt		Enrolled 26 271	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Spence	ALP	13 187	54.6
Eggmohlesse	IND	235	1.0
Huang	LP	6 509	27.0
McMahon	ONP	2 248	9.3
Tanti	IND	831	3.4
Lloyd	GRN	1 141	4.7
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Spence	ALP	14 220	64.2
Huang	LP	7 940	35.8
Exhausted		1 991	
Formal		24 151	98.0
Informal		490	2.0
Turnout		24 641	93.8

Mudgeeraba		Enrolled 25 732	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Keys	IND	3 596	15.9
Light	GRN	2 025	8.9
Connor	LP	6 952	30.6
Bradley	IND	330	1.5
Lyons	IND	408	1.8
Reilly	ALP	9 371	41.3
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Connor	LP	8 060	38.6
Reilly	ALP	10 585	61.4
Exhausted		4 037	
Formal		22 682	96.8
Informal		750	3.2
Turnout		23 432	91.1

Mount Isa		Enrolled 17 811	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
McGrady	ALP	8 981	57.6
Braden	ONP	3 384	21.7
Clarke	NP	3 220	20.7
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
McGrady	ALP	9 593	66.2
Clarke	NP	4 892	33.8
Exhausted		1 100	
Formal		15 585	98.6
Informal		216	1.4
Turnout		15 801	88.7

Mulgrave		Enrolled 24 503	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Moyle	NP	4 443	20.0
Pitt	ALP	11 903	53.6
Frisone	ONP	5 847	26.3
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Pitt	ALP	12 512	61.3
Frisone	ONP	7 903	38.7
Exhausted		1 778	
Formal		22 193	98.3
Informal		383	1.7
Turnout		22 576	92.1

Mount Ommaney		Enrolled 26 213	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Bertoni	IND	5 657	23.6
Bach	GRN	1 141	4.8
Attwood	ALP	12 483	52.0
Harper	LP	4 731	19.7
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Attwood	ALP	13 273	58.7
Harper	LP	9 323	41.3
Exhausted		1 416	
Formal		24 012	98.7
Informal		322	1.3
Turnout		24 334	92.8

Mundingburra		Enrolled 26 566	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Moore	LP	6 780	28.5
Nelson-Carr	ALP	11 640	48.9
Elson	ONP	4 056	17.0
Staines	CCA	439	1.8
Smith	GRN	904	3.8
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Moore	LP	7 928	38.6
Nelson-Carr	ALP	12 598	61.4
Exhausted		3 293	
Formal		23 819	98.0
Informal		484	2.0
Turnout		24 303	91.5

Table 3 Legislative Assembly: District Detail

Murrumba				Noosa			
Enrolled 25 882				Enrolled 28 739			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>				<i>First Preferences</i>			
McJannett	IND	4 408	18.6	Davidson	LP	10 391	40.3
Haskell	LP	4 498	18.9	Lake	ONP	4 543	17.6
Wells	ALP	14 839	62.5	Molloy	ALP	10 828	42.0
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>				<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Haskell	LP	6 295	28.9	Davidson	LP	11 552	49.1
Wells	ALP	15 500	71.1	Molloy	ALP	11 977	50.9
Exhausted		1 950		Exhausted		2 233	
Formal		23 745	97.4	Formal		25 762	98.1
Informal		635	2.6	Informal		486	1.9
Turnout		24 380	94.2	Turnout		26 248	91.3
Nanango				Nudgee			
Enrolled 22 710				Enrolled 26 860			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>				<i>First Preferences</i>			
Campbell	NP	5 400	25.8	Taylor	LP	6 042	24.9
Weir	ALP	5 882	28.1	Roberts	ALP	18 252	75.1
Pratt	IND	9 680	46.2	Formal		24 294	96.5
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>				<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Weir	ALP	6 282	32.9	Informal		882	3.5
Pratt	IND	12 796	67.1	Turnout		25 176	93.7
Exhausted		1 884		Formal		20 962	97.9
Formal		20 962	97.9	Informal		451	2.1
Informal		451	2.1	Turnout		21 413	94.3
Turnout		21 413	94.3	Pumicestone			
Nicklin				Enrolled 26 648			
Enrolled 27 249				Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	<i>First Preferences</i>			
<i>First Preferences</i>				Feldman	CCA	3 805	15.5
Fitzgerald	GRN	932	3.7	Sullivan	ALP	11 360	46.3
Booth	ONP	3 992	16.0	Rounsefell	IND	453	1.8
Boman	ALP	4 224	16.9	Whitney	ONP	3 953	16.1
Wellington	IND	11 554	46.3	Shotton	GRN	610	2.5
Gardiner	NP	1 941	7.8	Parsons	LP	4 380	17.8
Whittington	LP	2 305	9.2	<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>				Sullivan	ALP	12 686	66.1
Booth	ONP	5 469	26.6	Parsons	LP	6 505	33.9
Wellington	IND	15 114	73.4	Exhausted		5 370	
Exhausted		4 365		Formal		24 561	98.2
Formal		24 948	98.8	Informal		439	1.8
Informal		304	1.2	Turnout		25 000	93.8
Turnout		25 252	92.7				

Table 3 Legislative Assembly: District Detail

Redcliffe		Enrolled 27 292	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Salisbury	CCA	866	3.5
Frawley	IND	3 232	13.1
Rankin	LP	5 789	23.4
Hollis	ALP	13 989	56.6
Matthews	IND	255	1.0
White	IND	604	2.4
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Rankin	LP	7 011	32.4
Hollis	ALP	14 633	67.6
Exhausted		3 091	
Formal		24 735	97.6
Informal		606	2.4
Turnout		25 341	92.8

Redlands		Enrolled 24 229	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
English	ALP	10 797	48.6
Burns	IND	3 210	14.4
Hegarty	NP	6 500	29.2
Hancock	CCA	1 731	7.8
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
English	ALP	11 494	56.9
Hegarty	NP	8 721	43.1
Exhausted		2 023	
Formal		22 238	97.3
Informal		611	2.7
Turnout		22 849	94.3

Robina		Enrolled 27 655	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Simmonds	ALP	10 909	46.0
Quinn	LP	12 822	54.0
Formal		23 731	95.3
Informal		1 171	4.7
Turnout		24 902	90.0

Rockhampton		Enrolled 25 306	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Schuback	CCA	2 056	8.9
Bahnisch	NP	5 053	21.9
Schwarten	ALP	15 926	69.1
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Bahnisch	NP	5 626	25.8
Schwarten	ALP	16 166	74.2
Exhausted		1 243	
Formal		23 035	97.5
Informal		592	2.5
Turnout		23 627	93.4

Sandgate		Enrolled 26 426	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Nuttall	ALP	16 242	66.8
Young	LP	4 890	20.1
Eaton	IND	3 179	13.1
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Nuttall	ALP	16 774	74.5
Young	LP	5 750	25.5
Exhausted		1 787	
Formal		24 311	97.7
Informal		565	2.3
Turnout		24 876	94.1

South Brisbane		Enrolled 27 729	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Chappel	LP	4 720	19.7
Swan	IND	777	3.2
Bligh	ALP	14 329	59.9
Baker	IND	310	1.3
Freemarijuana	IND	653	2.7
Taylor	GRN	2 150	9.0
Lagos	AD	985	4.1
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Chappel	LP	5 479	25.0
Bligh	ALP	16 377	75.0
Exhausted		2 068	
Formal		23 924	97.4
Informal		638	2.6
Turnout		24 562	88.6

Table 3 Legislative Assembly: District Detail

Southern Downs				Enrolled 27 551			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%				
<i>First Preferences</i>							
White	IND	5 818	22.9				
Rey	ALP	6 459	25.5				
Springborg	NP	13 092	51.6				
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>							
Rey	ALP	7 278	33.2				
Springborg	NP	14 627	66.8				
Exhausted		3 464					
Formal		25 369	98.3				
Informal		451	1.7				
Turnout		25 820	93.7				

Stafford				Enrolled 27 169			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%				
<i>First Preferences</i>							
Belcher	LP	5 982	24.2				
Sullivan	ALP	16 190	65.4				
Meehan	GRN	2 590	10.5				
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>							
Belcher	LP	6 503	27.6				
Sullivan	ALP	17 052	72.4				
Exhausted		1 207					
Formal		24 762	97.7				
Informal		591	2.3				
Turnout		25 353	93.3				

Southport				Enrolled 25 127			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%				
<i>First Preferences</i>							
Lawlor	ALP	11 245	50.9				
Millar	ONP	3 351	15.2				
Veivers	NP	6 434	29.1				
Cortenbach	IND	1 083	4.9				
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>							
Lawlor	ALP	11 986	60.8				
Veivers	NP	7 714	39.2				
Exhausted		2 413					
Formal		22 113	97.6				
Informal		551	2.4				
Turnout		22 664	90.2				

Springwood				Enrolled 27 138			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%				
<i>First Preferences</i>							
Johnston	IND	5 140	20.9				
Stone	ALP	11 192	45.6				
Ward	LP	3 590	14.6				
Power	NP	4 613	18.8				
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>							
Stone	ALP	12 442	60.4				
Power	NP	8 169	39.6				
Exhausted		3 924					
Formal		24 535	97.5				
Informal		624	2.5				
Turnout		25 159	92.7				

Stretton				Enrolled 26 604			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%				
<i>First Preferences</i>							
Robertson	ALP	14 778	62.7				
Lin	LP	8 805	37.3				
Formal		23 583	96.3				
Informal		894	3.7				
Turnout		24 477	92.0				

Surfers Paradise				Enrolled 28 321			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%				
<i>First Preferences</i>							
Hepburn	GRN	2 899	12.0				
Alcorn	ALP	9 259	38.3				
Borbidge	NP	12 033	49.7				
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>							
Alcorn	ALP	10 147	44.7				
Borbidge	NP	12 546	55.3				
Exhausted		1 498					
Formal		24 191	96.9				
Informal		784	3.1				
Turnout		24 975	88.2				

Table 3 Legislative Assembly: District Detail

Tablelands		Enrolled 23 448	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Nelson	IND	3 284	15.3
Moro	NP	3 522	16.4
Condon	IND	1 098	5.1
Lee Long	ONP	7 722	36.0
Isherwood	IND	507	2.4
Yates	ALP	5 325	24.8
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Lee Long	ONP	10 994	63.8
Yates	ALP	6 235	36.2
Exhausted		4 229	
Formal		21 458	98.6
Informal		313	1.4
Turnout		21 771	92.8

Thuringowa		Enrolled 26 763	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Nelson	LP	2 447	10.1
Weekes	NP	4 532	18.7
Morton	CCA	762	3.1
Turner	IND	6 258	25.8
Linder	IND	311	1.3
Phillips	ALP	9 952	41.0
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Phillips	ALP	11 052	53.6
Turner	IND	9 581	46.4
Exhausted		3 629	
Formal		24 262	97.5
Informal		633	2.5
Turnout		24 895	93.0

Toowoomba North		Enrolled 24 335	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Shine	ALP	9 772	44.1
Berry	IND	1 215	5.5
Francis	CCA	1 529	6.9
Healy	NP	8 795	39.7
Mogg	IND	846	3.8
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Shine	ALP	10 503	51.9
Healy	NP	9 747	48.1
Exhausted		1 907	
Formal		22 157	97.7
Informal		527	2.3
Turnout		22 684	93.2

Toowoomba South		Enrolled 25 152	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Shooter	ALP	7 439	32.5
Hoy	ONP	4 577	20.0
Horan	NP	10 028	43.8
Wilson	IND	857	3.7
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Shooter	ALP	8 216	42.1
Horan	NP	11 319	57.9
Exhausted		3 366	
Formal		22 901	98.4
Informal		374	1.6
Turnout		23 275	92.5

Townsville		Enrolled 25 513	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Reynolds	ALP	11 494	52.0
Tubman	IND	1 833	8.3
Tait	IND	942	4.3
Barker	LP	7 848	35.5
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Reynolds	ALP	12 319	59.3
Barker	LP	8 443	40.7
Exhausted		1 355	
Formal		22 117	96.8
Informal		725	3.2
Turnout		22 842	89.5

Warrego		Enrolled 21 600	
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>			
Hobbs	NP	6 737	33.8
Burton	ONP	4 733	23.8
Gleeson	IND	5 193	26.1
Chisholm	ALP	3 243	16.3
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Hobbs	NP	7 943	50.3
Gleeson	IND	7 847	49.7
Exhausted		4 116	
Formal		19 906	98.8
Informal		239	1.2
Turnout		20 145	93.3

Table 3 Legislative Assembly: District Detail

Waterford				Yeerongpilly			
Enrolled 24 793				Enrolled 27 130			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>				<i>First Preferences</i>			
Somers	LP	3 267	14.8	Burchall	GRN	1 877	7.7
Howse	IND	910	4.1	Miles	LP	5 215	21.3
Barton	ALP	12 378	56.2	Wheelely	IND	731	3.0
Woodward	ONP	5 465	24.8	Foley	ALP	15 135	61.8
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>				<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Barton	ALP	13 755	68.0	Miles	LP	6 249	27.8
Woodward	ONP	6 470	32.0	Foley	ALP	16 210	72.2
Exhausted		1 795		Exhausted		2 015	
Formal		22 020	97.2	Formal		24 474	97.8
Informal		625	2.8	Informal		545	2.2
Turnout		22 645	91.3	Turnout		25 019	92.2
Whitsunday				Woodridge			
Enrolled 24 015				Enrolled 23 605			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Candidate	Party	Votes	%
<i>First Preferences</i>				<i>First Preferences</i>			
Smyth	IND	799	3.7	Scott	ALP	11 992	57.3
Haselgrove	ONP	2 677	12.4	Moore	IND	1 057	5.1
Black	CCA	2 919	13.5	Grant	IND	2 273	10.9
Perkins	NP	5 237	24.2	Simon	LP	1 272	6.1
Jarratt	ALP	10 026	46.3	Ngahooro	ONP	4 336	20.7
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>				<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>			
Perkins	NP	7 294	40.4	Scott	ALP	13 138	71.1
Jarratt	ALP	10 751	59.6	Ngahooro	ONP	5 346	28.9
Exhausted		3 613		Exhausted		2 446	
Formal		21 658	98.5	Formal		20 930	97.3
Informal		334	1.5	Informal		579	2.7
Turnout		21 992	91.6	Turnout		21 509	91.1

Table 4 Legislative Assembly: Two Candidate Preferred Vote

District	ALP		LP/NP		ONP		Others		Exhausted (a)	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Albert	13 207	62.6			7 875	37.4			1 724	7.6
Algester	16 140	72.6	6 082	27.4					1 324	5.6
Ashgrove	15 068	65.0	8 102	35.0					1 405	5.7
Aspley	13 150	54.7	10 894	45.3						
Barron River	10 759	57.3					8 031	42.7	3 321	15.0
Beaudesert	10 042	48.0	10 876	52.0					5 093	19.6
Brisbane Central	15 936	75.0	5 322	25.0					1 752	7.6
Broadwater	12 388	52.4	11 231	47.6						
Bulimba	16 295	73.2	5 960	26.8						
Bundaberg	15 812	64.9	8 552	35.1						
Bundamba	16 043	80.9	3 786	19.1					1 604	7.5
Burdekin	8 863	55.1	7 215	44.9					5 185	24.4
Burleigh	12 062	51.8	11 233	48.2					2 555	9.9
Burnett	11 169	51.7	10 433	48.3						
Cairns	12 400	64.8	6 730	35.2					2 550	11.8
Callide			10 265	52.3			9 355	47.7	4 320	18.0
Caloundra	10 234	49.0	10 637	51.0					2 972	12.5
Capalaba	11 650	64.6					6 379	35.4	6 225	25.7
Charters Towers	8 138	52.2	7 460	47.8						
Chatsworth	15 555	65.1	8 322	34.9					1 668	6.5
Clayfield	11 593	52.0	10 708	48.0					1 296	5.5
Cleveland	14 300	66.7	7 152	33.3					2 056	8.7
Cook	11 175	72.9			4 162	27.1			1 465	8.7
Cunningham	6 893	41.4	9 769	58.6						
Currumbin	14 581	64.5	8 009	35.5					1 875	7.7
Darling Downs			9 226	48.9			9 651	51.1	3 796	16.7
Everton	16 063	67.5	7 749	32.5					1 199	4.8
Ferny Grove	17 488	70.5	7 302	29.5					1 206	4.6
Fitzroy	13 915	67.2	6 797	32.8					953	4.4
Gaven	10 776	57.6	7 933	42.4					2 756	12.8
Gladstone	11 103	46.5					12 772	53.5	474	1.9
Glass House	11 598	59.6	7 869	40.4					5 030	20.5
Greenslopes	14 791	64.1	8 289	35.9					1 709	6.9
Gregory	6 897	40.7	10 047	59.3						
Gympie	9 766	46.7			11 130	53.3			4 723	18.4
Hervey Bay	10 559	57.6			7 762	42.4			4 403	19.4
Hinchinbrook			7 192	52.8	6 436	47.2			6 713	33.0
Inala	14 606	71.5					5 836	28.5	757	3.6
Indooroopilly	11 245	52.9	10 022	47.1					2 052	8.8
Ipswich	14 029	66.8					6 985	33.2	3 641	14.8
Ipswich West	11 645	57.3					8 679	42.7	3 131	13.3
Kallangur	14 165	71.4	5 681	28.6					2 978	13.0
Kawana	11 801	52.6	10 625	47.4					2 166	8.8
Keppel	9 620	48.5	10 198	51.5					1 778	8.2
Kurwongbah	17 987	72.7	6 755	27.3					2 089	7.8
Lockyer	7 533	42.7			10 108	57.3			5 699	24.4
Logan	15 645	72.3	6 001	27.7						
Lytton	17 150	74.4	5 902	25.6					1 318	5.4

Table 4 Legislative Assembly: Two Candidate Preferred Vote continued

District	ALP		LP/NP		ONP		Others		Exhausted (a)	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Mackay	14 494	63.5	8 323	36.5					1 445	6.0
Mansfield	13 806	58.6	9 746	41.4					1 350	5.4
Maroochydore	10 318	49.2	10 650	50.8					2 770	11.7
Maryborough	10 466	49.5					10 678	50.5	2 852	11.9
Mirani	8 042	46.2	9 366	53.8					4 564	20.8
Moggill	11 008	49.1	11 404	50.9					2 052	8.4
Mt Coot-tha	13 888	66.1	7 116	33.9					2 021	8.8
Mt Gravatt	14 220	64.2	7 940	35.8					1 991	8.2
Mt Isa	9 593	66.2			4 892	33.8			1 100	7.1
Mt Ommaney	13 273	58.7					9 323	41.3	1 416	5.9
Mudgeeraba	10 585	56.8	8 060	43.2					4 037	17.8
Mulgrave	12 512	61.3			7 903	38.7			1 778	8.0
Mundingburra	12 598	61.4	7 928	38.6					3 293	13.8
Murrumba	15 500	71.1	6 295	28.9					1 950	8.2
Nanango	6 282	32.9					12 796	67.1	1 884	9.0
Nicklin					5 469	26.6	15 114	73.4	4 365	17.5
Noosa	11 977	50.9	11 552	49.1					2 233	8.7
Nudgee	18 252	75.1	6 042	24.9						
Pumicestone	12 686	66.1	6 505	33.9					5 370	21.9
Redcliffe	14 633	67.6	7 011	32.4					3 091	12.5
Redlands	11 494	56.9	8 721	43.1					2 023	9.1
Robina	10 909	46.0	12 822	54.0						
Rockhampton	16 166	74.2	5 626	25.8					1 243	5.4
Sandgate	16 774	74.5	5 750	25.5					1 787	7.4
South Brisbane	16 377	74.9	5 479	25.1					2 068	8.6
Southern Downs	7 278	33.2	14 627	66.8					3 464	13.7
Southport	11 986	60.8	7 714	39.2					2 413	10.9
Springwood	12 442	60.4	8 169	39.6					3 924	16.0
Stafford	17 052	72.4	6 503	27.6					1 207	4.9
Stretton	14 778	62.7	8 805	37.3						
Surfers Paradise	10 147	44.7	12 546	55.3					1 498	6.2
Tablelands	6 235	36.2			10 994	63.8			4 229	19.7
Thuringowa	11 052	53.6					9 581	46.4	3 629	15.0
Toowoomba North	10 503	51.9	9 747	48.1					1 907	8.6
Toowoomba South	8 216	42.1	11 319	57.9					3 366	14.7
Townsville	12 319	59.3	8 443	40.7					1 355	6.1
Warrego			7 943	50.3			7 847	49.7	4 116	20.7
Waterford	13 755	68.0			6 470	32.0			1 795	8.2
Whitsunday	10 751	59.6	7 294	40.4					3 613	16.7
Woodridge	13 138	71.1			5 346	28.9			2 446	11.7
Yeerongpilly	16 210	72.2	6 249	27.8					2 015	8.2

(a) Exhausted votes as a percentage of formal votes.

Table 5 Legislative Assembly: Electoral Pendulum (a)

District	%	District	%	District	%
<i>ALP Districts</i>		<i>ALP Districts</i>		<i>LP/NP Districts</i>	
Bundamba	30.9	Currumbin	14.5	Southern Downs	16.8
Nudgee	25.1	Mt Gravatt	14.2	Gregory	9.3
Brisbane Central	25.0	Greenslopes	14.1	Cunningham	8.6
South Brisbane	24.9	Mackay	13.5	Toowoomba South	7.9
Sandgate	24.5	Stretton	12.7	Surfers Paradise	5.3
Lytton	24.4	Albert	12.6	Robina (LP)	4.0
Rockhampton	24.2	Mundingburra	11.4	Mirani	3.8
Bulimba	23.2	Mulgrave	11.3	Hinchinbrook	2.8
Cook	22.9	Southport	10.8	Callide	2.3
Kurwongbah	22.7	Springwood	10.4	Beaudesert	2.0
Algester	22.6	Whitsunday	9.6	Keppel	1.5
Stafford	22.4	Glass House	9.6	Caloundra (LP)	1.0
Logan	22.3	Townsville	9.3	Moggill (LP)	0.9
Yeerongpilly	22.2	Mt Ommalley	8.7	Maroochydore	0.8
Inala	21.5	Mansfield	8.6	Warrego	0.3
Kallangur	21.4	Hervey Bay	7.6		
Murrumba	21.1	Gaven	7.6		
Woodridge	21.1	Ipswich West	7.3	<i>ONP/IND Districts</i>	
Ferny Grove	20.5	Barron River	7.3	Nicklin (IND)	23.4
Waterford	18.0	Redlands	6.9	Nanango (IND)	17.1
Redcliffe	17.6	Mudgeeraba	6.8	Tablelands (ONP)	13.8
Everton	17.5	Burdekin	5.1	Lockyer (ONP)	7.3
Fitzroy	17.2	Aspley	4.7	Gladstone (IND)	3.5
Ipswich	16.8	Thuringowa	3.6	Gympie (ONP)	3.3
Cleveland	16.7	Indooroopilly	2.9	Darling Downs (IND)	1.1
Mt Isa	16.2	Kawana	2.6	Maryborough (IND)	0.5
Mt Coot-tha	16.1	Broadwater	2.4		
Pumicestone	16.1	Charters Towers	2.2		
Chatsworth	15.1	Clayfield	2.0		
Ashgrove	15.0	Toowoomba North	1.9		
Bundaberg	14.9	Burleigh	1.8		
Cairns	14.8	Burnett	1.7		
Capalaba	14.6	Noosa	0.9		

(a) Based on Two Candidate Preferred swing to lose.

Table 6 Legislative Assembly By-elections 1998–2000

Mulgrave (5.12.98)		Enrolled 26 253		
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Preferences</i>				
Boniface	ONP	3 470	15.6	-15.4
Wilson	NP	8 550	38.3	+8.4
Mathison	IND	266	1.2	+1.2
Metcalfe	GRN	573	2.6	+2.6
Pitt	ALP	9 446	42.3	+5.3
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>				
Wilson	NP	10 097	49.4	
Pitt	ALP	10 358	50.6	
Exhausted		1 776		
Formal		22 305	99.0	
Informal		228	1.0	
Turnout		22 533	85.8	

Bundamba (5.2.00)		Enrolled 23 828		
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Preferences</i>				
Curley	GRN	1 134	5.8	+2.9
Miller	ALP	11 217	57.2	+9.0
Hughes	IND	870	4.4	+4.4
Poole	IND	177	0.9	+0.9
Hill	CCA	2 723	13.9	+13.9
Heck	IND	564	2.9	+2.9
Cole	LP	2 909	14.8	+2.9
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>				
Miller	ALP	12 383	71.1	
Cole	LP	5 041	28.9	
Exhausted		2 170		
Formal		19 594	97.0	
Informal		597	3.0	
Turnout		20 191	84.7	

Woodridge (5.2.00)		Enrolled 18 083		
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Preferences</i>				
Lutton	IND	5 012	33.3	+33.3
Kaiser	ALP	7 635	50.8	-0.9
Allan	LP	1 340	8.9	-5.1
Hernandez	AD	337	2.2	-3.8
Freemarijuana	IND	386	2.6	+2.6
McKenna	IND	47	0.3	+0.3
Wilkins	CCA	275	1.8	+1.8
<i>Two Candidate Preferred</i>				
Kaiser	ALP	7 955	56.5	
Lutton	IND	6 128	43.5	
Exhausted		949		
Formal		15 032	97.6	
Informal		376	2.4	
Turnout		15 408	85.2	

Table 7 Legislative Assembly Elections 1950–2001

Election	ALP	LP	NP	AD	DLP	GRN	ONP	OTH	Total	ALP	LP/NP
<i>First Preference Votes</i>									<i>Two Party Votes</i>		
1950	46.9	29.9	19.2					4.0	100.0	48.5	51.5
1953	53.2	21.3	18.7					6.7	100.0	54.2	45.8
1956	51.2	25.1	19.3					4.4	100.0	51.6	48.4
1957	28.9	23.2	20.0		23.4			4.5	100.0	n.a.	n.a.
1960	39.9	24.0	19.5		12.3			4.3	100.0	44.0	56.0
1963	43.8	23.8	20.3		7.2			4.9	100.0	46.4	53.6
1966	43.8	25.5	19.3		6.3			5.1	100.0	47.2	52.8
1969	45.0	23.7	21.2		7.2			3.0	100.0	47.7	52.3
1972	46.8	22.2	20.0		7.7			3.3	100.0	49.2	50.8
1974	36.0	31.1	27.9		1.9			3.1	100.0	38.5	61.5
1977	42.8	25.2	27.1	1.6				3.2	100.0	45.4	54.6
1980	41.5	26.9	27.9	1.4				2.3	100.0	45.3	54.7
1983	44.0	14.9	38.9	0.8				1.4	100.0	46.7	53.3
1986	41.3	16.5	39.6	0.6				1.9	100.0	45.9	54.1
1989	50.3	21.1	24.1	0.4		0.3		3.8	100.0	54.3	45.7
1992	48.7	20.4	23.7	0.3				6.8	100.0	53.8	46.2
1995	42.9	22.7	26.3	1.3		2.9		4.0	100.0	46.7	53.3
1998	38.9	16.1	15.2	1.6		2.4	22.7	3.2	100.0	n.a.	n.a.
2001	48.9	14.3	14.2	0.3		2.5	8.7	11.0	100.0	n.a.	n.a.
<i>Seats Won</i>											
1950	42	11	20					2	75		
1953	50	8	15					2	75		
1956	49	8	16					2	75		
1957	20	18	24		11			2	75		
1960	25	20	26		4			3	78		
1963	26	20	26		1			5	78		
1966	26	20	27		1			4	78		
1969	31	19	26		1			1	78		
1972	33	21	26					2	82		
1974	11	30	39					2	82		
1977	23	24	35						82		
1980	25	22	35						82		
1983	32	8	41					1	82		
1986	30	10	49						89		
1989	54	9	26						89		
1992	54	9	26						89		
1995	45	14	29					1	89		
1998	44	9	23				11	2	89		
2001	66	3	12				3	5	89		