

Hawker Britton

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Federal Election Occasional Paper

September 2004

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Introduction

This paper has been produced by Hawker Britton to provide clients with up to date information on the key issues likely to affect the Federal Election.

As the Howard Coalition Government begins its campaign for a fourth term in office, this paper provides an overview of the 2001 Federal election results, as well as subsequent by-elections and electoral redistributions. It also outlines retiring members, new candidates and provides background information and commentary on key seats to watch on election night.

Online information on the 2004 Federal election is available from the following websites:

www.aph.gov.au

<http://www.aec.gov.au>

www.abc.net.au/elections/federal/2004

www.mumble.com.au

The information in this paper is not exhaustive and while every effort has been made to ensure accuracy at the time of print – Hawker Britton does not guarantee the accuracy of all information.

2001 Result at a glance

House of Representatives

Party	Votes	Primary Vote (%)	Swing (%)	Seats Won
LIB	4,254,071	37.08	3.19	68
NAT	643,926	5.61	0.32	13
Country Lib	36,961	0.32	0.00	1
Total Coalition	4,934,958	43.01	3.51	82
ALP	4,341,420	37.84	-2.26	65
DEM	620,225	5.41	0.28	0
GRN	569,074	4.96	2.34	0
PH/ON	498,032	4.34	-4.09	0
Other	420,674	3.67	0.82	3

Two Party Preferred

Party	Votes	Percentage	Swing
Coalition	5,846,289	50.95	1.87
ALP	5,627,785	49.05	-1.87

Senate

Party	Elected in 2001	Full Senate from July 1, 2002
LIB	18	31
NAT	1	3
Country Lib	1	1
Total Coalition	20	35
ALP	14	28
DEM	4	8*
GRN	2	2
IND	1°	2
One Nation	-	1

*In 2003, Meg Lees quit the Democrats to establish a new party, the Australian Progressive Alliance. The Democrats currently have 7 members in the Senate.

°In 2001 Shayne Murphy ran as an Independent after serving in the Senate from 1993-2001 for the Labor Party.

House of Representatives Primary Vote Timeline (%)

Party	March 2, 1996	October 3, 1998	November 10, 2001
Coalition	47.25	39.5	43.01
ALP	38.75	40.1	37.84
DEM	6.76	5.13	5.41
GRN	1.74	2.14	4.96
PH/ON	n/a	8.43	4.34
Other	4.06	3.32	4.45

By-Elections Since 2001

There has been one by-election since the 2001 general election. This was for the seat of Cunningham in NSW and was held in October 2002.

The Cunningham by election was called following the resignation of Labor frontbencher Stephen Martin. The Liberal Party decided not to contest the traditionally safe Labor seat.

In an historic victory the Greens won their first seat in the House of Representatives, with only 23.03 percent of the primary vote. The final vote secured 52.23 percent for Michael Organ on preferences.

Cunningham will be an important seat for Labor in the 2004 election, with ALP candidate Sharon Bird again contesting the seat.

Electoral Division Redistributions since 2001

Queensland, Victoria and South Australia have been subject to electoral redistributions since the 2001 federal election.

The Queensland and South Australian redistributions were conducted as a result of changes in the population. Boundary adjustments took place in Victoria because, as required by the Australian Electoral Commission, a redistribution must be carried out at least every seven years.

Victoria's redistribution has resulted in substantial changes in two main areas: Melbourne's western suburbs and eastern Victoria. Melbourne's marginal Labor electorate of Burke has been abolished and replaced with a new electorate named Gorton, taking in the traditionally Labor western suburbs, making it a safer prospect for the ALP. In eastern Victoria the marginal Labor seat of McMillan has been transformed into a marginally Liberal seat, while Gippsland's National Party margin has been diminished by 5.5%.

In Queensland the changes have resulted in the creation of Bonner, a new seat with a notional Labor majority. The removal of areas south of the Brisbane River from the seat of Brisbane has narrowed Labor's margin in that seat from 3.1% to 1.0%. The National Party's margin in the seat of Hinkler has been increased slightly, while the Liberal Party has had its margin reduced in the seat of Moreton.

The safe Labor seat of Bonython has been abolished in South Australia, while the safe Liberal seat of Wakefield has been pushed south into the Labor voting suburbs of northern Adelaide. The addition of the McLaren Vale district to the seat of Kingston has decreased Labor's margin by nearly one percent.

Retiring MPs and Senators

Retiring Members of House of Representatives

Name	Seat	Party	Details
Neil Andrew	Wakefield - SA	LIB	Currently Speaker of the House of Representatives and Member for Wakefield since 1983.
Laurie Brereton	Kingsford Smith – NSW	ALP	Brereton won the Federal seat of Kingsford Smith for the first time at the 1990 election, following a nineteen-year career in state politics. He played a key part in promoting Mark Latham's leadership of the Party. His retirement has made way for Peter Garrett's entrance into politics.

Bob Charles	La Trobe – VIC	LIB	Member for La Trobe since 1990.
Janice Crosio	Prospect – NSW	ALP	Member for Prospect since 1990. Crosio was also a Member of the NSW Parliament from 1981 to 1990.
Chris Gallus	Hindmarsh – SA	LIB	Gallus narrowly won the seat of Hawker in 1990. She won the traditionally Labor seat of Hindmarsh in 1993 following the abolition of Hawker in an electoral redistribution.
Peter King	Wentworth – NSW	LIB	Despite losing preselection as the Liberal candidate for the seat of Wentworth, King has not ruled out running again as an Independent.
Leo McLeay	Watson – NSW	ALP	McLeay is currently the longest serving Labor Party MP in Canberra, entering parliament as the member for Grayndler in 1979, before transferring to Watson in 1993.
Frank Mossfield	Greenway – NSW	ALP	Member for Greenway since 1996.
Daryl Williams	Tangney – WA	LIB	Former Attorney-General from 1996 to 2003, and Member for Tangney since 1993.
David Kemp	Goldstein – VIC	LIB	First elected in 1990, Dr Kemp has served in various ministries including Youth Affairs, Education, Training, Employment and more recently Environment and Heritage.

Retiring Senators

Name	State	Party	Details
Nick Bolkus	South Australia	ALP	Bolkus was first elected to the Australian Senate in 1980. He served in a number of ministerial roles in the Hawke and Keating Governments, before serving on the opposition front bench until the 2001 election.
Geoff Buckland	South Australia	ALP	Deputy Whip of the Opposition and Senator since 1990.
Kay Denman	Tasmania	ALP	Denman began her Senate career in 1993 following her appointment to a casual vacancy.
Brian Harradine	Tasmania	IND	Harradine was elected Senator for Tasmania in 1975, and has been re-elected at every applicable election since. In the past he has exercised a crucial vote on issues such as changes to industrial relations legislation, the sale of Telstra and native title legislation.
Tsebin Tchen	Victoria	LIB	In 1998, Tchen was the first Asian-born Australian to be elected to Federal Parliament.

Key Issues

The "War on Terrorism" and National Security

As with the 2001 election, which followed soon after the "September 11" attacks, security and defence will be key election issues. The continuing violence in Iraq, the terrorist attacks in Madrid and the trial of two Australians in relation to terrorist activity has kept security and defence on the agenda throughout Howard's third term.

United States Senate and the British House of Commons reports into the intelligence used as a basis for going to war in Iraq, released in July, both contained findings that the intelligence was over-stated.

Defence spending was a key feature of the Government's 2004-2005 Budget announcement, which added \$755 million to Australia's domestic security arrangements and \$1.5 billion, over the next 5 years, on defence expenditure. In response, Labor has continued with its policy of

introducing an Australian Coast Guard. It has further refined the details of the policy in recent weeks and announced a commitment to establish a Department of Homeland Security.

Border Security

Despite the absence of a Tampa-style “crisis” in border protection, it is considered likely that issues of border protection will be an underlying theme of the election campaign – closely related to issues of national security.

Trust, Truth and Honesty

Both leaders are expected to campaign strongly on trust, truth and honesty, with the Prime Minister’s record over the “children overboard” affair having some impact in the media in the weeks leading up to the campaign. The Prime Minister has already invoked the trust theme on the management of the economy and national security.

Medicare

Health has consistently polled as the key election issue for voters for many years. Traditionally, health is seen as an issue favouring Labor.

The Howard Government’s new Medicare Safety Net is essentially designed to encourage general practitioners to bulk-bill holders of Commonwealth concession cards and children under the age of 16 by expanding the special loading to inner metropolitan areas, providing doctors with an extra \$2.50 per patient.

Labor’s plan to ease this pressure on hospitals includes lifting bulk-billing rates from 68 to 80 percent across the board and investigating the use of twenty-four hour health clinics and hotlines to improve access to services. In addition, Labor has launched plans for a national dental scheme to compliment its commitment to the public health system.

Liberal Party Leadership

This was an issue raised during the last election campaign, although now that Howard has reached sixty-five the issue of who will take over the leadership of the Liberal Party is more pressing. Howard has not confirmed whether he will continue on as leader for a whole fourth term if re-elected.

It is considered likely that the Opposition Leader will make “generational change” a theme of his campaign along with questioning the Prime Minister’s long term commitment to the job.

Education

University funding has been cut by five billion dollars and contributions made by students via the Higher Education Contribution Scheme have risen by a billion dollars over the last eight years, making access to tertiary education a key election issue.

Labor has signalled that it will reverse the most recent twenty five percent HECS increase and abolish some of the full fee paying undergraduate degrees in favour of public access.

Aged Care

The Hogan Review, released in February 2004, highlights the issues surrounding the accommodation and care of older Australians. Once again access and affordability are the major concerns, problems that are highlighted by reports that elderly patients frequently occupy acute care beds in hospitals because there are no nursing home beds available.

Plans for the amelioration of the burden on hospitals and provisions for the growing demands on resources will be key issues in this campaign.

Economic Management

The Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry has identified economic management as the key issue for business in this election.

The Howard Government will be trying hard to take credit for the economy, while Labor has flagged 'prosperity with a purpose' as one of its key themes.

Environment

The significance of environmental issues is highlighted by the increasing dependence by the two major parties on Green preferences in marginal seats, as voters begin to acknowledge the importance of environmental concerns.

The key issue in this area will be the major parties' ability to demonstrate that they are taking environmental considerations seriously. The symbolic issue in the green debate is the ratification of the Kyoto Protocol, which has become a test of environmental commitment.

The Howard government has refused outright to ratify the protocol on the grounds that the reduction in emissions required of Australia is unrealistic.

Labor has previously joined with the Greens in calling for the ratification of the protocol in Parliament. Labor has signalled that if elected it will ratify the agreement.

Sugar

Increasing economic pressures on Queensland's sugar industry have triggered the emergence of so-called 'Sugar Independents', led by former National MP, Bob Katter. These Independents had some success in the Queensland state election in February 2004, where their campaigning contributed to Burnett and Burdekin being returning to the Nationals.

While Katter's plans to establish a new political party in time for the Federal election have failed, he will maintain his backing of independent candidates throughout northern Queensland and NSW.

Sugar is likely to be a major election issue for six seats in Queensland - Leichhardt, Herbert, Dawson, Wide Bay, Kennedy and Hinkler, and two seats in NSW - Richmond and Page. Four of these are held by margins of less than five per cent.

Infrastructure

The Federal Government recently announced a \$3.1 billion land transport plan, AusLink, which will include major upgrades to the road and rail systems on the eastern seaboard. The majority of funding has been allocated to key marginal seats.

Small Business

Small business has traditionally constituted a major electoral support base for the Liberal Party and is likely to be a group courted during the Federal election campaign.

Small business representation in government is also becoming a major issue. Labor has announced that, if elected, it will create a new statutory position in the form of a Small Business Advocate, which will have the ability to oversee regulatory issues at a Federal level. Howard has also announced a boost to representation, through the Australian Competition and Consumer Commission.

Key Seats

New South Wales

Electorate	Held by	Margin	Details
Banks	ALP	2.9%	This seat takes in a number of traditional Labor voting suburbs, but also encompasses some strong Liberal areas.
Cunningham	GRN	2.2%	The by-election in 2002 saw this seat lost by Labor to the Greens. Labor will be looking to win back this traditional territory, especially with the support of Peter Garrett.
Dobell	LIB	0.4%	Dobell is the most marginal seat in NSW. A Labor seat held by Michael Lee from 1984 to 2001, the Liberal party won it for the first time at the last election. The seat is dominated by young families and retirees.
Greenway	ALP	3.1%	Held by retiring Labor MP, Frank Mossfield, since 1996, Labor experienced a 6.4% swing to the Liberals in 2001. Traditionally safe ground for Labor, the area is home to an increasing number of young, first home buying families.
Page	NAT	2.8%	A major agricultural region, Page is the traditional territory of the National Party and has been held by Ian Causley since 1996. However, Labor has held the seat in the past, with a surprise win by Harry Woods in 1990, and his re-election in 1993.

Parramatta	LIB	1.2%	Liberal Ross Cameron won the seat in the 1996 Coalition victory. A diverse seat, it is home to both affluent and working class suburbs.
Paterson	LIB	1.4%	Paterson has elected a new member at every election since a boundary change in 1993.
Richmond	NAT	1.7%	Previously dominated by the agricultural sector, this seat is becoming increasingly urbanised, a process that is seeing rural issues superseded by development considerations. Held by the National Party's Larry Anthony since 1996, Richmond is the most marginal seat held by a Government minister.

Queensland

Electorate	Held By	Margin	Details
Brisbane	ALP	1.0%	The Queensland redistribution has removed the traditionally Labor areas south of the Brisbane River from this electorate, narrowing the Labor margin by 2.1%. The sitting member, Labor's Arch Bevis has occupied the seat since 1990.
Herbert	LIB	1.5%	One of the so-called sugar seats and home to a large defence force population, the outcome in Herbert will be affected by the presence of the 'Sugar Independents', and the defence policies of both parties. Held by Liberal Peter Lindsay since 1996, it will be contested by former State Labor MP, Anita Phillips.
Hinkler	NAT	2.2%	National Paul Neville has held the seat since 1993, despite a 7.6% negative swing in 1998 and a win on postal votes in 2001. The recent redistribution has increased his margin.
Moreton	LIB	2.6%	The redistribution in Queensland has reduced the Liberal margin by 1.6%, giving Labor candidate Graham Perrett more chance of winning this seat.
Petrie	LIB	3.5%	Despite a 7.5% swing back to Labor, the Liberal Party narrowly retained this seat in 1998. Traditionally a swinging seat, it will be interesting to see if Labor's Gavin Brady can reclaim it.

Victoria

Electorate	Held By	Margin	Details
Ballarat	ALP	3.2%	The previous change of hands in this seat demonstrates the effect of retiring MPs on election results. Ballarat was held by Liberal Michael Ronaldson from 1990 to 2001. His retirement was considered a factor in Labor's Catherine King winning the seat – their only gain in the 2001 election.
Bendigo	ALP	3.6%	This is a swinging seat, most recently being won for Labor in 1998 by Steve Gibbons. The Liberal candidate for the seat at this election has a remarkably similar name, Kevin Gibbins, which may generate some confusion in the electorate
Corangamite	LIB	5.4%	The demographics of this traditionally Liberal seat have changed dramatically in recent years, a factor which is considered to have helped Labor win regional seats in the 2002 State election.
Deakin	LIB	1.6%	Deakin has been a marginal Liberal seat for over ten years, with Phillip Barresi holding it since 1996.
Dunkley	LIB	5.2%	This seat changed hands in the 1990, 1993 and 1996 elections and is currently held by Bruce Billson.
Gippsland	NAT	2.6%	The recent redistribution in Victoria has resulted in the addition of two strong mining and industrial communities to this seat, which has decreased the Liberal Member's majority to just 2.6%, giving Labor a strong chance of winning this seat for the first time since 1983.
La Trobe	LIB	3.7%	The sitting member for La Trobe, Bob Charles, is retiring at this election and Labor is presenting a strong candidate in Susan Davies, a former Independent MP.
McEwen	LIB	2.2%	The Victorian redistribution in this seat has had the opposite effect to that in Gippsland, with the notional Liberal Party majority being increased. Despite these changes, Labor has a well-known local candidate in Jenny Beales contesting the seat.

Electorate	Held By	Margin	Details
McMillan	ALP	2.9%	The seat of McMillan is known for its swings. With the exception of the current member, Christian Zahra, sitting members have not been re-elected since 1987. Labor's chances of retaining this seat have been diminished by the redistribution, which has transformed it into a notionally Liberal electorate.

South Australia

Electorate	Held By	Margin	Details
Adelaide	LIB	0.6%	Traditionally a Labor strong-hold, the seat was lost to Trish Worth in 1993. Worth retained the seat in 2001 by a narrow margin, winning on postal and absentee votes. Labor is running a 26-year-old candidate, Kate Ellis, for this campaign.
Hindmarsh	LIB	1.0%	Hindmarsh has one of the highest concentrations of older Australians in the country. Any aged care policy announcements by the major parties will have an effect here. The current Liberal member Chris Gallus is retiring, making the outcome in this seat less predictable.
Kingston	ALP	1.3%	Historically a marginal seat, Labor's majority has been diminished by nearly one percent due to the redistribution. Kingston contains a large wine-growing region, an industry targeted by tax concessions in the government's 2004/05 budget.
Makin	LIB	3.7%	This seat is noteworthy for recording the smallest swing by any electorate back to Labor in 1998, following the loss of the seat to Trish Draper in 1996. This seat is among those populated largely by young families.
Wakefield	ALP	1.3%	One of the seats most affected by the South Australian redistribution, Wakefield has been transformed from a safe Liberal seat with a margin of 14.6% to a marginal Labor seat. This, along with the retirement of the sitting member, will make the local campaign an interesting one to watch.

Western Australia

Electorate	Held By	Margin	Details
Canning	LIB	0.4%	A Labor seat for eight years until 1996, the seat has changed hands at every election since.
Cowan	ALP	5.5%	This was one of only a hand full of seats returned to Labor at the 1998 election. The Liberal Party is likely to wage an intensive campaign to reclaim the seat.
Hasluck	ALP	1.8%	Hasluck was created as a result of the WA redistribution before the last election, making this campaign the first time a sitting member has had to contest the seat.
Kalgoorlie	LIB	4.3%	Labor MP, Graeme Campbell held the seat for Labor from 1980, until his expulsion from the party in 1996 when he ran successfully as an Independent. Liberal Barry Haase won in 1998 – the beneficiary of Campbell's preferences. Haase will contest the election this year against Labor's Kevin Richards, who is well known in the region.
Stirling	ALP	1.6%	Stirling has been held by Jann McFarlane since 1998. McFarlane will contest the seat against newly endorsed Liberal, Michael Keenan. Confusion surrounding the Liberal preselection contest may assist McFarlane in retaining this seat.
Swan	ALP	2.0%	Previously Kim Beazley's seat, it was won by the Liberal Party in 1996 when Beazley moved to a safer electorate. It again changed hands in 1998, when it was returned to the Labor Party. Contesting the seat against Labor's Kim Wilkie will be Liberal candidate Andrew Murfin.

Tasmania

Electorate	Held By	Margin	Details
Bass	ALP	2.1%	Labor's Michelle O'Byrne won the seat in 1998 following a narrow loss by Liberal sitting member, Warwick Smith, with only 78 votes difference. Labor has only held the seat for eight of the last twenty years.
Braddon	ALP	6.0%	This seat has been held by Sid Sidebottom since 1998. The area is struggling economically following a number of mill closures.

Northern Territory

Electorate	Held By	Margin	Details
Solomon	CLP	0.1%	A decision to abolish this seat has been reversed, ensuring the Northern Territory retains two Federal seats. Solomon is the most marginal seat in the country and the most marginal seat held by the government, having been won by just 88 votes in 2001.

Seats to Watch on Election Night

The following seats will be ones to watch on election night, as in the past they have been classic litmus tests of the outcome of the election, and traditionally won by the party that forms government.

Electorate	Held By	Margin	Details
Eden-Monaro	LIB	1.7%	This electorate has been won by the party that formed government at every election since 1972.
Lindsay	LIB	5.5%	Jackie Kelly won this seat for the Liberal Party in 1996 with an 11.8% swing. The 1998 election resulted in a 0.3% swing back to Labor, which was more than recovered in 2001 when she increased her majority by 2.5%. This seat generally changes hands with a change in government.
Macarthur	LIB	7.0%	The boundary changes of 2001 made this a notionally Labor seat, but the seat recorded an 8.7% swing against Labor at the last election. Every election since the seat's creation in 1949 has delivered Macarthur to the governing party.

2004 ELECTORAL PENDULUM

OTHER SEATS

Calare (Ind.NSW) 25.1
 Kennedy (Ind Qld) 14.1
 New England (Ind.NSW) 8.3
 Cunningham (Grn NSW) 2.2

LABOR SEATS

25.1 Batman (Vic)
 21.5 Fowler (NSW)
 21.3 Grayndler (NSW)
 20.6 Wills (Vic)
 20.4 Gellibrand (Vic)
 20.3 Scullin (Vic)
 20.2 Gorton (Vic)

20%

19.9 Melbourne (Vic)
 17.3 Watson (NSW)
 16.9 Reid (NSW)
 16.0 Port Adelaide (SA)
 15.4 Maribyrnong (Vic)
 15.3 Chifley (NSW)
 15.2 Bland (NSW)
 15.1 Throsby (NSW)
 15.1 Calwell (Vic)
 15.0 Sydney (NSW)

15%

14.3 Denison (Tas)

12.8 Prospect (NSW)
 12.7 Fraser (ACT)
 12.1 Lalor (Vic)
 11.2 Perth (WA)
 11.0 Hotham (Vic)
 10.9 Hunter (NSW)
 10.7 Fremantle (WA)

10%

10.0 Brand (WA)

9.4 Canberra (ACT)
 8.9 Kingsford Smith (NSW)
 8.8 Shortland (NSW)
 8.5 Corio (Vic)
 8.5 Werriva (NSW)
 8.2 Lyons (Tas)
 8.0 Franklin (Tas)
 8.0 Oxley (Qld)
 7.9 Holt (Vic)

10%

6.9 Newcastle (NSW)
 6.7 Charlton (NSW)
 6.6 Isaacs (Vic)
 6.5 Bruce (Vic)
 6.2 Griffith (Qld)
 6.0 Barton (NSW)
 6.0 Braddon (Tas)
 5.7 Melbourne Ports (Vic)
 5.5 Cowan (Vic)
 5.5 Capricornia (Qld)
 5.3 Lingiari (NT)
 5.3 Jagajaga (Vic)

5%

4.6 Lilley (Qld)
 3.8 Lowe (NSW)
 3.6 Bendigo (Vic)
 3.2 Ballarat (Vic)
 3.1 Greenway (NSW)
 2.9 Banks (NSW)
 2.7 Chisolm (Vic)
 2.4 Rankin (Qld)
 2.1 Bass (Tas)
 2.0 Swan (WA)

5%

1.9 Bonner (Qld)
 1.8 Hasluck (WA)
 1.6 Stirling (WA)
 1.3 Kingston (SA)
 1.3 Wakefield (SA)
 1.0 Brisbane (Qld)

2%

LIB/NAT SEATS

Murray (Vic) 21.9
 Mitchell (NSW) 21.3
 Bradfield (NSW) 21.2
 Mallee (Vic) 20.9

20%

Riverina (NSW) 19.9
 O'Connor (WA) 19.1
 Mackellar (NSW) 16.9
 Barker (SA) 16.6
 Farrer (NSW) 16.4
 Moncrieff (Qld) 16.3
 Berowra (NSW) 15.6
 Maranoa (Qld) 15.4
 Groom (Qld) 15.1

15%

Gwydir (NSW) 14.9
 Gilmore (NSW) 14.6
 Mayo (SA) 14.3
 Cook (NSW) 14.0
 Curtin (WA) 13.9
 North Sydney (NSW) 13.2
 Fadden (Qld) 13.1
 Warringah (NSW) 12.7
 McPherson (Qld) 12.2
 Fisher (Qld) 11.8
 Lyne (NSW) 11.2
 Kooyong (Vic) 10.9
 Indi (Vic) 10.7
 Grey (SA) 10.6
 Hughes (NSW) 10.4

10%

Wide Bay (Qld) 9.9
 Hume (NSW) 9.8
 Ryan (Qld) 9.5
 Goldstein (Vic) 9.5
 Fairfax (Qld) 9.2
 Wannon (Vic) 9.2
 Menzies (Vic) 8.9
 Parkes (NSW) 8.7
 Macquarie (NSW) 8.7
 Sturt (SA) 8.5
 Higgins (Vic) 8.4
 Dawson (Qld) 8.0
 Tangney (WA) 8.0
 Wentworth (NSW) 7.9
 Bennelong (NSW) 7.7
 Forrest (WA) 7.6
 Flinders (Vic) 7.4
 Boothby (SA) 7.4
 Casey (Vic) 7.2
 Forde (Qld) 7.0
 Robertson (NSW) 7.0
 Macarthur (NSW) 7.0
 Pearce (WA) 6.9
 Blair (Qld) 6.6
 Leichhardt (Qld) 6.4
 Moore (WA) 6.0
 Aston (Vic) 6.0
 Dickson (Qld) 6.0

5%

Lindsay (NSW) 5.5
 Corangamite (Vic) 5.4
 Dunkley (Vic) 5.2
 Cowper (NSW) 4.7
 Kalgoorlie (WA) 4.3
 Makin (SA) 3.7
 La Trobe (Vic) 3.7
 Petrie (Qld) 3.5
 Bowman (Qld) 3.1
 McMillan (Vic) 2.9
 Page (NSW) 2.9
 Gippsland (Vic) 2.8
 Moreton (Qld) 2.6
 Longman (Qld) 2.5
 McEwan (Vic) 2.2
 Hinkler (Qld) 2.2

5%

Elen-Monaro (NSW) 1.7
 Richmond (NSW) 1.7
 Deakin (Vic) 1.6
 Herbert (Qld) 1.5
 Paterson (NSW) 1.4
 Parhamatta (SA) 1.0
 Hindmarsh (SA) 1.0
 Adelaide (SA) 1.0
 Canning (WA) 0.4
 Adelaide (SA) 0.4
 Dooball (NSW) 0.4
 Solomon (NT) 0.1

2%

Note: Pendulum based on 2001 election results adjusted for redistributions in Victoria in 2002 and Queensland and South Australia in 2003. Although the Northern Territory's entitlement was reduced to one division at the 2003 determination, this Pendulum assumes that the two Northern Territory divisions will be reinstated for next election. Includes Cunningham by-election result. Two party-preferred figures used.

Source: Adapted from the Australian Parliamentary Library Pendulum of February 2004

CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT

About Hawker Britton

Hawker Britton was founded in 1997 by Bruce Hawker and David Britton, former chief of staff and senior media adviser respectively to Premier Bob Carr. From Sydney, Hawker Britton has grown to eight offices in Australia, the United Kingdom, the United States and New Zealand.

Hawker Britton is Australia's only national and international public affairs firm, working with Top 100 companies, peak bodies, and not-for-profit organisations. Hawker Britton specialises in providing services tailored to the unique needs of each business, in the areas of government relations, strategic communications, and campaigns.

Government Relations

Key services in Government Relations include:

- High-level strategic advice on all areas of government
- Expertise in infrastructure developments
- Unrivalled experience in public-private partnerships

Strategic Communications

Hawker Britton's Strategic Communications include:

- Media and issues management
- Crisis management
- Media training
- Stakeholder communications
- Financial communications
- Reputation management

Campaigns

Key Campaigning services include:

- Community campaigns and consultation
- Corporate and association elections
- Public affairs campaigns
- Corporate campaigns

Hawker Britton brings to the corporate boardroom a unique approach to strategy and campaigns, borne out of corporate and political experience. Our specialist consultants are drawn from the ranks of former ministers, members of parliament, chiefs of staff, and senior policy and media advisers. Corporate clients appreciate our political and strategic communications heritage and the value that it brings to corporate planning.

For more information, contact our head office (02) 9279 0200 or email info@hawkerbritton.com.au