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**New South Wales By-elections,
1965 - 2005**

by

Antony Green

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NEW SOUTH WALES BY-ELECTIONS, 1965 – 2005

CONTENTS

On Giant's Shoulders	1
By-election Data	1
Why By-elections?	1
Calling a By-election	2
Incidence of By-elections	3
Causes of By-elections	4
Timing of By-elections	6
Types of Contest	10
By-election Swings	14
Are By-elections a Guide to the Next General Election	16
Appendix A: Summary of By-elections 1965-2005	18
Appendix B: Details of By-elections 1965-2005	27
Appendix C: Comparing By-elections with Preceding and Subsequent elections	50
Party Codes and Abbreviations	56

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This publication owes an enormous debt to the work of Professor Murray Goot and his previous study on New South Wales by-elections. This work is referred to throughout this publication simply as Goot, but the full reference is:

Murray Goot, Swings and Roundabouts: New South Wales By-elections 1941 to 1986, New South Wales Parliamentary Library, Sydney, 1987

All errors and calculations in the current publication are entirely the responsibility of the author.

On Giant's Shoulders

In 1986, Murray Goot of Macquarie University was commissioned by the NSW Parliamentary Library to produce a background paper on by-elections. What was originally to be a brief paper became a thorough historical and statistical study of New South Wales by-elections. Goot's study is still the most substantial analytical work on the subject in Australia political science literature.

In the short time allowed for the preparation of the current paper, it has not been possible to repeat the work carried out by Goot. No attempt has been made to update Goot's work on the age of members and candidates, nor to model the predictive capacity of by-election swings.

This paper has confined itself to updating Goot's tables on the causes of by-elections, the periods for which seats have been left vacant, as well as the swings recorded at by-elections. Where appropriate, data from Goot's tables have been included, and commentary has been provided on where Goot's findings continue to be relevant to more recent by-elections, and where new trends appear to have developed.

Goot's study included all by-elections from 1941 up to and including Bass Hill and Rockdale in August 1986. This publication has concentrated on by-elections since 1965, updating Goot's data with three further by-elections conducted in the term of the Unsworth Government, as well as all by-elections held during the Greiner, Fahey and Carr Governments. Details of by-elections between 1941 and 1965 can be found in Goot's study.

Data for all by-elections since 1965 have been re-calculated from a database of election results currently being prepared as part of the Sesquicentenary celebrations for the New South Wales Parliament. Apart from a few minor corrections in the calculations, there are no significant differences from the data in Goot's publication.¹

By-election Data

As well as commentary, this publication includes three appendices. Appendix A consists of two summary tables on by-elections since 1965. Table A1 sets out basic details including date, cause, region of state, period since state election, period of vacancy, party status and the departing and newly elected member. Table A2 provides data on the nature of swing, pattern of candidacy, number of candidates and change in turnout and informal vote.

Appendix B provides the full results of each by-election since 1965. Appendix C attempts to update the substantial Appendix of Goot's study by comparing the vote at by-elections with the results at the previous and following elections, taking account of redistributions.

Why By-elections?

It is probably unavoidable that by-elections will occur in parliamentary systems based upon representation from single member electoral districts. Vacancies that occur between general elections need to be filled if parts of the state are not to be left unrepresented in Parliament. It is also ideal that local representation be maintained by consulting with the electorate on who should be the new member of parliament. For these reasons, by-elections are clearly the preferred method of filling vacancies and maintaining local representation.

¹ Only one change from Goot's study is worth noting. In Goot's Table A1, an incorrect date has been corrected and a change in number of candidates has been included for the 1975 Pittwater by-election. Correcting this makes only the slightest change to Goot's other tables.

At various times, it has been suggested that if a member resigns, then either the former member or their political party should be billed for the cost of a by-election. While superficially attractive, such solutions would create a new problem where Members may remain in parliament when they no longer wish to represent their electorate. The financial cost of a by-election may be avoided, but at the cost of poorer quality political representation.

Former Victorian Premier Jeff Kennett once suggested that by-elections in safe seats should be abandoned and a new member simply appointed by the party that previously held the seat. His suggestion was to examine the margin in the seat, and also the size of the Government's majority in Parliament. However, given the size of swings that sometimes occur at by-elections, many seats that would otherwise be safe can be marginal at by-elections. Simply allowing appointment of a new MP would save money and make life easier for Governments and oppositions, but at the cost of removing a significant test of electoral accountability.

Casual vacancies are dealt with differently in Australian Parliaments elected by proportional representation. In multi-member districts, vacancies may temporarily leave areas under-represented, but they will not be unrepresented. Filling vacancies in multi-member districts is about finding a new representative for the part of the electorate that voted for the departing MP, not of finding a new representative for the electorate as a whole. For this reason, allowing the former MP's party to appoint a replacement, or holding a by-election based on a count-back of votes from the previous election, is viewed as the more appropriate way of filling a vacancy.

Both methods are used in Australia. In the Senate, the New South Wales and South Australian Legislative Councils, and the Victorian Legislative Council from November 2006, casual vacancies are filled by appointment. In the Western Australian Legislative Council, the Tasmanian House of Assembly and ACT Legislative Assembly, casual vacancies are filled by a count back of the votes used to elect the departing MP. Count back was also used to fill NSW Legislative Council vacancies between 1978 and 1991.

The Parliaments of New Zealand and Scotland are elected using mixed electoral systems of single member and multi-member districts. In both countries, by-elections are conducted for vacancies in single member constituencies, but party list vacancies are filled by appointment. Conversely, the Irish Parliament is elected using multi-member constituencies, but vacancies are filled with by-elections for single members.

Calling a By-election

In the case of court decisions, deaths and resignations, a by-election is called with the issuing of a writ by the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly. Vacancies caused by expulsion of an MP or due to some form of disqualification require a resolution by the Legislative Assembly declaring a vacancy.² There is no time limit on the period between a vacancy occurring and a by-election being held. While there is no legislative requirement for the Speaker to consult on the appropriate date for a by-election, it is normal for the Speaker to discuss the matter with party leaders and the Electoral Commission. Not surprisingly, it appears that more weight is given to the views of the Government on when a by-election should be held than the views of the Opposition.³

² See discussion in Anne Twomey, The Constitution of New South Wales, Federation Press 2004, pp358-359

³ See discussion below on the timing of by-elections.

Not all vacancies result in by-elections. On several occasions, the need for by-elections has become the trigger for an early state election.⁴ More recently, the introduction of fixed four-year terms has created timing problems for vacancies that occur close to the next fixed election date. Despite similar circumstances, different decisions were made on whether to hold by-elections in the months leading up to the 1995 and 1999 state elections.

Following the murder of John Newman in September 1994, the Fahey Government chose to hold an October by-election in Cabramatta, only five months before the general election. When Tony Doyle died in December the same year, his seat of Peats was left vacant until the general election. Holding a by-election was viewed as unnecessary when parliament would not sit again before the 1995 election.

When similar vacancies occurred late in 1998, the Carr Government chose to leave three seats vacant. Albie Schultz (Burrinjuck) and Jill Hall (Swansea) had resigned to contest the October 1998 Federal election, and Peter Cochrane (Monaro) resigned at the end of October. With a redistribution having taken place, any by-election held in late 1998 would have been conducted on the soon to be abolished boundaries. This created problems for the State Electoral Office, which at the time was converting the rolls to match the new boundaries to be used at the 1999 election.

Incidence of By-elections

Table 1: Total number of by-elections and average number per year, 1941-2004

Period	Govt	Total	In seats held by			By-elections per year in	
			Govt	Oppn	Other	All Seats	Govt Seats
1941-1965	ALP	51	25	20	6	2.1	1.1
1965-1976	LCP	20	13	6	1	1.8	1.2
1976-1988	ALP	28	17	11	..	2.3	1.4
1988-1995	LNP	20	10	9	1	2.9	1.4
1995-2004	ALP	12	2	8	2	1.2	0.2
Totals		131	67	54	10	2.0	1.1

Source: Derived from data in Goot (Table A1) and in Table A1 of this publication.

A total of 131 by-elections have been conducted in the past 64 years, an average of two per year. Roughly half of these by-elections have been in Government held seats, producing an average of one by-election per year that can be attributed to the Government of the day.

Compared to previous Governments, the number of by-elections conducted since the election of the Carr Government is below the long term average. Even taking into account the three by-elections to be held on 17 September, the average number of by-elections per year since 1995 is 1.5, and the number held in Government held seats just 0.5 per year.

⁴ In 1976, Premier Willis called an early state election, cancelling a previously announced by-election in Monaro. In 1978, Premier Wran used the need for by-elections in three seats to justify an advantageous early election.

Causes of By-elections

As Goot noted, and has also been observed in relation to Federal by-elections⁵, there has been a dramatic shift in the causes of by-elections over the past three decades. Where death of a sitting MP was once the major cause of by-elections, today resignation has overtaken death as the major cause.

The most commonly cited reason for this change has been new pre-selection rules for the major political parties. It is now difficult for candidates over the age of 65 to retain party pre-selection. Where once many by-elections were caused by the death of elderly MPs, most older MPs now retire at general elections.⁶

The second cited reason for the increase in resignations is changes to parliamentary superannuation. The shorter span of time required for an MP to receive benefits allows MPs to retire younger and pursue a post-parliamentary career. In his 1986 study, Goot was unable to conclusively prove this to be the case, and it is not within the scope of this paper to extend Goot's detailed analysis to by-elections since 1986. However, the number of former Ministers that have resigned in recent years suggests that the easier availability of superannuation has removed an incentive for MPs to continue in Parliament. This is especially the case with former Ministers facing an extended period on the backbench or in Opposition.

The last two changes of Government have been followed by significant numbers of former Ministers departing the Legislative Assembly at by-elections. After the defeat of the Unsworth Government in 1988, former Ministers George Paciullo, Laurie Brereton, Laurie Ferguson and Janice Crosio all retired from Parliament causing by-elections, the latter three after standing successfully at the 1990 Federal election.

A similar pattern occurred after the defeat of the Fahey Government in 1995. Of the seven by-elections in the first term of the Carr Government, six involved the resignation of former Ministers. Ian Causley (Clarence) and John Fahey (Southern Highlands) contested and won seats at the 1996 Federal election. Gary West (Orange), Jim Longley (Pittwater), Wendy Machin (Port Macquarie) and Chris Downy (Sutherland) resigned, while the seventh by-election was caused by Liberal backbencher Paul Zammit (Strathfield) standing successfully at the 1996 Federal election.

Other examples of former ministers retiring in the first term in Opposition include former Premiers Sir Eric Willis (Earlwood) and Tom Lewis (Wollondilly) in 1978. There are also several examples of former ministers retiring from Parliament after leaving the Cabinet, even though their party continued in office. This group includes Bill Crabtree (Kogarah 1983), Bill Haigh (Maroubra 1983), Rex Jackson (Heathcote 1987), Matt Singleton (Coffs Harbour 1990), Michael Yabsley (Vaucluse 1984) and Michael Knight (Campbelltown 2000). Jack Renshaw (Castlereagh 1980), Eric Bedford (Cabramatta 1986) and Kevin Stewart (Canterbury 1986) also caused by-elections by resigning as Ministers to accept Government positions.

⁵ See Gerard Newman and Scott Bennett, "House of Representatives By-elections 1902-2002", Current Issues Brief No. 15, Parliamentary Research Service, Department of the Parliamentary Library, Canberra

⁶ Goot provides numerous examples of the age of deceased candidates, see pp 5-11. It should be noted that in the last two decades, some by-elections have been caused by terminally ill MPs resigning shortly before their deaths, for example Northern Tablelands (1987) and Parramatta (1994). The same occurred with the resignation of Tony Doyle as MP for Peats in 1994. These premature resignations were related to the provisions of the parliamentary superannuation scheme. In this publication, the cause of these by-elections has been listed as death rather than resignation.

Table 2: Causes of by-elections

Reason	<u>1995-2003</u>		<u>1988-95</u>		<u>1976-88</u>		<u>1965-76</u>		<u>1941-65</u>	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Death	1	(8)	4	(20)	5	(18)	6	(30)	29	(57)
Resignation										
to contest Federal election	4	(33)	3	(15)	5	(18)	5	(25)	10	(20)
to accept Government job	..		1	(5)	4	(14)	2	(10)	6	(12)
other reasons	7	(58)	10	(50)	14	(50)	6	(30)	5	(10)
Court decision	..		2	(10)	..		1	(5)	1	(2)
Total	12		20		28		20		51	

Source: Goot (Tables 1.1 and A1) and Table A1 in this publication

In resigning from Parliament, Bob Carr follows the example of former Premiers Neville Wran (Bass Hill 1986) and Sir Robert Askin (Pittwater 1975). However, there are interstate examples of Premier's choosing to remain in Parliament until the next election. Former South Australian Premier John Bannon and Victorian Premier John Cain completed their Parliamentary terms after resigning as Premier. In both cases, concern at their party losing any by-election was an important consideration. Former Queensland Premier Wayne Goss also stayed on in Parliament after resigning as Premier in 1996, the deadlocked Parliament of the day discouraging either side of politics from creating by-elections.

The recent decision of Federal National Party Leader John Anderson to resign as Leader but remain as MHR for Gwydir may also be due to the political difficulties of his party retaining the seat at a by-election. While Anderson's seat of Gwydir is safe for the National Party, it would have been a difficult by-election test at a time when the Government was grappling with legislation for the sale of Telstra.

It is interesting to note that the number of resignations related to appointment of MPs to Government jobs has declined. In part this stems from the decision by the Fahey Government to abolish the job of Agent General in London. Goot noted that four by-elections since the Second World War were caused by the filling of this post, the last two being Jack Renshaw (Castlereagh 1980) and Kevin Stewart (Canterbury 1986).

The last resignation caused by appointment to a Government position was that of Dr Terry Metherell in 1992. His appointment resulted in an inquiry by the Independent Commission Against Corruption which ended with the resignation of Premier Nick Greiner and Environment Minister Tim Moore. Metherell eventually chose not to take the offered position. The furore that surrounded the affair has no doubt made Governments more cautious about engineering by-election vacancies with Government jobs.

Another trend evident in recent years has been resignations followed by by-elections in seats where the actions of sitting MPs had been the cause of political problems for their Government. In this category are Ric Mochalski (Bankstown 1987), Rex Jackson (Heathcote 1987), Stan Knowles (Macquarie Fields 1990), Tony Packard (The Hills 1993), Phillip Smiles (North Shore 1994) and Peter Nagle (Auburn 2001). The resignation of Nick Greiner and Tim Moore following the 1992 ICAC inquiry would also fit into this category.

A further point to make about recent experience is that fixed term parliaments may have altered the timing of MPs retirement plans. At the 1999 election, 15 MPs retired, with another three having already retired late in 1998. The cut in the number of seats from 99 to 93 before the 1999 election may have played a part in these retirements. A further 18 MPs retired at the 2003 election, including three who retired after losing party pre-selection. While full records of past retirements are not available, the number of retirements at the 1999 and 2003 election does seem high compared to past practice. It may be that MPs are giving more thought to the commitment required by fixed four year parliamentary terms, where in the past some MPs were caught short on considering their future options by the calling of an early state election.

Timing of by-elections

The NSW Constitution Act and the Parliamentary Electorates and Elections Act are both silent on the timing of by-elections. The acts do not specify when a writ must be issued. Nor do they provide for a minimum or maximum campaign period between the issue of the writ and polling day.

In the last 40 years, the shortest period between a vacancy and polling day has been 18 days (Sutherland 1997) and the longest 192 days (Sturt 1981). Longer delays have usually been

caused by an extended period being allowed before the issue of the writ. In the 27 by-elections held since 1990, the writ was issued on the same day that the resignation was received for the Sutherland by-election in 1997 and Campbelltown in 2001, but it was 97 days before the writs were issued for the Granville, Heffron and Smithfield by-elections in 1990.

Over the same period since 1990, the formal campaign between writ and polling day has varied from 14 days (The Hills 1990) to 53 days for the five by-elections held in June 1996. Of the 27 by-elections since 1990, 11 had formal campaigns of 20 days or less, eight of between 21 and 30 days, the remaining eight with campaigns between 31 and 53 days.

As Table 3 shows, there has been a clear tendency for the longest campaigns to occur in safe Opposition seats. Goot puts this down to a ploy by Governments of the day to deprive the Opposition of its full complement of members.⁷ Table 4 shows the proportion of vacancies filled in 30 day blocks following the creation of a vacancy. The Wran and Unsworth Governments between 1976 and 1988 were tardy in filling vacancies, only 36% filled within 60 days. Including the three current by-elections, the current Government has lifted its record of by-elections within 60 days to 60%.

Table 3: Average number of days between vacancy and by-election

Period	Govt	<u>All Seats</u>		<u>Marginal</u>		<u>Safe Govt</u>		<u>Safe NonGov</u>	
		n	Days	n	Days	n	Days	n	Days
1965-1976	LCP	20	72	9	69	9	60	2	140
1976-1988	ALP	28	86	5	56	14	78	9	114
1988-1995	LNP	20	58	8	64	8	34	4	93
1995-2003	ALP	12	70	5	69	2	40	5	82
Totals		80	73	27	65	33	60	20	104

Source: Derived from data in Table A1

The September 17 by-elections in Macquarie Fields, Maroubra and Marrickville will be conducted in safe Government seats. The period between the vacancy and polling day is 45 days for Maroubra and 38 days for Marrickville, with all three having formal campaigns of 20 days between the issue of the writ on 29 August and polling day on 17 September. These periods are normal and in-line with past practice in safe Government held seats.

By-elections caused by members resigning to contest Federal elections have caused seats to be left vacant for longer than average. In part this is because Federal elections occurring late in the year have caused by-elections to be delayed until after the summer holidays. In addition, it appears Governments from both sides of politics have been happy to defer state by-elections until well after the Federal poll, something of great assistance to their party organisation. Of the 17 by-elections since 1965 that have been caused by resignation to contest Federal elections, fourteen have seen the seat left vacant for more than three months. Of the three with shorter campaigns, one was the only case of a resignation occurring before the calling of a Federal election (Wagga Wagga 1975), one was the only vacancy caused by a Federal by-election (Drummoyne 1982) and the third was the only case of an Independent transferring from state to Federal politics (Tamworth 2001).⁸

⁷ Suggested by Goot p28

⁸ Note that Ted Mack resigned as MP for North Shore in 1988 just before becoming eligible for parliamentary superannuation. Mack's transfer to Federal politics was unconnected and did not occur until he was elected MHR for North Sydney at the March 1990 Federal election.

Table 4: Number of days between seat becoming vacant and subsequent by-election

	Govt	n	Number of Days						
			≤ 30	31-60	61-90	91-120	121-150	151-180	181-210
1995-2003	ALP	12	2	3	3	4	..	..	..
1988-1995	LNP	20	4	11	1	..	4	..	..
1976-1988	ALP	28	4	6	5	6	2	4	1
1965-1976	LCP	20	..	13	1	2	4	..	..
1941-1965	ALP	51	7	19	18	4	3	..	..

	Govt	n	Cumulative Percentages						
			≤ 30	31-60	61-90	91-120	121-150	151-180	181-210
1995-2003	ALP	12	17	42	67	100	100	100	100
1988-1995	LNP	20	20	75	80	80	100	100	100
1976-1988	ALP	28	14	36	54	75	82	96	100
1965-1976	LCP	20	..	65	70	80	100	100	100
1941-1965	ALP	51	14	51	86	94	100	100	100

Source: Goot (Tables 2.8 and A1) and Table A1 in this publication

Table 5: Months in which by-elections have been held

Period	Govt.	n	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
1995-2003	ALP	12	..	2	..	..	5	..	..	..	1	..	2	2
1988-1995	LNP	20	1	1	..	2	1	4	..	4	1	1	4	1
1976-1988	ALP	28	2	10	..	1	3	..	1	2	3	6	..	.
1965-1976	LCP	20	..	9	..	1	1	..	3	..	1	1	3	1
1941-1965	ALP	51	1	8	5	1	3	6	2	4	5	8	4	4
Total		131	4	30	5	5	13	10	6	10	11	16	13	8

Source: Goot (Table 2.8) and Table A1 in this publication

Governments may also defer by-elections while candidate pre-selection takes place. No Government is going to call a snap by-election in one of its own seats, or in a marginal seat of the Opposition, without having arranged a suitable candidate. However, Governments may time resignations and the quick issues of writs to hamper the campaigns of Opposition and independent candidates. Some seats may also be left vacant for extended periods to avoid holidays, and also to allow several by-elections to be held on the same day⁹.

Goot pointed to February as a time when Governments seemed keen to hold by-elections. Goot's suggested that February was a period when Oppositions lacked media profile after a long Parliamentary recess, and when hard politics was swallowed by the media 'silly season'. As shown in Table 5, February has been the most popular month in which to hold by-elections, with 30 of the 131 by-elections since 1941 having been held in February.

Of the 80 by-elections held since 1965, 22 have been held in February. Of these, seven were vacancies caused by Federal election held late the previous year, a further nine being caused by Ministerial resignations¹⁰, indicating that an end of year resignation followed by a February by-election has been the preferred course for Governments in dealing with departing Ministers.

Since 1965, only three by-elections have been called in January. In 1987, after the resignations of Ric Mochalski and Rex Jackson under serious legal clouds, the Unsworth Government buried the Bankstown and Heathcote by-elections on January 31. In 1992, the Greiner Government held the court-ordered Entrance by-election on January 18 after a 15 day campaign as it tried to shore up its parliamentary numbers.

The ability of Governments to manipulate the period seats are left vacant can also be used to put pressure on the Opposition. The four by-elections held in February 1981 took place after extensive delays. At the time, both the Liberal and National Country Parties had the same number of seats in the Legislative Assembly. A major redistribution was set to abolish several National Country Party seats at the 1981 election. However, results in three of the by-elections could have temporarily given the National Country Party more seats than the Liberal Party. The Wran Government hinted that in these circumstances it would attempt to have the National's Leon Punch recognised as Leader of the Opposition in an attempt to destabilise the Coalition. In the end the Liberal Party retained Maitland, avoiding the leadership problem, but the Government had manipulated the by-election to maximise pressure.

The extended 53 day campaigns for the five by-elections in May 1996 can be seen in a similar light. The Liberal and National parties were both contesting Southern Highlands, the Liberal Party eventually winning on Labor preferences. On the same day, Labor managed to gain Clarence from the National Party, electing former Federal MHR Harry Woods to the seat and increasing the Carr Government's majority from one to three. The results saw recriminations between the Coalition parties, with Liberal Party criticism that the Nationals had spent money in Southern Highlands that could have more usefully been spent in Clarence. The Liberals were to contest Clarence at the 1999 election, and problems with the flow of preferences between the Coalition parties helped to re-elect Woods.

⁹ In 1980 Tim Fischer resigned as member for Sturt to contest neighbouring Murray on the death of Mary Meillon. His switch of seat was in advance of the redistribution to apply from the next state election in which Sturt was absorbed into an expanded Murray. As vacancies to contest a Federal election were to occur later in the year in Cessnock, Maitland and Oxley, Sturt was left vacant for an extended period.

¹⁰ The ministerial resignations were Davis Hughes (Armidale 1973), Stanley Stephens (Byron 1973), Kenneth McCaw (Lane Cover 1975), Robert Askin (Pittwater 1975), Charles Cutler (Orange 1975), Jack Renshaw (Castlereagh 1980), Eric Bedford (Cabramatta 1986), Kevin Stewart (Canterbury 1986) and Michael Knight (Campbelltown 2001).

Similarly, short campaigns can be used by a Government to try and ambush an Opposition. In 1978, the Wran Government called a by-election for Earlwood just 29 days after the resignation of Sir Eric Willis. In 1997, the Carr Government called a by-election in Liberal-held Sutherland for 20 December, just 18 days after the seat became vacant, in an attempt to maximise pressure on Opposition leader Peter Collins.

Similarly, Governments have deferred by-elections that are potentially embarrassing. In 1994, the Parramatta by-election was caused by the death of Andrew Ziolkowski. Neither party could pre-select a candidate before his death, but the Liberal Government was embarrassed when its preferred preselection candidate Wendy Jones criticised the decision of Ziolkowski's widow Gabrielle Harrison to run as the Labor candidate, suggesting parliament was not an appropriate place for a single mother. After this embarrassment, the Fahey Government waited three months before issuing the writ, and allowed a campaign of 43 days. Similarly, after the resignation of former Corrective Services Minister Rex Jackson after corruption allegations, the Unsworth Government left his seat of Heathcote vacant for 171 days before hiding the by-election at the end of the holiday season in January 1987.

Types of Contest

When analysing by-election swings, it is important to take into account the pattern of candidacy, both at the by-election and in the same seat at the preceding general election. The nature of the major party contest, as well as the presence of minor parties and independents, has an impact on the nature and size of the swing. Whether preferences were distributed also determines the usefulness of any analysis based on two-candidate preferred swing.¹¹

Table 6 provides an update of the categories used in Goot's by-election study.¹² Goot used these categories to carry out a 'like with like' analysis of by-election swings. There are several reasons why these categories have become less applicable to recent contests.

The first is that major political parties now contest every seat at state elections. Since 1978 there has been only one occasion when a seat was left uncontested,¹³ and only two other occasions where a seat failed to attract candidates representing both Labor and the Coalition.¹⁴ Two changes to electoral law have encouraged the major parties to contest every seat. The first is the introduction of popular election for the Legislative Council in 1978, resulting in the major parties contesting every seat to maximise their Council vote. The second is the financial incentive flowing from the introduction of public funding for election campaigns in 1981.

¹¹ The common convention in Australian political science is to refer to the final count between any two candidates after the distribution of preferences as the *two-candidate preferred vote*. Where the two final candidates represent Labor and the Coalition, this count is also referred to as the *two-party preferred vote*.

¹² See Goot, Table 3.1, p36

¹³ South Coast in 1981, held by Independent John Hatton

¹⁴ The first was Tamworth in 1995, held by Independent Tony Windsor, where the National Party did not nominate a candidate. The second was Londonderry in 2003, the Liberal party choosing not to contest the seat when polling day was deferred following the death of the sitting MP and Labor candidate Jim Anderson.

Table 6: Patterns of Party Competition

Pattern of Contest	Period in Office					Total
	1995-2003	1988-95	1976-88	1965-76	1941-65	
Two-sided Contests	8	7	23	16	26	78
Seats contested at general election and subsequent by-election by both Labor and the Coalition						
(a) with non-major party candidate(s) at both general and by-election	8	6	8	7	7	36
(b) with non-major party candidate(s) at general election only	..	..	3	3	3	9
(c) with non-major party candidate(s) at by-election only	..	1	8	5	9	21
(d) without non-major party candidates	..	..	4	1	7	12
One Sided Contests	4	12	5	4	18	43
Seats contested at by-election by only one side following two-sided general election	4	12	5	2	5	28
Seats contested at general election by only one side followed by two-sided by-election	..	..	..	2	4	6
Seats contested at both by-election and general election by only one-side	..	..	..	..	9	9
Won without contest	..	1	..	..	7	8
Seats contested at general election, uncontested at by-election	..	1	..	..	2	3
Seats contested at by-election, uncontested at general election	..	..	..	..	5	5
	12	20	28	20	51	131

Source: Goot (Table 3.1) and data from Table A2

Yet in the same period, there has been a growing trend for parties to abstain from contests in their opponent's safe seats. Of the 20 by-elections held between 1965 and 1976, 18 were contested by both Labor and the Coalition. Since 1976, the number of two-sided contests has fallen, representing only 23 of 28 by-elections during the Wran and Unsworth Governments, seven of 20 under the Greiner and Fahey Governments, and eight of 12 during the period of the Carr Government. This number becomes nine out of 15 taking into account the three by-elections on 17 September.

Table 7 lists all contests since 1965 in which one party abstained from nominating.

Table 7 – One-sided by-elections 1965-2005

Period	Government	No Labor candidate	No Coalition Candidate
1965-1976	Coalition	1975 Lane Cove * 1975 Pittwater *	
1976-1988	Labor	1980 Ku-ring-gai 1985 Murray (Nat held) 1985 Gloucester (Nat held) 1986 Pittwater 1986 Vacluse	
1988-1995	Coalition	1988 Vacluse * 1992 Davidson * 1992 Gordon * 1992 Ku-ring-gai * 1993 The Hills * 1994 North Shore *	1988 Wallsend 1989 Liverpool 1990 Granville 1990 Heffron 1990 Smithfield 1990 Macquarie Fields 1994 Cabramatta
1995-2005	Labor	1996 Port Macquarie (Nat) 2002 Hornsby 2004 Dubbo (Ind held)	2001 Campbelltown *

Source: Table A2. * indicates seat not contested by an Opposition Party.

Taking into account the two by-elections on September 17 not being contested by the Liberal Party, there have been 26 one-sided contests since 1965. On 15 occasions it was the Government that did not nominate in a seat held by the Opposition or an independent, and on 11 occasions the Opposition have not nominated in a Government held seat.

All of the seats listed in Table 7 were safe seats. In every case, the party choosing not to contest was saving money, but also avoiding the political embarrassment of finishing at best a poor second. Several were also cases where by vacating the field, the absent party was making it easier for an Independent to win the seat.

Cases where Labor left the field vacant for Independents include Pittwater (1986), Port Macquarie, The Hills (1993), Hornsby and Dubbo. The Liberal Party chose not to contest the 1989 Liverpool by-election at a time when it was unpopular, a tactic that also allowed the full focus of the campaign to fall upon the bitter Labor pre-selection dispute that had seen Peter Anderson drafted in as a compromise candidate.

With the current by-elections, it is understandable why the Liberal Party has chosen not to contest all three seats. While there were dramatic swings in Bass Hill and Rockdale following the retirement of Premier Wran, swings of this size are the exception. All three seats being contested in September 17 are substantially safer than any of the seats that saw dramatic swings during the period of the Unsworth Government.

This is particularly the case with Marrickville, where the Liberal Party would have been certain to finish third, as it has done at the last two state elections. In similar circumstances in the past, the Labor party polled only 7.3% in North Shore (1988), 14.4% in The Hills (1990) and 14.8% in Tamworth (2001). Labor also finished third in the 1996 Pittwater and Southern Highlands by-elections, poor performances overshadowed by Labor gaining Clarence from the National Party on the same day. By not contesting Marrickville, the Liberal Party are avoiding the embarrassment of finishing third, and also making it easier for the Greens to challenge Labor for the seat, as occurred at the 2002 federal by-election in Cunningham.

The last two decades have seen a rise in the number of minor party and independent candidates contesting by-elections. The most dramatic examples of this were the January 1987 by-elections in Bankstown and Heathcote, contested by 13 and 16 candidates respectively. As with major parties, public funding and the desire to maximise upper house vote have been behind the increase at general elections. Two additional factors encouraging minor parties have been the inclusion of party names on ballot papers since 1990, and the change to nomination procedures that now allow registered parties to put forward candidates without the need to obtain the signatures of local nominators. As Table 8 shows, the rise in the number of candidates first evident at by-elections is now also occurring at general elections.

Table 8: The Growth in Candidates Contesting Elections

Average number of candidates	1965-76	1976-88	1988-95	1995-2005
At previous general election	3.2	2.7	3.7	6.2
At by-election	4.0	4.8	6.2	6.5

Source: Derived from Table A2. Note that the above table is based on comparing by-elections with the number of candidates contesting the same seats at the previous general election.

The increasing number of candidates, and the decline in two-sided by-election contests complicates attempts to repeat some of the analysis carried out by Goot. As shown in Table 6, 14 of the 15 two-sided contests since 1988 have included minor party candidates at both the by-election and at the previous general election. Any analysis of primary vote swing is complicated by the changing field of minor party and independent candidates.

Where analysis may have been made easier is through the greater availability of two-candidate preferred counts. Since 1988, it has become standard practice to do full distributions of preferences in every seat for information purposes, irrespective of whether such a count is required to determine the winning candidate. However, this is the same period in which major parties have begun to regularly abstain from contesting by-elections in their opponent's safe seats.

To try and analyse swing, electorate have been grouped into three broad categories, as shown in Table A2. **Excluded contests** include the 24 by-elections listed in Table 8, along with the 1973 Armidale and Murray by-elections where no Labor candidate nominated at the preceding general election.

2-Candidate Preferred (2CP) contests include all seats where the final two candidates at the by-election correspond to the same two candidates at the preceding general election. This category also includes the two North Shore by-elections in 1988 and 1994, where the battle between Liberal and Independent candidates can be treated as a Government versus Opposition contest.

All other by-elections are shown as **Primary contests**, where comparable primary votes are available for both the by-election and the preceding general election. The odd seat out here is the North Shore by-election in 1994, which has been included for 2CP comparisons, but because of the absence of a Labor candidate, has been excluded for primary vote comparisons.

Using these broad categories, the following section provides some analysis of swing at by-elections between 1965 and 2005.

By-election Swings

Table 9 summarises the primary vote swing at comparable by-elections since 1965. Swing has been broken down by term in office for each Government. Swing is represented as change in vote for the Government, the Opposition and Others.

Table 9: Change in Primary Vote at Relevant By-elections 1965-2005

Years	Premier	Term	No. of By-elecs	% Swing To/From		
				Govt	Oppn	Others
1965-76	Askin	1	3	+2.0	-3.7	+1.7
	Askin	2	5	-5.9	+3.1	+2.8
	Askin	3	4	-3.7	+1.4	+2.3
	Askin/Lewis/Willis	4	4	-1.5	+6.8	-5.3
	Coalition Average		16	-2.8	+2.3	+0.5
1976-88	Wran	1	2	+4.0	-9.9	+5.9
	Wran	2	7	-2.9	+4.3	-1.4
	Wran	3	5	-10.7	+10.1	+0.6
	Wran/Unsworth	4	9	-14.5	+0.1	+14.4
	Labor Average		23	-8.5	+2.7	+5.9
1988-95	Greiner	1	4	-16.9	+1.5	+15.5
	Greiner/Fahey	2	3	-3.8	+9.6	-5.9
	Coalition Average		7	-11.3	+4.9	+6.3
1995-2005	Carr	1	6	+1.5	-6.0	+4.5
	Carr	2	2	-5.3	+13.7	-8.5
	Labor Average		8	-0.2	-1.1	+1.3
1965-2005	Average swing		54	-5.9	+2.3	+3.6

Source: Derived from data in Table A2

One evident trend in the above table is that Governments have generally had their best results during their first term in office, with the notable exception of the Greiner Government. However, there is no uniform trend for results to get worse with time, though the Labor Party had some notably bad results in the third and fourth term Wran and Unsworth Governments. The swings between 1981 and 1984 were not surprising given the high water mark achieved by the Labor vote in 1978 and 1981, which makes the size of the swings from a lower base in the term between 1984 and 1988 even more remarkable.

It is also noticeable that a loss of support for the Government of the day does not always translate into votes for the Opposition, as over half of support lost by Government has tended to leak to third parties.

Table 10 isolates the data in Table A2 down to the smaller number of by-elections where two-candidate preferred data is available. Data for primary vote swing is also shown for those seats where preference data is available.

Table 10: Change in Vote where 2CP Vote available 1965-2005

Years	Government	No. of By-elecs	% Primary Swing			% 2CP Swing
			Govt	Oppn	Others	Govt
1965-1976	Coalition	5	-5.6	+2.3	+3.3	-5.4
1976-1988	Labor	7	-4.5	+2.1	+2.5	-2.1
1988-1995	Coalition	6	-8.8	+4.1	+4.7	-6.8
1995-2005	Labor	5	+1.9	-6.2	+4.3	+2.9
1965-2005	Average	23	-4.5	+0.9	+3.6	-2.9

Source: Derived from data in Table A2

Together, Tables 9 and 10 indicate that over the past four decades, by-elections have seen primary vote swings against the Government of between 4% and 6%, towards the Opposition of between 1% and 2%, and between 3% and 4% towards independents and minor parties. Overall this has translated into an average two-party preferred swing against Governments of around 3%. The primary swing against Government has tended to be larger than the two-candidate preferred swing.

However, there are enormous difficulties in talking about average swings. This is clearly illustrated by the results of the five by-elections held on 25 May 1996, just over a year after the Carr Government came to office. On average Labor's primary vote rose 2.4% at the five by-elections. Yet the difference in swing from seat to seat was dramatic. Labor's primary vote fell 5.7% in Pittwater, 7.5% in Southern Highlands and 6.7% in Strathfield, yet on the same day rose 14.8% in Orange and 17.1% in Clarence. Labor finished third behind the Australian Democrats in Pittwater and trailed both Liberal and National Party candidates in Southern Highlands, yet Labor attracted double digit swings in both Orange and Clarence, gaining Clarence to secure the Government's majority. If an average can reveal nothing about five by-elections held on the same day, what hope is there that an average over time is a meaningful measure of by-election performance?

For instance, in assessing the performance of the Government and Opposition at the by-elections to be held on 17 September, which average swing should be the comparison? Over the past four decades, the average swing against Government outlined above is relatively small. Yet is this the most reliable average to use? Given the huge majorities achieved by the Carr Government at the 1999 and 2003 elections, perhaps a better comparison would be the performance of the Wran Government after two landslides in 1978 and 1981, when double digit swing occurred between 1981 and 1984. An even tougher yardstick to use would be the enormous swings against the Unsworth Government between 1986 and 1988.

Government can have good and bad by-election results in the same term. The Unsworth Government suffered dramatic poundings at the Bass Hill, Rockdale, Bankstown and Heathcote by-elections, yet its fifth by-election in Northern Tablelands saw the smallest swing. Similarly, in 1993 and 1994, the Fahey Government achieved swings to it in The Hills, North Shore and Vacluse before suffering an enormous reverse in the Parramatta by-election.

The examples in the previous paragraph illustrate why the specifics of each by-election make it difficult to accumulate by-election and create a mythical average swing. With Northern Tablelands, Labor clearly dampened the swing by nominating the widow of the former MP, who was well known in her own right within the electorate. Ten months later at the state election, the swings in the other four by-elections turned out to over-estimate the swing against Labor, but under-estimate the swing in Northern Tablelands where Labor's primary vote fell 24% at the state election. The last by-election turned out to be the least useful guide to the following general election and is only explained away with reference to the specific circumstances of the by-election.

A similar comment can be made concerning the Fahey Government's by-elections. The Parramatta result was very different from the three preceding by-election. Yet the earlier results indicating an improved Government position were correct in predicting the 1995 election would be close. The Parramatta result bore no relationship to what occurred across the state at the 1995 election, but was repeated almost exactly in the state election result for Parramatta itself. Again, the specifics of the Parramatta by-election resulted in it being a very poor guide for the state election.

Are By-elections a Guide to the Next General Election?

Goot included a considerable appendix setting out the results of by-elections compared to the previous general election as well as to the subsequent general election. Where a redistribution took place between the two general elections, a comparison was made on the basis of common booths.

Appendix C in this publication attempts to repeat this work in a simplified format for all by-elections between 1984 and 2003.

Using the data in Goot's Appendix, and Appendix C from this publication, Table 11 sets out the same data on by-election swing from Table 9 with the average swing between the surrounding pair of general elections for each by-election.

Table 11: Change in Primary Vote at By-elections and Subsequent General Election

Years	Premier (Term)	% Swing By-election			% Swing Next Election		
		Govt	Oppn	Others	Govt	Oppn	Oth
1965-76	Askin (1)	+2.0	-3.7	+1.7	+5.9	-5.9	0.0
	Askin (2)	-5.9	+3.1	+2.8	-4.6	+4.2	+0.4
	Askin (3)	-3.7	+1.4	+2.3	+5.1	-4.6	-0.5
	Askin/Lewis/Willis (4)	-1.5	+6.8	-5.3	-5.0	+12.5	-7.5
	Coalition Average	-2.8	+2.3	+0.5	-0.5	+2.6	-2.2
1976-88	Wran (1)	+4.0	-9.9	+5.9	+11.4	-14.9	+3.4
	Wran (2)	-2.9	+4.3	-1.4	-2.2	+3.2	-0.9
	Wran (3)	-10.7	+10.1	+0.6	-7.4	+8.8	-1.4
	Wran/Unsworth (4)	-14.5	+0.1	+14.4	-13.6	+3.7	+9.9
	Labor Average	-8.5	+2.7	+5.9	-6.8	+3.0	+3.8
1988-95	Greiner (1)	-16.9	+1.5	+15.5	-7.6	+4.2	+3.4
	Greiner/Fahey (2)	-3.8	+9.6	-5.9	-2.8	+7.9	-5.1
	Coalition Average	-11.3	+4.9	+6.3	-5.5	+5.8	-0.2
1995-2005	Carr (1)	+1.5	-6.0	+4.5	+2.8	-12.7	+9.9
	Carr (2)	-5.3	+13.7	-8.5	+0.4	-2.7	+2.3
	Labor Average	-0.2	-1.1	+1.3	+2.2	-10.2	+8.0
Average swing		-5.9	+2.3	+3.6	-3.5	+1.2	+2.3

Source: Derived from result in Goot's Appendix and from Appendix C of this publication. Note that the first three columns represent swing between the previous general election and the by-election, the final three columns the swing between the general elections on either side of the by-election. Where a redistribution has taken place, swing is based on common booths rather than the electorate as a whole.

The averages in Table 11 show that in certain periods, by-elections have been a very poor indicator of the result of the next general election. For instance, during the third term of the Askin Government (1971-73), the Government did poorly at by-elections but very well at the 1973 general election. Similarly in the Government's fourth term, Labor did well in a series of by-elections, but not nearly as well as it did to achieve office at the 1976 general election.

Perhaps both terms were coloured by public reactions to the Whitlam Government, Labor doing poorly at the 1973 election called early to capitalise on Labor's troubled first six months in Federal office, but Labor's performance improving dramatically at the 1976 state election six months after the Whitlam Government's dramatic departure.

Table 11 shows some evidence of Governments losing votes to independents and minor parties at by-election but oppositions at state elections. This may reflect the higher profile of oppositions at state elections compared to by-election, but may also be a consequence of the data in Table 8 showing that until 1995, there was a higher incidence of minor party and independent candidates at by-elections compared to state elections.

Several entries in Table 11 show periods when by-elections were not good guides to the subsequent state election. The third term of the Wran Government 1981-84 saw much larger by-election swings than occurred at the 1984 state election. The Greiner Government suffered much larger by-election swings than were to occur at the 1991 election, and the Carr Government achieved much larger swing in 1999 than had been indicated by by-elections over the previous four years.

So in assessing the by-elections on 17 September, what guides can be used to measure the performance of the Government, Opposition and minor parties, and what conclusions can be drawn concerning the 2007 state election? The following are some general points.

- Macquarie Fields, Maroubra and Marrickville are highly unrepresentative seats with which to assess prospects for the 2007 election. All are ultra-safe Labor seats where the Liberal Party vote is poor and party organisation weak. The Liberal Party's decision not to contest Maroubra and Marrickville is therefore understandable.
- The Liberal Party did perform much better within the boundaries of Macquarie Fields at the 2004 Federal election. The Labor Party two-party preferred vote was around 59%, down around 13% compared to the last state election. This gap is similar to that which has occurred in outer Sydney areas at Federal and state elections for the past decade. Compared to Federal election results, many outer Sydney state Labor seats currently have vastly inflated majorities. If the Coalition is to win the 2007 state election, the Liberal party needs to lift its state vote in outer Sydney towards the level currently recorded at Federal elections.
- The Marrickville by-election is a test for the battle between the Greens and Labor. At the 2004 Federal election, the Green vote fell compared to the 2004 state election. The Greens won the Cunningham by-election in the absence of a Liberal candidate, but thanks to strong flows of preferences from other candidates. The Greens have never outpolled Labor on the primary vote at an election, something they will need to come close to doing to win Marrickville. In a by-election atmosphere, without the prospects of Government changing hands, Marrickville offers the Greens their best ever hope of winning a state seat.

APPENDIX A

SUMMARY OF BY-ELECTIONS 1965-2005

The following notes explain the meaning and sources of data contained in Tables A1 and A2.

Table A1

Cause

The table has adopted the categories used by Goot, though dropping the separate listing for Leaders resigning from Parliament. Seats where members resigned to take a Government job, contest Federal elections or another state seat are indicated. All others causes are listed as Resignation, Deceased or Court Decision. All causes 1965-86 are taken from Goot Table A1.

Days Vacant

Values taken from Goot up until 1986. Details since provided by the Legislative Assembly Procedures Office.

Months into term

Period between the last general election and the date of the by-election. All values have been re-calculated, so there may be minor discrepancies from the values in Goot Table A1. Note the date and period into term have been corrected from the values in Goot for the 1975 Pittwater by-election.

Region

Same convention has been adopted as in Goot. Seats are classified as Sydney, Country and Non-Metropolitan, where Non-Metropolitan includes the Hunter, Illawarra, Central Coast and peripheral Sydney seats such as Hawkesbury.

Safety

As with Goot, Safe seats have margins above 10%, Marginal seats under 10%. Margins have been taken from Goot Table A1 for all by-elections up to 1986.

Held By / Won By

Holding Party and candidate are shown, as is the winning party and candidate. Where a seat changed party status as a result of a by-election, the Held by / Won by details are shown in bold.

Table A2

Category

See explanation, page 13-14

Party Contest

The two parties that the electorate was reduced to, or would have been reduced to, after the distribution of preferences.

Absent Party

Party code of the absent party in one-sided contests.

2CP% Vote Change

Only shown where 2CP counts were available at both the by-election and at the previous general election. Three entries are shown in these columns when there was a change in the party composition of the final 2CP between the general election and the by-election.

Table A1: Details of By-elections 1965-2004

Polling Day	District	Cause	Days Vacant	Months into term	Region	Safety	Held by	Won By
Askin Government (Coalition 1st Term)								
6 Nov 1965	Bondi	Resignation, Government job	44	6	Sydney	Marg	ALP Abe Landa	ALP Syd Einfeld
6 Nov 1965	Oxley	Deceased	38	6	Rural	Safe	LIB Les Jordan	CP Bruce Cowan
6 May 1967	Bathurst	Deceased	42	24	Rural	Marg	ALP Gus Kelly	CP Clive Osborne
Askin Government (Coalition 2nd Term)								
19 Apr 1969	Lake Macquarie	Deceased	130	14	NonMet	Safe	ALP Jimmy Simpson	ALP Merv Hunter
14 Feb 1970	Murrumbidgee	Resignation, Federal election	149	24	Rural	Safe	ALP Al Grassby	ALP Lin Gordon
14 Feb 1970	Randwick	Resignation, Federal election	149	24	Sydney	Marg	ALP Lionel Bowen	ALP Laurie Brereton
14 Feb 1970	Upper Hunter	Resignation, Federal election	145	24	Rural	Safe	CP Frank O'Keefe	CP Col Fisher
19 Sep 1970	Georges River	Deceased	72	31	Sydney	Marg	LIB Doug Cross	ALP Frank Walker
Askin Government (Coalition 3rd Term)								
29 Jul 1972	Mosman	Resignation	48	17	Sydney	Safe	LIB Philip Morton	LIB David Arblaster
18 Nov 1972	Charlestown	Deceased	59	21	NonMet	Marg	ALP Jack Stewart	ALP Richard Face
17 Feb 1973	Armidale	Resignation, Government job	31	24	Rural	Safe	CP Davis Hughes	CP David Leitch
17 Feb 1973	Byron	Resignation	31	24	Rural	Marg	CP Stanley Stephens	CP Jack Boyd
17 Feb 1973	Hawkesbury	Resignation	116	24	NonMet	Marg	LIB Bernie Deane	LIB Kevin Rozzoli
6 Oct 1973	Murray	Deceased	52	32	Rural	Marg	IND Joe Lawson	LIB Mary Meillon
Askin Government (Coalition 4th Term)								
20 Jul 1974	Coogee	Court decision	52	8	Sydney	Marg	LIB Ross Freeman	ALP Mike Cleary
20 Jul 1974	Goulburn	Resignation, Federal election	98	8	Rural	Safe	CP Ron Brewer	CP Ron Brewer
Lewis Government (Coalition 4th Term)								
8 Feb 1975	Lane Cove	Resignation	36	15	Sydney	Safe	LIB Ken McCaw	LIB John Dowd
8 Feb 1975	Pittwater	Resignation	36	15	Sydney	Safe	LIB Robert Askin	LIB Bruce Webster
6 Dec 1975	Wagga Wagga	Resignation, Federal election	52	25	Rural	Safe	LIB Wal Fife	LIB Joe Schipp
Willis Government (Coalition 4th Term)								
14 Feb 1976	Orange	Resignation	60	27	Rural	Safe	CP Charles Cutler	CP Garry West

Table A1: Details of By-elections 1965-2004 (continued)

Polling Day	District	Cause	Days	Months	Region	Safety	Held By	Won By		
			Vacant	into term						
Wran Government (Labor 1st Term)										
9 Oct 1976	The Hills	Resignation	137	5	Sydney	Safe	LIB	Max Ruddock	LIB	Fred Caterson
15 Jul 1978	Earlwood	Resignation	29	26	Sydney	Marg	LIB	Eric Willis	ALP	Ken Gabb
Wran Government (Labor 2nd Term)										
23 Feb 1980	Castlereagh	Resignation, Government job	25	16	Rural	Marg	ALP	Jack Renshaw	ALP	Jim Curran
13 Sep 1980	Bankstown	Deceased	51	23	Sydney	Safe	ALP	Nick Kearns	ALP	Ric Mochalski
13 Sep 1980	Ku-ring-gai	Resignation	71	23	Sydney	Safe	LIB	John Maddison	LIB	Nick Greiner
13 Sep 1980	Murray	Deceased	96	23	Rural	Safe	LIB	Mary Meillon	NCP	Tim Fischer
21 Feb 1981	Cessnock	Resignation, Federal election	165	28	NonMet	Safe	ALP	Bob Brown	ALP	Stan Neilly
21 Feb 1981	Maitland	Resignation, Federal election	165	28	NonMet	Marg	LIB	Milton Morris	LIB	Peter Toms
21 Feb 1981	Oxley	Resignation, Federal election	165	28	Rural	Safe	NCP	Bruce Cowan	NCP	Peter King
21 Feb 1981	Sturt	Resignation, change of seat	192	28	Rural	Safe	NCP	Tim Fischer	NCP	John Sullivan
Wran Government (Labor 3rd Term)										
17 Apr 1982	Drummoyne	Resignation, Federal election	71	7	Sydney	Safe	ALP	Michael Maher	ALP	John Murray
22 Oct 1983	Kogarah	Resignation	91	25	Sydney	Safe	ALP	Bill Crabtree	ALP	Brian Langton
22 Oct 1983	Maroubra	Resignation	73	25	Sydney	Safe	ALP	Bill Haigh	ALP	Bob Carr
22 Oct 1983	Marrickville	Deceased	121	25	Sydney	Safe	ALP	Tom Cahill	ALP	Andrew Refshaug
22 Oct 1983	Riverstone	Resignation	93	25	Sydney	Safe	ALP	Tony Johnson	ALP	Richard Amery
Wran Government (Labor 4th Term)										
2 Feb 1985	Murray	Resignation, Federal election	108	11	Rural	Safe	NAT	Tim Fischer	NAT	Jim Small
2 Feb 1985	Peats	Deceased	71	11	NonMet	Safe	ALP	Paul Landa	ALP	Tony Doyle
12 Oct 1985	Gloucester	Resignation	103	19	Rural	Safe	NAT	Leon Punch	NAT	Wendy Machin
1 Feb 1986	Cabramatta	Resignation, Government job	31	23	Sydney	Safe	ALP	Eric Bedford	ALP	John Newman
1 Feb 1986	Canterbury	Resignation, Government job	31	23	Sydney	Safe	ALP	Kevin Stewart	ALP	Kevin Moss
1 Feb 1986	Kiama	Resignation	31	23	NonMet	Marg	ALP	Bill Knott	ALP	Bob Harrison
31 May 1986	Pittwater	Resignation	50	26	Sydney	Safe	LIB	Max Smith	LIB	Jim Longley
31 May 1986	Vaucluse	Resignation	107	26	Sydney	Safe	LIB	Rosemary Foot	LIB	Ray Aston

Table A1: Details of By-elections 1965-2004 (continued)

Polling Day	District	Cause	Days		Region	Safety	Held By	Won By	
			Vacant	into term				ALP	LIB
Unsworth Government (Labor 4th Term)									
2 Aug 1986	Bass Hill	Resignation	29	29	Sydney	Safe	ALP Neville Wran	LIB	Michael Owen
2 Aug 1986	Rockdale	Resignation, Government job	30	29	Sydney	Safe	ALP Brian Bannon	ALP	Barrie Unsworth
31 Jan 1987	Bankstown	Resignation	61	34	Sydney	Safe	ALP Ric Mochalski	ALP	Doug Shedden
31 Jan 1987	Heathcote	Resignation	171	34	Sydney	Safe	ALP Rex Jackson	ALP	Ian McManus
23 May 1987	Northern Tablelands	Deceased (Resigned)	31	38	Rural	Marg	ALP Bill McCarthy	NAT	Ray Chappell
Greiner Government (Coalition 1st Term)									
18 Jun 1988	Vaucluse	Deceased	26	3	Sydney	Safe	LIB Ray Aston	LIB	Michael Yabsley
5 Nov 1988	North Shore	Resignation	50	8	Sydney	Marg	IND Ted Mack	IND	Robyn Skinner
5 Nov 1988	Port Stephens	Court decision	46	8	NonMet	Marg	ALP Bob Martin	ALP	Bob Martin
17 Dec 1988	Wallsend	Deceased	46	9	NonMet	Marg	ALP Ken Booth	ALP	John Mills
29 Apr 1989	Liverpool	Resignation	71	13	Sydney	Safe	ALP George Paciullo	ALP	Peter Anderson
23 Jun 1990	Granville	Resignation, Federal election	126	27	Sydney	Safe	ALP Laurie Ferguson	ALP	Kim Yeadon
23 Jun 1990	Heffron	Resignation, Federal election	126	27	Sydney	Marg	ALP Laurie Brereton	ALP	Deirdre Grusovin
23 Jun 1990	Smithfield	Resignation, Federal election	126	27	Sydney	Safe	ALP Janice Crosio	ALP	Carl Scully
1 Sep 1990	The Hills	Resignation	31	30	Sydney	Safe	LIB Fred Catterson	LIB	Tony Packard
3 Nov 1990	Coffs Harbour	Resignation	54	32	Rural	Safe	NAT Matt Singleton	NAT	Andrew Fraser
3 Nov 1990	Macquarie Fields	Resignation	24	32	Sydney	Marg	ALP Stan Knowles	ALP	Craig Knowles
Greiner Government (Coalition 2nd Term)									
18 Jan 1992	The Entrance	Court decision	38	8	NonMet	Marg	LIB Bob Graham	ALP	Grant McBride
2 May 1992	Davidson	Resignation, Government job	36	12	Sydney	Safe	LIB Terry Metherell	LIB	Andrew Humpherson

Table A1: Details of By-elections 1965-2004 (continued)

Polling Day	District	Cause	Days		Region	Safety	Held By	Won By	
			Vacant	into term				LIB	ALP
Fahey Government (Coalition 2nd Term)									
22 Aug 1992	Gordon	Resignation	51	15	Sydney	Safe	LIB Tim Moore	LIB	Jeremy Kinross
22 Aug 1992	Ku-ring-gai	Resignation	21	15	Sydney	Safe	LIB Nick Greiner	LIB	Stephen O'Doherty
28 Aug 1993	The Hills	Resignation	32	27	Sydney	Safe	LIB Tony Packard	LIB	Michael Richardson
5 Feb 1994	North Shore	Resignation	46	33	Sydney	Marg	LIB Phillip Smiles	LIB	Jillian Skinner
9 Apr 1994	Vaucluse	Resignation	22	35	Sydney	Safe	LIB Michael Yabsley	LIB	Peter Debnam
27 Aug 1994	Parramatta	Deceased (Resigned)	137	39	Sydney	Marg	ALP Andrew Ziolkowski	ALP	Gabrielle Harrison
22 Oct 1994	Cabramatta	Deceased	47	41	Sydney	Safe	ALP John Newman	ALP	Reba Meagher
Carr Government (Labor 1st Term)									
25 May 1996	Clarence	Resignation, Federal election	115	14	Rural	Marg	NAT Ian Causley	ALP	Harry Woods
25 May 1996	Orange	Resignation	80	14	Rural	Safe	NAT Garry West	NAT	Russell Turner
25 May 1996	Pittwater	Resignation	66	14	Sydney	Safe	LIB Jim Longley	LIB	John Brogden
25 May 1996	Southern Highlands	Resignation, Federal election	115	14	Rural	Safe	LIB John Fahey	LIB	Peta Seaton
25 May 1996	Strathfield	Resignation, Federal election	115	14	Sydney	Marg	LIB Paul Zammit	LIB	Bruce MacCarthy
30 Nov 1996	Port Macquarie	Resignation	94	20	Rural	Safe	NAT Wendy Machin	NAT	Rob Oakeshott
20 Dec 1997	Sutherland	Resignation	18	33	Sydney	Marg	LIB Chris Downy	LIB	Lorna Stone
Carr Government (Labor 2nd Term)									
3 Feb 2001	Campbelltown	Resignation	22	23	Sydney	Safe	ALP Michael Knight	ALP	Graham West
8 Sep 2001	Auburn	Resignation	58	30	Sydney	Safe	ALP Peter Nagle	ALP	Barbara Perry
8 Dec 2001	Tamworth	Resignation, Federal election	54	33	Rural	Safe	IND Tony Windsor	NAT	John Cull
23 Feb 2002	Hornsby	Resignation	32	35	Sydney	Marg	LIB Stephen O'Doherty	LIB	Judy Hopwood
Carr Government (Labor 4th Term)									
20 Nov 2004	Dubbo	Deceased	66	18	Rural	Marg	IND Tony McGrane	IND	Dawn Fardell

Table A2: Swings at By-elections 1965-2004

Category	Polling Day	District	Party Contest	Absent Party	Primary % Vote Change			2CP % Vote Change			Change in %		Candidates	
					ALP	LNP	OTH	ALP	LNP	OTH	Turnout	Informal	G.E.	By-Elec
Askin Government (Coalition 1st Term)														
Primary	6 Nov 1965	Bondi	ALP/LIB		-3.7	+0.9	+2.8	...	...	...	-5.5	+1.3	2	4
Primary	6 Nov 1965	Oxley	ALP/CP		+0.9	-2.6	+1.7	...	...	...	-5.7	+1.1	3	5
Primary	6 May 1967	Bathurst	ALP/CP		-8.3	+7.8	+0.5	...	...	...	-3.3	+0.3	3	4
Askin Government (Coalition 2nd Term)														
Primary	19 Apr 1969	Lake Macquarie	ALP/LIB		-0.4	-6.2	+6.6	...	...	...	-5.4	-0.7	2	4
Primary	14 Feb 1970	Murrumbidgee	ALP/LIB		-9.2	+10.0	-0.8	...	...	...	-4.1	-0.4	4	4
Primary	14 Feb 1970	Randwick	ALP/LIB		+8.9	-5.1	-3.8	...	...	...	-13.4	-0.5	3	2
2CP	14 Feb 1970	Upper Hunter	ALP/CP		+9.6	-9.6	..	+13.9	-13.9	..	-5.6	+0.1	2	3
2CP	19 Sep 1970	Georges River	ALP/LIB		+6.5	-18.4	+11.9	+11.1	-11.1	..	-9.3	-0.5	2	5
Askin Government (Coalition 3rd Term)														
Primary	29 Jul 1972	Mosman	ALP/LIB		+6.2	-11.1	+4.9	...	...	...	-16.1	-0.1	4	4
Primary	18 Nov 1972	Charlestown	ALP/LIB		+5.2	-0.9	-4.3	...	...	...	-6.0	+0.1	4	3
Exclude	17 Feb 1973	Armidale	ALP/CP		+44.7	-10.3	-34.4	+48.1	-10.0	-38.1	-4.3	-0.4	2	4
2CP	17 Feb 1973	Byron	ALP/CP		-3.2	+1.5	+1.8	-0.7	+0.7	..	-3.5	-0.2	2	4
2CP	17 Feb 1973	Hawkesbury	ALP/LIB		-2.5	-4.4	+6.9	+2.4	-2.4	..	-8.2	+1.1	3	7
Exclude	6 Oct 1973	Murray	ALP/LIB		+26.1	+28.5	-54.5	..	+51.7	-51.7	-5.6	-1.6	4	3
Askin Government (Coalition 4th Term)														
2CP	20 Jul 1974	Coogee	ALP/LIB		+1.3	+2.9	-4.2	+0.1	-0.1	..	-7.2	-0.8	4	6
Primary	20 Jul 1974	Goulburn	ALP/CP		+7.3	-2.1	-5.2	...	...	...	-5.1	-1.0	4	2
Lewis Government (Coalition 4th Term)														
Exclude	8 Feb 1975	Lane Cove	LIB/OTH	ALP	-19.6	+9.8	+9.9	...	...	...	-17.2	-0.2	6	3
Exclude	8 Feb 1975	Pittwater	ALP/OTH	ALP	-29.5	-1.0	+30.4	...	...	...	-13.5	-0.6	3	3
Primary	6 Dec 1975	Wagga Wagga	ALP/LIB		+10.9	-4.7	-6.2	...	...	...	-0.4	-0.2	4	6
Willis Government (Coalition 4th Term)														
Primary	14 Feb 1976	Orange	ALP/CP		+7.5	-2.0	-5.4	...	...	...	-3.3	-0.8	3	3

Table A2: Swings at By-elections 1965-2004 (continued)

Category	Polling Day	District	Party	Absent	Primary % Vote Change			2CP % Vote Change			Change in %		Candidates	
			Contest	Party	ALP	LNP	OTH	ALP	LNP	OTH	Turnout	Informal	G.E.	By-Elec
Wran Government (Labor 1st Term)														
Primary	9 Oct 1976	The Hills	ALP/LIB		+0.8	-7.3	+6.5	...	...	...	-16.1	-0.6	2	3
Primary	13 Jul 1978	Earlwood	ALP/LIB		+7.2	-12.5	+5.3	...	...	...	-7.0	+1.1	2	8
Wran Government (Labor 2nd Term)														
Primary	23 Feb 1980	Castlereagh	ALP/CP		-4.3	+4.3	..	...	...	...	-9.3	-0.7	3	2
Primary	13 Sep 1980	Bankstown	ALP/LIB		-7.4	+13.6	-6.3	...	...	...	-16.7	+0.4	3	2
Exclude	13 Sep 1980	Ku-ring-gai	LIB/OTH	ALP	-34.5	+3.2	+31.3	-34.5	+3.2	+31.3	-19.9	+1.9	2	2
2CP	13 Sep 1980	Murray	ALP/CP		-3.0	+25.6	-22.7	-6.9	+6.9	..	-4.7	-0.9	4	3
Primary	21 Feb 1981	Cessnock	ALP/LIB		-8.7	-3.6	+12.3	...	...	...	-6.9	-0.5	2	3
2CP	21 Feb 1981	Maitland	ALP/LIB		-0.6	-6.3	+7.0	+2.9	-2.9	..	-6.1	-0.4	2	3
2CP	21 Feb 1981	Oxley	ALP/NCP		+0.8	-0.8	..	+0.8	-0.8	..	-15.1	-0.3	2	2
2CP	21 Feb 1981	Sturt	ALP/NCP		+3.0	-3.0	..	+3.0	-3.0	..	-11.1	-0.5	2	2
Wran Government (Labor 3rd Term)														
Primary	17 Apr 1982	Drummoyne	ALP/LIB		-13.5	+13.5	+0.0	...	...	...	-9.1	-1.7	3	4
Primary	22 Oct 1983	Kogarah	ALP/LIB		-11.8	+16.6	-4.8	...	...	...	-15.2	-0.9	3	2
2CP	22 Oct 1983	Maroubra	ALP/LIB		-7.1	+7.1	..	-7.1	+7.1	..	-11.9	-2.0	2	2
Primary	22 Oct 1983	Marrickville	ALP/LIB		-9.6	+2.0	+7.6	...	...	...	-12.1	-2.3	4	5
Primary	22 Oct 1983	Riverstone	ALP/LIB		-11.5	+11.5	+0.0	...	...	...	-20.8	-2.6	3	3
Wran Government (Labor 4th Term)														
Exclude	2 Feb 1985	Murray	NAT/OTH	ALP	-23.4	-5.0	+28.3	...	...	...	-6.5	+1.0	4	2
Primary	2 Feb 1985	Peats	ALP/LIB		-10.7	+7.7	+3.1	...	...	...	-5.3	-0.7	3	4
Exclude	12 Oct 1985	Gloucester	NAT/OTH	ALP	-38.1	+6.5	+31.7	...	...	...	-13.2	+0.2	2	5
Primary	1 Feb 1986	Cabramatta	ALP/LIB		-15.7	-1.7	+17.4	...	...	...	-14.9	+0.7	2	7
Primary	1 Feb 1986	Canterbury	ALP/LIB		-14.8	+4.0	+10.8	...	...	...	-17.5	+0.3	2	5
Primary	1 Feb 1986	Kiama	ALP/LIB		-6.9	-9.3	+16.2	...	...	...	-7.1	-0.3	2	6
Exclude	31 May 1986	Pittwater	LIB/OTH	ALP	-27.6	-15.3	+42.9	...	...	...	...	+0.3	4	7
Exclude	31 May 1986	Vaucluse	LIB/OTH	ALP	-23.5	+0.2	+23.3	...	...	...	...	+0.8	3	7

Table A2: Swings at By-elections 1965-2004 (continued)

Category	Polling Day	District	Party Contest	Absent Party	Primary % Vote Change			2CP % Vote Change			Change in %		Candidates	
					ALP	LNP	OTH	ALP	LNP	OTH	Turnout	Informal	G.E.	By-Elec
Unsworth Government (Labor 4th Term)														
Primary	2 Aug 1986	Bass Hill	ALP/LIB		-22.2	+3.9	+18.2	..	..	..	-13.9	-0.2	4	7
Primary	2 Aug 1986	Rockdale	ALP/LIB		-17.1	+6.5	+10.6	..	..	..	-13.2	+0.2	3	7
2CP	31 Jan 1987	Bankstown	ALP/LIB		-20.7	-12.3	+33.0	-3.2	+3.2	..	-9.0	+0.3	2	13
Primary	31 Jan 1987	Heathcote	ALP/LIB		-18.2	-2.2	+20.4	..	..	..	-5.9	-0.3	3	16
2CP	23 May 1987	Northern Tablelands	ALP/NAT		-4.2	+4.2	..	-4.2	+4.2	..	-8.8	+0.1	2	2
Greiner Government (Coalition 1st Term)														
Exclude	18 Jun 1988	Vaucluse	Uncontested										2	1
2CP	5 Nov 1988	North Shore	LIB/OTH		-3.9	-1.4	+5.3	..	-3.1	+3.1	-19.1	-0.2	4	5
2CP	5 Nov 1988	Port Stephens	ALP/LIB		+11.4	-10.3	-1.1	+12.9	-12.9	..	-7.6	-1.5	4	4
Exclude	17 Dec 1988	Wallsend	ALP/OTH	LIB	-3.6	-40.6	+44.2	+4.0	-40.6	+36.6	-8.3	-1.0	2	4
Exclude	29 Apr 1989	Liverpool	ALP/OTH	LIB	-18.5	-35.9	+54.4	-3.4	-35.9	+39.3	-11.7	+0.4	2	12
Exclude	23 Jun 1990	Granville	ALP/OTH	LIB	+2.5	-33.0	+30.5	+10.6	-39.1	+28.4	-14.4	-1.1	3	4
Exclude	23 Jun 1990	Heffron	ALP/OTH	LIB	+9.5	-35.4	+25.9	+15.1	-40.8	+25.8	-19.5	-0.3	3	4
Exclude	23 Jun 1990	Smithfield	ALP/OTH	LIB	+7.7	-39.2	+31.5	+19.3	-39.2	+19.8	-12.8	-1.1	2	5
Primary	1 Sep 1990	The Hills	LIB/OTH		-9.7	-26.0	+35.7	-24.1	-18.5	+42.7	-13.3	-1.1	2	6
2CP	3 Nov 1990	Coffs Harbour	ALP/NAT		+8.0	-29.9	+21.9	+16.0	-16.0	..	-6.7	-0.6	3	7
Exclude	3 Nov 1990	Macquarie Fields	ALP/OTH	LIB	+9.6	-35.1	+25.5	+5.5	-45.1	+39.6	-19.4	-1.1	5	3
Greiner Government (Coalition 2nd Term)														
2CP	18 Jan 1992	The Entrance	ALP/LIB		+6.4	-3.8	-2.7	+4.9	-4.9	..	-2.5	-6.7	4	8
Exclude	2 May 1992	Davidson	LIB/OTH	ALP	-19.0	-16.1	+35.1	-27.3	-13.0	+40.3	-6.4	-5.1	3	15

Table A2: Swings at By-elections 1965-2004 (continued)

Category	Polling Day	District	Party		Primary % Vote Change			2CP % Vote Change			Change in %		Candidates	
			Contest	Absent Party	ALP	LNP	OTH	ALP	LNP	OTH	Turnout	Informal	G.E.	By-Elec
Fahey Government (Coalition 2nd Term)														
Exclude	22 Aug 1992	Gordon	LIB/OTH	ALP	-11.2	-5.5	+16.7	-16.5	-5.7	+22.2	-12.6	-1.1	4	5
Exclude	22 Aug 1992	Ku-ring-gai	LIB/OTH	ALP	-18.3	-14.6	+32.8	-27.3	-17.6	+44.9	-11.4	-2.0	5	4
Exclude	28 Aug 1993	The Hills	LIB/OTH	ALP	-12.4	-1.7	+14.1	..	+1.6	-1.6	-12.1	-3.5	4	11
2CP **	5 Feb 1994	North Shore	LIB/OTH	ALP	-7.9	+3.6	+4.3	..	+5.9	-5.9	-14.2	-3.9	3	5
2CP	9 Apr 1994	Vaucluse	ALP/LIB		+11.8	+3.4	-15.2	+36.7	+0.2	-37.0	-19.4	-6.4	7	4
2CP	27 Aug 1994	Parramatta	ALP/LIB		+10.6	-11.0	+0.3	+9.5	-9.5	..	-14.8	-6.1	5	9
Exclude	22 Oct 1994	Cabramatta	ALP/OTH	LIB	+21.0	-21.8	+0.9	+17.9	-34.0	+16.1	-12.9	-8.3	7	7
Carr Government (Labor 1st Term)														
2CP	25 May 1996	Clarence	ALP/NAT		+17.1	-14.0	-3.1	+14.0	-14.0	..	-5.2	-1.8	6	4
2CP	25 May 1996	Orange	ALP/NAT		+14.8	-11.3	-3.5	+13.8	-13.8	..	-6.0	-2.6	5	3
Primary	25 May 1996	Pittwater	LIB/OTH		-5.7	-10.6	+16.3	-29.2	-5.8	+35.0	-10.2	-2.2	6	7
Primary	25 May 1996	Southern Highlands	LIB/NAT		-7.5	+7.9	-0.4	...	...	...	-5.9	-1.8	5	6
2CP	25 May 1996	Strathfield	ALP/LIB		-6.7	-2.8	+9.5	-2.3	+2.3	..	-9.9	-3.1	4	6
Exclude	30 Nov 1996	Port Macquarie	NAT/OTH	ALP	-29.9	-7.6	+37.6	-38.3	-6.8	+45.1	-6.6	-2.2	7	8
2CP	20 Dec 1997	Sutherland	ALP/LIB		-2.8	-5.4	+8.2	+0.2	-0.2	..	-11.5	-1.7	4	9
Carr Government (Labor 2nd Term)														
Exclude	3 Feb 2001	Campbelltown	ALP/OTH	LIB	+4.2	-22.0	+17.8	+8.0	-30.1	+22.2	-12.9	+0.9	9	6
2CP	8 Sep 2001	Auburn	ALP/LIB		-12.9	+2.6	+10.3	-11.1	+11.1	..	-8.1	-0.7	8	11
Primary	8 Dec 2001	Tamworth	NAT/OTH		+2.4	+24.8	-27.2	-14.8	+58.7	-43.9	-4.2	+0.6	4	8
Exclude	23 Feb 2002	Hornsby	LIB/OTH	ALP	-33.8	+7.0	+26.8	-47.3	+7.5	+39.8	-10.4	-0.1	10	6
Carr Government (Labor 3rd Term)														
Exclude	20 Nov 2004	Dubbo	NAT/OTH	ALP	-15.1	+4.2	+10.9	..	-0.2	+0.2	-5.2	-0.2	6	4

** North Shore included in 2CP tables, but excluded from Primary vote analysis

APPENDIX B

DETAILS OF BY-ELECTIONS 1965-2004

Askin Government 1965-1968 (Coalition 1st Term)

Bondi		Roll 24172		
(6 Nov 1965: Resignation of Abe Landa to take Agent General job in London)				
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Barracrough	LIB	9579	47.3	+0.9
Einfeld	ALP	10110	49.9	-3.7
Rietschel	IND	76	0.4	+0.4
Slowgrove	DLP	493	2.4	+2.4
<i>Final Count</i>				
Barracrough	LIB	9588	47.3	
Einfeld	ALP	10167	50.2	
Slowgrove	DLP	503	2.5	
Formal		20258	96.5	
Informal		732	3.5	+1.3
Total Vote		20990	86.8	

Bathurst		Roll 17375		
(6 May 1967: Death of Gus Kelly)				
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Connolly	ALP	6952	43.8	-8.3
James	IND	73	0.5	+0.5
Matthews	LIB	2967	18.7	-0.6
Osborne	CP	5868	37.0	+8.5
<i>Final Count</i>				
Connolly	ALP	7328	46.2	n.a.
Osborne	CP	8532	53.8	n.a.
Formal		15860	98.8	
Informal		193	1.2	+0.3
Total Vote		16053	92.4	
Country Party GAIN from Labor				

Oxley		Roll 21502		
(6 Nov 1965: Death of Les Jordan)				
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Andrews	ALP	7059	37.0	+0.9
Cordner	IND	106	0.6	-1.3
Cowan	CP	6286	32.9	+32.9
Dennis	LIB	5047	26.4	-35.5
Martin	IND	584	3.1	+3.1
<i>Final Count</i>				
Andrews	ALP	7680	40.2	n.a.
Cowan	CP	11402	59.8	n.a.
Informal		410	2.1	+1.1
Total Vote		19492	90.7	
Country Party GAIN from Liberal Party				

Askin Government 1968-1971 (Coalition 2nd Term)**Lake Macquarie** Roll 23614
(19 Apr 1969: Death of Jimmy Simpson)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Chiplin	LIB	6071	29.3	-6.3
Fisher	IND	296	1.4	+1.4
Hunter	ALP	13252	64.0	-0.4
Pendelbury	IND	1072	5.2	+5.2
Formal		20691	98.4	
Informal		335	1.6	-0.7
Total Vote		21026	89.0	

Murrumbidgee Roll 22875
(14 Feb 1970: Resignation of Al Grassby to contest 1969 Federal election)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Davidge	LIB	6437	31.7	+20.7
Gordon	ALP	10905	53.8	-9.2
Kennedy	DLP	593	2.9	-0.8
Williamson	CP	2351	11.6	-10.8
Formal		20286	98.4	
Informal		337	1.6	-0.4
Total Vote		20623	90.2	

Randwick Roll 27730
(14 Feb 1970: Resignation of Lionel Bowen to contest 1969 Federal election)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Brereton	ALP	13201	61.5	+8.9
McLaughlin	LIB	8252	38.5	-5.1
...	DLP		0.0	-3.8
Formal		21453	97.4	
Informal		581	2.6	-0.6
Total Vote		22034	79.5	

Upper Hunter Roll 21520
(14 Feb 1970: Resignation of Frank O'Keefe to contest 1969 Federal election)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Fisher	CP	7092	36.8	-28.7
Nott	ALP	8501	44.1	+9.6
Peebles	LIB	3666	19.0	+19.0
<i>Final Count</i>				
Fisher	CP	9929	51.6	-13.9
Nott	ALP	9330	48.4	+13.9
Formal		19259	99.0	
Informal		196	1.0	+0.1
Total Vote		19455	90.4	

Georges River Roll 30039
(19 Sep 1970: Death of Doug Cross)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Alleway	DOG	1847	7.3	+7.3
Hutchinson	IND	118	0.5	+0.5
Payne	DLP	1040	4.1	+4.1
Tonkin	LIB	10208	40.3	-18.4
Walker	ALP	12104	47.8	+6.5
<i>Final Count</i>				
Tonkin	LIB	12061	47.6	-11.1
Walker	ALP	13256	52.4	+11.1
Formal		25317	98.0	
Informal		514	2.0	-0.5
Total Vote		25831	86.0	

Labor Party GAIN from Liberal Party

Askin Government 1971-1973 (Coalition 3rd Term)**Mosman** Roll 28261
(29 Jul 1972: Resignation of Philip Morton)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Arblaster	LIB	10805	51.6	-11.1
Conlon	ALP	5381	25.7	+6.2
Gilling	AP	2757	13.2	+3.2
Mackerras	DLP	1996	9.5	+1.7
Formal		20939	98.4	
Informal		340	1.6	-0.1
Total Vote		21279	75.3	

Charlestown Roll 30588
(18 Nov 1972: Death of Jack Stewart)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Face	ALP	15977	59.9	+5.2
Fisher	IND	1217	4.6	+4.6
McDonald	LIB	9474	35.5	-0.9
...	DLP		0.0	-5.2
...	AP		0.0	-3.7
Formal		26668	98.4	
Informal		446	1.6	+0.1
Total Vote		27114	88.6	

Armidale Roll 21117
(17 Feb 1973: Resignation of Davis Hughes)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Kersey	AP	682	3.7	+3.7
Leitch	CP	5826	31.4	+31.4
Rowe	ALP	8282	44.7	+44.7
Street	CP	3738	20.2	+20.2
.... (Hughes)	CP		0.0	-61.9
.... (Martin)	IND		0.0	-38.1
<i>Final Count</i>				
Leitch	CP	9612	51.9	-10.0
Rowe	ALP	8916	48.1	+48.1
.... (Martin)	IND		0.0	-38.1
Formal		18528	98.7	
Informal		253	1.3	-0.4
Total Vote		18781	88.9	

Note: At the Murray by-election, Mary Meillon was the daughter of the deceased MP Joe Lawson.

Byron Roll 20415
(17 Feb 1973: Resignation of Stanley Stephens)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Boyd	CP	6397	35.9	+35.9
Constable	ALP	7535	42.3	-3.2
Vermuelen	AP	314	1.8	+1.8
Vincent	CP	3584	20.1	+20.1
.... (Stephens)	CP		0.0	-54.5
<i>Final Count</i>				
Boyd	CP	9854	55.3	+0.8
Constable	ALP	7976	44.7	-0.8
Formal		17830	98.7	
Informal		227	1.3	-0.2
Total Vote		18057	88.4	

Hawkesbury Roll 31861
(17 Feb 1973: Resignation of Bernie Dean)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Allen	DLP	1003	3.9	+3.9
Bannister	IND	677	2.6	+2.6
Berzin	AP	703	2.8	+2.8
Crane	IND	379	1.5	+1.5
Dunn	ALP	10495	41.1	-2.5
MacDonald	IND	672	2.6	+2.6
Rozzoli	LIB	11621	45.5	-4.4
.....	IND		0.0	-6.6
<i>Final Count</i>				
Dunn	ALP	12122	47.4	+2.4
Rozzoli	LIB	13428	52.6	-2.4
Formal		25550	96.4	
Informal		951	3.6	+1.1
Total Vote		26501	83.2	

Murray Roll 19895
(6 Oct 1973: Death of Joe Lawson)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Drew	ALP	4351	26.1	+26.1
Jeffery	CP	6663	40.0	+8.8
Meillon	LIB	5661	33.9	+19.6
... (Lawson)	IND		0.0	-46.2
...	DLP		0.0	-8.3
<i>Final Count</i>				
Jeffery	CP	8145	48.8	+0.5
Meillon	LIB	8530	51.2	+51.2
... (Lawson)	IND		0.0	-51.7
Formal		16675	98.6	
Informal		236	1.4	-1.6
Total Vote		16911	85.0	

Liberal Party GAIN from Independent

Askin Government 1973-1975 (Coalition 4th Term)**Coogee** **Roll 33646**
(20 Jul 1974: Court of Disputed Returns Decision)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Cleary	ALP	12521	46.9	+1.4
Forshaw	IND	89	0.3	+0.3
Freeman *	LIB	12823	48.0	+2.9
Keep	IND	161	0.6	+0.6
May	NS	11	0.0	0.0
Sutherland	AP	1111	4.2	-2.5
.....	DLP		0.0	-2.7
<i>Final Count</i>				
Cleary	ALP	13385	50.1	+0.1
Freeman	LIB	13331	49.9	-0.1
Formal		26716	97.8	
Informal		596	2.2	-0.7
Total Vote		27312	81.2	

Labor Party GAIN from Liberal Party**Goulburn** **Roll 22799**
(20 Jul 1974: Resignation of Ron Brewer to unsuccessfully contest 1974 Federal election)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Brewer *	CP	12600	61.9	-2.1
McDermott	ALP	7770	38.1	+7.3
.....	DLP		0.0	-3.7
.....	IND		0.0	-1.5
Formal		20370	99.4	
Informal		133	0.6	-1.1
Total Vote		20503	89.9	

Lewis Government 1975-1976 (Coalition 4th Term)**Lane Cove Roll 31123
(8 Feb 1975: Resignation of Ken McCaw)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Dowd	LIB	15709	70.8	+9.8
Johnson	AP	5870	26.4	+13.5
Marsh	BAP	622	2.8	+2.8
.....	ALP		0.0	-19.6
.....	DLP		0.0	-4.6
.....	OTH		0.0	-1.8
Formal		22201	97.7	
Informal		521	2.3	-0.2
Total Vote		22722	73	

**Pittwater Roll 28732
(8 Feb 1975: Resignation of Robert Askin)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Jones	AP	5009	23.0	+23.0
Webster	LIB	13701	63.0	-1.0
Woodhouse	IND	3026	13.9	+13.9
.....	ALP		0.0	-29.5
.....	DLP		0.0	-6.5
Formal		21736	98.1	
Informal		414	1.9	-0.5
Total Vote		22150	77.1	

**Wagga Wagga Roll 23701
(6 Dec 1975: Resignation of Wal Fife to contest
1975 Federal election)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Cooper	IND	67	0.3	+0.3
Gorman	ALP	7990	37.2	+10.9
Hunter	CP	2904	13.5	+13.5
Kendall	WP	569	2.7	+2.7
Schipp	LIB	9731	45.4	-18.2
Sutherland	AP	195	0.9	-3.9
.....	DLP		0.0	-5.3
<i>Final Count</i>				
Gorman	ALP	8369	39.0	n.a.
Schipp	LIB	13087	61.0	n.a.
Formal		21456	98.7	
Informal		282	1.3	-0.2
Total Vote		21738	91.7	

Willis Government 1976 (Coalition 4th Term)

Orange **Roll 24952**
(14 Feb 1976: Resignation of Charles Cutler)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Thomas	LIB	3411	15.1	+15.1
Dunn	ALP	8189	36.3	+7.5
West	CP	10990	48.6	-17.2
.....	DLP		0.0	-5.4
<i>Final Count</i>				
Dunn	ALP	8696	38.5	n.a.
West	CP	13894	61.5	n.a.
Formal		22590	99.3	
Informal		167	0.7	-0.8
Total Vote		22757	91.2	

NOTE

Following the retirement of Monaro MP Steve Mauger, a by-election had been called for 10 April 1976. The by-election was cancelled when writs were issued for a 1 May state election.

Wran Government 1976-1978 (Labor 1st Term)**The Hills** **Roll 31813**
(9 Oct 1976: Resignation of Max Ruddock)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Frazer	WP	1620	6.5	+6.5
Caterson	LIB	14526	57.9	-7.3
Gibson	ALP	8951	35.7	+0.9
Formal		25097	99.2	
Informal		198	0.8	-0.5
Total Vote		25295	79.5	

Earlwood **Roll 33545**
(15 Jul 1978: Resignation of Eric Willis)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Jones	LIB	12118	42.0	-12.5
Blazey	GL	105	0.4	0.4
Mallett	CON	33	0.1	+0.1
Warr	DEM	1053	3.7	+3.7
Bellchambers	IND	27	0.1	+0.1
Fleming	IND	269	0.9	+0.9
Gabb	ALP	15168	52.6	+7.1
Bingle	IND	52	0.2	+0.2
Formal		28825	97.4	
Informal		775	2.6	+1.1
Total Vote		29600	88.2	

Labor Party GAIN from Liberal Party

NOTE

By September 1978, by-elections were needed to fill vacancies in Cessnock, Pittwater and Wollondilly. The Wran Government used the need for by-elections as part of its justification in calling an early state election on 7 October.

Wran Government 1978-1981 (Labor 2nd Term)**Castlereagh Roll 21828
(23 Feb 1980: Resignation of Jack Renshaw to take job of Agent General in London)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Curran	ALP	9327	51.9	-4.3
Hickmott	CP	8651	48.1	+9.4
.....	LIB		0.0	-5.1
Formal		17978	99.3	
Informal		134	0.7	-0.8
Total Vote		18112	83	

**Cessnock Roll 25775
(21 Feb 1981: Resignation of Bob Brown to contest 1980 Federal election)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Neilly	ALP	15932	70.4	-8.7
Kirkby	DEM	2779	12.3	+12.3
Richardson	LIB	3911	17.3	-3.6
Formal		22622	98.9	
Informal		250	1.1	-0.5
Total Vote		22872	88.7	

**Bankstown Roll 32587
(13 Sep 1980: Death of Nick Kearns)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
McDonald	LIB	8414	34.4	+13.7
Mochalski	ALP	16074	65.6	-7.4
.....	DEM		0.0	-6.3
Formal		24488	96.9	
Informal		779	3.1	+0.4
Total Vote		25267	77.5	

**Maitland Roll 30444
(21 Feb 1981: Resignation of Milton Morris to contest 1980 Federal election)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Walsh	ALP	12201	45.0	-0.7
Toms	LIB	13014	48.0	-6.3
Unicomb	IND	1887	7.0	+7.0
<i>Final Count</i>				
Walsh	ALP	12963	48.5	+2.8
Toms	LIB	13750	51.5	-2.8
Exhausted		389	1.4	
Formal		27102	98.8	
Informal		319	1.2	-0.3
Total Vote		27421	90.1	

**Ku-ring-gai Roll 33400
(13 Sep 1980: Resignation of John Maddison)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Buckley	IND	7152	31.3	+31.3
Greiner	LIB	15681	68.7	+3.2
.....	ALP		0.0	-34.5
Formal		22833	96.1	
Informal		917	3.9	+1.9
Total Vote		23750	71.1	

**Oxley Roll 32040
(21 Feb 1981: Resignation of Bruce Cowan to contest 1980 Federal election)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First and Final Count</i>				
Eastman	ALP	9675	38.3	+0.8
King	NCP	15562	61.7	-0.8
Formal		25237	98.8	
Informal		294	1.2	-0.2
Total Vote		25531	79.7	

**Murray Roll 22848
(13 Sep 1980: Death of Mary Meillon)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Fischer	CP	8496	45.3	+45.3
Hazelton	LIB	4435	23.7	-19.7
Allen	ALP	5804	31.0	-2.9
..... (Graham)	IND		0.0	-22.7
<i>Final Count</i>				
Fischer	CP	12396	67.0	+67.0
Hazelton	LIB		0.0	-60.1
Allen	ALP	6119	33.0	-6.9
Exhausted		220	1.2	
Formal		18735	98.5	
Informal		289	1.5	-0.9
Total Vote		19024	83.3	

**Sturt Roll 22495
(21 Feb 1981: Resignation of Tim Fischer to contest previous by-election in Murray)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First and Final Count</i>				
Anthony	ALP	6805	36.9	+2.9
Sullivan	NCP	11614	63.1	-2.9
Formal		18419	99.1	
Informal		165	0.9	-0.4
Total Vote		18584	82.6	

Country Party GAIN from Liberal Party

Wran Government 1981-1984 (Labor 3rd Term)**Drummoyne** **Roll 32157**
(17 Apr 1982: Resignation of Michael Maher to contest Federal Lowe by-election)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Booth	LIB	9725	37.5	+13.5
Jones	IND	314	1.2	+1.2
Griffiths	CTA	1433	5.5	+5.5
Murray	ALP	14449	55.7	-13.5
.....	DEM		0.0	-6.8
Formal		25921	97.7	
Informal		610	2.3	-1.7
Total Vote		26531	82.5	

Kogarah **Roll 31803**
(22 Oct 1983: Resignation of Bill Crabtree)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Young	LIB	11679	48.8	+16.6
Langton	ALP	12263	51.2	-11.8
.....	DEM		0.0	-4.8
Formal		23942	98.2	
Informal		449	1.8	-1.0
Total Vote		24391	76.7	

Maroubra **Roll 33381**
(22 Oct 1983: Resignation of Bill Haigh)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First and Final Count</i>				
Carr	ALP	15852	61.6	-7.2
Abadee	LIB	9868	38.4	+7.2
Formal		25720	97.5	
Informal		660	2.5	-2.0
Total Vote		26380	79	

Marrickville **Roll 29317**
(22 Oct 1983: Death of Tom Cahill)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Refshauge	ALP	13018	61.7	-9.5
Dominish	DEM	2311	10.9	+7.9
Ponnuswamy	IND	216	1.0	+1.0
Gibson	SPA	1072	5.1	-1.4
Kekis	LIB	4496	21.3	+2.0
Formal		21113	95.6	
Informal		965	4.4	-2.2
Total Vote		22078	75.3	

Riverstone **Roll 31194**
(22 Oct 1983: Resignation of Tony Johnson)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Jessup	LIB	7583	36.1	+11.5
Brass	IND	897	4.3	+4.3
Amery	ALP	12541	59.7	-11.4
.....	DEM			-4.3
Formal		21021	97.2	
Informal		609	2.8	-2.6
Total Vote		21630	69.3	

Wran Government 1984-1986 (Labor 4th Term)**Murray Roll 33079
(2 Feb 1985: Resignation of Tim Fischer to
contest 1984 Federal election)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Brooks	IND	9813	37.0	+37.0
Small	NAT	16678	63.0	-5.0
...	ALP		0.0	-23.4
...	DEM		0.0	-2.6
...	IND		0.0	-6.1
Formal		26491	97.5	-1.0
Informal		677	2.5	+1.0
Total Vote		27168	82.1	

**Peats Roll 33769
(2 Feb 1985: Death of Paul Landa)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Walsh	LIB	12068	41.1	+7.7
Aitken	DEM	1411	4.8	-2.1
Whitfield	IND	1533	5.2	+5.2
Doyle	ALP	14382	48.9	-10.7
<i>Final Count</i>				
Walsh	LIB	12481	42.8	
Whitfield	IND	1962	6.7	
Doyle	ALP	14739	50.5	
Exhausted		212	0.7	
Formal		29394	98.9	+0.7
Informal		315	1.1	-0.7
Total Vote		29709	88.0	

**Gloucester Roll 39713
(12 Oct 1985: Resignation of Leon Punch)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Machin	NAT	21461	68.3	+6.5
Hockings	NDP	2589	8.2	+8.2
Hickman	IND	7096	22.6	+22.6
Fitzroy-Mendis, S	SBE	104	0.3	+0.3
Fitzroy-Mendis, K	SBE	161	0.5	+0.5
...	ALP		0.0	-38.1
Formal		31411	97.6	-0.2
Informal		765	2.4	+0.2
Total Vote		32176	81.0	

**Cabramatta Roll 37118
(1 Feb 1986: Resignation of Eric Bedford)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Rigney	NDP	1735	6.4	+6.4
Biscoe	IND	276	1.0	+1.0
Neesam	DEM	1257	4.6	+4.6
Byers	CTA	1408	5.2	+5.2
Newman	ALP	13411	49.4	-15.7
Heggie	LIB	9020	33.2	-1.7
Fitroy-Mendis, K	SBE	65	0.2	+0.2
<i>Final Count</i>				
Rigney	NDP	1934	7.4	
Byers	CTA	1542	5.9	
Newman	ALP	13580	51.7	
Heggie	LIB	9221	35.1	
Exhausted		895	3.3	
Formal		27172	95.1	-0.7
Informal		1398	4.9	+0.7
Total Vote		28570	77.0	

**Canterbury Roll 32186
(1 Feb 1986: Resignation of Kevin Stewart to
take Agent General job in London)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Elias	LIB	8267	36.0	+4.0
Saleam	NA	513	2.2	+2.2
Droulers	RP	145	0.6	+0.6
Terrett	DEM	1822	7.9	+7.9
Moss	ALP	12189	53.1	-14.8
Formal		22936	95.6	-0.3
Informal		1061	4.4	+0.3
Total Vote		23997	74.6	

**Kiama Roll 38009
(1 Feb 1986: Resignation of Bill Knott)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Tanner	IND	1655	5.1	+5.1
Harrison	ALP	16702	51.8	-6.9
George	DEM	702	2.2	+2.2
Ollett	CTA	1603	5.0	+5.0
Poulton	LIB	10300	32.0	-9.3
Brash	AMP	1268	3.9	+3.9
Formal		32230	98.3	+0.3
Informal		547	1.7	-0.3
Total Vote		32777	86.2	

Pittwater
(31 May 1986: Resignation of Max Smith)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Young	IND	6177	24.2	+24.2
Donnelly	CTA	1451	5.7	+5.7
MacLennan	DEM	1240	4.9	+0.7
Rigney	NDP	643	2.5	+2.5
Longley	LIB	10922	42.8	-15.3
Grace	IND	5006	19.6	+19.6
Monk	IND	62	0.2	+0.2
...	ALP	0	0.0	-27.6
...	IND	0	0.0	-10.1
<i>Final Count</i>				
Young	IND	11468	46.9	n.a.
Longley	LIB	13000	53.1	n.a.
Exhausted		1033	4.1	
Formal		25501	97.5	-0.3
Informal		649	2.5	+0.3
Total Vote		26150		

Vaucluse
(31 May 1986: Resignation of Rosemary Foot)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Nile	CTA	1173	6.4	+6.4
Aston	LIB	13245	72.6	+0.2
Fitzroy-Mendis, S	SBE	81	0.4	+0.4
Fisher	NFA	931	5.1	+5.1
Wood	IND	732	4.0	+4.0
Ponnuswamy	UM	99	0.5	+0.5
Jayawardena	DEM	1978	10.8	+6.8
...	ALP	0	0.0	-23.5
Formal		18239	96.2	-0.8
Informal		711	3.8	+0.8
Total Vote		18950		

Unsworth Government 1986-1988 (Labor 4th Term)**Bass Hill** **Roll 33426**
(2 Aug 1986: Resignation of Neville Wran)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Lovelee	ALP	10899	42.0	-22.2
Owen	LIB	8646	33.3	+3.9
Barber	IND	3209	12.4	+12.4
Mezinec	IND	329	1.3	+1.3
Vartanian	PER	115	0.4	+0.4
Carver	DEM	1391	5.4	+5.4
Nile	CTA	1387	5.3	+5.3
...	OTH	0	0.0	-6.5
<i>Final Count</i>				
Lovelee	ALP	12157	49.8	n.a.
Owen	LIB	12260	50.2	n.a.
Exhausted		1559	6.0	
Formal		25976	96.2	+0.1
Informal		1019	3.8	-0.1
Total Vote		26995	80.8	

Liberal Party GAIN from Labor Party**Rockdale** **Roll 31729**
(2 Aug 1986: Resignation of Brian Bannon to facilitate Barrie Unsworth's transfer from the Legislative Council)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Unsworth	ALP	11251	46.2	-17.1
Bellchambers	IND	334	1.4	-1.3
McLean	IND	1720	7.1	+7.1
Edwards	SWP	725	3.0	+3.0
Gemmel	LIB	9896	40.6	+6.5
Ponnuswamy	UM	67	0.3	+0.3
Badman	IND	375	1.5	+1.5
<i>Final Count</i>				
Unsworth	ALP	11946	50.1	n.a.
Gemmel	LIB	11892	49.9	n.a.
Exhausted		530	2.2	
Formal		24368	96.5	-0.2
Informal		885	3.5	+0.2
Total Vote		25253	79.6	

Note: The estimated two-party swing in Bass Hill was 17.5%, 14.5% in Rockdale and 8.3% in Heathcote.

Bankstown **Roll 35649**
(31 Jan 1987: Resignation of Rick Mochalski)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Mezinec	IND	309	1.1	+1.1
Carver		603	2.1	+2.1
Shedden	ALP	12677	43.8	-20.7
Rossiter	IND	459	1.6	+1.6
Vartanian	NAR	74	0.3	+0.3
Ryan	IND	5395	18.6	+18.6
Wilkie		172	0.6	+0.6
Nile	CTA	993	3.4	+3.4
Sawyer	UAP	243	0.8	+0.8
Hillman	IND	568	2.0	+2.0
McDonald	LIB	6713	23.2	-12.3
Axford		641	2.2	+2.2
Beasley		93	0.3	+0.3
<i>Final Count</i>				
Shedden	ALP	14832	61.4	-3.2
McDonald	LIB	9336	38.6	+3.2
Exhausted		4772	16.5	
Formal		28940	95.7	-0.3
Informal		1308	4.3	+0.3
Total Vote		30248	84.8	

Heathcote **Roll 33434**
(31 Jan 1987: Resignation of Rex Jackson who was facing conviction on criminal charges)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Scott	DEM	1076	3.7	-7.0
Carr	IND	141	0.5	+0.5
Powell	CCT	1490	5.1	+5.1
Tobin	IND	1780	6.1	+6.1
Smith	UAP	168	0.6	+0.6
Andrews	LIB	9173	31.5	-2.2
Fitzroy-Mendis, K	IND	11	0.0	+0.0
Brash	AMP	675	2.3	+2.3
Hill	IND	179	0.6	+0.6
Fitzroy-Mendis, S	IND	9	0.0	+0.0
Lloyd	IWP	18	0.1	+0.1
O'Connor	CTA	1168	4.0	+4.0
McManus	ALP	10870	37.4	-18.2
Jackson *	IND	1862	6.4	+6.4
Murphy	SWP	276	0.9	+0.9
Poulos		179	0.6	+0.6
<i>Final Count</i>				
Andrews	LIB	12077	47.2	n.a.
McManus	ALP	13517	52.8	n.a.
Exhausted		3481	12.0	
Formal		29075	98.0	+0.3
Informal		602	2.0	-0.3
Total Vote		29677	88.8	

Note: The vacancy was created by Jackson resigning from Parliament. He then surprisingly contested the by-election as an Independent.

Northern Tablelands **Roll 33441**
(23 May 1987: Death of Bill McCarthy)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First and Final Count</i>				
Chappell	NAT	14790	52.6	+4.2
McCarthy, T.	ALP	13347	47.4	-4.2
Formal		28137	98.7	-0.1
Informal		381	1.3	+0.1
Total Vote		28518	85.3	

National Party GAIN from Labor Party

Note: The Labor candidate was Thelma McCarthy, the widow of Bill McCarthy.

Greiner Government 1988-1991 (Coalition 1st Term)**Vaucluse 30366**
(Set for 18 Jun 1988: Death of Ray Aston)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
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Michael Yabsley returned unopposed.

North Shore 32318
(5 Nov 1988: Resignation of Ted Mack)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
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First Count

Read	IND	11523	51.8	+2.5
Wood	NDP	462	2.1	+2.1
McKenzie	ALP	1625	7.3	-3.9
Burnum Burnum	DEM	718	3.2	+3.2
Skinner	LIB	7913	35.6	-1.4
...	OTH		0.0	-2.5

Final Count

Read	IND	13838	63.0	+3.1
Skinner	LIB	8129	37.0	-3.1
Exhausted		274	1.2	
Formal		22241	98.2	+0.2
Informal		402	1.8	-0.2
Total		22643	70.1	

Port Stephens 34870
(5 Nov 1988: Court of Disputed Returns decision)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
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First Count

Creighton	IND	4368	14.7	+14.7
Martin	ALP	15953	53.6	+11.4
Dalton	IND	496	1.7	-2.3
Scott	LIB	8930	30.0	-10.3
...	IND		0.0	-13.4

Final Count

Martin	ALP	17925	63.0	+12.9
Skinner	LIB	10521	37.0	-12.9
Exhausted		1301	4.4	
Formal		29747	98.1	+1.5
Informal		581	1.9	-1.5
Total		30328	87.0	

Wallsend 33036
(17 Dec 1988: Death of Ken Booth)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
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First Count

Laver	IND	1377	4.9	+4.9
Stocker	IND	2555	9.1	+9.1
Mills	ALP	15671	55.8	-3.6
Bradley	IND	8485	30.2	+30.2
...	LIB		0.0	-40.6

Final Count

Mills	ALP	17011	63.4	+4.0
Bradley	IND	9817	36.6	+36.6
...	LIB		0.0	-40.6
Exhausted		1260	4.5	
Formal		28088	97.0	+1.0
Informal		870	3.0	-1.0
Total		28958	87.7	

Liverpool 30923
29 Apr 1989: Resignation of George Paciullo)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
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First Count

Syme	IND	2610	11.0	+11.0
Anderson	ALP	10775	45.6	-18.5
Conway	IND	1142	4.8	+4.8
Phillips	IND	84	0.4	+0.4
Baric	IND	942	4.0	+4.0
Jobson	SLL	146	0.6	+0.6
Perkins	IND	152	0.6	+0.6
Pascale	IND	1104	4.7	+4.7
Galea	IND	2031	8.6	+8.6
Kazan	IND	37	0.2	+0.2
Lucas	IND	2201	9.3	+9.3
Short	EFF	2415	10.2	+10.2
...	LIB		0.0	-35.9

Final Count

Syme	IND	7734	39.3	+39.3
Anderson	ALP	11947	60.7	-3.4
...	LIB		0.0	-35.9
Exhausted		3958	16.7	
Formal		23639	95.0	-0.4
Informal		1257	5.0	+0.4
Total		24896	80.5	

Granville **32798**
**(23 Jun 1990: Resignation of Laurie Ferguson to
 contest 1990 Federal election)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
MacDonald	GRN	3477	13.8	+13.8
Issa	IND	4744	18.8	+18.8
Yeadon	ALP	14960	59.4	+2.5
Barron	CTA	2020	8.0	-2.2
...	LIB		0.0	-33.0
<i>Final Count</i>				
Issa	IND	6269	28.4	+28.4
Yeadon	ALP	15770	71.6	+10.6
...	LIB		0.0	-39.1
Exhausted		3162	12.5	
Formal		25201	96.0	+1.1
Informal		1049	4.0	-1.1
Total		26250	80.0	

Heffron **31828**
**(23 Jun 1990: Resignation of Laurie Brereton to
 contest 1990 Federal election)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Grusovin	ALP	14393	65.6	+9.5
Newman	DEM	3549	16.2	+16.2
Berriman	GRN	2799	12.8	+12.8
Varidel	CTA	1188	5.4	+5.4
...	LIB		0.0	-35.4
...	IND		0.0	-8.5
<i>Final Count</i>				
Grusovin	ALP	15206	74.2	+15.1
Newman	DEM	5278	25.8	+25.8
...	LIB		0.0	-40.8
Exhausted		1445	6.6	
Formal		21929	95.6	+0.3
Informal		999	4.4	-0.3
Total		22928	72.0	

Smithfield **31818**
**(23 Jun 1990: Resignation of Janice Crosio to
 contest 1990 Federal election)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Scully	ALP	16844	68.5	+7.7
Grigg	CTA	1913	7.8	+7.8
Bateson	DEM	3505	14.3	+14.3
Torzok	IND	1329	5.4	+5.4
Oldfield	IND	996	4.1	+4.1
...	LIB		0.0	-39.2
<i>Final Count</i>				
Scully	ALP	18080	80.2	+19.3
Bateson	DEM	4476	19.8	+19.8
...	LIB		0.0	-39.2
Exhausted		2031	8.3	
Formal		24587	95.6	+1.1
Informal		1125	4.4	-1.1
Total		25712	80.8	

The Hills **36608**
(1 Sep 1990: Resignation of Fred Catterson)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Anderson	IND	1135	3.9	+3.9
Coleman	CTA	1606	5.5	+5.5
Craven	ALP	4228	14.4	-9.7
Potter	IND	6013	20.5	+20.5
Packard	LIB	14633	49.9	-26.0
Antrum	DEM	1712	5.8	+5.8
<i>Final Count</i>				
Craven	ALP	0	0.0	-24.1
Potter	IND	11713	42.7	+42.7
Packard	LIB	15741	57.3	-18.5
Exhausted		1873	6.4	
Formal		29327	98.2	+1.1
Informal		527	1.8	-1.1
Total		29854	81.6	

Coffs Harbour **35710**
(3 Nov 1990: Resignation of Matt Singleton)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Pike	DEM	1851	6.1	-2.5
Williams	CTA	902	3.0	+3.0
Dalton	IND	3437	11.3	+11.3
Dawes	IND	2501	8.2	+8.2
Rees	IND	629	2.1	+2.1
Fraser	NAT	11393	37.4	-29.9
Clarke	ALP	9790	32.1	+8.0
<i>Final Count</i>				
Fraser	NAT	15920	55.4	-16.0
Clarke	ALP	12823	44.6	+16.0
Exhausted		1760	5.8	
Formal		30503	98.4	+0.6
Informal		507	1.6	-0.6
Total		31010	86.8	

Macquarie Fields **35402**
(3 Nov 1990: Resignation of Stan Knowles)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Connelly	DEM	3450	14.1	+8.2
Knowles	ALP	13412	55.0	+9.6
Short	IND	7543	30.9	+30.9
...	LIB		0.0	-35.1
...	IND		0.0	-13.6
<i>Final Count</i>				
Knowles	ALP	14134	60.4	+5.5
Short	IND	9266	39.6	+39.6
...	LIB		0.0	-45.1
Exhausted		1005	4.1	
Formal		24405	95.9	+1.1
Informal		1032	4.1	-1.1
Total		25437	71.9	

Note: The Labor candidate was Craig Knowles, the son of the retiring MP.

Greiner Government 1991-1992 (Coalition 2nd Term)**The Entrance** **Roll 37478**
(18 Jan 1992: Court of Disputed Returns decision)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
James	CEC	326	1.0	+1.0
Irving	IND	584	1.7	-3.1
Clifford	IND	625	1.9	+1.9
McBride	ALP	16642	49.6	+6.4
Sawyer	DEM	693	2.1	-3.8
Hudson	GRY	391	1.2	+1.2
Scott-Irving	IND	92	0.3	+0.3
Graham *	LIB	14222	42.4	-3.8
<i>Final Count</i>				
McBride	ALP	17950	54.7	+4.9
Graham	LIB	14857	45.3	-4.9
Exhausted		768	2.3	
Formal		33575	98.4	+6.7
Informal		535	1.6	-6.7
Total Vote		34110	91.0	

Labor Party GAIN from Liberal Party**Davidson** **Roll 38058**
(2 May 1992: Resignation of Terry Metherell to accept Government job. Did not take up job after ICAC Inquiry)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Vescio	EFF	683	2.1	+2.1
Evanian	IND	852	2.7	+2.7
Cunningham	DEM	1156	3.6	-12.0
Roach	IND	361	1.1	+1.1
Begaud	IND	918	2.9	+2.9
Knowles	GRN	1195	3.7	+3.7
Leney	IND	190	0.6	+0.6
Klinger	IND	157	0.5	+0.5
Sutton	IND	9489	29.5	+29.5
Coleman	CTA	770	2.4	+2.4
Humpherson	LIB	15852	49.3	-16.1
Williams	IND	105	0.3	+0.3
Torzsok	IND	24	0.0	+0.0
Droulers	IND	34	0.1	+0.1
Fairlie-Cuninghame	IND	357	1.1	+1.1
...	ALP		0.0	-19.0
<i>Final Count</i>				
Sutton	IND	11737	40.3	+40.3
Humpherson	LIB	17352	59.7	-13.0
...	ALP		0.0	-27.3
Exhausted		3054	9.5	
Formal		32143	97.0	+5.1
Informal		1006	3.0	-5.1
Total Vote		33149	87.1	

Fahey Government 1992-1995 (Coalition 2nd Term)**Gordon** **Roll 37667**
(22 Aug 1992: Resignation of Tim Moore)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Bignold	MBT	1844	6.4	+6.4
Hay	CEC	1903	6.6	+6.6
Kinross	LIB	19832	69.0	-5.5
Barnett		4481	15.6	+15.6
Coleman	CTA	673	2.3	-1.5
...	DEM		0.0	-10.4
...	ALP		0.0	-11.2
<i>Final Count</i>				
Kinross	LIB	20999	77.8	-5.7
Barnett	IND	5975	22.2	+22.2
...	ALP		0.0	-16.5
Exhausted		1759	6.1	
Formal		28733	95.1	+1.0
Informal		1465	4.9	-1.0
Total Vote		30198	80.2	

Ku-ring-gai **Roll 38956**
(22 Aug 1992: Resignation of Nick Greiner)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Taylor	CTA	914	3.0	+0.7
Roach	IND	5442	17.6	+8.6
O'Doherty	LIB	14755	47.8	-14.6
Gallagher	IND	9725	31.5	+23.5
...	ALP		0.0	-18.3
<i>Final Count</i>				
O'Doherty	LIB	16167	55.1	-17.6
Gallagher	IND	13182	44.9	+44.9
...	ALP		0.0	-27.3
Exhausted		1487	4.8	
Formal		30836	95.7	+2.0
Informal		1371	4.3	-2.0
Total Vote		32207	82.7	

The Hills **Roll 40368**
(28 Aug 1993: Resignation of Tony Packard)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Pettitt	IND	414	1.3	+1.3
Gallagher	IND	1231	3.9	+3.9
Baggs	IND	1685	5.3	+5.3
Rothery	IND	677	2.1	+2.1
Solomons	IND	313	1.0	+1.0
Potter	IND	6466	20.3	-0.6
Feiner	IND	189	0.6	+0.6
Ivor F	IND	80	0.3	+0.3
Coleman	CTA	1375	4.3	+4.3
Richardson	LIB	19418	60.8	-1.7
Hooper	IND	75	0.2	+0.2
...	ALP		0.0	-12.4
...	DEM		0.0	-4.2
<i>Final Count</i>				
Potter	IND	9083	31.0	-1.6
Richardson	LIB	20184	69.0	+1.6
Exhausted		2656	8.3	
Formal		31923	97.3	+3.5
Informal		886	2.7	-3.5
Total Vote		32809	81.3	

North Shore **Roll 37354**
(5 Feb 1994: Resignation of Phillip Smiles)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Reid	IND	787	2.8	+2.8
Nolan	IND	878	3.1	+3.1
Skinner	LIB	15267	54.7	+3.6
Cater	DEM	590	2.1	+2.1
Read	IND	10408	37.3	-3.8
...	ALP		0.0	-7.9
<i>Final Count</i>				
Skinner	LIB	15905	58.4	+5.9
Read	IND	11338	41.6	-5.9
Exhausted		687	2.5	
Formal		27930	98.3	+3.9
Informal		473	1.7	-3.9
Total Vote		28403	76.0	

Vaucluse **Roll 39224**
(9 Apr 1994: Resignation of Michael Yabsley)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Matson	GRN	2453	9.1	+4.2
Debnam	LIB	15757	58.5	+3.4
Armitage	ALP	7856	29.2	+11.8
Marks	IND	870	3.2	+3.2
... (Watson)	IND		0.0	-14.5
...	DEM		0.0	-3.4
...	OTH		0.0	-4.7
<i>Final Count</i>				
Debnam	LIB	16621	63.3	+0.3
Armitage	ALP	9645	36.7	+36.7
... (Watson)	IND		0.0	-37.0
Exhausted		670	2.5	
Formal		26936	97.1	+6.3
Informal		808	2.9	-6.3
Total Vote		27744	70.7	

Parramatta **Roll 39556**
(27 Aug 1994: Death of Andrew Ziolkowski)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Issa	IND	811	2.7	+2.7
Jones	LIB	9523	31.6	-11.0
Verheyen	GRY	665	2.2	+2.2
Malkoun	IND	593	2.0	+2.0
Fitzgerald	GRN	798	2.7	+2.7
Cogger	IND	125	0.4	+0.4
Harrison	ALP	16527	54.9	+10.6
Coleman	CTA	724	2.4	+2.4
de Govrik	DSE	324	1.1	+1.1
...	DEM		0.0	-4.6
...	OTH		0.0	-8.5
<i>Final Count</i>				
Jones	LIB	11025	38.0	-9.5
Harrison	ALP	18013	62.0	+9.5
Exhausted		1052	3.5	
Formal		30090	96.3	+6.1
Informal		1169	3.7	-6.1
Total Vote		31259	79.0	

Note: Gabrielle Harrison was the widow of Andrew Ziolkowski.

Cabramatta **Roll 42632**
(22 Oct 1994: Death of John Newman)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Moore	IND	1361	4.4	+4.4
Meagher	ALP	22701	72.6	+21.0
de Govrik	DSE	865	2.8	+2.8
Nguyen	IND	3646	11.7	+11.7
Stevens	IND	680	2.2	+2.2
Grigg	CTA	1498	4.8	+4.8
Oldfield		497	1.6	+1.6
...	LIB		0.0	-21.8
... (Ngo)	IND		0.0	-11.9
...	DEM		0.0	-1.7
...	OTH		0.0	-12.9
<i>Final Count</i>				
Meagher	ALP	24367	83.9	+17.9
Nguyen	IND	4663	16.1	+16.1
...	LIB		0.0	-34.0
Exhausted		2218	7.1	
Formal		31248	90.5	+8.3
Informal		3275	9.5	-8.3
Total Vote		34523	81.0	

Note: The seat of Peats was left vacant until the 1995 election following the death of Tony Doyle in December 1994.

Carr Government 1995-1999 (Labor 1st Term)**Clarence 39919**
(25 May 1996: Resignation of Ian Causley to contest 1996 Federal election)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Woods	ALP	18030	51.3	+17.1
Wrightson	DEM	1415	4.0	+1.0
Sharman	GRN	1049	3.0	-0.6
Knight	NAT	14662	41.7	-11.3
...	OTH		0.0	-6.2
<i>Final Count</i>				
Woods	ALP	19280	55.7	+14.0
Knight	NAT	15352	44.3	-14.0
Exhausted		524	1.5	
Formal		35156	98.7	+1.8
Informal		451	1.3	-1.8
Total		35607	89.2	

Labor Party GAIN from National Party**Orange 39500**
(25 May 1996: Resignation of Gary West)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Turner	NAT	16884	48.7	-11.3
Cianfrano	IND	2299	6.6	+3.8
Sullivan	ALP	15489	44.7	+14.8
...	OTH		0.0	-7.2
<i>Final Count</i>				
Turner	NAT	18011	52.6	-13.8
Sullivan	ALP	16232	47.4	+13.8
Exhausted		429	1.2	
Formal		34672	98.6	+2.6
Informal		495	1.4	-2.6
Total		35167	89.0	

Pittwater 40585
(25 May 1996: Resignation of Jim Longley)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Dimond	DEM	4694	14.1	+9.8
Smith	IND	1591	4.8	+4.8
Brogden	LIB	16772	50.4	-10.6
Bristow	CTA	960	2.9	-0.2
Cairns	GRN	2344	7.0	-4.1
Sargent	ALP	4429	13.3	-5.7
Woodger	AAFI	2502	7.5	+7.5
...	OTH		0.0	-1.5
<i>Final Count</i>				
Dimond	DEM	10409	35.0	+35.0
Brogden	LIB	19346	65.0	-5.8
Sargent	ALP		0.0	-29.2
Exhausted		3537	10.6	
Formal		33292	98.4	+2.2
Informal		548	1.6	-2.2
Total		33840	83.4	

Southern Highlands 40345
(25 May 1996: Resignation of John Fahey to contest 1996 Federal election)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Butler	DEM	2155	6.1	+1.5
Chappell	CTA	763	2.2	-0.5
Duncan	IND	1493	4.2	+4.2
Seaton	LIB	10565	29.9	-24.7
Yeo	ALP	8862	25.1	-7.5
Hodgkinson	NAT	11530	32.6	+32.6
...	GRN		0.0	-5.7
<i>Final Count</i>				
Seaton	LIB	16933	52.4	-8.0
Yeo	ALP	0	0.0	-39.6
Hodgkinson	NAT	15400	47.6	+47.6
Exhausted		3035	8.6	
Formal		35368	98.0	+1.8
Informal		712	2.0	-1.8
Total		36080	89.4	

Strathfield **38157**
**(25 May 1996: Resignation of Paul Zammit to
 contest 1996 Federal election)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Peterson	CTA	1460	4.7	+4.7
Meagher	GRN	1323	4.2	+4.2
Timbrell	ALP	10484	33.7	-6.7
Hill	IND	298	1.0	+1.0
MacCarthy	LIB	15772	50.7	-2.8
Newman	DEM	1793	5.8	+0.8
...	OTH		0.0	-1.2
<i>Final Count</i>				
Timbrell	ALP	12522	41.8	-2.3
MacCarthy	LIB	17462	58.2	+2.3
Exhausted		1146	3.7	
Formal		31130	97.7	+3.1
Informal		744	2.3	-3.1
Total		31874	83.5	

Port Macquarie **42422**
(30 Nov 1996: Resignation of Wendy Machin)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Barrett	IND	11920	32.2	+32.2
Smith	SHO	2528	6.8	+6.8
Kooy	IND	412	1.1	+1.1
Rogers	IND	74	0.2	+0.2
Farrugia	IND	603	1.6	+1.6
Russell	GRN	1919	5.2	0.0
Hutchinson	AAFI	2273	6.1	+6.1
Oakshott	NAT	17293	46.7	-5.9
...	ALP		0.0	-29.9
...	OTH		0.0	-12.3
<i>Final Count</i>				
Barrett	IND	15268	45.1	+45.1
Oakshott	NAT	18559	54.9	-6.8
...	ALP		0.0	-38.3
Exhausted		3195	8.6	
Formal		37022	98.6	+2.2
Informal		536	1.4	-2.2
Total		37558	88.5	

Sutherland **44222**
(20 Dec 1997: Resignation of Chris Downey)

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Hunt	IND	557	1.5	+1.5
Druery	ORP	780	2.1	+2.1
Harris	IND	396	1.1	+1.1
Lentern	GRN	1710	4.7	+4.7
Copeland	CDP	1804	4.9	+0.9
Woodger	AAFI	1567	4.3	+4.3
Hawkins	ALP	12674	34.5	-2.8
Moore	IND	530	1.4	+1.4
Stone	LIB	16687	45.5	-5.4
...	OTH		0.0	-7.8
<i>Final Count</i>				
Hawkins	ALP	14752	43.8	+0.2
Stone	LIB	18950	56.2	-0.2
Exhausted		3003	8.2	
Formal		36705	98.1	+1.7
Informal		702	1.9	-1.7
Total		37407	84.6	

NOTE

The sitting members for Burrinjuck, Monaro and Swansea resigned in late 1998, but by-elections were not held before the state election.

Carr Government 1999-2003 (Labor 2nd Term)**Campbelltown Roll 42761
(3 Feb 2001: Resignation of Michael Knight)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Woodger	AAFI	2775	8.4	+5.9
Nannelli	CDP	1292	3.9	+3.9
Rosso		3772	11.4	+11.4
Blanch	DEM	2945	8.9	+4.7
Barker	IND	2851	8.6	+8.6
West	ALP	19586	59.0	+4.2
....	LIB		0.0	-21.4
....	OTH		0.0	-17.2
<i>Final Count</i>				
Rosso		6009	22.2	+22.2
West	ALP	21070	77.8	+8.0
....	LIB		0.0	-30.1
Exhausted		6142	18.5	
Formal		33221	96.3	-0.9
Informal		1285	3.8	+0.9
Total/Turnout		34506	80.7	

**Auburn Roll 45827
(8 Sep 2001: Resignation of Peter Nagle)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Irvine	LIB	8499	22.4	+2.6
Perry	ALP	17690	46.6	-12.9
Appleby	IND	744	2.0	+2.0
Barker D.	CDP	501	1.3	+1.3
Lam	UNI	3792	10.0	+2.6
Barker C.	IND	72	0.2	+0.2
Maxwell	GRN	845	2.2	+0.4
Saddick	IND	2581	6.8	+6.8
McDermott	DEM	903	2.4	-0.4
Balendra		616	1.6	+1.6
Vinnicombe		1741	4.6	+4.6
....	ONP		0.0	-6.2
....	OTH		0.0	-2.5
<i>Final Count</i>				
Irvine	LIB	11443	36.9	+11.1
Perry	ALP	19600	63.1	-11.1
Exhausted		6941	18.3	
Formal		37984	96.9	+0.7
Informal		1204	3.1	-0.7
Total		39188	85.5	

**Tamworth Roll 44445
(8 Dec 2001: Resignation of Tony Windsor to contest 2001 Federal election)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Cull	NAT	14293	36.3	+24.8
Woodley	IND	5897	15.0	+15.0
Kelly	IND	466	1.2	+1.2
Fritze	IND	359	0.9	+0.9
McKenzie	IND	2775	7.1	+7.1
Treloar	IND	8934	22.7	+22.7
Tait	ALP	5831	14.8	+2.5
Cowling	DEM	771	2.0	+2.0
.... (Windsor)	IND		0.0	-69.4
....	ONP		0.0	-6.7
<i>Final Count</i>				
Cull	NAT	19862	58.7	+58.7
Treloar	IND	13984	41.3	+41.3
Tait	ALP		0.0	-14.8
.... (Windsor)	IND		0.0	-85.2
Exhausted		5480	14.0	
Formal		39326	98.2	-0.6
Informal		735	1.8	+0.6
Total		40061	90.1	

National Party GAIN from Independent**Hornsby Roll 46930
(23 Feb 2002: Resignation of Stephen O'Doherty)**

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Gallagher	IND	4675	12.4	+7.8
Hopwood	LIB	18206	48.1	+7.0
Mohr	GRN	4975	13.2	+9.4
Nannelli	CDP	1045	2.8	+2.8
Wong	DEM	2296	6.1	+1.2
Muirhead	IND	6634	17.5	+17.5
....	ALP		0.0	-33.8
....	OTH		0.0	-7.9
....	ONP		0.0	-4.1
<i>Final Count</i>				
Hopwood	LIB	20096	60.2	+7.5
Muirhead	IND	13309	39.8	+39.8
....	ALP		0.0	-47.3
Exhausted		4436	11.7	
Formal		37831	97.7	+0.1
Informal		878	2.3	-0.1
Total		38709	82.5	

Carr Government 2003-2005 (Labor 3rd Term)

Dubbo		Roll 42678		
(20 Nov 2004: Death of Tony McGrane)				
Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Swing
<i>First Count</i>				
Cowley	NAT	16365	42.4	+4.2
Loughlin	GRN	1390	3.6	+0.9
Fardell	IND	19511	50.6	+50.6
Rangihaeata	IND	1326	3.4	+3.4
.... (McGrane)	IND		0.0	-41.3
....	ALP		0.0	-15.1
....	OTH		0.0	-2.7
<i>Final Count</i>				
Cowley	NAT	16847	44.8	-0.2
Fardell	IND	20794	55.2	+55.2
.... (McGrane)	IND		0.0	-55.0
Exhausted		951	2.5	
Formal		38592	98.5	
Informal		589	1.5	-0.2
Total		39181	88.9	

APPENDIX C

Comparing By-elections to Preceding and Subsequent Elections

For similar data on by-elections between 1941 and 1984, see Appendix in Goot's by-election study. Where a redistribution has taken place between two elections, only booths included in the electorate at both general elections have been included. These electorates are indicated by **(Booths in Common)**.

Wran Government 1984-1986

	Percentage Vote by Party			Swing between 1984 and	
	1984	By-Election	1988	By-Election	1988
MURRAY (1985)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	24.0	0.0	23.3	-24.0	-0.6
National	67.2	62.0	76.7	-5.1	+9.5
Independent	0.0	38.0	0.0	+38.0	+0.0
Others	8.8	0.0	0.0	-8.8	-8.8
PEATS (1985)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	60.4	49.7	49.3	-10.7	-11.1
Liberal	33.1	40.5	33.9	+7.4	+0.7
Others	6.5	9.9	16.8	+3.4	+10.4
GLOUCESTER (1985)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	40.8	0.0	24.3	-40.8	-16.4
National	59.2	64.4	75.7	+5.2	+16.4
Others	0.0	35.6	0.0	+35.6	+0.0
Note: Gloucester was abolished in 1988. Comparison is with booths in common with the new electorate of Manning, which was contested by Gloucester MP Wendy Machin.					
CABRAMATTA (1986)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	65.1	49.4	52.5	-15.8	-12.6
Liberal	34.9	33.8	41.0	-1.1	+6.1
Others	0.0	16.8	6.5	+16.8	+6.5
CANTERBURY (1986)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	69.2	53.7	47.6	-15.5	-21.5
Liberal	30.8	35.7	23.7	+4.8	-7.1
Others	0.0	10.6	28.7	+10.6	+28.7
KIAMA (1986)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	64.6	59.1	61.8	-5.5	-2.8
Liberal	35.4	25.7	38.2	-9.7	+2.8
Others	0.0	15.3	0.0	+15.3	+0.0
PITTWATER (1986)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	25.4	0.0	13.0	-25.4	-12.4
Liberal	60.7	43.3	57.0	-17.4	-3.6
Independent	0.0	23.5	26.7	+23.5	+26.7
Others	13.9	33.1	3.2	+19.3	-10.7
VAUCLUSE (1986)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	24.4	0.0	23.4	-24.4	-1.1
Liberal	71.6	71.4	76.6	-0.2	+5.1
Others	4.0	28.6	0.0	+24.6	-4.0

Unsworth Government 1986-1988

	Percentage Vote by Party			Swing between 1984 and	
	1984	By-Election	1988	By-Election	1988
ROCKDALE (1986)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	63.3	46.2	53.6	-17.1	-9.6
Liberal	34.1	40.6	33.6	+6.5	-0.5
Others	2.7	13.2	12.8	+10.6	+10.2
BASS HILL (1986)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	64.6	42.6	49.0	-22.0	-15.6
Liberal	29.2	32.8	42.0	+3.6	+12.8
Others	6.2	24.6	9.0	+18.3	+2.8
BANKSTOWN (1987)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	65.2	44.4	51.9	-20.8	-13.3
Liberal	34.8	23.8	30.5	-11.0	-4.3
Independent	0.0	17.9	17.5	+17.9	+17.5
Others	0.0	13.9	0.0	+13.9	+0.0
HEATHCOTE (1987)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	54.1	33.2	42.7	-21.0	-11.4
Liberal	37.6	35.5	43.1	-2.1	+5.5
Others	8.3	31.4	14.2	+23.1	+5.9
NORTHERN TABLELANDS (1987)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	53.0	48.6	28.9	-4.4	-24.2
National	47.0	51.4	64.0	+4.4	+17.1
Others	0.0	0.0	7.1	+0.0	+7.1

Greiner Government 1988-1991

	Percentage Vote by Party			Swing between 1988 and	
	1988	By-Election	1991	By-Election	1991
NORTH SHORE (1988)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	10.7	6.8	8.1	-3.9	-2.5
Liberal	38.1	36.1	45.7	-2.1	+7.6
Independent	49.0	51.8	46.1	+2.8	-2.9
Others	2.2	5.4	0.0	+3.2	-2.2
PORT STEPHENS (1988)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	41.7	51.8	55.8	+10.1	+14.1
Liberal	41.9	31.2	29.0	-10.6	-12.8
National	0.0	0.0	9.8	+0.0	+9.8
Others	16.5	17.0	5.4	+0.6	-11.1
WALLSEND (1988)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	58.6	54.5	56.6	-4.1	-1.9
Liberal	41.4	0.0	29.2	-41.4	-12.2
Others	0.0	45.5	14.2	+45.5	+14.2

Greiner Government 1988-1991 (Continued)

	Percentage Vote by Party			Swing between 1988 and	
	1988	By-Election	1991	By-Election	1991
LIVERPOOL (1989)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	66.9	47.7	61.5	-19.1	-5.4
Liberal	33.1	0.0	21.3	-33.1	-11.9
Others	0.0	52.3	17.2	+52.3	+17.2
GRANVILLE (1990)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	56.2	58.5	55.6	+2.3	-0.6
Liberal	34.3	0.0	31.8	-34.3	-2.5
Others	9.5	41.5	12.6	+32.0	+3.1
HEFFRON (1990)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	55.9	65.4	57.7	+9.5	+1.7
Liberal	36.5	0.0	31.6	-36.5	-4.9
Others	7.6	34.6	10.7	+27.0	+3.1
SMITHFIELD (1990)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	59.8	67.8	55.9	+8.0	-3.9
Liberal	40.2	0.0	30.2	-40.2	-10.0
Others	0.0	32.2	13.9	+32.2	+13.9
THE HILLS (1990)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	21.0	12.5	12.2	-8.6	-8.9
Liberal	79.0	50.8	60.7	-28.1	-18.2
Independent	0.0	21.3	24.2	+21.3	+24.2
Others	0.0	15.4	2.9	+15.4	+2.9
COFFS HARBOUR (1990)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	22.5	29.5	36.6	+7.0	+14.1
National	69.0	36.8	52.2	-32.3	-16.8
Others	8.5	33.7	11.2	+25.3	+2.7
MACQUARIE FIELDS (1990)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	45.0	51.5	47.1	+6.6	+2.2
Liberal	35.4	0.0	31.6	-35.4	-3.8
Others	19.7	48.5	21.3	+28.8	+1.7

Note: Macquarie Fields was abolished in 1991. Comparison is with common booths in the new electorate of Moorebank, which was contested by Macquarie Fields MP Craig Knowles.

Greiner Government 1991-1992

	Percentage Vote by Party			Swing between 1991 and	
	1991	By-Election	1995	By-Election	1995
THE ENTRANCE (1992)					
Labor	43.1	49.6	47.4	+6.4	+4.3
Liberal	46.1	42.4	40.3	-3.8	-5.9
Others	10.7	8.1	12.3	-2.7	+1.6
DAVIDSON (1992)					
Labor	19.0	0.0	19.3	-19.0	+0.3
Liberal	65.4	49.3	62.7	-16.1	-2.7
Independent	0.0	29.5	0.0	+29.5	+0.0
Others	15.6	21.2	17.9	+5.6	+2.3

Fahey Government 1992-1995

	Percentage Vote by Party			Swing between 1991 and	
	1991	By-Election	1995	By-Election	1995
GORDON (1992)					
Labor	11.2	0.0	12.4	-11.2	+1.1
Liberal	74.5	69.0	68.0	-5.5	-6.5
Independent	0.0	15.6	0.0	+15.6	+0.0
Others	14.3	15.4	19.6	+1.1	+5.3
KU-RING-GAI (1992)					
Labor	18.3	0.0	19.9	-18.3	+1.6
Liberal	62.4	47.8	57.1	-14.6	-5.4
Independent	0.0	31.5	16.7	+31.5	+16.7
Others	19.3	20.6	6.4	+1.3	-13.0
THE HILLS (1993)					
Labor	12.4	0.0	19.9	-12.4	+7.5
Liberal	62.5	60.8	69.1	-1.7	+6.6
Independent	20.8	20.3	0.0	-0.6	-20.8
Others	4.2	18.9	11.0	+14.7	+6.7
NORTH SHORE (1994)					
Labor	7.9	0.0	20.7	-7.9	+12.8
Liberal	51.1	54.7	60.9	+3.6	+9.8
Independent	41.0	37.3	0.0	-3.8	-41.0
Others	0.0	8.1	18.4	+8.1	+18.4
VAUCLUSE (1994)					
Labor	17.4	29.2	26.3	+11.8	+8.9
Liberal	55.1	58.5	59.2	+3.4	+4.1
Independent	14.5	0.0	0.0	-14.5	-14.5
Others	13.0	12.3	14.6	-0.7	+1.5
PARRAMATTA (1994)					
Labor	44.3	54.9	54.7	+10.6	+10.4
Liberal	42.6	31.6	36.0	-11.0	-6.6
Others	13.1	13.4	9.3	+0.3	-3.8
CABRAMATTA (1994)					
Labor	51.7	72.6	65.4	+21.0	+13.7
Liberal	21.8	0.0	24.5	-21.8	+2.7
Others	26.5	27.4	10.1	+0.9	-16.4

Carr Government 1995-1999

	Percentage Vote by Party			Swing between 1995 and	
	1995	By-Election	1999	By-Election	1999
CLARENCE (1996)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	35.5	52.4	37.2	+16.9	+1.7
Liberal	0.0	0.0	17.7	+0.0	+17.7
National	51.9	40.3	25.4	-11.6	-26.5
Others	12.6	7.2	19.7	-5.4	+7.1
ORANGE (1996)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	30.6	45.8	33.7	+15.2	+3.1
National	59.1	47.4	40.6	-11.7	-18.4
Others	10.3	6.8	25.7	-3.6	+15.4
PITTWATER (1996)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	19.4	13.4	19.2	-6.1	-0.2
Liberal	60.6	49.6	52.0	-11.0	-8.6
Others	20.0	37.1	28.8	+17.1	+8.8
SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS (1996)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	25.1	21.0	31.7	-4.1	+6.6
Liberal	59.9	34.6	49.6	-25.3	-10.3
National	0.0	32.9	0.0	+32.9	+0.0
Others	15.0	11.4	18.7	-3.6	+3.7
STRATHFIELD (1996)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	38.3	31.8	42.5	-6.5	+4.3
Liberal	55.4	52.8	37.6	-2.6	-17.7
Others	6.4	15.4	19.8	+9.1	+13.5
PORT MACQUARIE (1996)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	30.4	0.0	27.7	-30.4	-2.7
National	52.3	47.0	55.1	-5.3	+2.8
Independent	0.0	31.6	0.0	+31.6	+0.0
Others	17.3	21.3	17.2	+4.1	-0.1
SUTHERLAND (1997)				(Booths in Common)	
Labor	40.8	39.0	42.2	-1.8	+1.5
Liberal	46.1	38.9	33.6	-7.2	-12.4
Others	13.1	22.1	24.1	+9.0	+11.0

Note: Sutherland was abolished in 1999. Comparison is with common booths in the new electorate of Heathcote, which was contested by Sutherland MP Lorna Stone.

Carr Government 1999-2003

	Percentage Vote by Party			Swing between 1999 and	
	1999	By-Election	2003	By-Election	2003
CAMPBELLTOWN (2001)					
Labor	54.8	59.0	60.1	+4.2	+5.3
Liberal	21.4	0.0	25.7	-21.4	+4.4
Others	23.9	41.0	14.2	+17.2	-9.7
AUBURN (2001)					
Labor	59.5	46.6	60.8	-12.9	+1.3
Liberal	19.7	22.4	16.2	+2.6	-3.5
Others	20.8	31.1	23.0	+10.3	+2.2
TAMWORTH (2001)					
Labor	12.4	14.8	11.9	+2.5	-0.5
National	11.6	36.3	39.1	+24.8	+27.5
Independent	69.4	22.7	40.0	-46.6	-29.3
Others	6.7	26.1	9.0	+19.4	+2.3
HORNSBY (2002)					
Labor	33.8	0.0	34.6	-33.8	+0.8
Liberal	41.1	48.1	44.2	+7.0	+3.2
Independent	0.0	17.5	0.0	+17.5	+0.0
Others	25.1	34.3	21.1	+9.2	-4.0

PARTY CODES

(blank)	No party affiliation
AAFI	Australians Against Further Information
ALP	Australian Labor Party
AMP	Australian Marijuana Party
AP	Australia Party
BAP	British Australia Party
CCT	Community and Conservation Team
CDP	Christian Democratic Party
CEC	Citizens Electoral Council
CON	Conservative
CP	Country Party
CTA	Call to Australia (Fred Nile) Group
DEM	Australian Democrats
DLP	Democratic Labor Party
DOG	Defence of Government Schools
DSE	Daylight Saving Extension Party
EFF	Independent EFF
GL	Gay Liberation
GRN	Greens
GRY	Greypower
IND	Independent
IWP	Illawarra Workers Party
LCP	Liberal Country Party (Coalition)
LIB	Liberal Party
LNP	Liberal National Party (Coalition)
MBT	Marie Bignold Team
NA	National Action
NAR	New Australian Republican Party
NAT	National Party
NCP	National Country Party
NDP	Nuclear Disarmament Party
NFA	Nuclear Free Australia
NS	National Socialist
ONP	One Nation
ORP	Outdoor Recreation Party
OTH	Others
PER	Pan Ethnic Republican Party
RP	Republican Party
SBE	Small Business and Enterprise Party
SHO	Shooters Party
SLL	Socialist Labour League
SPA	Socialist Party
SWP	Socialist Workers Party
UAP	Unite Australia Party
UM	Uninflated Movement
UNI	Unity
WP	Workers Party

ABBREVIATIONS

n.a.	not available
2CP	2-candidate preferred
2PP	2-party preferred
..	Nil or rounded to zero

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