

# A Proportional Representation System for the Election of the NSW Parliament

Proposed by Stephen Lesslie  
stephen@lesslie.com.au

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# 1 Rationale

The electoral reform proposed here is designed to re-engage the electors of NSW by ensuring that they are given genuine choice of major party candidates in the election of their parliamentary representatives.

## 2 Preamble

- Currently the NSW Parliament does not reflect the major political trends within the NSW community;
- election campaigns are increasingly run on “what’s good for the marginal seats of NSW” rather than “what’s good for NSW”;
- voters from safe seats have no influence on the outcome of elections; governments are elected and defeated by swinging voters in a few marginal seats;
- the majority of voters do not have as their Member of Parliament the candidate to whom they gave their first preference;
- voters have no opportunity to choose between candidates of the same party and are required to either accept the party’s choice or reject the party;
- the voting system is distorted by donkey voting;
- election campaigns are increasingly run on a second preference strategy;
- strategic voting is encouraged by some minor parties in all electorates, and by major parties in electorates considered safe for the major opposition party; the aim is to *defeat* a particular candidate or party rather than to elect a candidate from their own party;
- groups that campaign in support of a losing side in “winner takes all” elections may be punished in a vindictive way. In a multi member proportional representation electorate these groups merge with all other sectional and protest groups;
- by-elections are expensive and open to manipulation by the major parties’ deciding whether or not to contest the election;
- redistributions can be used to punish outspoken Members of Parliament.

The proportional representation model proposed here for the Legislative Assembly, and concurrent reform of the proportional representation system for the Legislative Council, will ensure:

- the long term viability of the two party system;
- a parliament that reflects genuine political opinion within the NSW community;
- that every vote is of equal value and every voter of equal importance;
- that every voter, no matter where they live, has a reasonable chance of having their candidate of first choice elected;
- that voters who now live in safe seats will have as much influence in determining the outcome of elections as voters now living in marginal seats;
- that political parties are encouraged to recruit capable and experienced candidates;
- that all Members of Parliament, not just the ones in marginal seats, can be held accountable at elections;
- that voters can choose candidates on personal as well as political grounds without the fear that their vote will be split or wasted;
- that small opportunistic parties are not rewarded with seats in Parliament, including eight year Legislative Council terms, and a life time parliamentary pension;
- elimination of the distortion caused by donkey voting;
- a system in which there are no backroom preference deals based on strategic and not political grounds; the voter, not the party, chooses where their second and subsequent preferences are allocated;
- that landslide election wins are not rewarded with disproportionately large parliamentary representation;
- that in the event of the death or resignation of a member, a recount of the ballot papers will result in the replacement of that member by someone acceptable to the original member's supporters.
- Liberal and National Party supporters are given the opportunity to vote for the party of their choice and are not limited by inter-party agreements to only one of the coalition parties.

### 3 Outline of Proposal

- Hare Clark proportional representation system, sometimes called a Single Transferable Vote, for both the Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council. The procedure for counting a proportional representation ballot proposed by the Proportional Representation Society of Australia is recommended.
- For the Legislative Assembly five electorates are proposed, each returning nineteen members. The Legislative Council would consist of 38 members; half (19 members) being elected at alternate State elections from one electorate comprising the whole of NSW. The proposal reduces the total number of members of the NSW Parliament by two.

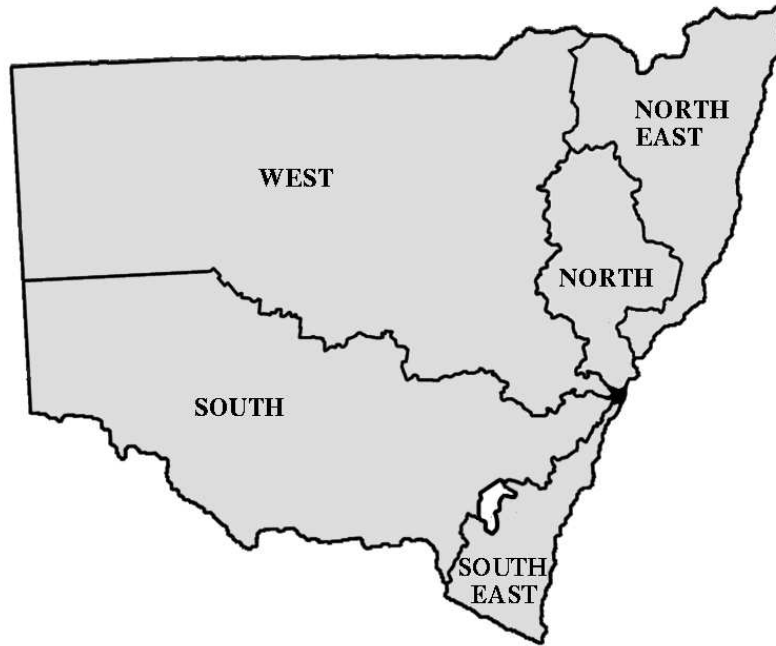
These two points are the key to this proposal and, with the refinements outlined below, produce an electoral system under which fine distinctions in voting support will be accurately reflected in the composition of the parliament, but micro parties and opportunistic groupings will not be elected.

Other features include:

- all electorates to include both city and country voters.
- rotation of candidates, using the Robson rotation, within a party grouping to prevent any advantage from the donkey vote.
- optional preferential voting.
- no above-the-line voting.
- high deposits for candidates, returnable only if a candidate is elected from the party group.
- casual vacancies filled by re-examining the original ballot papers.

### 3.1 Legislative Assembly

It is proposed to divide the state into five electorates. North East, North, West, South, and South East.



The proposed electorates of North, West, South and South East all contain a portion of Sydney's greater metropolitan area and the adjacent country/regional areas to the borders of the state. The electorate of North East extends from the City of Newcastle north to the Queensland border.

Each electorate elects nineteen members. The quota for election is 5.00%. The number of members elected to the Legislative Assembly is ninety five, an increase of two. (Note: The Legislative Council is reduced by four).

The sizes of the proposed electorates are as large as practicable ensuring that the quotas are small enough to enable fine distinctions in voting support to be reflected in the composition of the parliament.

The quotas are also large enough to ensure that micro parties and opportunistic groupings are not elected.

Any party that fails to obtain a quota (5.00%) would find it very difficult to have a candidate elected, thus eliminating the need to introduce any arbitrary threshold for election.

The electorates should be based on local government boundaries but for the purpose of this proposal, and to facilitate the analysis of the electorates (see

appendices below), they are based on existing state electorates.

### **3.2 Legislative Council**

The Legislative Council would remain as presently constituted, with the state of NSW as the electorate. It is recommended that the number of members to be elected at each half Legislative Council election be reduced to nineteen. This makes the quota for election 5.00% (See appendices for the analysis of both 19 and 21 member Legislative Council elections for 2003 and 2007).

## 4 Proportional Representation, Robson rotation, Above-the-Line voting etc

Many of the concepts in this proposal are the same as the author's proportional representation system proposed for the Australian Parliament.

For an explanation of the mechanics and benefits of proportional representation, Robson rotation, spreading of the vote, above-the-line voting, electoral deposits, star recruits and bulwark against landslides it is recommended that the reader see the companion proposal.

### 4.1 The Decline of the Two Party System

As the following graph demonstrates, the decline of the two party system is even more pronounced in the NSW Parliament than in the Australian Parliament.

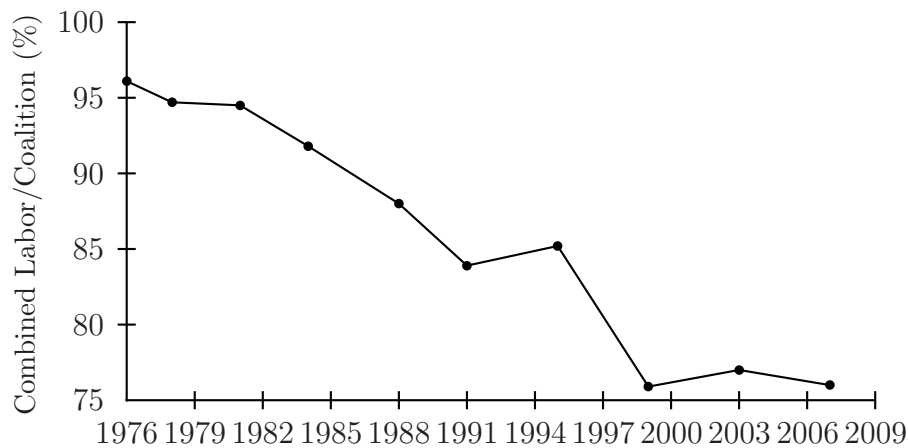


Figure 1: The Two Party system in decline in NSW.

Combined Labor and Coalition results in the Legislative Assembly.

	1976	1978	1981	1984	1988	1991	1995	1999	2003	2007
Labor	49.8	57.8	55.7	48.8	38.5	39.1	41.3	42.2	42.7	39.0
Liberal	36.3	27.0	27.6	32.2	35.8	34.3	32.8	24.8	24.7	26.9
National	10.0	9.9	11.2	10.8	13.7	10.5	11.1	8.9	9.6	10.1
Comb Majors	96.1	94.7	94.5	91.8	88.0	83.9	85.2	75.9	77.0	76.0
Democrats	–	2.6	2.4	2.8	1.8	5.4	2.8	3.3	0.9	0.5
One Nation								7.5	1.3	–
Greens								3.9	8.3	9.0
Others	3.9	2.7	3.0	5.4	10.2	10.8	12.0	9.4	12.5	14.5



Preferential voting and the tendency of politicians, pollsters and journalists to discuss election results in two party preferred terms have masked this general decline in the support for the major parties.

## 4.2 Rise of Independents

As the following histogram demonstrates, the decline in support for the two party system is also illustrated by the rise in the number of Independents being elected to the Legislative Assembly.<sup>1</sup>



Figure 2: The rise of independents in NSW since 1976.

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<sup>1</sup>Independents since 1976:

1976 John Hatton

1978 Hatton

1981 Hatton, Ted Mack

1984 Hatton, Mack, Frank Arkell

1988 Hatton, Mack, Arkell, Ernest Keegan, Clover Moore, Ivan Welsh, Dawn Fraser

1991 Hatton, Moore, Peter Macdonald, Tony Windsor

1995 Moore, Macdonald, Windsor

1999 Moore, Windsor, David Barr, Richard Torbay, Tony McGrane

2003 Moore, Barr, Torbay, McGrane, Peter Draper, Robert Oakeshott

2007 Moore, Torbay, Draper, Oakeshott, Dawn Fardell, Greg Piper

Note: The NSW Parliament often has members who sit as Independents. To be included in this list the member must have stood at a general election as an Independent and have been opposed by both major parties. Seats where one party has deliberately run dead to ensure the Independent candidate does not finish in third place have been included as they demonstrate the manipulations inherent in the current system.

If the rise in support for Independents and minor parties continues it will eventually undermine and destroy the two party system in Australia. In single member electorates Independents and minor parties only achieve limited success until their vote reaches approximately 25%. At this point substantial numbers of Independent and minor party candidates will have pushed one or other of the major parties to third place and can then expect to receive a major flow of preferences from the losing major party candidate.

The National Party in recent years has been a victim of this process. Independents have been able to capture and hold what were formerly strong National Party seats. The process is assisted by the ALP's preferencing the Independents and refusing to campaign in any meaningful way. The Labor Party itself is not immune to the phenomenon; the seat of Lake Macquarie is now held by an Independent and in the past Newcastle, Wollongong and Balmain were held by Independents. It could also be argued that the seat of Bligh/Sydney is nominally a Labor Party seat. A similar process cost the Liberal Party the seat of Pittwater in the 2005 by-election.

Once elected in single member electorates, Independents are reasonably secure from swings affecting the major political parties. The proposed model ensures that for Independents to be confident of being elected they will need to obtain their own quota and not merely rely on the preferences of the losing major party. All parties, particularly the major parties, will have an incentive to campaign positively in all regions of the State.

### **4.3 Minority Governments**

Despite all mainland states having single-member electorates for their lower houses minority governments are no longer an unusual phenomenon in Australia. As a direct result of the decline of the combined primary vote for the major parties most states in recent years, including NSW from 1991 to 1995, have experienced minority governments

At the next NSW election (2011) there will be a hung parliament if the Labor Government loses between six and eleven seats. Either the Labor Party or the Liberal/National coalition will have to form a minority government. The resulting government would need the support of Independents who have just asked their voters to reject party politics. The government could never be certain that its program would be supported. With fixed parliamentary terms the government would not be able to resolve any deadlocks by calling an early election. The situation would be very unstable, and the government could well be forced to resign mid-term and allow the opposition to try to form a government.

Under the proposed model the number of Independents elected will drop substantially. The analysis of the last two state elections shows that the

Greens would have elected seven or eight members (see appendix). Unlike most independents the Greens have a platform and caucus, and as a result could be expected to come to an arrangement with one of the major parties either to form a coalition government or to support a minority government. It would then be in the interests of all parties to this arrangement to ensure its viability because all would be judged on its success or failure.

The commonly held fear that proportional representation will always produce minority governments is wrong. Under the proposed model the 2003 state election results would have given the Labor Party, with 42.7% of the vote, an absolute majority in the Legislative Assembly and a majority of the seats contested in the Legislative Council (see appendix).

It is the author's view that the support for independents and minor parties will decline as voters learn that they can vote within major party groups for individual candidates that they like or trust, or who represent their own interests more closely. This trend can be observed in recent ACT Legislative Assembly elections (see following table).

ACT Legislative Elections				
Electorate	Party	1998	2001	2004
Brindabella	ALP	28.5	44.0	45.7
	Liberal	37.1	31.9	40.4
	Combined Majors	65.6	75.9	86.1
Ginninderra	ALP	29.6	42.8	50.1
	Liberal	33.1	27.9	32.4
	Combined Majors	62.7	70.7	82.5
Molonglo	ALP	25.6	39.3	45.3
	Liberal	41.5	34.1	32.6
	Combined Majors	67.1	73.4	77.9

#### 4.4 Optional Preferential Voting, Informal Voting and Above-the-Line Voting

It is essential for the full enfranchisement of NSW voters that optional preferential voting for the Legislative Assembly is maintained. There is no necessity to introduce a minimum number of preferences. Whilst such a requirement marginally reduces the number of exhausted votes it greatly increases the informal vote. *The net result is that fewer people have participated in the election.*

Above-the-line voting should be abolished and optional preferential voting introduced for the Legislative Council. This would reduce the Legislative Council's

disappointingly high informal vote (5.6% in 2003 and 6.1% in 2007) to a level similar to the Legislative Assembly (2.6% in 2003 and 2.7% in 2007).

## **4.5 Redistributions**

Redistributions are easy. Most members of Parliament would be unaffected as the electorates would remain basically the same. Because of the size of the electorates, internal movement of voters, such as from country to city, may well result in no net change.

A redistribution occurred in NSW between the 2003 and 2007 elections. The seat of Lachlan was abolished and the seat of Wollondilly was established. Not surprisingly, the electorates in this proposal would have been unaffected by this change.

## **4.6 Three Cornered Contests**

In the 2003 and 2007 elections in NSW there were no three cornered contests. Neither the Liberal nor the National Party attempted to win a seat from their coalition partner. These inter-party agreements deny the opportunity for Liberal supporters to vote Liberal and National supporters to vote National. These agreements also freeze the respective ratios of the two parties in the parliament. The proposed model allows all voters, whether they live in the city or country, to be able to vote for the party of their choice.

## 5 Implementation

Unfortunately the NSW constitution requires a referendum to implement this system, or any multi-member system for the Legislative Assembly.

At local government level referendums to introduce proportional representation are invariably carried and overseas experience such as in Ireland and New Zealand also demonstrates that the public generally supports the introduction of proportional representation.

## 6 2007 and 2003 NSW Elections

Using the proposed five electorates the author has analysed the results of the 2007 and 2003 NSW elections for both the Legislative Assembly and for a thirty eight member (two groups of nineteen) Legislative Council. (See appendices for a detailed breakdown of these results and for simulated results of the current twenty one member Legislative Council elections).

### 6.1 2007 Legislative Assembly Election

Electorate	Members	ALP	Liberal	National	Green	Indep
North East	19	8	3	5	2	1
North	19	5	11	1	2	–
West	19	11	4	2	1	1 <sup>a</sup>
South	19	10	6	2	1	–
South East	19	10	7	–	2	–
Total	95	44	31	10	8	2

Actual result with 93 single-member electorates:						
	<i>93</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>13</i>	–	<i>6</i>

<sup>a</sup>Christian Democratic Party

Party	Members elected	% of the vote	% of the seats	( <i>actual %</i> )
ALP	44	39.0	46.3	<i>55.9</i>
Liberal	31	26.9	32.6	<i>23.7</i>
National	10	10.1	10.5	<i>14.0</i>
Greens	8	9.0	8.4	–
Independents (6) <sup>a</sup>	1	3.3 <sup>b</sup>	1.1	<i>6.5</i>
Christian D.P <sup>c</sup>	1	2.5	1.1	–
Others <sup>d</sup>	–	9.2	–	–

<sup>a</sup>Moore (Sydney), Fardell (Dubbo), Draper (Tamworth), Oakeshott (Port Macquarie), Torbay (Northern Tablelands), Piper (Lake Macquarie)

<sup>b</sup>The author believes this vote is inflated as it is the result of tactical voting by Labor Party supporters in Dubbo, Northern Tablelands, Port Macquarie and Tamworth and Liberal supporters in Lake Macquarie and both Liberal and Labor supporters in Sydney.

<sup>c</sup>The Christian Democratic Party (CDP) only contested 57 seats.

<sup>d</sup>All minor parties and unsuccessful Independent candidates.

## 6.2 2003 Legislative Assembly Election

Electorate	Members	ALP	Liberal	National	Green	Indep
North East	19	9	4	4	1	1
North	19	7	9	1	2	–
West	19	12	4	2	1	–
South	19	11	5	2	1	–
South East	19	10	7	–	2	–
Total	95	49	29	9	7	1

Actual result with 93 single-member electorates:

<i>93</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>–</i>	<i>6</i>
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Party	Members elected	% of the vote	% of the seats	( <i>actual %</i> )
ALP	49	42.6	51.6	<i>59.1</i>
Liberal	29	24.9	30.5	<i>22.6</i>
National	9	9.7	9.5	<i>11.8</i>
Greens	7	8.3	7.4	–
Independents (6) <sup>a</sup>	1	3.2 <sup>b</sup>	1.0	<i>6.5</i>
Others <sup>c</sup>	–	11.3	—	–

<sup>a</sup>Moore (Bligh), Barr (Manly), McGrane (Dubbo), Draper (Tamworth), Oakeshott (Port Macquarie), Torbay (Northern Tablelands)

<sup>b</sup>The author believes this vote is inflated as it is the result of tactical voting by Labor Party supporters in Dubbo, Northern Tablelands, Port Macquarie, Tamworth and Manly and Liberal supporters in Bligh.

<sup>c</sup>All minor parties and unsuccessful Independent candidates.

## 6.3 2007 Legislative Council Election

19	Members to be elected.	Quota	5.00%:
Party	Seats	% of the vote	Quota
ALP	9	39.1	7.83
Liberal/National	7	34.2	6.84
Greens	2	9.1	1.82
Christian D.P	1	4.4	0.88
Shooters	–	2.8	0.56
Others <sup>a</sup>	–	10.4	
Total	19		

<sup>a</sup>Group A, Fishing Party, AAFI, Group D, Group F, Australian Democrats, Group H, Unity Party, Restore Workers Rights, Group M, Horse Riders/Outdoor Recreation, Socialist Alliance, Save our Suburbs, Human Rights, Ungrouped

ALP 9; Lib/Nat 7; Greens 2; CDP 1.

In the Legislative Council the Shooters Party will not elect a candidate because at only 0.56 of a quota their vote will be less than that obtained by major party candidates after the application of the Robson rotation. Shooters Party preferences will help to determine the final outcome.

## 6.4 2003 Legislative Council Election

19	Members	to	be	elected.	Quota	5.00%:
	Party			Seats	% of the vote	Quota
	ALP			10	43.5	8.71
	Liberal/National			7	33.3	6.66
	Greens			2	8.6	1.72
	Christian D.P			–	3.0	0.61
	Shooters			–	2.1	0.41
	Others <sup>a</sup>			–	9.5	
	Total			19		

<sup>a</sup>One Nation, No Privatisation Peoples Party, AAFI, Save our Suburbs, Australian Democrats, Unity Party, Socialist Alliance, Group L, Reform the Legal System, Fishing/Horse Riders/Four Wheel, Ungrouped

ALP 10; Lib/Nat 7; Greens 2

In the Legislative Council neither the Christian Democratic Party nor the Shooters Party will elect a candidate because at only 0.61 and 0.41 of a quota respectively their votes will be less than that obtained by major party candidates after the application of the Robson rotation. Their preferences will help to determine the final outcome.



## 7 Analysis

The tables above demonstrate that a proportional representation ballot will much more accurately mirror the voting intentions of the electorate. The apparent discrepancy between the percentage of seats won by the major parties and the percentage of votes gained is a direct result of the large independent and minor party vote that either exhausted or flowed, via second and subsequent preferences, to the major parties. (See the analysis of the individual electorates in the appendices)

The 2003 result also demonstrates that one party gaining an absolute majority under proportional representation is not an unreasonable expectation.

The Legislative Council is currently elected by proportional representation and as a result the breakdown of the major parties in both models is very similar. However the current Legislative Council voting system, using above-the-line voting, allows parties such as the Shooters Party to elect candidates, although they were well below gaining a quota, because they have the largest remainder. It is the Robson Rotation with its ability to spread votes within the major party groups that prevents this from happening. In the proposed model no party can expect to elect a candidate unless they can achieve at least 80% of a quota.

With the current proportional representation system for the Legislative Council minor parties gained four positions in both 2007 and 2003. Under the proposed model the minor parties would have gained only three positions in 2007 and two in 2003.

A reduction in the size of the Legislative Council so that only nineteen are elected at each election, the quota for election being raised from 4.55% to 5.00%, makes it even more difficult for minor parties to be elected.

## 8 Conclusion

The simulated results, using the five nineteen member electorates, allow every voter who voted for either the Labor, Liberal, National or Green parties to have an excellent chance of having the candidate for whom they voted elected to the parliament. This gives the citizens of NSW a real ownership of the result.

Voters who chose to support independents and minor parties (other than the Greens) would mostly fail to elect their candidate, as they do under the current system, but are then in the position to either choose another candidate or, knowing that they had made their protest, allow their vote to exhaust. It is expected that as these voters become more aware of the potential of proportional representation, they will find a candidate representing their views amongst the major party groups.

The proposed model discourages tactical voting. Labor, Liberal, National and Green Party voters, in every part of the State, will know that the best way to help their party is to vote for their favourite candidate within that party group; to then give second and subsequent preferences to other candidates within the group and then if they feel strongly enough to vote for candidates in other groups. In most cases the vote will not progress past the first preference.

If a voter does not know any of the candidates but only wishes to vote for a particular party then the Robson rotation will ensure that each candidate has an equal chance of being at the top of the group. If the voter chooses to vote for a popular candidate, such as the party leader, the Robson rotation ensures that the position next on the party group is shared equally between all other candidates within the group. Whilst the party leader may gain a number of quotas on the first count, the Robson rotation will ensure that the surplus is shared evenly amongst the other candidates helping to give every candidate in the group a percentage of a quota in excess of the independent and minor party candidates.

It is the Robson rotation that prevents candidates being elected unless they can achieve a substantial percentage of the vote in their own right.

Initially, with the Legislative Assembly being elected by proportional representation, minority governments are likely to be the norm. However, as shown in the ACT Legislative Assembly, as voters better understand the system support for Independents and minor party candidates is expected to decline.

Paradoxically, large electorates with smaller quotas are less likely to lead to minority governments than small electorates with large quotas. At the 2003 State election the Labor Party, with only 42.6% of the primary vote, would have secured, under this proposal, an absolute majority. In 2007 the Labor Party would have been in a position to form a minority Government.

This model will bring actual political power back to the entire electorate where it

belongs. Every vote is of equal value and every voter of equal importance regardless of where they live. The election of a government should not be a matter of luck; a few hundred votes in a small number of marginal seats should not determine the result.

## Appendix A Legislative Assembly Election 2007

Party	North East	North	West	South	South East	Totals
ALP	8	5	11	10	10	44
Liberal	3	11	4	6	7	31
National	5	1	2	2	–	10
Green	2	2	1	1	2	8
Christian Democratic			1			1
Independent	1					1
Totals	19	19	19	19	19	95

### North East



The nineteen member electorate of North East incorporates the current State electorates of The Entrance, Wyong, Swansea, Charlestown, Lake Macquarie, Cessnock, Wallsend, Newcastle, Port Stephens. Maitland, Myall Lakes, Port Macquarie, Oxley, Coffs Harbour, Clarence, Northern Tablelands, Lismore, Ballina, Tweed.

Results are analysed from votes cast at the 2007 NSW State election in the following existing electorates.

19 Members to be elected:

Party	Seats contested	Total Votes	%	Quota
ALP	19	271622	34.3	6.68
Liberal	9	98925	12.2	2.43
National	10	186073	22.9	4.57
Greens	19	71886	8.8	1.77
Christian Democratic	9	11082	1.4	0.27
AAFI	11	10554	1.3	0.26
Democrats	4	3303	0.4	0.08
TFP	2	4829	0.6	0.12
Torbay (N. Tablelands)	1	32615	4.0	0.80
Oakeshott (P. Macquarie)	1	28523	3.5	0.70
Piper (Lake Macquarie)	1	12917	1.6	0.32
Comb Indep		81354	10.0	1.99
Total Votes:		813683		
Quota: 40685				

The Robson rotation will give the ALP eight seats, (the perfect split gives each candidate 0.83 quotas), the Liberals three seats (0.81 quotas each), the Nationals 5 seats (0.91 quotas each), and the Greens two seats (0.88 quotas each). The last position will go to the Independent Torbay (0.80 quotas). Oakeshott (0.70 quotas) will not be elected.

This result would not change even if one of the major party candidates, such as a party leader, received the great majority of the votes, because the Robson rotation would ensure that any surplus would go evenly to all of the party's other candidates.

Result:

ALP 8, Liberal 3, National 5, Greens 2, Independent 1 (Torbay).

Actual 2007 State Election Result:

ALP 8, Liberal 1, National 7, Independent 3 (Torbay, Oakeshott, Piper).

## North



The nineteen member electorate of North incorporates the current State electorates of North Shore, Manly, Wakehurst, Pittwater, Davidson, Willoughby, Lane Cove, Ryde, Epping, Ku-Ring-Gai, Hornsby, Castle Hill, Hawkesbury, Riverstone, Gosford, Terrigal, Upper Hunter, Tamworth.

19 Members to be elected:

Party	Seats contested	Total Votes	%	Quota
ALP	19	185244	24.1	4.82
Liberal	17	331887	43.2	8.63
National	2	44254	5.8	1.15
Greens	19	75708	9.8	1.97
Christian Democratic	14	18882	2.5	0.49
AAFI	13	11789	1.5	0.31
Democrats	10	9101	1.2	0.24
SOS	2	959	0.1	0.02
Unity	7	9197	1.2	0.24
ORP	1	501	0.1	0.01
Barr (Manly)	1	12655	1.6	0.33
Draper (Tamworth)	1	20531	2.7	0.53
Comb Indep		48098	6.3	1.25
Total Votes:		768806		
Quota: 38441				

The Robson rotation will give the ALP five seats, (the perfect split gives each candidate 0.96 quotas) the Liberals ten seats (0.86 quotas each) and the Nationals with 1.15 quotas will take one seat, the Greens two seats (0.99 quotas each). The last position will be contested between the ALP and the Liberals. The ALP can share six seats with 0.80 quotas each and the Liberals can share eleven seats 0.78 quotas each. On the balance of probabilities, and because of the small National Party surplus and large votes for conservative independents, this position is given to the Liberals.

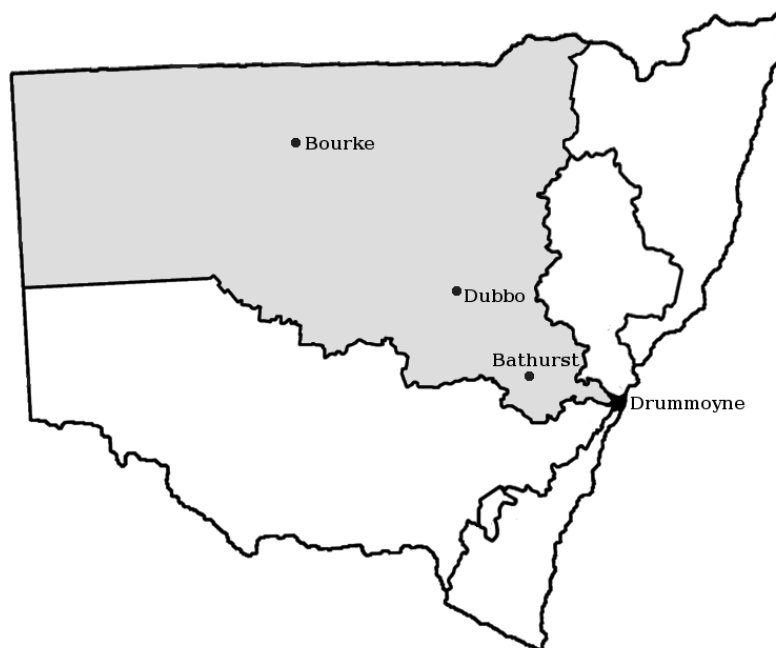
Result:

ALP 5, Liberal 11, National 1, Greens 2.

Actual 2007 State Election Result:

ALP 3, Liberal 12, National 1, Independent 2 (Barr, Draper).

## West



The nineteen member electorate of West incorporates the current State electorates of Drummoyne, Auburn, Parramatta, Baulkham Hills, Toongabbie, Granville, Fairfield, Cabramatta, Smithfield, Blacktown, Mount Druitt, Mulgoa, Londonderry, Penrith, Blue Mountains, Bathurst, Orange, Dubbo, Barwon.

19 Members to be elected:

Party	Seats contested	Total Votes	%	Quota
ALP	19	375565	46.8	9.36
Liberal	15	179653	22.4	4.48
National	4	71823	8.9	1.79
Greens	19	50314	6.3	1.25
Christian Democratic	13	28901	3.6	0.72
AAFI	13	16011	2.0	0.40
Democrats	3	2202	0.3	0.05
Unity	10	17111	2.1	0.43
ORP	2	1066	0.1	0.03
Fardell (Dubbo)	1	18296	2.3	0.46
CombÂ Indep		41609	5.2	1.04
Total Votes:		802551		
Quota: 40128				

The Robson rotation will give the ALP ten seats, (the perfect split gives each candidate 0.93 quotas) the Liberals and Nationals have a combined vote of over six quotas and because of the large independent vote in country areas, the result is given as Liberal four seats and National two seats, the Greens one seat (1.25 quotas), the Christian Democratic Party one seat (0.72 quotas but only contested 13 of the 19 seats). The last position will be contested between the ALP and the Liberals. On the balance of probabilities, the likelihood of Labor voters voting tactically for country independents and the reduction of the conservative vote in the city with the election of the CDP given to the ALP.

Result:

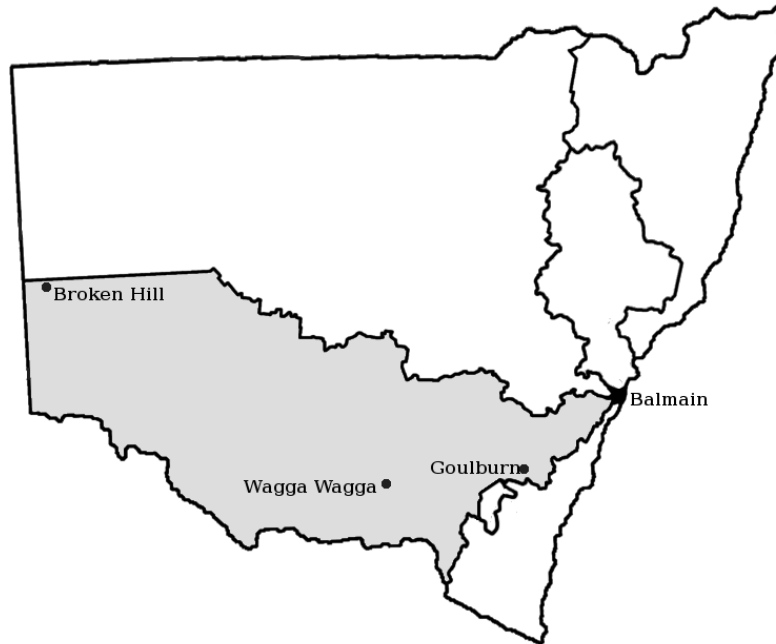
ALP 11, Liberal 4, National 2, Greens 1, CDP 1.

Actual 2007 State Election Result:

ALP 15, Liberal 1, National 2, Independent 1 (Fardell).



## South



The nineteen member electorate of South incorporates the current State electorates of Balmain, Marrickville, Strathfield, Canterbury, Lakemba, Bankstown, East Hills, Menai, Liverpool, Macquarie Fields, Campbelltown, Camden, Wollondilly, Goulburn, Burrinjuck, Murrumbidgee, Wagga Wagga, Albury, Murray Darling.

19 Members to be elected:

Party	Seats contested	Total Votes	%	Quota
ALP	19	365698	45.9	9.18
Liberal	16	212321	26.7	5.33
National	3	77629	9.7	1.95
Greens	19	70637	8.9	1.77
Christian Democratic	11	19047	2.4	0.48
AAFI	9	11405	1.4	0.29
Democrats	5	3356	0.4	0.08
Unity	7	9954	1.3	0.25
SA	1	666	0.1	0.02
Stephenson (Goulburn)	1	10603	1.3	0.27
Comb Indep		15068	1.9	0.38
Total Votes:		796284		
Quota: 39815				

The Robson rotation will give the ALP ten seats, (the perfect split gives each

candidate 0.91 quotas), the Liberals six seats (0.88 quotas each) and the Nationals with 1.95 quotas will take two seats. The Greens, even with 1.75 quotas, will only win one seat.

Result:

ALP 10, Liberal 6, National 2, Greens 1.

Actual 2007 State Election Result:

ALP 13, Liberal 3, National 3.

## South East



The nineteen member electorate of South East incorporates the current State electorates of Vaucluse, Sydney, Coogee, Maroubra, Heffron, Rockdale, Kogarah, Cronulla, Miranda, Oatley, Heathcote, Keira, Wollongong, Shell Harbour, Kiama, South Coast, Monaro and Bega.

19 Members to be elected:

Party	Seats contested	Total Votes	%	Quota
ALP	19	337731	44.5	8.90
Liberal	18	238483	31.4	6.29
National	1	16244	2.1	0.43
Greens	19	84260	11.1	2.22
Christian Democratic	10	19507	2.6	0.51
AAFI	10	9829	1.3	0.26
Democrats	4	3137	0.4	0.08
Unity	6	7030	0.9	0.19
SOS	1	461	0.1	0.01
SA	1	591	0.1	0.02
TFP	1	1680	0.2	0.04
Moore (Sydney)	1	16316	2.2	0.43
Comb Indep		23381	3.1	0.62
Total Votes:		758650		
Quota: 37933				

The ALP will take nine seats, the combined Liberal/National vote will give the Liberals seven seats and the Greens have two seats (2.22 quotas). The last position will be contested between the ALP and the Liberals. On the basis of their better Robson rotation split, and with the support of the Greens' surplus this position is given to the ALP.

Result:

ALP 10, Liberal 7, Greens 2.

Actual 2007 State Election Result:

ALP 13, Liberal 4, Independent 1 (Moore).

## Legislative Council (19 Members to be elected)

19 Members to be elected:

No.	Name	Votes	%	Quota
A	Group A	25942	0.7	0.14
B	Fishing Party	58340	1.5	0.31
C	AAFI	62386	1.6	0.33
D	Group D	456	0.0	-
E	Liberal/Nationals	1304166	34.2	6.84
F	Group F	18999	0.5	0.10
G	Democrats	67994	1.8	0.36
H	Group H	3143	0.1	0.02
I	Greens	347548	9.1	1.82
J	Unity Party	46053	1.2	0.24
K	Christian Democratic	168545	4.4	0.88
L	Restore Workers Rights	35218	0.9	0.18
M	Group M	3464	0.1	0.02
N	Shooters Party	106513	2.8	0.56
O	Labor	1491719	39.1	7.83
P	Horse Riders Outdoor Rec	21569	0.6	0.11
Q	Socialist Alliance	15142	0.4	0.08
R	Save Our Suburbs	11951	0.3	0.06
S	Human Rights	16772	0.4	0.09
T	Ungrouped	5325	0.1	0.03
Total Votes:		3811245		
Quota: 190563				

The ALP will win eight seats, the combined Liberal/National vote will give the Liberals seven seats and the Greens have one seat. The last three positions are

interesting. If the Greens can share their vote equally they will take two seats on Democrat preferences. However the Robson rotation does not work effectively when a party has less than two quotas because one candidate will invariably be seen as the leader and take a full quota, leaving the other candidate will a smaller remainder. Because of their better Robson rotation the ALP will take one of the last three, and on the balance of probabilities the CDP and the Liberals will take the other two seats.

Result:

ALP 9, Liberal 8, Greens 1, CDP 1.

### Legislative Council (21 Members to be elected)

21 Members to be elected:

No.	Name	Votes	%	Quota
A	Group A	25942	0.7	0.15
B	Fishing Party	58340	1.5	0.34
C	AAFI	62386	1.6	0.36
D	Group D	456	0.0	-
E	Liberal/Nationals	1304166	34.2	7.53
F	Group F	18999	0.5	0.11
G	Democrats	67994	1.8	0.39
H	Group H	3143	0.1	0.02
I	Greens	347548	9.1	2.01
J	Unity Party	46053	1.2	0.27
K	Christian Democratic	168545	4.4	0.97
L	Restore Workers Rights	35218	0.9	0.20
M	Group M	3464	0.1	0.02
N	Shooters Party	106513	2.8	0.61
O	Labor	1491719	39.1	8.61
P	Horse Riders Outdoor Rec	21569	0.6	0.12
Q	Socialist Alliance	15142	0.4	0.09
R	Save Our Suburbs	11951	0.3	0.07
S	Human Rights	16772	0.4	0.10
T	Ungrouped	5325	0.1	0.03
Total Votes:		3811245		
Quota: 173239				

The smaller quotas required to elect twenty one members make this result easier to read. The better Robson rotation split will give the ALP ten seats leaving the Liberal/National coalition with eight seats. The Greens will take two seats and the CDP will take one seat.

With the current above-the-line voting system the Shooters Party win a seat with only 2.8% of the vote or 0.61 of a quota. Under the proposed model they would need at least 4.0% or 0.88 of a quota to have any likelihood of success.

Result:

ALP 10, Liberal 8, Greens 2, CDP 1.

Actual 2007 State Election Result:

ALP 9, Liberal 8, Greens 2, CDP 1, Shooters 1.

## Appendix B Legislative Assembly Election 2003

Party	North East	North	West	South	South East	Totals
ALP	9	7	12	11	10	49
Liberal	4	9	4	5	7	29
National	4	1	2	2	–	9
Green	1	2	1	1	2	7
Independent	1					1
Totals	19	19	19	19	19	95

### North East



The nineteen member electorate of North East incorporates the current State electorates of The Entrance, Wyong, Swansea, Charlestown, Lake Macquarie, Cessnock, Wallsend, Newcastle, Port Stephens, Maitland, Myall Lakes, Port Macquarie, Oxley, Coffs Harbour, Clarence, Northern Tablelands, Lismore, Ballina, Tweed.

19 Members to be elected:

Party	Seats contested	Total Votes	%	Quota
ALP	19	316658	39.6	7.92
Liberal	9	117958	14.8	2.95
National	10	160084	20.0	4.00
Greens	19	75890	7.49	1.05
Christian Democratic	10	9991	1.2	0.25
AAFI	7	4738	0.6	0.12
Democrats	12	7848	1.0	0.20
One Nation	17	15167	1.9	0.38
SOS	2	707	0.1	0.02
SA	2	517	0.1	0.01
Unity Party	2	289	0.0	0.01
FP	2	1773	0.2	0.04
Oakeshott (P. Macquarie)	1	30659	3.8	0.77
Torbay (N. Tablelands)	1	28149	3.5	0.70
Comb Indep		40353	5.0	1.01
Total Votes:		799620		
Quota: 39982				

The Robson rotation will give the ALP nine seats, (the perfect split gives each candidate 0.88 quotas), the Liberals and the Nationals will share eight seats (the combined Robson rotation gives each of the eight candidates 0.86 quotas). On the balance of probabilities, Liberal four and National four. The Greens win one seat. The last position will go to the Independent Oakeshott (0.77 of a quota). Torbay (0.70 of a quota) will not be elected.

Result:

ALP 9, Liberal 4, National 4, Greens 1, Independent (Oakeshott) 1.

Actual 2003 State Election Result:

ALP 11, National 6, Independent 2 (Torbay, Oakeshott).



## North



The nineteen member electorate of North incorporates the current State electorates of North Shore, Manly, Wakehurst, Pittwater, Davidson, Willoughby, Lane Cove, Ryde, Epping, Ku-Ring-Gai, Hornsby, The Hills, Hawkesbury, Riverstone, Gosford, Peats, Upper Hunter, Tamworth.

19 Members to be elected:

Party	Seats contested	Total Votes	%	Quota
ALP	19	224254	29.8	5.95
Liberal	17	301511	40.0	8.00
National	2	37486	5.0	1.00
Greens	19	67760	9.0	1.80
Christian Democratic	12	16164	2.1	0.43
AAFI	10	6790	0.9	0.18
Democrats	15	10680	1.4	0.28
Unity Party	14	12279	1.6	0.33
One Nation	4	707	0.1	0.02
SOS	2	1229	0.2	0.03
Draper (Tamworth)	1	16630	2.2	0.44
Barr (Manly)	1	12969	1.7	0.34
Reilly (Willoughby)	1	10237	1.4	0.27
Comb Indep		31743	4.2	0.84
Total Votes:		753426		
Quota: 37672				

The Robson rotation will give the ALP seven seats and the Liberals nine seats, the Nationals one seat and the Greens one seat. The last seat will go to the Greens as their vote is sufficiently high to enable them to remain in the count until all other candidates have been excluded.

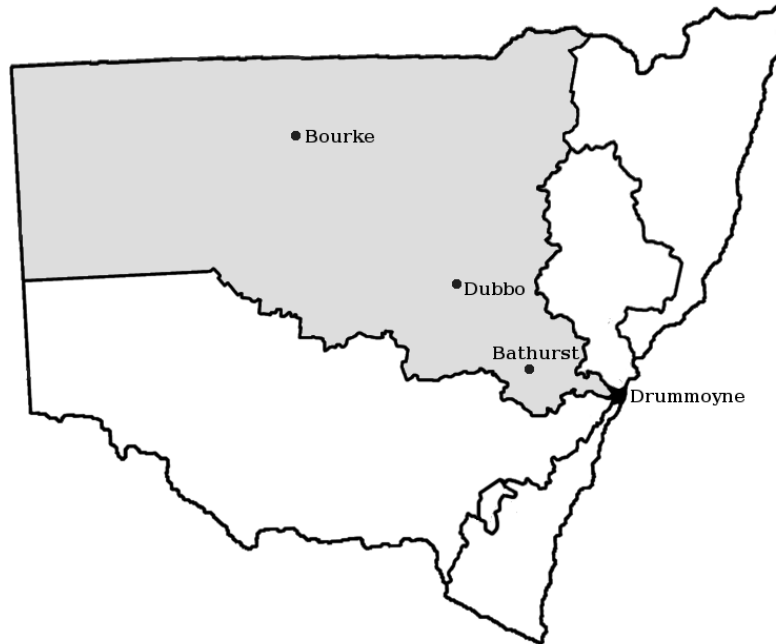
Result:

ALP 7, Liberal 9, National 1, Greens 2.

Actual 2003 State Election Result:

ALP 3, Liberal 13, National 1, Independent 1 (Draper).

## West



The nineteen member electorate of West incorporates the current State electorates of Drummoyne, Auburn, Parramatta, Baulkham Hills, Wentworthville, Granville, Fairfield, Cabramatta, Smithfield, Blacktown, Mount Druitt, Mulgoa, Londonderry, Penrith, Blue Mountains, Bathurst, Orange, Dubbo, Barwon.

19 Members to be elected:

Party	Seats contested	Total Votes	%	Quota
ALP	19	385950	50.7	10.14
Liberal	14	145900	19.2	3.83
National	4	65769	8.6	1.73
Greens	19	45119	5.9	1.19
Christian Democratic	13	20200	2.7	0.53
AAFI	13	11257	1.5	0.30
Democrats	12	7408	1.0	0.19
Unity Party	13	15603	2.1	0.41
One Nation	13	10176	1.3	0.27
SOS	3	3063	0.4	0.08
RLS	1	201	0.0	0.01
SA	1	172	0.0	0.00
McGrane (Dubbo)	1	16696	2.2	0.44
Falconer (Londonderry)	1	7800	1.0	0.20
Comb Indep		25774	3.4	0.68
Total Votes:		761088		

Quota: 38055

The Robson rotation will give the ALP twelve seats. The Liberals will take four seats, the Nationals two and the Greens one.

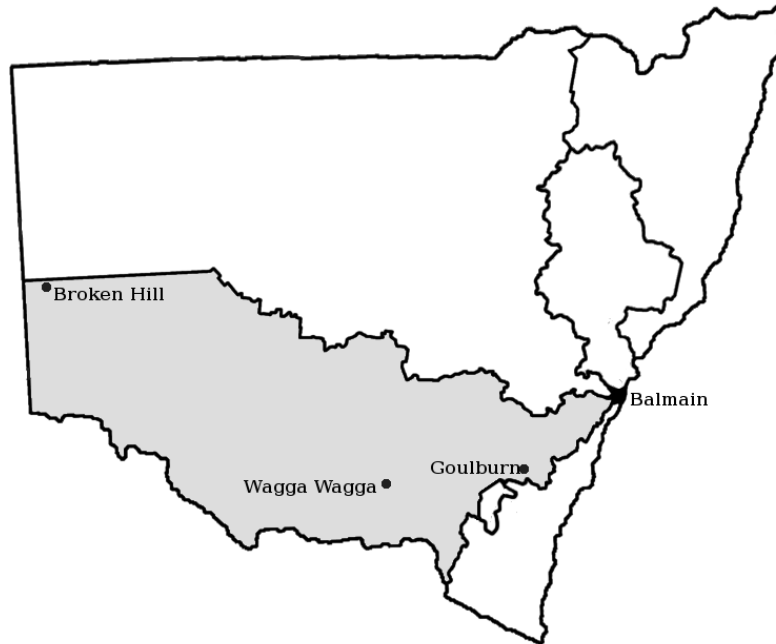
Result:

ALP 12, Liberal 4, National 2, Greens 1.

Actual 2003 State Election Result:

ALP 15, Liberal 1, National 2, Independent 1 (Fardell).

## South



The nineteen member electorate of South incorporates the current State electorates of Port Jackson, Marrickville, Strathfield, Canterbury, Lakemba, Bankstown, East Hills, Menai, Liverpool, Macquarie Fields, Campbelltown, Camden, Southern Highlands, Burrinjuck, Murrumbidgee, Wagga Wagga, Albury, Lachlan, Murray Darling.

19 Members to be elected:

Party	Seats contested	Total Votes	%	Quota
ALP	19	369203	47.3	9.46
Liberal	15	179555	23.0	4.60
National	4	86756	11.1	2.22
Greens	19	63706	8.2	1.63
Christian Democratic	7	7812	1.0	0.20
AAFI	7	5666	0.7	0.15
Democrats	10	6187	0.8	0.16
Unity Party	11	2585	0.3	0.07
One Nation	13	13423	1.7	0.34
SOS	2	1547	0.2	0.04
SA	2	2585	0.3	0.07
RLS	2	807	0.1	0.02
FP	1	649	0.1	0.02
Comb Indep		29042	3.7	0.74
Total Votes:		780398		

Quota: 39020

The Robson rotation will give the ALP ten seats and the Liberals five seats, the Nationals two and the Greens one. The last seat will go to the ALP on Greens preferences. Above-the-line voting may have given the Greens an extra seat at the expense of the ALP. However the Robson rotation ensures that it is the Greens' candidate whose preferences are distributed.

Result:

ALP 11, Liberal 5, National 2, Greens 1.

Actual 2003 State Election Result:

ALP 13, Liberal 3, National 3.

## South East



The nineteen member electorate of South East incorporates the current State electorates of Vacluse, Bligh, Coogee, Maroubra, Heffron, Rockdale, Kogarah, Cronulla, Miranda, Georges River, Heathcote, Keira, Wollongong, Illawarra, Kiama, South Coast, Monaro, Bega.

19 Members to be elected:

Party	Seats contested	Total Votes	%	Quota
ALP	19	334953	46.1	9.21
Liberal	18	199964	27.5	5.50
National	1	17909	2.5	0.49
Greens	19	74056	10.2	2.04
Christian Democratic	10	11806	1.6	0.32
AAFI	9	6151	0.8	0.17
Democrats	6	3354	0.5	0.09
Unity Party	11	7966	1.1	0.22
One Nation	9	6386	0.9	0.18
SOS	2	1118	0.2	0.03
SA	1	187	0.0	0.00
HRP	1	368	0.1	0.01
Moore (Bligh)	1	15330	2.1	0.42
Comb Indep		47724	6.6	1.3
Total Votes:		727272		
Quota: 36364				

The Robson rotation will give the ALP ten seats and the Liberals six seats. The Greens have two seats. The last seat will go to the Liberals on National Party preferences.

Result:

ALP 11, Liberal 7, Greens 2.

Actual 2003 State Election Result:

ALP 13, Liberal 4, Independent 1 (Moore).



## Legislative Council (19 Members to be elected)

19 Members to be elected:

No.	Name	Votes	%	Quota
A	Liberal/Nationals	1239107	33.3	6.66
B	One Nation	55396	1.5	0.30
C	Shooters Party	76133	2.0	0.41
D	No Privatisation Peoples Party	6652	0.2	0.04
E	AAFI	33409	0.9	0.18
F	Labor	1620190	43.5	8.71
G	Save Our Suburbs	18033	0.5	0.10
H	Democrats	58494	1.6	0.31
I	Unity Party	52979	1.4	0.28
J	Socialist Alliance 5	428	0.1	0.03
K	Greens	320010	8.6	1.72
L	Group L (Hanson)	71368	1.9	0.38
M	Reform the Legal System	9644	0.3	0.05
N	Christian Democratic	112865	3.0	0.61
O	Fishing/Horse Riders/Four Wheel	39315	1.1	0.21
P	Ungrouped	2434	0.1	0.01
Total Votes:		3721457		
Quota: 186073				

The Robson rotation split will give the ALP nine seats and the Liberal/National coalition seven seats. The Greens will take one seat. On the basis of their better Robson rotation split, the ALP and the Liberal/Nationals will each take one of the last two seats, the ALP on Greens surplus and the Liberal/Nationals on CDP preferences.

Result:

ALP 10, Liberal 8, Greens 1.

## Legislative Council (21 Members to be elected)

21 Members to be elected:

No.	Name	Votes	%	Quota
A	Liberal/Nationals	1239107	33.3	7.33
B	One Nation	55396	1.5	0.33
C	Shooters Party	76133	2.0	0.45
D	No Privatisation Peoples Party	6652	0.2	0.04
E	AAFI	33409	0.9	0.20
F	Labor	1620190	43.5	9.58
G	Save Our Suburbs	18033	0.5	0.11
H	Democrats	58494	1.6	0.35
I	Unity Party	52979	1.4	0.31
J	Socialist Alliance 5	428	0.1	0.03
K	Greens	320010	8.6	1.89
L	Group L (Hanson)	71368	1.9	0.42
M	Reform the Legal System	9644	0.3	0.06
N	Christian Democratic	112865	3.0	0.67
O	Fishing/Horse Riders/Four Wheel	39315	1.1	0.23
P	Ungrouped	2434	0.1	0.01
Total Votes:		3721457		
Quota: 169158				

The Robson rotation split will give the ALP eleven seats and the Liberal/National coalition eight seats. The Greens will win two seats, the second on Democrat preferences.

With the current above-the-line voting system both the CDP and the Shooters Party, with 3.0% and 2.0% respectively, won a seat. Under the proposed model both parties would need at least 4.0% or 0.88 of a quota to have any likelihood of success.

Result:

ALP 11, Liberal 8, Greens 2.

Actual 2003 State Election Result:

ALP 10, Liberal 7, Greens 2. CDP 1, Shooters 1.