

Explanation of Mackerras Pendulum for 2022 Federal Election

At the federal general election which will be held in the first half of 2022 the distribution of seats in the House of Representatives will be as follows: New South Wales 47, Victoria 39, Queensland 30, Western Australia 15, South Australia 10, Tasmania 5, Australian Capital Territory 3 and Northern Territory 2. That makes for a total of 151 members, the same number as were elected at the general election held on 18 May 2019.

The pendulum over leaf is the same in basic principle as I have had published before the federal general elections of 1972, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1980, 1983, 1984, 1987, 1990, 1993, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016 and 2019. All the statistics have been supplied by the Australian Electoral Commission website with me doing the interpretation. The most recent AEC contribution was a document published in August 2021 titled "Notional seat status" in which the effects of the Victorian and Western Australian redistributions are shown in estimated two-party preferred percentages for the new boundaries.

There is one respect in which this pendulum differs from earlier versions. In this one respect, however, there is a precedent that I now explain. During the 43rd Parliament (the one when Julia Gillard was prime minister) I published pendulums showing the seats of Lyne and New England as held by independents but, for the first and only time, I showed them on the Labor side. For every other seat, and in every pendulum, I have shown independent seats according to the percentages as counted between Labor and LNP.

The AEC website reveals that, at the 2019 election, the total formal vote was 14,253,393 and 7,344,813 votes preferred the Liberal/National Coalition. That was 51.53 per cent. Against that 6,908,580 votes preferred Labor, or 48.47 per cent. There is, however, a further detail I must reveal. In the combined divisions of Mayo and Warringah the votes preferring Liberal were 107,216 while those preferring Labor were 97,583 – and they are part of the larger statistic. My traditional logic would suggest that both seats should be placed with those held by the Liberal Party.

I need to explain why I place Mayo and Warringah on the Labor side. Before I do, however, I note that the other cross-bench seats, Clark, Indi, Kennedy and Melbourne, are all shown according to the distribution of their Labor and LNP votes. Thus, the Liberal Party needs a swing of 16.2 per cent to win Clark from the notional Labor member, Ben McGregor. Likewise, Labor needs a swing of 12.8 per cent to take Indi from the notional Liberal member, Steve Martin. Again, the Liberal Party needs a swing of 23.9 per cent to take Grayndler from Anthony Albanese but the Greens need a swing of "only" 16.3 per cent in Grayndler.

My placement of Mayo and Warringah reflects my doubt as to which side of politics the member would choose if a hung parliament gave her the "king maker" choice. By contrast, I have no doubt that the members for Indi and Kennedy would keep Scott Morrison as prime minister. I also have no doubt that the members for Clark and Melbourne would install Albanese into the office Morrison currently holds.

All of this raises the question as to which electoral division provides the median seat. It could be shown as any of Boothby, Braddon or Reid. Again, it raises the question as to what is the median 2019 LNP percentage. I have decided that the answer is 52.53 per cent per cent, the average of the Liberal percentages in Boothby, Braddon and Reid. (Strictly speaking, on a Labor-LNP scale, the median seat is Mayo (SA), but it would confuse the reader if the pendulum showed it that way. Anyway, the vote in Mayo was 59,205 for Liberal and 53,471 for Labor. The percentages were 52.54 for Liberal and 47.46 for Labor.)

It is to be noticed that the median LNP percentage is one per cent above the actual share the LNP gained of the two-party preferred vote. This suggests the boundaries still have a slight bias against Labor. That view is strengthened by another fact. I invite readers to notice that a uniform swing to Labor of three per cent would gain it only three seats, Bass, Chisholm and Boothby. By contrast, a uniform swing against Labor of three per cent would lose it 13 seats: Macquarie, Lilley, Eden-Monaro, Cowan, Corangamite, Blair, Dobell, Moreton, Gilmore, Dunkley, Greenway, Griffith and Hunter. So, in the event of a zero overall swing Labor would likely lose two or three seats.

Set out below are the seats with details I think would most interest readers. The details raise one further point I should make. The actual 2019 votes for Victorian seats are shown. Readers may wonder why I do not adjust for boundary change the Victorian divisions of Cooper, Indi, Kooyong, Melbourne and Wills. My answer is that Indi is unchanged in boundaries while Cooper, Kooyong, Melbourne and Wills have seen changes so politically trivial that boundary adjustment would serve no purpose.

Boothby (SA)

Nicolle Flint (Liberal)	56,812	51.38%
Nadia Clancy (Labor)	53,765	48.62%

Swing needed by Labor: 1.4%

Braddon (Tasmania)

Gavin Pearce (Liberal)	37,151	53.09%
Justine Keay (Labor)	32,822	46.91%

Swing needed by Labor: 3.1%

Clark (Tasmania)

Andrew Wilkie (Independent)	48,653	72.12%
Ben McGregor (Labor)	18,808	27.88%

Swing needed by Labor: 22.2%

Cooper (Victoria)

Ged Kearney (Labor)	63,017	64.65%
David Risstrom (Greens)	34,464	35.35%

Swing needed by Greens: 14.7%

Grayndler (NSW)

Anthony Albanese (Labor)	63,529	66.30%
Jim Casey (Greens)	32,285	33.70%

Swing needed by Greens: 16.3%

Indi (Victoria)

Helen Haines (Independent)	51,886	51.39%
Steve Matrin (Liberal)	49,070	48.61%

Swing needed by Liberal: 1.4%

Kennedy (Queensland)

Bob Katter (Independent)	58,231	63.33%
Frank Beveridge (Liberal National Party)	33,717	36.67%

Swing needed by Liberal National Party: 13.4%

Kooyong (Victoria)

Josh Frydenberg (Liberal)	55,159	55.70%
Julian Burnside (Greens)	43,870	44.30%

Swing needed by Greens: 5.7%

Mayo (SA)

Rebekha Sharkie (Centre Alliance)	62,124	55.14%
Georgina Downer (Liberal)	50,552	44.86%

Swing needed by Liberal: 5.2%

Melbourne (Victoria)

Adam Bandt (Greens)	66,852	71.83%
Lauren Sherson (Liberal)	26,212	28.17%

Swing needed by Liberal: 21.9%

Reid (NSW)

Fiona Martin (Liberal)	49,844	53.18%
Sam Crosby (Labor)	43,884	46.82%

Swing needed by Labor: 3.2%

Warringah (NSW)

Zali Steggall (Independent)	52,728	57.24%
Tony Abbott (Liberal)	39,395	42.76%

Swing needed by Liberal: 7.3%

Wentworth (NSW)

Dave Sharma (Liberal)	46,050	51.31%
Kerryn Phelps (Independent)	43,704	48.69%

Swing needed by Phelps: 1.4%

Wills (Victoria)

Peter Khalil (Labor)	55,898	58.17%
Adam Pulford (Greens)	40,192	41.83%

Swing needed by Greens: 8.2%

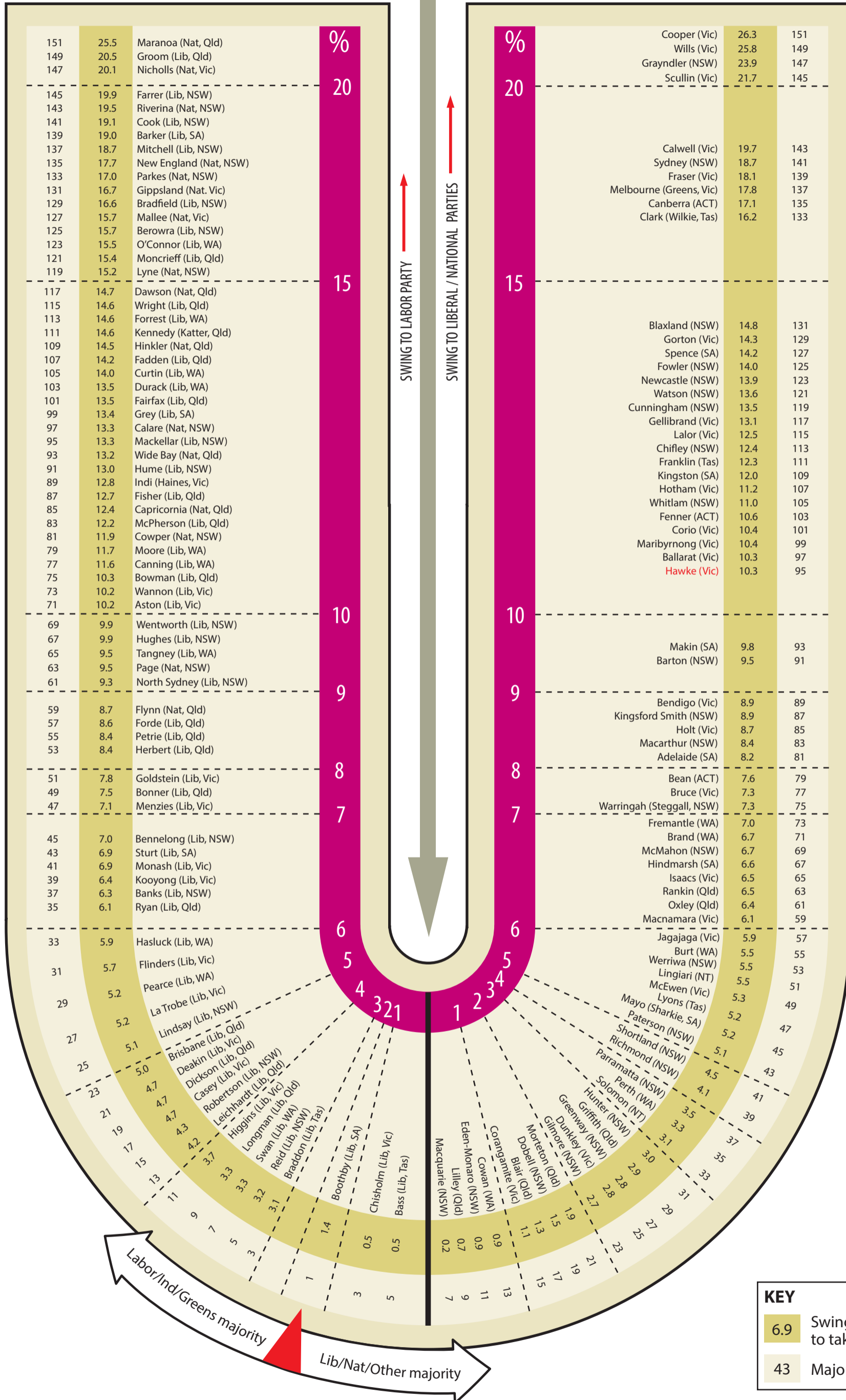
Mackerras Pendulum Federal 2022

GOVERNMENT SEATS

Liberal Nationals Other Total Majority
60 16 2 78 5

OPPOSITION SEATS

Labor Greens Independent Total
69 1 3 73



Lib-Nat
51.5%

Labor
48.5%

KEY

- 6.9 Swing required to take seat
- 43 Majority in seats

Result of 46th general election for the House of Representatives, 18 May 2019, as adjusted for redistributions in Victoria (gaining a seat to 39) and Western Australian (losing a seat to 15). The 39th Victorian seat of Hawke is shown in red, it being the only new seat. The abolished seat was Stirling (Liberal, WA). No seats changed hands notionally. The redistributions were completed in July 2021. For more information see other side.