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Analysis of Electoral Divisions Classifications



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Author Gerry Newman

Enquiries

Information on Research publications are available on the AEC website: www.aec.gov.au. Other enquiries can be made by e-mail to the Research Section of the AEC: info@aec.gov.au. Phone (02) 6271 4411

Analysis of Electoral Divisions Classifications

Introduction

The Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) has been classifying electoral divisions since 1975. The current classification system categorises electorates on the basis of party safeness and socio-demographic criteria and forms an integral part of the AEC's mandate to inform the public by making election results more meaningful.

The definition and application of these criteria over the period have not been consistent and this has led to anomalies in the classification process. To address this situation the AEC has reviewed the classification system. A new system will be in place following the 2004 federal election.

Classification of electoral divisions will be based on three categories:

Party safeness;
Geographic criteria; and
Socio-economic classification.

The proposed system will build on and enhance the existing categories to provide a more consistent and accurate classification system. The enhanced system will allow for better targeting of like areas by the AEC and enhance the quality of election result analysis.

Current electoral division classifications

The AEC currently categorises electoral divisions according to two classifications:

- Party safeness; and
- Socio-demographic criteria.

Party safeness

The party safeness classification categorises divisions according to the party holding the division (or notionally holding the division after the effects of a redistribution are taken into account) and the margin in two party preferred terms. In the case of a division held by an Independent the margin is based on a two candidate preferred analysis.

There are currently five party categories:

- Australian Labor Party (ALP);
- Liberal Party (LP);
- National Party (NP);
- Northern Territory Country Liberal Party (CLP); and
- Independent.

The margin categories are classified as:

- Marginal: requiring a swing of 0<6% to change;
- Fairly safe: requiring a swing of between 6<10% to change; and
- Safe: requiring a swing of 10%+ to change.

Socio-demographic criteria

The socio-demographic classification categorises divisions according to geographic location. There are four categories:

- Inner metropolitan: located in a capital city and comprising well-established, built-up suburbs;
- Outer metropolitan: located in capital cities and containing areas of more recent urban expansion;
- Provincial: divisions with a majority of enrolment in major provincial cities; and
- Rural: divisions without a majority of enrolment in major provincial cities.

The current classifications have been used since at least the 1975 election.

Improving the classification of electoral divisions

The allocation of divisions to categories has not been centrally co-ordinated and this has resulted in ad hoc, and at times inconsistent, classification decisions. Inconsistencies also occur because although there are definitions to assist in categorising divisions, these are not particularly exhaustive nor have they been consistently followed. For example, at the 2004 election the division of Capricornia was classified as provincial as 50.5% of its electors are enrolled in Rockhampton. However, both Fairfax and Leichhardt were classified as rural even though their respective enrolment was 51.1% based in the Sunshine Coast and 73.9% in Cairns. This kind of anomaly is undesirable as areas with the same demographic and geographic characteristics should be similarly classified.

The two current classifications cover geographic and political considerations. They do not address socio-economic status issues. A third socio-economic classification will be added to the existing categories to enable the analysis of election results by socio-economic status as well as geographic area and party preference.

A third category: socio-economic classification

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) publishes *Socio-economic Indexes for Areas* based on aggregations of Census data. These indexes can be aggregated to electoral division level¹ and provide a useful summary of the socio-economic characteristics of the area. The ABS publishes four socio-economic indexes. The “Index of Socio-Economic Advantage/Disadvantage” is a general measure of the social and economic well-being of an area and, of the four, is the most appropriate measure to indicate a division’s relative socio-economic status.

The socio-economic classification of electoral divisions will divide divisions into four roughly equal categories – high, upper middle, lower middle and low – based on each division’s index of socio-economic advantage score. Attachment 1 provides a socio-economic index score for each electoral division contested at the 2001 federal election.

Reviewing geographic classification

The following table outlines revised definitions of current socio-demographic classifications. Based on the addition of the socio-economic classification to more accurately reflect issues of socio-economic status, this category will now be referred to as geographic classification and focus specifically on the characteristics of a division’s geographic area.

Inner Metropolitan	Divisions with an area of less than 10 000 sq kms, and Divisions with a majority of electors within capital city statistical division, and Divisions comprising well established built up suburbs.
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¹ The index scores for the Electoral Divisions are calculated by taking the weighted average, using population counts from the 2001 census across all Census Collection Districts for the Division. For more information see *Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas Australia 2001* Australian Bureau of Statistics, Information Paper 2039.0, Section 2.2

Outer Metropolitan	Divisions with an area of less than 10 000 sq kms, and Divisions with a majority of electors within capital city statistical division, and Divisions containing areas of more recent urban expansion.
Provincial	Divisions with an area of less than 10 000 sq kms, and Divisions with a majority of electors outside capital city statistical division, and Divisions with a majority of electors in major provincial centres with a population of 50 000 or more.
Rural	Divisions with an area of 10 000 sq kms or more, or Divisions with an area of less than 10 000 sq kms and not classified as Metropolitan or Provincial.

All divisions of 10,000 square kilometres or more will be classified as rural, regardless of where the majority of their enrolment is located.

The new geographic classification is simply a refinement to the existing classification structure. It is more rigorous and subject to less subjective judgement than the existing classification. Refining the definition will have a minimal impact on current classifications, as less than 15% of divisions will have their classification altered. It will however make classification decisions more accurate and ensure like divisions are categorised consistently. The use of area specific criteria will also assist in making more meaningful the classification of divisions such as the Northern Territory, where there are a number of contradictory indicators.

A list of divisions whose geographic classification is proposed to change is at Attachment 2.

Managing the Classification Process

The AEC will continue assigning classification categories to electoral divisions. Classification decisions will only be made after consultation with the Australian Electoral Officer of the relevant State or Territory.

There will be three categories of classification:

- the existing classification according to party safeness;
- geographic classification which, as outlined above will build on and clarify the existing socio-demographic classification; and
- a new category based on socio-economic criteria and as outlined above.

The allocation of electoral divisions to classification categories will be undertaken according to the following schedule:

- geographic classification: after each redistribution in a State or Territory;
- party safeness classification: after each House of Representatives election OR after each redistribution in a State or Territory; and
- socio-economic classification: after each population census OR after each redistribution of a State or Territory.

Attachment 3 lists of electoral divisions against the three categories of classification.

The classification of divisions will be reviewed following a House of Representatives election, a population census or a redistribution. The results of this review will be promulgated through AEC publications and web media with a record of divisional classification to be kept on the Roll Management System (RMANS). The first review of electoral divisions against the three categories of party safeness, geographic criteria and socio-economic status will occur following the 2004 federal election.

Any comments?

If you have any comments to make on the proposed change to the system of electoral division classification please send them to the Australian Electoral Commission via: info@aec.gov.au. We appreciate your feedback.

Attachment 1: Electoral Divisions ranked by the Index of Relative Socio-Economic Advantage/Disadvantage
2001 Electoral Boundaries, 2001 Census

Rank	Electoral Division	Index	Rank	Electoral Division	Index
LOW			UPPER MIDDLE		
1	Bonython (SA)	882	76	Batman (Vic)	989
2	Fowler (NSW)	891	77	Kalgoorlie (WA)	989
3	Wide Bay (Qld)	906	78	Newcastle (NSW)	990
4	Lyons (Tas)	908	79	Leichhardt (Qld)	990
5	Braddon (Tas)	908	80	McEwan (Vic)	991
6	Cowper (NSW)	922	81	Burke (Vic)	991
7	Page (NSW)	923	82	Herbert (Qld)	993
8	Barker (SA)	923	83	Moncrieff (Qld)	994
9	Hinkler (Qld)	925	84	Macarthur (NSW)	997
10	Lyne (NSW)	925	85	Fadden (Qld)	997
11	Grey (SA)	927	86	Petrie (Qld)	997
12	Longman (Qld)	928	87	Isaacs (Vic)	999
13	Gwydir (NSW)	929	88	Hindmarsh (SA)	1000
14	Blair (Qld)	932	89	Hotham (Vic)	1000
15	Chifley (NSW)	933	90	Bowman (Qld)	1002
16	Throsby (NSW)	933	91	Robertson (NSW)	1002
17	Brand (WA)	933	92	Cowan (WA)	1002
18	Wakefield (SA)	935	93	Dunkley (Vic)	1003
19	Oxley (Qld)	935	94	Wills (Vic)	1004
20	Port Adelaide (SA)	936	95	Corangamite (Vic)	1004
21	Paterson (NSW)	938	96	Stirling (WA)	1005
22	Maranoa (Qld)	939	97	Denison (Tas)	1008
23	Kennedy (Qld)	939	98	Fremantle (WA)	1008
24	Parkes (NSW)	940	99	Lindsay (NSW)	1014
25	Holt (Vic)	942	100	Perth (WA)	1015
26	Mallee (Vic)	943	101	Greenway (NSW)	1016
27	Hunter (NSW)	943	102	Bruce (Vic)	1017
28	Murray (Vic)	944	103	Swan (WA)	1018
29	O'Connor (WA)	946	104	Banks (NSW)	1020
30	Gippsland (Vic)	946	105	Casey (Vic)	1020
31	Kingston (SA)	946	106	Lilley (Qld)	1021
32	Bass (Tas)	947	107	La Trobe (Vic)	1028
33	Dawson (Qld)	947	108	Dickson (Qld)	1029
34	Rankin (Qld)	947	109	Cunningham (NSW)	1029
35	Shortland (NSW)	948	110	Mayo (SA)	1035
36	Bendigo (Vic)	948	111	Barton (NSW)	1038
37	Richmond (NSW)	948	HIGH		
LOWER MIDDLE			112	Macquarie (NSW)	1043
38	Reid (NSW)	949	113	Solomon (NT)	1052
39	Corio (Vic)	949	114	Parramatta (NSW)	1052
40	New England (NSW)	950	115	Sturt (SA)	1052
41	Fairfax (Qld)	950	116	Adelaide (SA)	1053
42	Blaxland (NSW)	951	117	Boothby (SA)	1054
43	McMillan (Vic)	951	118	Moreton (Qld)	1055
44	Wannon (Vic)	952	119	Aston (Vic)	1055
45	Forde (Qld)	953	120	Deakin (Vic)	1057
46	Farrer (NSW)	956	121	Griffith (Qld)	1064
47	Forrest (WA)	958	122	Moore (WA)	1064
48	Riverina (NSW)	959	123	Kingston-Smith (NSW)	1069
49	Maribyrnong (Vic)	959	124	Jagajaga (Vic)	1076
50	Gilmore (NSW)	961	125	Chisholm (Vic)	1077
51	Ballarat (Vic)	963	126	Grayndler (NSW)	1082
52	Calare (NSW)	963	127	Cook (NSW)	1085
53	Capricornia (Qld)	965	128	Tangney (WA)	1086

LOWER MIDDLE (continued)		HIGH (continued)		
54	Indi (Vic)	965	129 Hughes (NSW)	1093
55	Fisher (Qld)	967	130 Melbourne (Vic)	1095
56	Franklin (Tas)	967	131 Lowe (NSW)	1095
57	Scullin (Vic)	967	132 Menzies (Vic)	1101
58	Calwell (Vic)	968	133 Brisbane (Qld)	1103
59	Charlton (NSW)	969	134 Bennelong (NSW)	1114
60	Gellibrand (Vic)	970	135 Mackellar (NSW)	1115
61	Prospect (NSW)	971	136 Fraser (ACT)	1121
62	Groom (Qld)	972	137 Canberra (ACT)	1123
63	Flinders (Vic)	973	138 Goldstein (Vic)	1127
64	Hasluck (WA)	973	139 Ryan (Qld)	1135
65	Canning (WA)	976	140 Sydney (NSW)	1140
66	Dobell (NSW)	977	141 Berowra (NSW)	1140
67	Werriwa (NSW)	979	142 Melbourne Ports (Vic)	1144
68	Lalor (Vic)	979	143 Mitchell (NSW)	1145
69	Pearce (WA)	984	144 Curtin (WA)	1150
70	Watson (NSW)	985	145 Warringah (NSW)	1152
71	McPherson (Qld)	985	146 Higgins (Vic)	1162
72	Makin (SA)	985	147 Kooyong (Vic)	1175
73	Eden-Monaro (NSW)	986	148 Wentworth (NSW)	1182
74	Lingiari (NT)	987	149 North Sydney (NSW)	1204
75	Hume (NSW)	988	150 Bradfield (NSW)	1204

Attachment 2 Proposed Changes in Geographic Classification			
State	Division	2001 Election	Proposed Classification
NSW	Cook	Inner Metropolitan	Outer Metropolitan
	Cowper	Rural	Provincial
	Dobell	Provincial	Outer Metropolitan
	Lyne	Rural	Provincial
	Macarthur	Rural	Outer Metropolitan
	Paterson	Rural	Provincial
	Robertson	Provincial	Outer Metropolitan
	Burke	Rural	Outer Metropolitan
Victoria	Corangamite	Provincial	Rural
	Flinders	Rural	Outer Metropolitan
	McMillan	Rural	Provincial
	Maribrynong	Outer Metropolitan	Inner Metropolitan
Queensland	Capricornia	Provincial	Rural
	Fairfax	Rural	Provincial
	Fisher	Rural	Provincial
	Forde	Rural	Outer Metropolitan
	Griffith	Outer Metropolitan	Inner Metropolitan
	Longman	Rural	Outer Metropolitan
WA	Brand	Provincial	Outer Metropolitan
	Pearce	Outer Metropolitan	Rural

Attachment 3 Proposed Electoral Division Classification, After 2001 Election				
State	Party Status	Area (sq kms)	Geographic	Socio-economic Status (a)
NEW SOUTH WALES				
Banks	Marginal ALP	54	Inner metropolitan	Upper middle
Barton	Fairly safe ALP	42	Inner metropolitan	Upper middle
Bennelong	Fairly safe LP	53	Inner metropolitan	High
Berowra	Safe LP	712	Outer metropolitan	High
Blaxland	Safe ALP	54	Inner metropolitan	Lower middle
Bradfield	Safe LP	97	Inner metropolitan	High
Calare	Safe Ind	21621	Rural	Lower middle
Charlton	Fairly safe ALP	568	Provincial	Lower middle
Chifley	Safe ALP	110	Outer metropolitan	Low
Cook	Safe LP	189	Outer metropolitan	High
Cowper	Marginal NP	7700	Provincial	Low
Cunningham	Safe ALP	490	Provincial	Upper middle
Dobell	Marginal LP	952	Outer metropolitan	Lower middle
Eden-Monaro	Marginal LP	30946	Rural	Lower middle
Farrer	Safe LP	96844	Rural	Lower middle
Fowler	Safe ALP	47	Outer metropolitan	Low
Gilmore	Safe LP	5612	Rural	Lower middle
Grayndler	Safe ALP	29	Inner metropolitan	High
Greenway	Marginal ALP	120	Outer metropolitan	Upper middle
Gwydir	Safe LP	185604	Rural	Low
Hughes	Safe LP	265	Outer metropolitan	High
Hume	Fairly safe LP	25948	Rural	Lower middle
Hunter	Safe ALP	10594	Rural	Low
Kingsford Smith	Fairly safe ALP	62	Inner metropolitan	High
Lindsay	Fairly safe LP	351	Outer metropolitan	Upper middle
Lowe	Marginal ALP	41	Inner metropolitan	High
Lyne	Safe NP	9291	Provincial	Low
Macarthur	Fairly safe LP	572	Outer metropolitan	Upper middle
Mackellar	Safe LP	229	Outer metropolitan	High
Macquarie	Fairly safe LP	4197	Outer metropolitan	High
Mitchell	Safe LP	182	Outer metropolitan	High
Newcastle	Fairly safe ALP	199	Provincial	Upper middle
New England	Fairly safe Ind	53858	Rural	Lower middle
North Sydney	Safe LP	39	Inner metropolitan	High
Page	Marginal NP	16682	Rural	Low
Parkes	Fairly safe NP	268674	Rural	Low
Parramatta	Marginal LP	61	Inner metropolitan	High
Paterson	Marginal LP	9632	Provincial	Low
Prospect	Safe ALP	159	Outer metropolitan	Lower middle
Reid	Safe ALP	62	Inner metropolitan	Lower middle
Richmond	Marginal NP	2137	Rural	Lower middle
Riverina	Safe NP	44971	Rural	Lower middle
Robertson	Fairly safe LP	785	Outer metropolitan	Upper middle
Shortland	Fairly safe ALP	304	Provincial	Low
Sydney	Safe ALP	50	Inner metropolitan	High
Throsby	Safe ALP	387	Provincial	Low
Warringah	Safe LP	56	Inner metropolitan	High
Watson	Safe ALP	33	Inner metropolitan	Lower middle

Wentworth	Fairly safe LP	26	Inner metropolitan	High
Werriwa	Fairly safe ALP	168	Outer metropolitan	Lower middle

VICTORIA

Aston	Fairly safe LP	101	Outer metropolitan	High
Ballarat	Marginal ALP	8816	Provincial	Lower middle
Batman	Safe ALP	54	Inner metropolitan	Upper middle
Bendigo	Marginal ALP	9939	Provincial	Low
Bruce	Fairly safe ALP	64	Outer metropolitan	Upper middle
Burke	Fairly safe ALP	3117	Outer metropolitan	Upper middle
Calwell	Safe ALP	234	Outer metropolitan	Lower middle
Casey	Fairly safe LP	411	Outer metropolitan	Upper middle
Chisholm	Marginal ALP	60	Inner metropolitan	High
Corangamite	Fairly safe LP	7566	Rural	Upper middle
Corio	Fairly safe ALP	808	Provincial	Lower middle
Deakin	Marginal LP	59	Outer metropolitan	High
Dunkley	Fairly safe LP	124	Outer metropolitan	Upper middle
Flinders	Fairly safe LP	2089	Outer metropolitan	Lower middle
Gellibrand	Safe ALP	75	Inner metropolitan	Lower middle
Gippsland	Fairly safe NP	35534	Rural	Low
Goldstein	Fairly safe LP	48	Inner metropolitan	High
Higgins	Fairly safe LP	39	Inner metropolitan	High
Holt	Safe ALP	106	Outer metropolitan	Low
Hotham	Safe ALP	71	Outer metropolitan	Upper middle
Indi	Safe LP	24044	Rural	Lower middle
Isaacs	Marginal ALP	179	Outer metropolitan	Upper middle
Jagajaga	Fairly safe ALP	84	Outer metropolitan	High
Kooyong	Safe LP	49	Inner metropolitan	High
Lalor	Safe ALP	653	Outer metropolitan	Lower middle
La Trobe	Marginal LP	549	Outer metropolitan	Upper middle
Mallee	Safe NP	66632	Rural	Low
Maribyrnong	Safe ALP	64	Inner metropolitan	Lower middle
McEwen	Marginal LP	14328	Rural	Upper middle
McMillan	Marginal ALP	5744	Provincial	Lower middle
Melbourne	Safe ALP	54	Inner metropolitan	High
Melbourne Ports	Fairly safe ALP	43	Inner metropolitan	High
Menzies	Fairly safe LP	116	Outer metropolitan	High
Murray	Safe LP	15907	Rural	Low
Scullin	Safe ALP	104	Outer metropolitan	Lower middle
Wannon	Fairly safe LP	29693	Rural	Lower middle
Wills	Safe ALP	52	Inner metropolitan	Upper middle

QUEENSLAND

Blair	Fairly safe LP	15095	Rural	Low
Bowman	Marginal ALP	600	Outer metropolitan	Upper middle
Brisbane	Marginal ALP	72	Inner metropolitan	High
Capricornia	Fairly safe ALP	235400	Rural	Lower middle
Dawson	Fairly safe NP	22440	Rural	Low
Dickson	Fairly safe LP	754	Outer metropolitan	Upper middle
Fadden	Safe LP	591	Outer metropolitan	Upper middle
Fairfax	Fairly safe LP	4270	Provincial	Lower middle
Fisher	Safe LP	558	Provincial	Lower middle
Forde	Fairly safe LP	4873	Outer metropolitan	Lower middle
Griffith	Fairly safe ALP	123	Inner metropolitan	High

Groom	Safe LP	6417	Provincial	Lower middle
Herbert	Marginal LP	2966	Provincial	Upper middle
Hinkler	Marginal NP	15427	Rural	Low
Kennedy	Safe Ind	562160	Rural	Low
Leichhardt	Fairly safe LP	150236	Rural	Upper middle
Lilley	Marginal ALP	139	Inner metropolitan	Upper middle
Longman	Marginal LP	1984	Outer metropolitan	Low
Maranoa	Safe NP	650504	Rural	Low
McPherson	Safe LP	369	Provincial	Lower middle
Moncrieff	Safe LP	182	Provincial	Upper middle
Moreton	Marginal LP	107	Inner metropolitan	High
Oxley	Fairly safe ALP	669	Outer metropolitan	Low
Petrie	Marginal LP	149	Outer metropolitan	Upper middle
Rankin	Fairly safe ALP	151	Outer metropolitan	Low
Ryan	Fairly safe LP	238	Outer metropolitan	High
Wide Bay	Safe NP	53826	Rural	Low

SOUTH AUSTRALIA				
Adelaide	Marginal LP	71	Inner metropolitan	High
Barker	Safe LP	52006	Rural	Low
Bonython	Safe ALP	269	Outer metropolitan	Low
Boothby	Fairly safe LP	119	Outer metropolitan	High
Grey	Safe LP	897822	Rural	Low
Hindmarsh	Marginal LP	63	Inner metropolitan	Upper middle
Kingston	Marginal ALP	170	Outer metropolitan	Low
Makin	Marginal LP	110	Outer metropolitan	Lower middle
Mayo	Safe LP	2035	Outer metropolitan	Upper middle
Port Adelaide	Safe ALP	234	Inner metropolitan	Low
Sturt	Fairly safe LP	66	Inner metropolitan	High
Wakefield	Safe LP	31123	Rural	Low

WESTERN AUSTRALIA				
Brand	Safe ALP	430	Outer metropolitan	Low
Canning	Marginal LP	4174	Outer metropolitan	Lower middle
Cowan	Fairly safe ALP	195	Outer metropolitan	Upper middle
Curtin	Safe LP	90	Inner metropolitan	High
Forrest	Fairly safe LP	21143	Rural	Lower middle
Fremantle	Safe ALP	200	Inner metropolitan	Upper middle
Hasluck	Marginal ALP	227	Outer metropolitan	Lower middle
Kalgoorlie	Marginal LP	2295354	Rural	Upper middle
Moore	Fairly safe LP	78	Outer metropolitan	High
O'Connor	Safe LP	179047	Rural	Low
Pearce	Fairly safe LP	26251	Rural	Lower middle
Perth	Safe ALP	74	Inner metropolitan	Upper middle
Stirling	Marginal ALP	76	Inner metropolitan	Upper middle
Swan	Marginal ALP	108	Inner metropolitan	Upper middle
Tangney	Fairly safe LP	70	Inner metropolitan	High

TASMANIA				
Bass	Marginal ALP	7343	Provincial	Low
Braddon	Fairly safe ALP	11760	Rural	Low
Denison	Safe ALP	221	Inner metropolitan	Upper middle
Franklin	Fairly safe ALP	7933	Outer metropolitan	Lower middle
Lyons	Fairly safe ALP	40604	Rural	Low

NORTHERN TERRITORY				
Lingiari	Fairly safe ALP	1347849	Rural	Lower middle
Solomon	Marginal CLP	326	Inner metropolitan	High

AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY				
Canberra	Fairly safe ALP	1900	Inner metropolitan	High
Fraser	Safe ALP	535	Inner metropolitan	High

VICTORIA (After 2002 Redistribution)				
Aston	Fairly safe LP	96	Outer metropolitan	
Ballarat	Marginal ALP	4652	Provincial	
Batman	Safe ALP	53	Inner metropolitan	
Bendigo	Marginal ALP	7286	Provincial	
Bruce	Fairly safe ALP	68	Outer metropolitan	
Calwell	Safe ALP	504	Outer metropolitan	
Casey	Fairly safe LP	409	Outer metropolitan	
Chisholm	Marginal ALP	61	Inner metropolitan	
Corangamite	Fairly safe LP	7724	Rural	
Corio	Fairly safe ALP	815	Provincial	
Deakin	Marginal LP	61	Outer metropolitan	
Dunkley	Fairly safe LP	138	Outer metropolitan	
Flinders	Fairly safe LP	1955	Outer metropolitan	
Gellibrand	Safe ALP	91	Inner metropolitan	
Gippsland	Marginal NP	33164	Rural	
Goldstein	Fairly safe LP	49	Inner metropolitan	
Gorton	Safe ALP	166	Outer metropolitan	
Higgins	Fairly safe LP	39	Inner metropolitan	
Holt	Fairly safe ALP	145	Outer metropolitan	
Hotham	Safe ALP	72	Inner metropolitan	
Indi	Safe LP	28008	Rural	
Isaacs	Fairly safe ALP	171	Outer metropolitan	
Jagajaga	Fairly safe ALP	87	Outer metropolitan	
Kooyong	Safe LP	49	Inner metropolitan	
Lalor	Safe ALP	991	Outer metropolitan	
La Trobe	Marginal LP	588	Outer metropolitan	
Mallee	Safe NP	70694	Rural	
Maribyrnong	Safe ALP	71	Inner metropolitan	
McEwen	Marginal LP	10675	Rural	
McMillan	Marginal LP/NP	8328	Rural	
Melbourne	Safe ALP	53	Inner metropolitan	
Melbourne Ports	Fairly safe ALP	44	Inner metropolitan	
Menzies	Fairly safe LP	119	Outer metropolitan	
Murray	Safe LP	16229	Rural	
Scullin	Safe ALP	101	Outer metropolitan	
Wannon	Fairly safe LP	33854	Rural	
Wills	Safe ALP	57	Inner metropolitan	

Northern Territory (after 2003 Determination)				
Northern Territory	Marginal ALP	1348175	Rural	

(a) Based on 2001 Census.

Other Publications in this Series

Research Report 1 – Informal Votes Survey, House of Representatives 2001	2003
Research Report 2 – Redistribution Forward Estimates 1984-1999	Dec 2003
Research Report 3 – Analysis of Declaration Voting	Jun 2004
Research Report 4 – Australian Federal redistributions 1901 – 2003	Apr 2004