PROJECT THREE

AUSTRALIA: 1975-77

Introduction: Project two provided a complete national demographic analysis of variations in the Labor vote between 1966 and 1975. The demographic data was based on the application of the 1968 boundaries to the 1971 census results and the political data was based on national 1966-75 2PP votes and swings in the 1968 electorates.

In 1977 there was a national redistribution and a national election in quick succession. The 1976 data had not been collated by the Bureau of Statistics on either 1968 or 1977 boundaries by early 1978 when a review of the 1977 elections was required.

In order to provide some demographic analysis of the 1975-77 swing a sample of 31 federal electorates was selected and it was resolved to carry out a limited computer analysis of the 1971 demographic data and the 1975-77 swing for these seats.

Methodology: Thirty-one seats were selected for the current project. Twenty-nine of the 31 seats were located in Queensland and in South Australia. In Queensland the 1975-77 results were transposed on to the 1968 boundaries by Dave Hamill, and I performed a similar task for 11 of the old South Australian seats.

The remaining seats in the sample were two electorates which had been changed by less than one percent by the 1977 redistribution.

The demographic data was the same as that used for project two for the 31 sample seats.

The political data actually presented in this project related only to the 1975-77 swing.

The swing was calculated using the same two-party-preferred techniques employed in project two. A swing to Labor is represented as a positive swing and a swing against Labor is represented as a negative result. A positive correlation therefore between the 1975-77 swing variable (called variable 219) and any demographic group infers that the demographic group swung towards Labor in 1977.

The method of analysis employed was a simplified version of that used in project two. Pearson correlations between demographic variables and the 1975-77 swing were calculated using standard SPSS techniques employed in project two. A SPSS stepwise multiple linear regression was then performed using the same step-by-step partial correlation technique discussed in detail in the methodology of project two and the appendix to project one.

Results: The results were presented in two main tables. The first table lists the pearson correlations between the 1975-77 swing and all political and demographic variables and the second table contains the results of the regression of the 1975-77 swing on the demographic variables.

PEARSON R TABLE (Table 3.1)

Political Variable - V219 75-77 SWING

PEARSON R	DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
-.12	1. 1966 VOTE
-.02	2. 1969 VOTE
-.00	3. 1972 VOTE
+.07	4. 1974 VOTE
+.01	5. 1975 VOTE
-.01	6. 1966-75 MEAN VOTE
+.21	7. 1966-69 SWING
+.06	8. 1969-72 SWING
+.23	9. 1972-74 SWING
-.29	10. 1974-75 SWING
-.10	11. 1966-75 MEAN ABSOLUTE SWING
-.16	12. MALES 0-4 YEARS
-.18	13. " 5-9 "
-.10	14. " 10-14 "
+.16	15. " 15-19 "
+.17	16. " 20-24 "
+.07	17. " 25-29 "
-.17	18. " 30-34 "
-.28	19. " 35-39 "
-.24	20. " 40-44 "
+.08	21. " 45-49 "
+.13	22. " 50-54 "
+.14	23. " 55-59 "
+.11	24. " 60-64 "
+.07	25. " 65-69 "

TABLE 3.1

PEARSON R TABLE

Political Variable - V219 75-77 SWING

* ≥/.30/
** ≥/.35/

PEARSON R	DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
+.10	26 MALES 70+ YEARS
-.15	27 FEMALES 0-4 YEARS
-.22	28 " 5-9 "
-.23	29 " 10-14 "
+.07	30 " 15-19 "
+.22	31 " 20-24 "
+.01	32 " 25-29 "
-.17	33 " 30-34 "
-.24	34 " 35-39 "
-.10	35 " 40-44 "
+.14	36 " 45-49 "
+.14	37 " 50-54 "
+.13	38 " 55-59 "
+.15	39 " 60-64 "
+.14	40 " 65-69 "
+.14	41 " 70+ "
+.53**	42 RELIGION - BAPTISTS
-.11	43 BRETHREN
-.32*	44 CATHOLIC
+.32*	45 CHURCH OF CHRIST
-.12	46 CHURCH OF ENGLAND
+.31*	47 CONGREGATIONAL
+.17	48 GREEK ORTHODOX
-.01	49 JEHOVAH'S WITNESS
+.14	50 LUTHERAN

PEARSON R TABLE

Political Variable - V219 75-77 SWING

* ≥/.30/
** ≥/.35/

PEARSON R		DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
+.36**	51	RELIGION - METHODIST
-.38**	52	PRESBYTERIAN
+.11	53	SALVATION ARMY
-.38**	54	SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST
+.35**	55	PROTESTANT (UNDEFINED)
+.02	56	OTHER CHRISTIAN
-.12	57	ALL NON-CHRISTIAN
+.13	58	NO RELIGION/NO REPLY
-.28	59	BIRTHPLACE - AUSTRALIA
-.15	60	NEW ZEALAND
+.38**	61	UK & IRELAND
-.05	62	AUSTRIA
+.10	63	CZECHOSLOVAKIA
+.15	64	GERMANY
+.23	65	GREECE
-.13	66	HUNGARY
-.07	67	ITALY
-.41**	68	MALTA
+.23	69	NETHERLANDS
+.19	70	POLAND
+.30*	71	USSR
-.17	72	YUGOSLAVIA
-.09	73	OTHER EUROPE
+.11	74	ASIA
+.20	75	AFRICA

PEARSON R TABLE

Political Variable - V219 75-77 SWING

* ≥/.30/
** ≥/.35/

PEARSON R	DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
-.17	76 BIRTHPLACE - CANADA
-.15	77 USA
-.10	78 OTHER
+.18	79 PERIOD OF RESIDENCE OF MIGRANTS 0-4 YEARS
+.36**	80 5-9 "
+.08	81 10-16 "
-.27	82 17+ "
+.01	83 MOBILITY - PERSONS WHO HAVE MOVED IN LAST FIVE YEARS
-.01	84 USUAL MAJOR ACTIVITY - MALES WORKING
0	85 " " " MALES HOME DUTIES
+.14	86 " " " MALES OTHER
+.38**	87 " " " FEMALES WORKING
-.18	88 " " " FEMALES HOME DUTIES
+.01	89 " " " FEMALES OTHER
-.18	90 MALES NOT YET AT SCHOOL AS % TOTAL MALES
-.15	91 FEMALES NOT YET AT SCHOOL AS % TOTAL FEMALES
-.11	92 MALES NOW AT SCHOOL AS % TOTAL MALES
-.23	93 FEMALES NOW AT SCHOOL AS % TOTAL FEMALES
-.05	94 MALES COMPLETED SCHOOL TO GRADES 1,2,3
-.17	95 " " " " GRADE 4
-.20	96 " " " " " 5
-.04	97 " " " " " 6
+.13	98 " " " " " 7
+.03	99 " " " " " 8
+.08	100 " " " " " 9

PEARSON R TABLE

* ≥ |.30|
** ≥ |.35|

Political Variable - V219 75 77 SWING

PEARSON R	DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
- .01	101 Males completed school to Grade 10 (Intermediate)
+ .18	102 " 11 (Leaving)
- .00	103 " 12 (Matriculation)
+ .01	104 Females completed school to Grades 1, 2, 3.
- .10	105 " 4
- .13	106 " 5
- .01	107 " 6
+ .22	108 " 7
+ .11	109 " 8
+ .10	110 " 9
- .11	111 " 10 (Intermediate)
+ .08	112 " 11 (Leaving)
- .01	113 " 12 (Matriculation)
- .08	114 Males who have never attended school as % Males
- .04	115 Females who have never attended school as % Females
+ .31 *	116 Qualifications Males - Trade
- .01	117 " " Technician
- .06	118 " " Non-Degree Tertiary
- .10	119 " " Bachelor Degree
- .10	120 " " Higher Degree
+ .42 **	121 Qualifications Females - Trade
- .13	122 " " Technician
- .14	123 " " Non-Dgree Tertiary
- .06	124 " " Bachelor Degree
- .03	125 " " Higher Degree

PEARSON R TABLE

* ≥ |.30|
** ≥ |.35|

Political Variable - V219 75 77 SWING

PEARSON R	DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
+ .01	126 Labour Force Males 15-19
+ .12	127 " 20-24
+ .04	128 " 25-29
- .18	129 " 30-34
- .30 *	130 " 35-39
- .20	131 " 40-44
+ .07	132 " 45-49
+ .10	133 " 50-54
+ .13	134 " 55-59
+ .08	135 " 60-64
- .16	136 " 65+
+ .16	137 Labour Force Females 15-19
+ .32 *	138 " 20-24
+ .26	139 " 25-29
+ .31 *	140 " 30-34
+ .33 *	141 " 35-39
+ .34 *	142 " 40-44
+ .33 *	143 " 45-49
+ .32 *	144 " 50-54
+ .26	145 " 55-59
+ .18	146 " 60-64
- .08	147 " 65+
+ .08	148 Labour Force - Persons 15-19
+ .22	149 " 20-24
.09	150 " 25-29

NOTE

PEARSON R TABLE

*≥|.30|
**≥|.35|

Political Variable - V219 75 77 SWING

PEARSON R	DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
- .07	151 Labour Force - Persons 30-34
- .12	152 " 35-39
+ .01	153 " 40-44
+ .17	154 " 45-49
+ .17	155 " 50-54
+ .16	156 " 55-59
+ .09	157 " 60-64
- .11	158 " 65+
+ .42 **	159 Percentage of Women who work $\frac{\text{Female Workers x 100}}{\text{Total Females}}$
- .32 *	160 Occupational Status - Males - Employer
- .17	161 " Self-Employed
+ .07	162 " Employee
- .07	163 " Helper
- .02	164 " Unemployed
- .21	165 Occupational Status - Females - Employer
- .04	166 " Self-Employed
+ .37 **	167 " Employee
+ .14	168 " Helper
- .05	169 " Unemployed
- .06	170 Occupation Males Professional
- .08	171 " Administrative
+ .23	172 " Clerical
+ .21	173 " Sales
+ .20	174 " Farmers
- .48 **	175 " Miners

PEARSON R TABLE

*≥ /.30/
**≥ /.35/

Political Variable - V219 75 77 SWING

PEARSON R	DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
- .04	176 Occupation - Males - Transport
+ .08	177 " Craftsmen
+ .31 *	178 " Service
+ .13	179 " Armed Services
+ .02	180 " Other
+ .01	181 " Unemployed
+ .00	182 Occupation - Females - Professional
+ .14	183 " Administrative
+ .27	184 " Clerical
+ .34 *	185 " Sales
- .07	186 " Farmers
0	187 " Miners
+ .31 *	188 " Transport
+ .38 **	189 " Craftsmen
+ .16	190 " Service
+ .05	191 " Armed Services
+ .41 **	192 " Other
+ .02	193 " Unemployed
+ .38 **	194 Usual Major Activity - Females Working
+ .02	195 " Females Home Duties
- .07	196 Rented Dwellings % Total Dwellings - Furnished Houses
+ .28	197 " S.H.A. Houses
- .13	198 " S.H.A. Flats
+ .16	199 " Furnished Flats
- .12	200 " S.H.A. Flats

*≥|.30|
**≥|.35|

PEARSON R TABLE

Political Variable - V219 75 77 SWING

PEARSON R	DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
- .13	201 Rented Dwellings - Other Flats
- .09	202 Average Rent Cost ($¢) - Furnished Houses
- .22	203 " S.H.A. Houses
- .06	204 " Other Houses
+ .14	205 " Furnished Flats
+ .21	206 " S.H.A. Flats
+ .11	207 " Other Flats
- .00	208 Nature of Occupancy - Houses Owner
+ .25	209 " Houses Tenant S.H.A. *
- .17	210 " Houses Tenant Other
+ .05	211 " Flats Owner
- .08	212 " Flats Tenant S.H.A.
+ .07	213 " Flats Tenant Other
+ .07	214 % Total Dwellings with Television
+ .11	215 " No Cars
+ .23	216 " One Car
- .27	217 " Two Plus Cars

MULTIPLE REGRESSION

POLITICAL VARIABLE - V219 - 1975-77 SWING

VARIABLE NUMBER	DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES AND REGRESSION EQUATION (BELOW)	VARIANCE EXPLAINED (%)	EXTRA VARIANCE EXPLAINED (%)	SIGN OF COEFFICIENT AND CONSTANT
42	BAPTIST	28.1	28.1	+1.93
192	FEMALES - OTHER (WORKFORCE)	38.6	10.4	+10.87
61	U.K. AND IRELAND BORN	51.7	13.2	+.26
68	MALTESE BORN	66.3	14.6	-6.23
178	MALES - SERVICE WORKERS	71.0	4.6	-3.05
55	SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST	75.5	4.5	-2.78
45	CHURCHES OF CHRIST	79.6	4.1	+.97
71	RUSSIAN BORN	83.5	3.9	+2.05
121	FEMALES - TRADE	84.5	1.0	+2.50
54	SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST	86.3	1.8	-1.44
52	PRESBYTERIAN	86.9	0.6	+.10
	V219 = +1.93 x 42			-5.96
	+10.87 x 192			
	+.26 x 61			
	-6.23 x 68			
	-3.05 x 178			
	-2.78 x 55			
	+.97 x 45			
	+2.05 x 71			
	+2.50 x 121			
	-1.44 x 54			
	+.10 x 52			
	-5.96			

Table 3.2

Discussion:
V219 - 1975-77 2PP Swing

Table 3.1 contains the correlations for the 1975-77 swing and all demographic and political variables. Table 3.1 has been summarised into table 3.3 which lists only those correlations larger than or equal to (in absolute terms) plus or minus .30. This .30 level and the higher .35 level marked in both tables with double asterisks, were both selected arbitrarily to summarise the strongest correlations. They had nothing to do with significance levels which approach one percent for correlations larger than .20.

The first eleven correlations[1] show that the 1975-77 swing contained some similarities to earlier swings in 1966-69 and 1972-74, and was negatively correlated to the 1974-75 swing.

Correlations for variables 15 to 25 show that Labor improved its vote in 1977 among younger and older male voters but lost support in the male middle-age groups 30-44. This represented a continuation of the 1974-75 trend.

Among women, Labor in 1975-77 achieved a similar result to that described above for males, with swings against Labor from the volatile voters in the female 30-34 age group and from those voters aged 35 -44. Labor recorded gains across all other age groups. In general terms, the female swings across age groups were larger than those for males.

None of the age-swing correlations were sufficiently large to be included in table 3.3.

There were some surprisingly large swings to and against Labor in 1975-77 from the various religious groups, with large swings to Labor from Baptists, Methodists and Protestants (undefined) and large swings away from Labor by Presbyterians and Seventh Day Adventists (see table 3.3).

1. Demographic variables 1 to 11 on first page of table 3.1, page 3.

Positive Correlations larger than or equal to +.30	Negative Correlations smaller than or equal to -.30
.53** Baptists	-.32 Catholics
.32 Church of Christ	-.38** Presbyterian
.31 Congregational	-.38** S.D. Adventists
.36** Methodists	-.47** Malta-born
.35** Protestants (undefined)	-.30 Male workers - 35-59 years
.38** UK-born	-.32 Male employers
.30 USSR	-.48** Male miners
.36** 5-9 Residence	
.38** Working women	
.31 Male tradesmen	
.42** Female tradesmen	
.32 Female workers - 20-24 years	
.31 Female workers - 30-34 years	
.33 Female workers - 35-39 years	
.34 Female workers - 40-44 years	
.33 Female workers - 45-49 years	
.32 Female workers - 50-54 years	
.42** Percentage of women who work	
.37** Female employees	
.31 Male service	
.34 Female sales	
.31 Female transport	
.38** Female craftsmen	
.41** Female other	
.38** Female working	** Shows correlations $\geq |.35|$

Table 3.3

It appears from the evidence produced so far in this report, and from later evidence produced in project four, that the bulk of this swing-religion relationship could be explained partly by the nature of the present sample and by links between working women and protestants and links between Catholics and Presbyterians and non-working women. Working women swung very strongly to Labor in 1975-77, while full-time housewives swung away from Labor.

Also, Presbyterians were strongly linked with the rural occupation groups, which swung away from Labor yet again in 1977.

Labor gained quite significantly among most migrant groups in 1977 and continued to lose support from Australian-born persons (linked with the rural population).

Noticeable swings to Labor were recorded among the long-run volatile ethnic groups, UK-born persons and migrants who had between five and nine years' residency in Australia.

The anti-Labor swing from Maltese-born persons would have had more to do with non-working wives and Catholicity than ethnicity, per se.

The positive correlation of .38 for the 1975-77 swing and females in the workforce (including employers) was the first of many significantly large positive correlations for women workers and the small pro-Labor swing in 1975-77.

Turning now to page five of table 3.1 we can see a strong swing to Labor from male tradesmen and a stronger pro-Labor swing among female tradesmen.

On page six of table 3.1 we can see the results for the swing across the various age groups for males and females in the workforce. This result is quite extraordinary when compared to the age-swing correlations for all persons on pages one and two.

If we examine the male workers first, we see that the age-swing relationship is similar for males irrespective of participation in the workforce: Labor in 1977 lost votes among male voters in the volatile working age groups and gained support from older and younger males.

For females however, the differences between working women and all women (including housewives and part-time workers) were startling. Among all women, Labor in 1977 lost votes among those in the volatile age groups and gained support from older and younger females. However, when we check the workforce-only age groups on page six, we can see that Labor in 1977 gained quite large swings from women workers of all ages except the almost negligible group aged 65 and over.

The swing then, among the 50 percent or so of women not in the workforce aged 30-34, must have been extremely strong against Labor.

This opened up for the first time since the correlational analysis had begun in 1966 a major qualitative difference in the behaviour of working and non-working women in the same age groups and between working women and men in the same age groups.

In summary, women workers in 1977 swung very heavily to the ALP across almost all working age groups, without regard to the behaviour of their husbands or their age cohorts who were unpaid housewives.

The group of working women therefore assumes quite major importance in our assessments of key volatile voters in 1983.

The correlation for variable 159 on page seven confirms the above comment. Here we can see the correlation between the variation in the percentage of women workers and the variations in the swing to Labor between 1975-77. This pearson correlation

of plus .42 was the joint second-highest positive correlation in the current analysis. Because this variable 159 was not discussed in detail in project two I will digress here a moment to discuss the long-term trends for this group. Firstly, I list the correlations between the Labor vote at elections from 1966 to 1977 inclusive, and variable 159, the percentage of total women who work (the sample is used for the 1977 result).

Election	1966	1969	1972	1974	1975	1977
Correlation	.10	.10	.16	.23	.22	.34

Table 3.4

Here we can see that from 1969 onwards, Labor gained from a long-run steady drift in support to the ALP from working women. This drift turned into a quite major swing or realignment between 1975 and 1977.

It follows from this evidence that Labor stands to gain in future years from any increase in female workforce participation.

Further evidence presented on pages seven and eight of table 3.1 deals with occupational status and occupation. Here we can see that 1975-77 swing contained a major component of class-polarisation.

A large proportion of this polarisation across occupational-status groups could be attributed to the increased politicisation of women between 1975 and 1977.

An examination of the occupational groups provides an interesting perspective on the information also presented for women and on additional class-related movements between 1975-77.

For males, the two upper white-collar groups (professional and administrative) were stable between 1975-77, while the middle white-collar groups (clerical and sales) swung noticeably to Labor. The depressing news for Labor in 1977 was the continued decline of Labor's support among the rural workers (farmers and miners). Among miners in particular the anti-Labor swing was savage. The negative correlation of minus .48 was the largest negative correlation produced in the current analysis.

To highlight this long-run problem for Labor, I list below all the correlations between miners and the Labor vote from 1966 to 1977 (the sample is used for 1977).

Election	1966	1969	1972	1974	1975	1977
Miners	+.32	+.23	+.17	+.10	+.15	-.06

Table 3.5

The decade ending at 1977 therefore saw the complete destruction of Labor's base of support among miners, a crucial group for any long-run electoral strategy designed to win non-urban Labor seats in the peripheral States in 1983.

Labor's support in 1977 increased significantly among service workers and remained reasonably stable among the remaining male occupation groups.

For the female occupation groups, Labor's vote among the upper white-collar groups remained static, while support for Labor candidates among female middle white-collar workers increased significantly.

Among the female blue-collar workers - in contrast to the male equivalents - the Labor vote rose markedly in 1977. Again we see evidence of the qualitative difference emerging between male and female workforce swings.

The positive correlation for variable 194 and the 1975-77 swing brings this variable into line with the other female work-force indicators. The reader may recall earlier discussions in which it was suggested that a large portion of female part-time workers as defined in the 1971 census were actually described as part-time workers to minimise their spouses' tax bills. The result on page eight of table 3.1 indicates that at least some persons in variable 194 were genuine part-time workers.

The housing results listed on pages eight and nine of table 3.1 indicate that Labor in 1977 gained increased support from residents of State Housing Authority houses (V197).

The positive correlation of .28 for variable 197 confirms the long-run volatile nature of this very important demographic group. Going back over previous election swings, we can see that this group swung to Labor in 1969, swung against Labor in 1972, remained steady in 1974, swung against Labor in 1975 and swung back towards Labor in 1977. Any national electoral strategy designed to win long-run volatile voters has to pay particular attention to this extremely volatile group.

On page nine we can see that the large group of home owners (variable 208) remained steady in 1977. Evidence presented earlier in project two indicated that this group - because of its large size and wide distribution across all electorates - could make or break governments with only a small swing in either direction. This was the case in 1969, when a small swing to Labor from home owners accompanied a pro-Labor swing of 7.1 percent. A small swing in the reverse direction from home owners in 1975 accompanied an anti-Labor swing of 7.4 percent. At all other elections, this demographic group remained stable.

The final three correlations on page nine indicate that Labor in 1977 improved its vote among lower- and middle-income families with one or two cars and lost votes among upper-income families with two-plus cars.

Table 3.2 shows the multiple regression table for the 1975 to 1977 swing.

This was an unusual result when compared to earlier swing tables as table 3.2 contains a high proportion of religious and ethnic variables.

All that can be comfortably concluded from table 3.2 is that the long-run volatile group of UK-born persons swung to Labor in 1977. It can be inferred also from 3.2 that followers of the Uniting Church faiths swung to Labor, and Maltese (Catholics) swung against Labor in 1977.

In the absence of partial correlations and an intercorrelation matrix for the 1977 analysis, I am reluctant to proceed further with discussion of table 3.2.

In summary, the 1975-77 swing saw a repolarisation of the Australian electorate, following the depolarisation between 1974-75 and the earlier initial polarisation in 1972-74. The 1975-77 swing also produced swings to Labor among a number of long-run volatile groups, including S.H.A. tenants, British-born persons, migrants with 5-9 years' residency and females. Another long-run volatile group - persons aged 25-44 - in general terms swung against Labor in 1977. However women workers in this age group (and indeed most other age groups) swung strongly to Labor.

Previous long-run slow trends had gained votes for Labor among working women and lost votes for Labor among farmers and more particularly miners. These trends accelerated into marked swings during 1975-77, and continued to pose problems for Labor in former rural ALP seats in the peripheral States.