

PROJECT TWO

AUSTRALIA: 1966-75

<u>Section</u>	<u>Contents</u>	<u>Page Number</u>
4	B. 1966; 1966-69	4.71
	C. 1969; 1969-72	4.101
	D. 1972; 1972-74	4.135
	E. 1974; 1974-75	4.170
	F. 1975; Summary	4.204

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V1 - 1966 2PP ALP Vote

V7 - 1966-69 2PP Swing

For the period 1966 to 1975 discussion has concentrated on the mean votes and the absolute mean swings. The remaining five sections of this project which deal with the 1966 vote and the 1966 to 1969 swing, the 1969 vote and the 1969 to 1972 swing etc., are discussed in less detail. The mean figures have provided the broad outlines of

this period and the election-to-election results provide the details which are necessary to complete the picture.

For the actual votes from election to election the following discussion will deal in detail with the Pearson correlations, the regression equations and the bar chart figures only if they demonstrate some clear divergence from the average. The discussion of the votes will instead pay more attention to areas of overperformance and underperformance as shown in the residuals. The exception to this will be the present discussion on the 1966 vote, which is only of marginal value for individual seat analysis of residuals as the 1966 political results have had to be expressed in terms of the 1968 boundaries (see methodology). Discussion here on the votes will therefore deal only with broader regions.

Most of the comments for the following section will instead be devoted to the dynamics of the system: the swings from election to election. Where a seat or region has swung four percent, from 48 percent to 52 percent for Labor, greater attention should be paid to the composition of this four percent of the electorate, rather than the 48 percent of the vote in the first election or the 52 percent in the second election. If we begin with a pretty clear understanding of the base vote in election one (and this has been provided by the discussion on the average vote from 1966 to 1975) then the extent to which election two differs

from election one will have been provided by the election one to election two swings.

Most of the discussion on the swings will centre on the Pearson correlation tables, the regression equations and the bar chart figures, as these provide a clear picture of the dynamics of change in the Labor vote.

The reader should bear in mind that we have already provided a summary of the key groups responsible for explaining about one-third of the long-term swing from election to election. What we are now interested in is the extra one-quarter of the variance that can be explained in the swing by an understanding of what actually happened at individual elections from 1966 to 1975. In other words, what key groups were won between 1966 and 1972, and retained in 1974, to provide the demographic basis of Labor majorities in the House of Representatives? In the final parts of this project we will see the groups Labor lost in 1975 and in the next two projects we will see which groups have returned to Labor since 1975.

To win in 1983, Labor will need the support of long-run swinging voters, and the support of the sort of persons who voted Labor in 1972 and 1974. While there is such a person as a "swinging voter" there are also other groups which may be stable on most occasions, and yet at critical times may re-align themselves with the Labor Party. Thus to win in 1983 we may need a swing to Labor from swinging voters, and a re-alignment of support from other generally more stable groups.

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The top portion of table 2.16 shows the pro-Labor impact of the Vietnam/Conscription issues for the parents of 15-19 year old voters in 1966.

Lower table 2.16 holds few surprises after the mean vote figures shown in table 2.3.

* * *

Table 2.17 shows the groups who swung towards Labor in 1969 (top) and the groups who swung away from Labor in 1969 (lower)

The urban nature of the voters who were attracted to the ALP in 1969 is very clearly shown by the top correlation of +.45 for homes with televisions. Perhaps this also makes a more general comment about Gough Whitlam's superiority in that election campaign as a television performer, and about the quality of Labor's television commercials. The owners of homes with televisions were of course also one of the key long-run swinging-voter groups between 1966 and 1969. Another key long-run volatile group included in the 1966-69 swing table was the residents of State Housing Authority homes.

Other interesting groups shown here in the top portion of table 2.17 were males with higher degrees and home owners.

In lower table 2.17 we can see the groups which swung against Labor in 1969 (or who remained relatively resistant to the general tide of opinion). These groups included the long-run stable group male miners, 20-24 year old males in the work-force and the unemployed males.

In broad terms table 2.17 shows Labor's increased support coming from urban areas with television sets and one car. These people were better-educated and a little older than the normal swinging-voter age group and they tended to have school-age children in school. They either owned their own homes or lived in rented State Housing Authority homes.

Anti-Labor groups, or stable voters included the poorly

PEARSON R TABLE

Political Variable - V1 1966 2PP

PEARSON R	DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
+.68	V177 MALES - CRAFTSMEN
+.54	V176 MALES - TRANSPORT WORKERS
+.53	V137 FEMALES - WORKFORCE - 15 TO 19 YEARS
+.47	V148 PERSONS - WORKFORCE - 15 TO 19 YEARS
+.44	V 72 YUGOSLAVIAN BORN
+.42	V126 MALES - WORKFORCE - 15 TO 19 YEARS
+.42	V189 FEMALES - CRAFTSMEN
+.42	V116 MALES - TRADE
+.40	V162 MALES - EMPLOYEE
+.38	V105 FEMALES - COMPLETING SCHOOL TO GRADE 4
-.42	V186 FEMALES - FARMERS
-.44	V173 MALES - SALES WORKERS
-.44	V147 FEMALES - WORKFORCE - 65 YEARS AND OVER
-.44	V163 MALES - HELPERS
-.46	V122 FEMALES - TECHNICIANS
-.47	V118 MALES - NON-DEGREE TERTIARY
-.47	V 52 PRESBYTERIANS
-.50	V158 PERSONS - WORKFORCE - 65 YEARS AND OVER
-.50	V217 HOMES WITH 2 CARS
-.50	V165 FEMALES - EMPLOYERS
-.51	V171 MALES - ADMINISTRATIVE
-.51	V123 FEMALES - NON-DEGREE TERTIARY
-.52	V195 FEMALES - "HOME DUTIES" (PART-TIME WORKERS)
-.53	V136 MALES - WORKFORCE - MALES 65 YEARS AND OVER
-.55	V166 FEMALES - SELF-EMPLOYED
-.61	V160 MALES - EMPLOYERS

TABLE 2.16

PEARSON R TABLE

Political Variable - V7 2PP SWING

1966-69

PEARSON R	DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
+.45	V214 HOMES WITH T.V.
+.30	V 92 MALE CHILDREN NOW AT SCHOOL
+.29	V 61 BRITISH AND IRISH BORN
+.27	V120 MALES - HIGHER DEGREES
+.27	V 47 CONGREGATIONAL
+.26	V197 RENTED S.H.A. HOUSES
+.25	V111 MALES - COMPLETING SCHOOL TO GRADE 10
+.25	V216 HOMES WITH 1 CAR
+.24	V142 FEMALES - WORKFORCE - 40 TO 44 YEARS
+.23	V 14 MALES - 10 TO 14 YEARS
+.23	V208 HOMES OWNED
+.22	V 69 DUTCH BORN
+.22	V 45 CHURCHES OF CHRIST
+.22	V121 FEMALES - TRADE
-.24	V181 MALES - UNEMPLOYED
-.24	V192 FEMALES - OTHERS (OCCUPATION)
-.25	V127 MALES - WORKFORCE - 20 TO 24 YEARS
-.25	V 89 FEMALES - OTHERS (USUAL MAJOR ACTIVITY)
-.25	V210 HOMES - TENANT OTHER
-.25	V203 \$ RENT S.H.A. HOUSES
-.25	V215 HOMES WITH NO CARS
-.26	V196 RENTED FURNISHED PRIVATE HOUSES
-.29	V175 MALES - MINERS
-.38	V115 FEMALES - NEVER ATTENDED SCHOOL
-.40	V180 MALES - OTHERS
-.44	V114 MALES - NEVER ATTENDED SCHOOL

TABLE 2.17

educated, miners, the unemployed, the young and tenants of high-cost public rental housing.

* * *

Figure 2.12 holds no surprises in the top portion which is virtually identical to the mean figures shown in the top part of figure 2.1.

Lower figure 2.12 shows the swing to Labor dominated by females aged 30 to 49. The difference swing between males and females is really quite pronounced here with females moving to Labor much more strongly than their male age cohorts in all except one or two cases. Again we can see here the familiar U-shaped swing for the swing across age groups, although in 1966-69 the curve had moved a little to the right towards the older age groups.

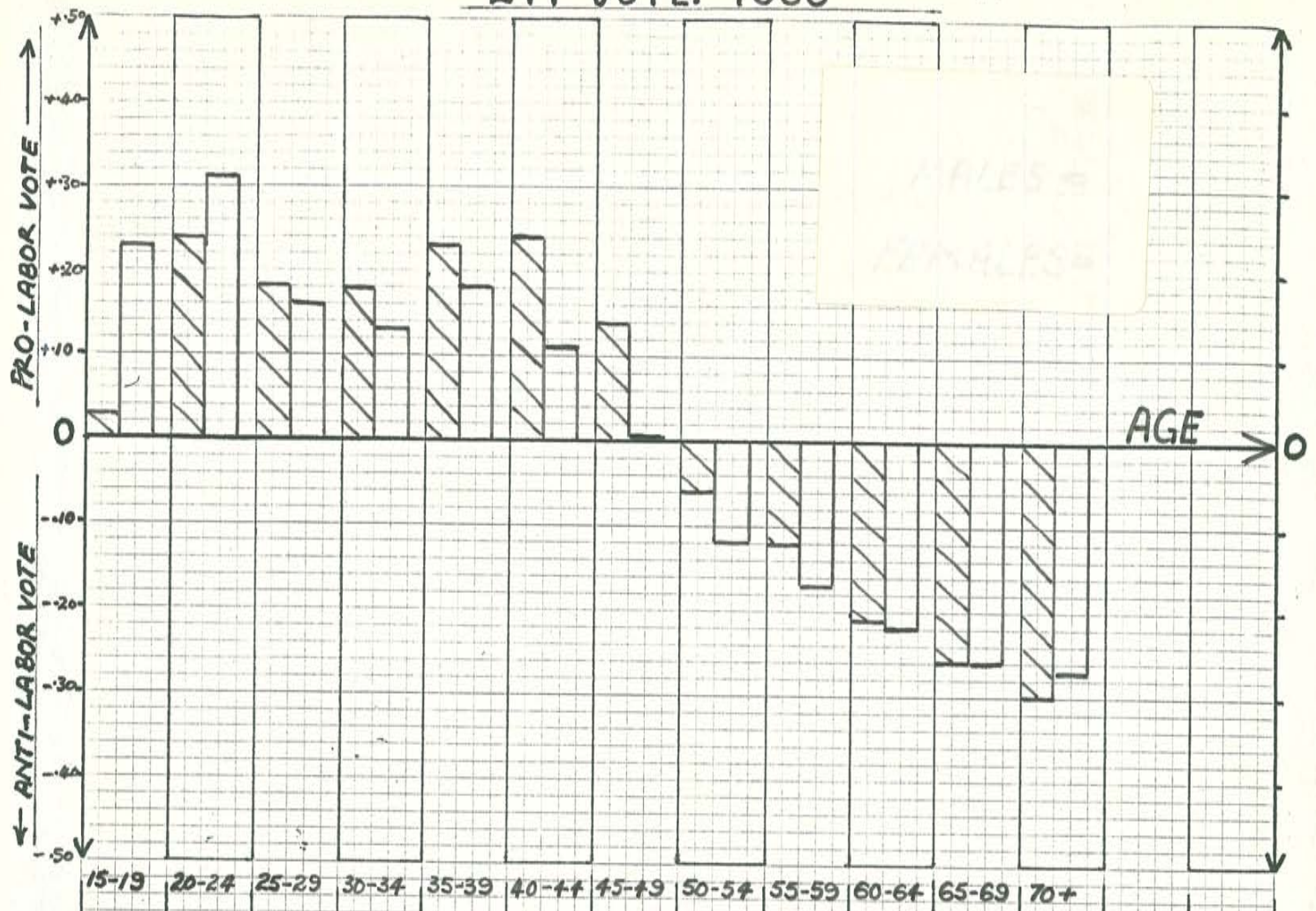
The top of figure 2.13 shows a similar distribution of support for Labor in 1966 to the corresponding mean figure 2.2, although support for Labor was rather lower in 1966 among the middle female age groups in the workforce. This lower level of support among the middle female age groups was certainly reduced by the 1966-69 swing, as we can see from the lower portion of figure 2.13 where the swing to Labor from middle-aged women workers was remarkable and much more extreme than the earlier figure 2.12 which referred to the total population. Although the variance contributed in the later regression equation for these female age groups in the workforce was explained by other factors, the swing to Labor among women workers aged 30-49 must have been one of the largest contributors to Labor's increased vote in 1969.

The top of figure 2.14 shows that Labor in 1966 enjoyed even less support from clerical workers than that shown for the 1966-75 mean in figure 2.3. There was however, a higher level of support in 1966 among female service workers.

The swing figures in the bottom portion of figure 2.14 show some interesting variations between the sexes in the patterns

2PP VOTE: 1966

4.78



2PP SWING: 66→69

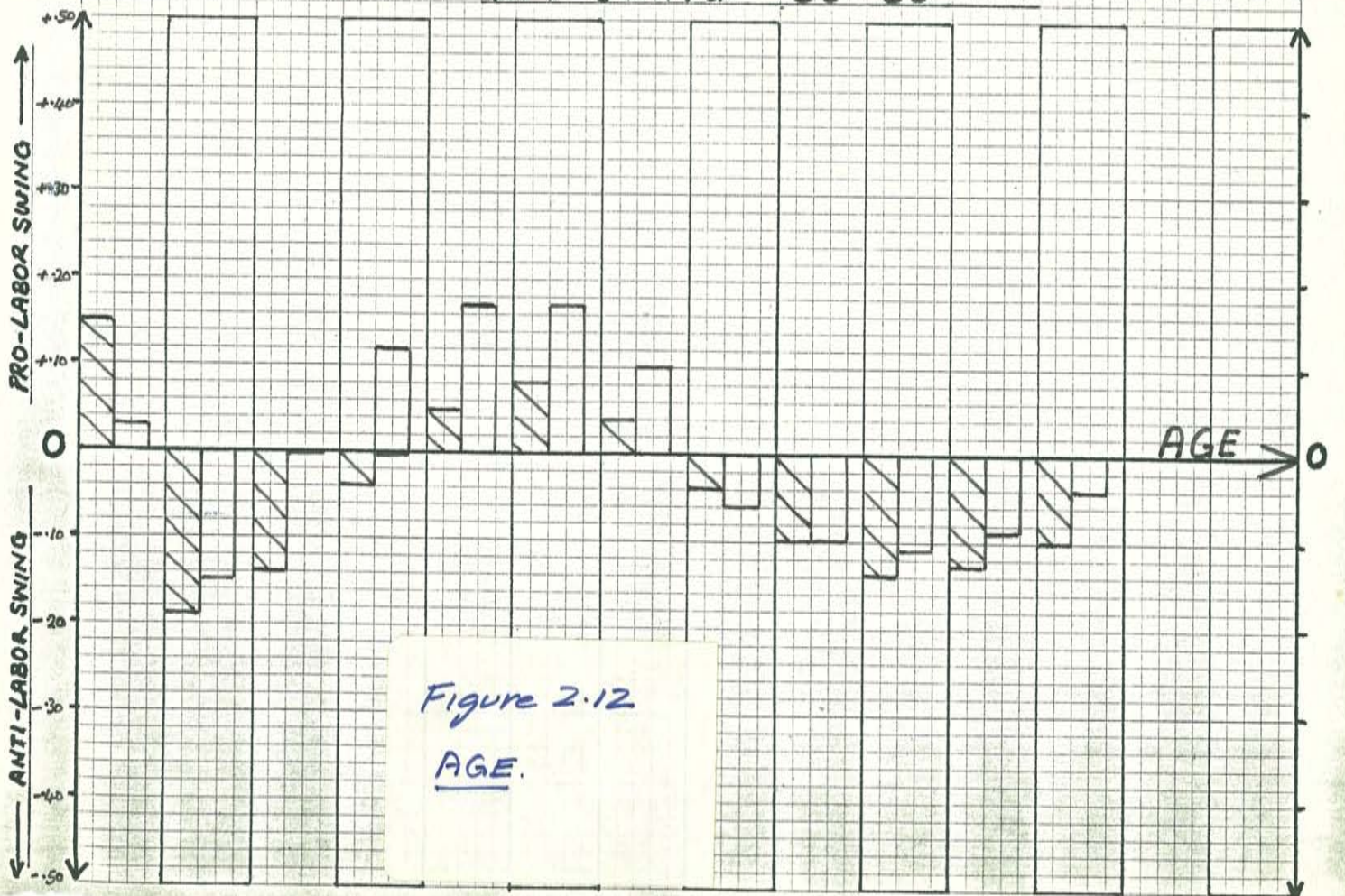
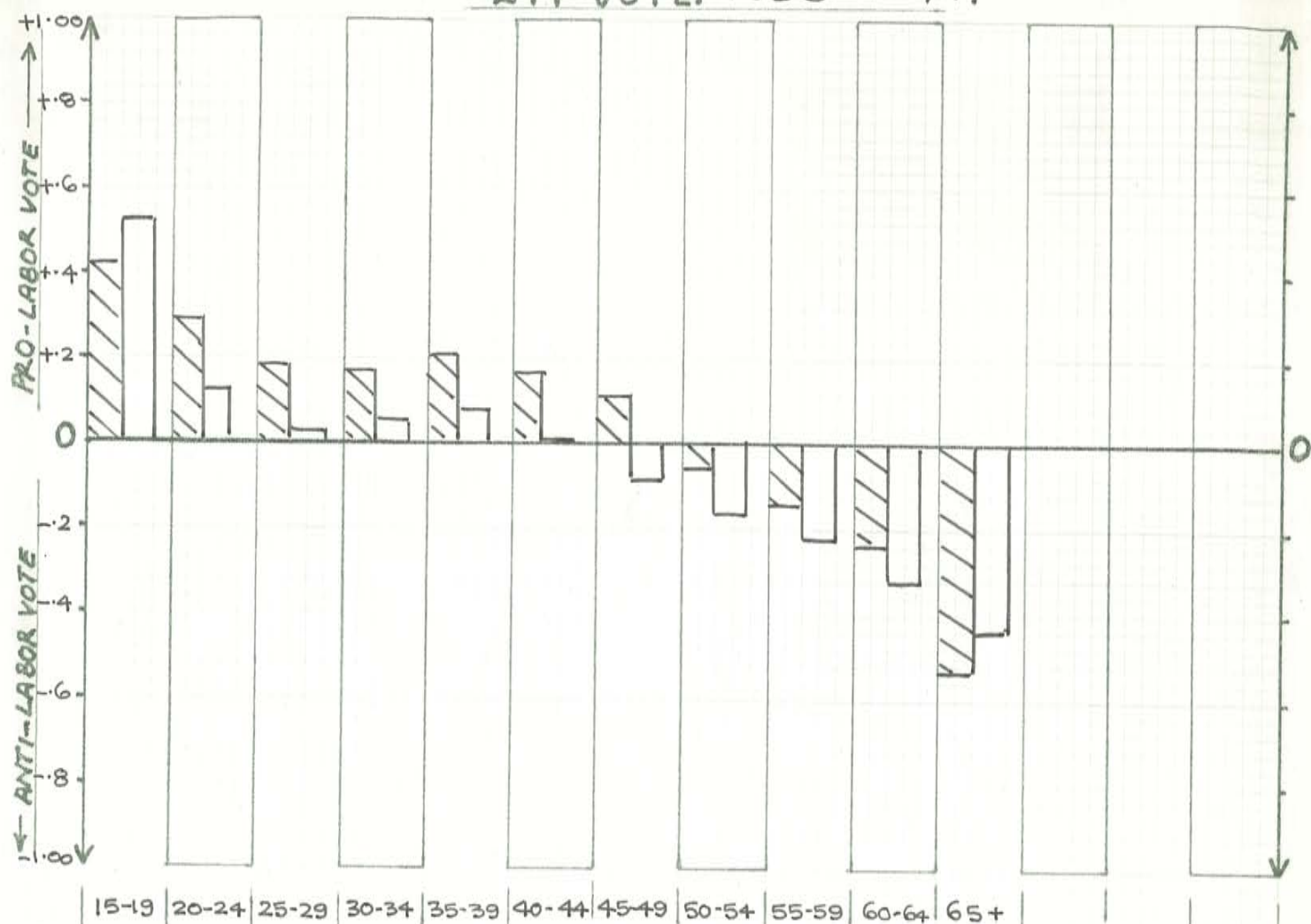


Figure 2.12

AGE.

2 PP VOTE: 1966

479



2 PP SWING: 66→69

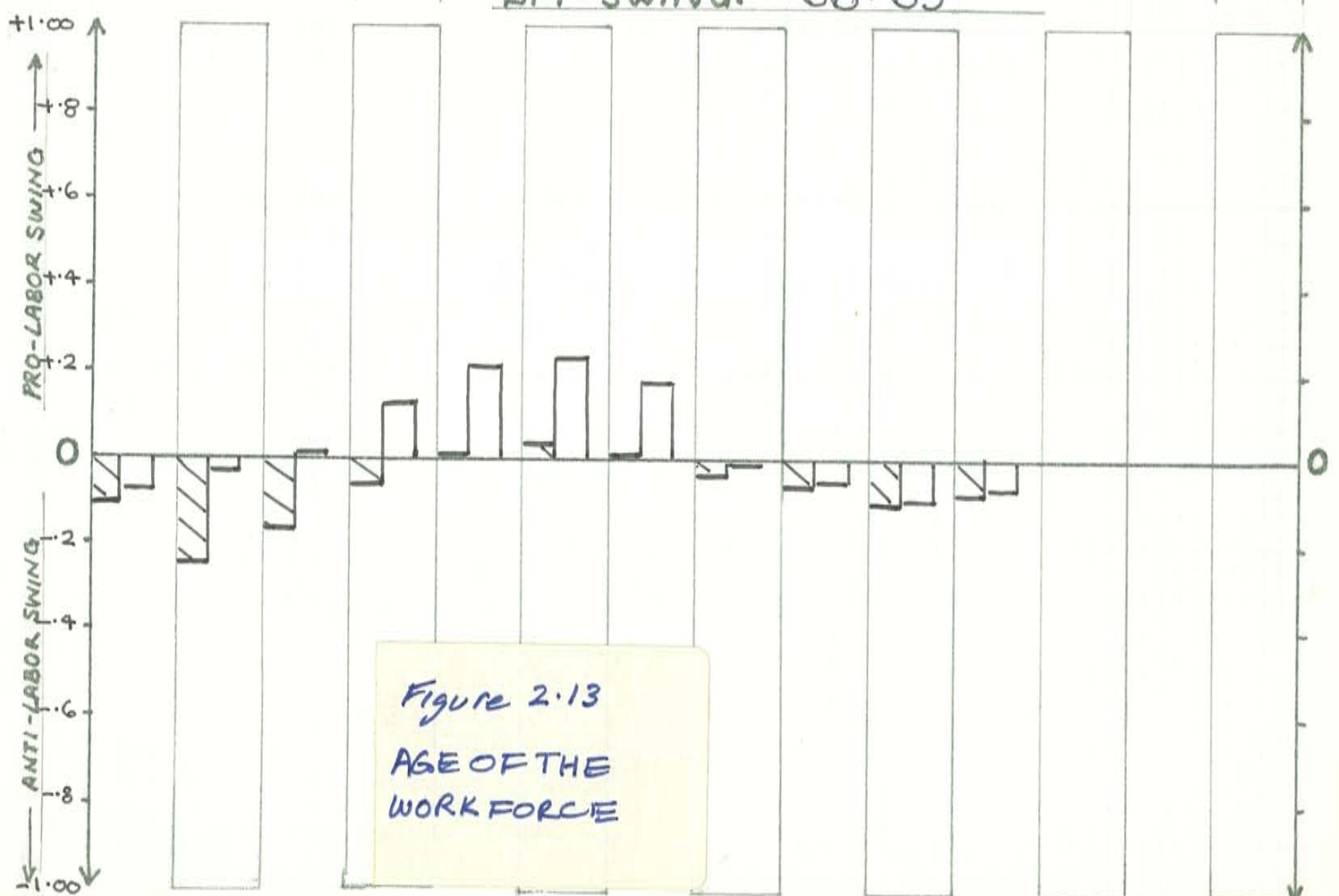
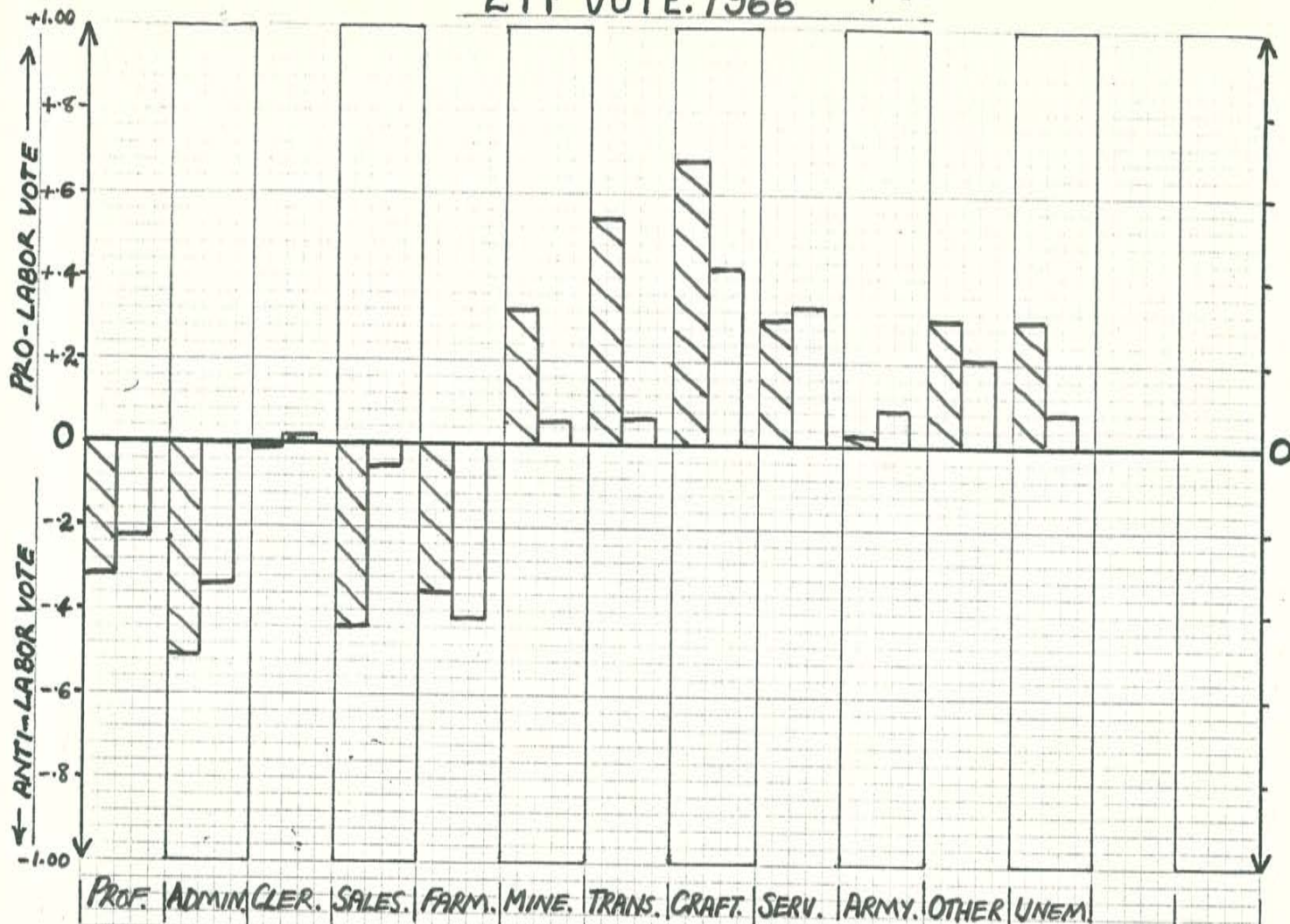


Figure 2.13
AGE OF THE
WORK FORCE

2 PP VOTE: 1966 4.80



2 PP SWING: 66→69

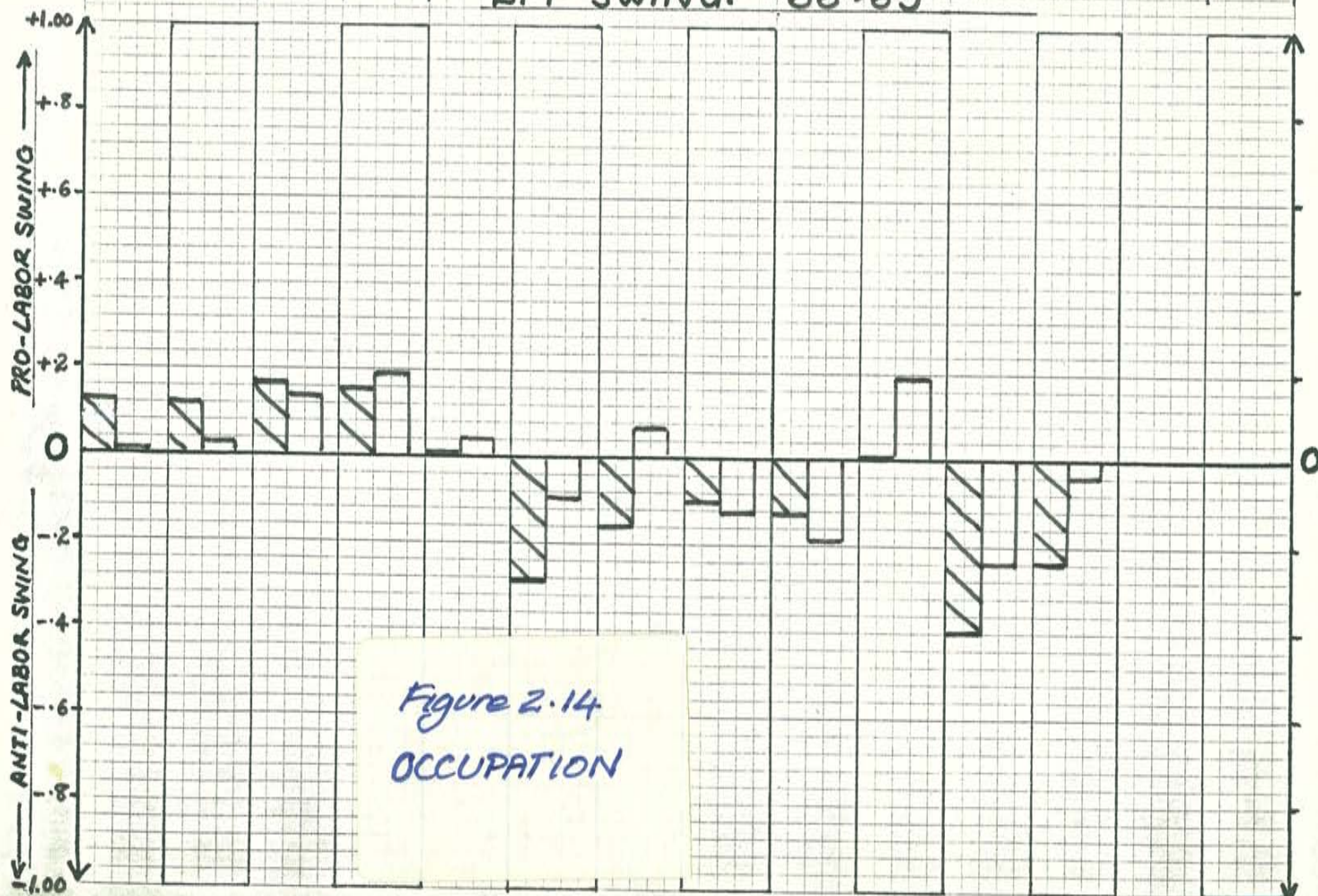


Figure 2.14
OCCUPATION

of swing towards the ALP, with Labor gaining ground among upper-white-collar males, and middle-white-collar males and females, and generally losing ground to varying degrees with males and females in blue-collar groups (especially among miners).

The top portion of figure 2.15 is almost identical to the top portion of the mean figure 2.4.

The lower portion of figure 2.15 shows Labor improved its vote among the tertiary-educated, among females with trade qualifications and among males with technical certificate qualifications.

Upper figure 2.16 when compared to the equivalent mean figure 2.5, shows Labor in 1966 enjoyed considerably more support than shown in the mean for persons educated to the various primary school levels, but less support among those educated to leaving or matriculation standard.

The lower portion of figure 2.16 shows Labor's support increasing among the parents of school-age children, and among voters educated to intermediate standard. There was a drop in support among the very poorly educated.

The top portion of figure 2.17 was very close to the equivalent mean figure 2.6.

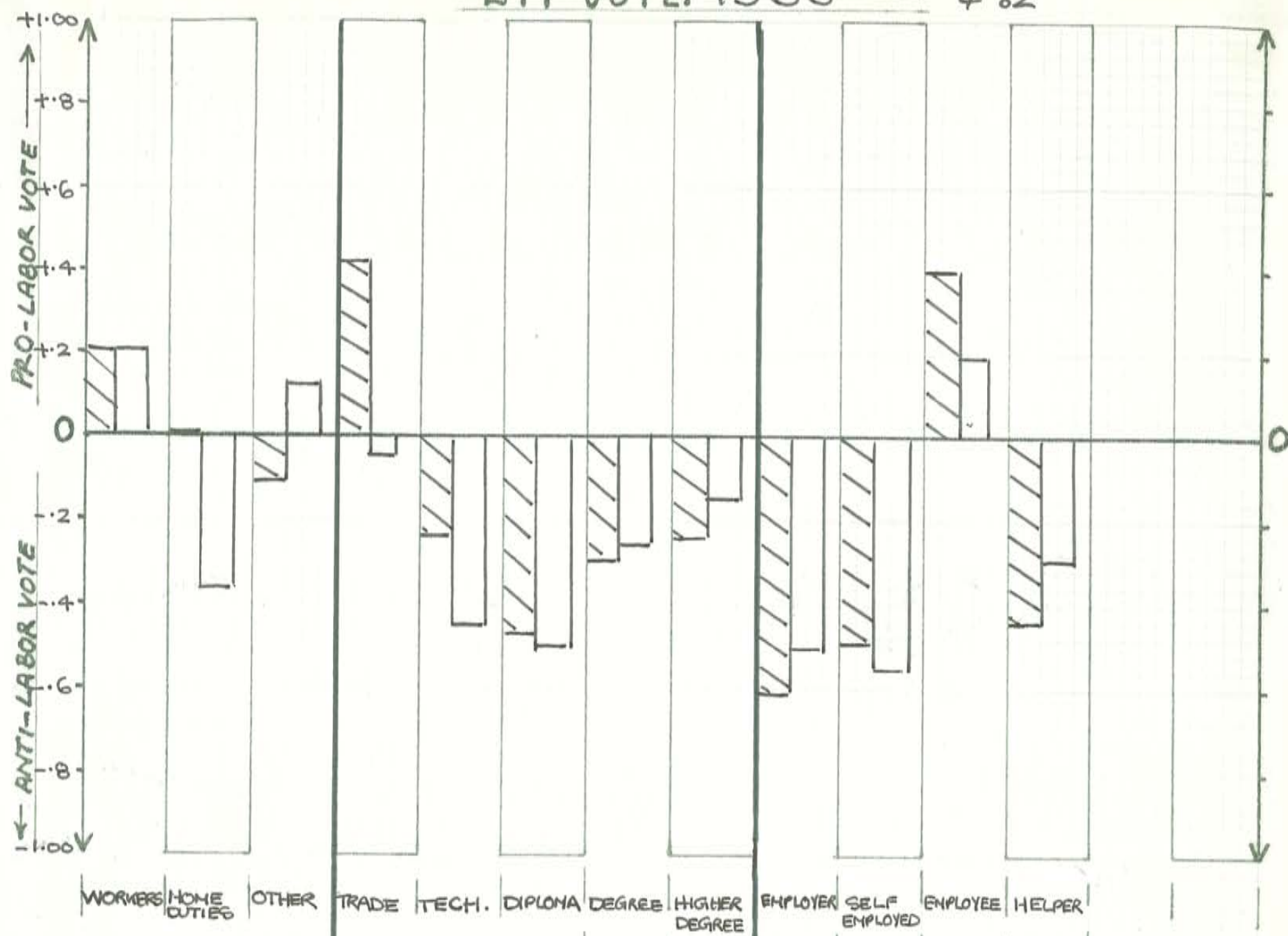
In the bottom portion of 2.17 we can see three of the long-run volatile ethnic groups swinging towards Labor: those born in the U.K., Germany or the Netherlands. The other long-run volatile ethnic group - those migrants resident in Australia for 5-9 years - swung only marginally to Labor.

The top of figure 2.18 was similar to the corresponding mean figure 2.7.

The bottom part of figure 2.18 is not really significant. Labor gained some extra support from the Congressional

2 PP VOTE: 1966

4.82



2 PP SWING: 66 → 69

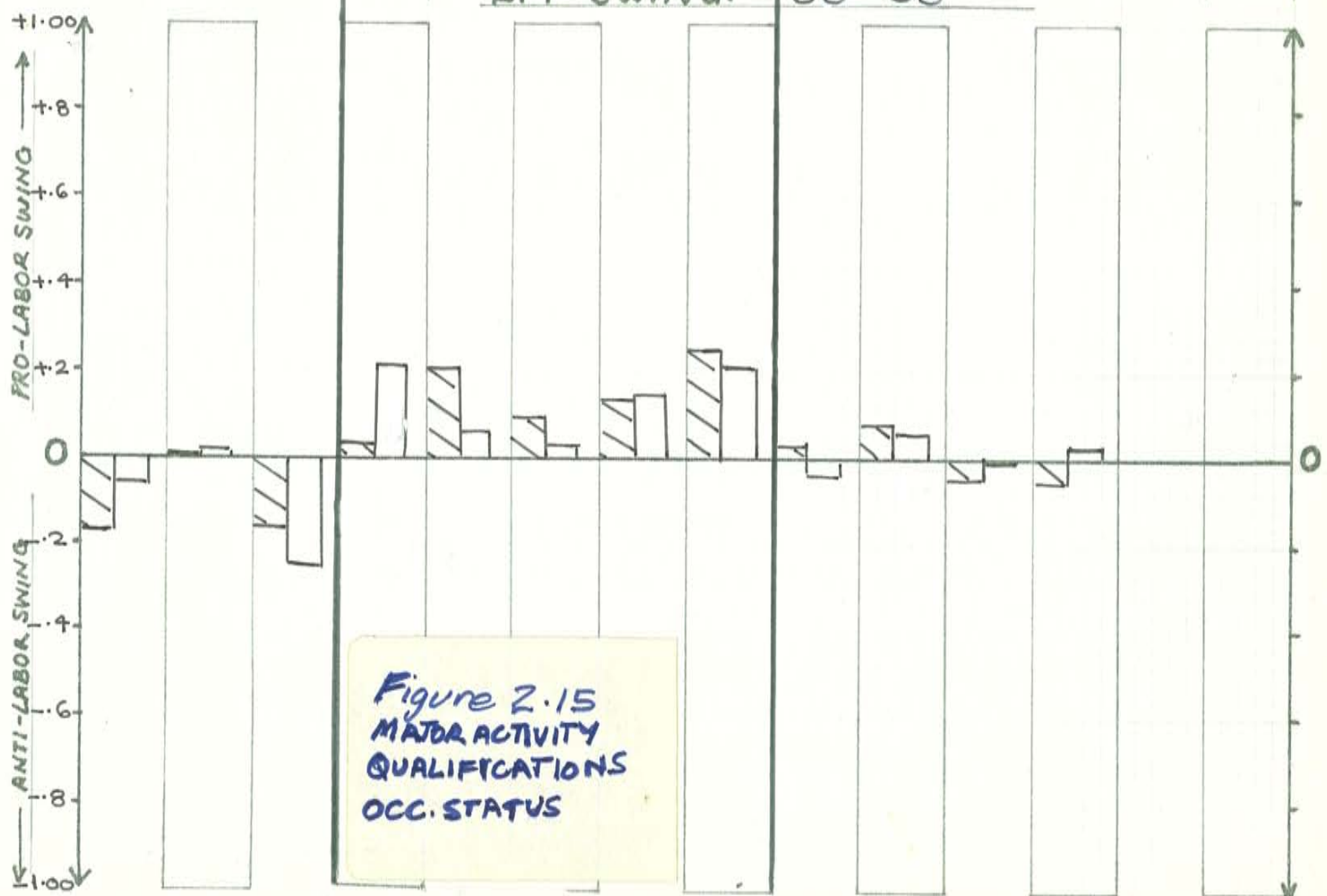


Figure 2.15
MAJOR ACTIVITY
QUALIFICATIONS
OCC. STATUS

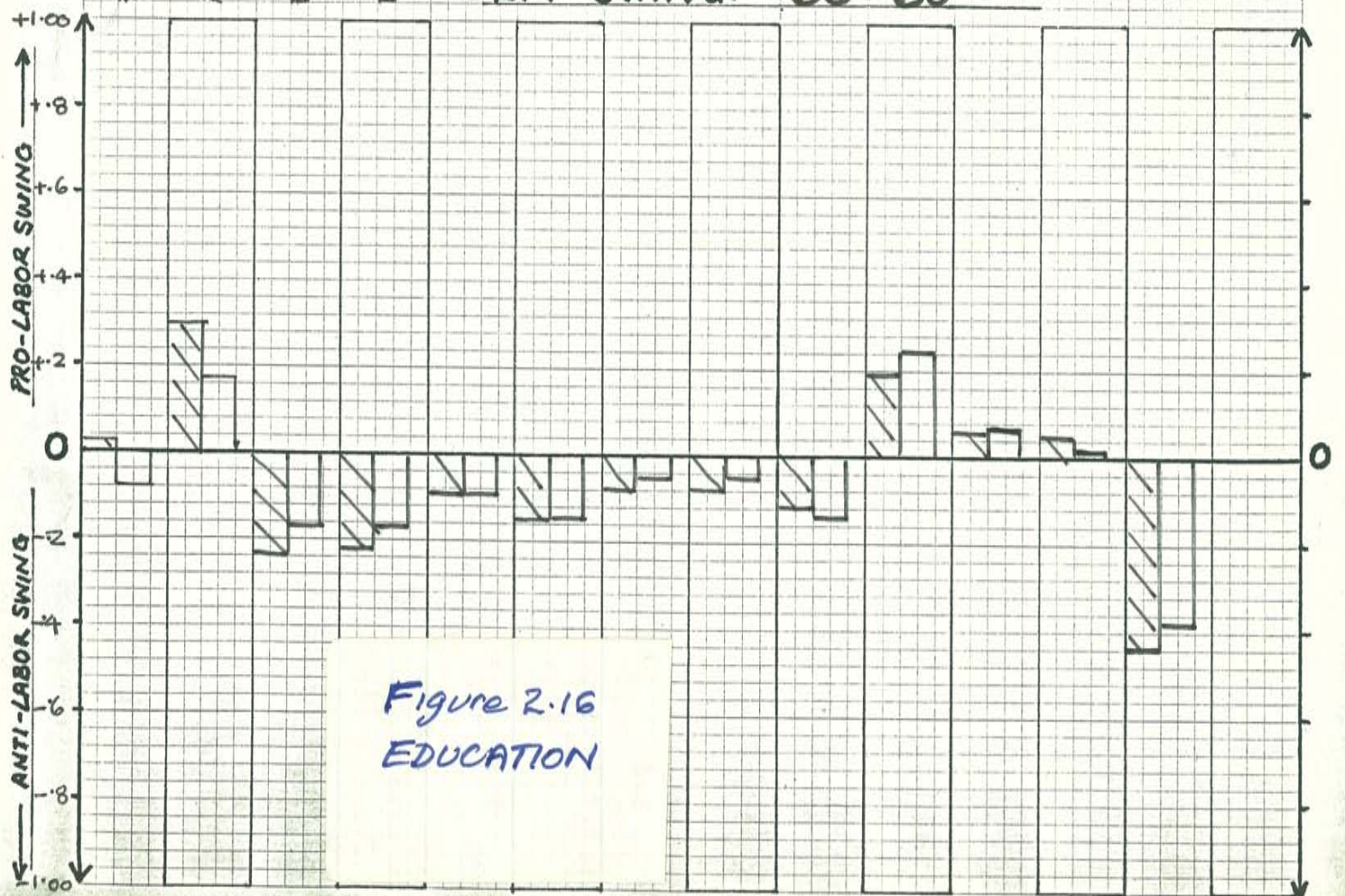
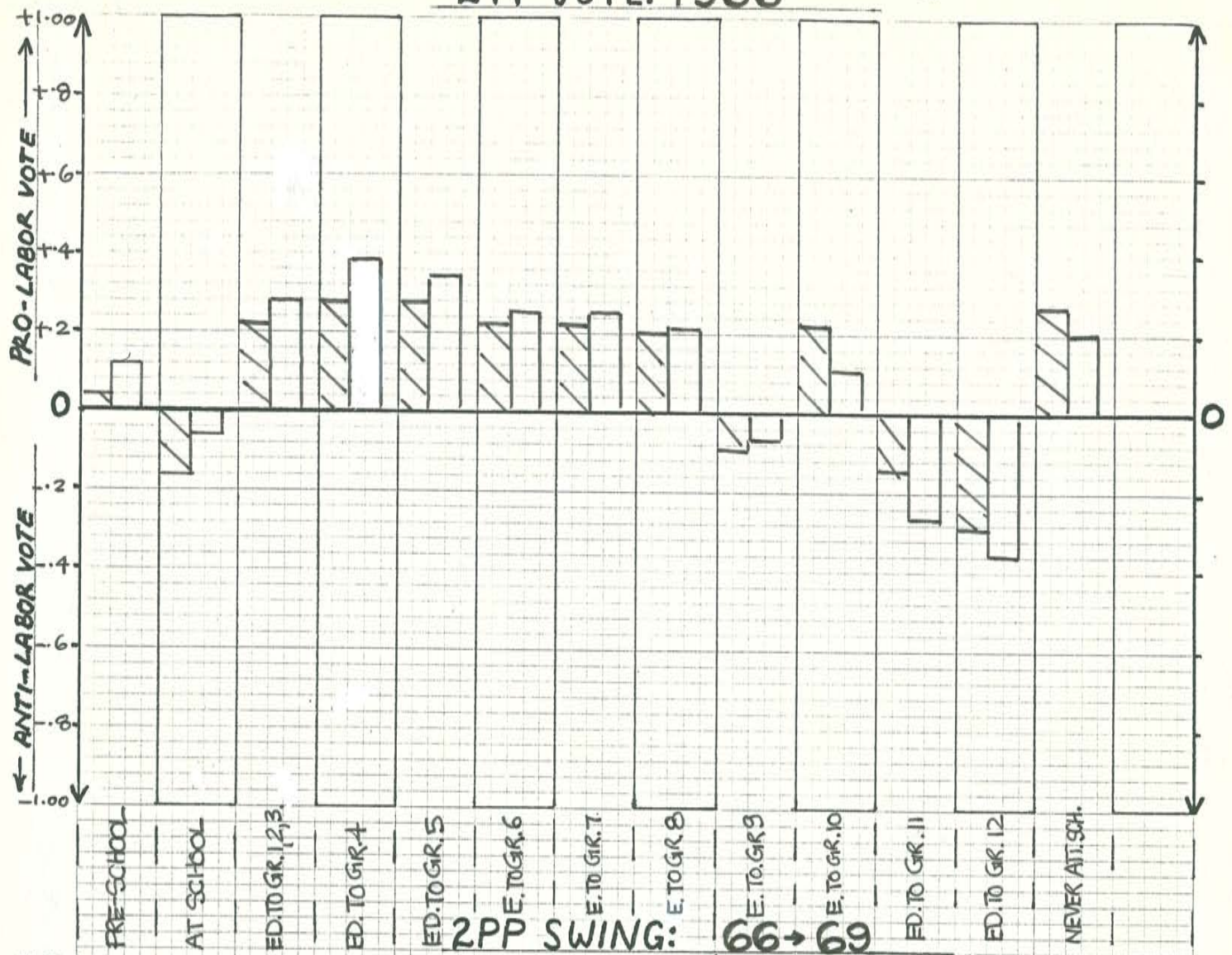


Figure 2.16
EDUCATION

2 PP VOTE: 1966

4.84

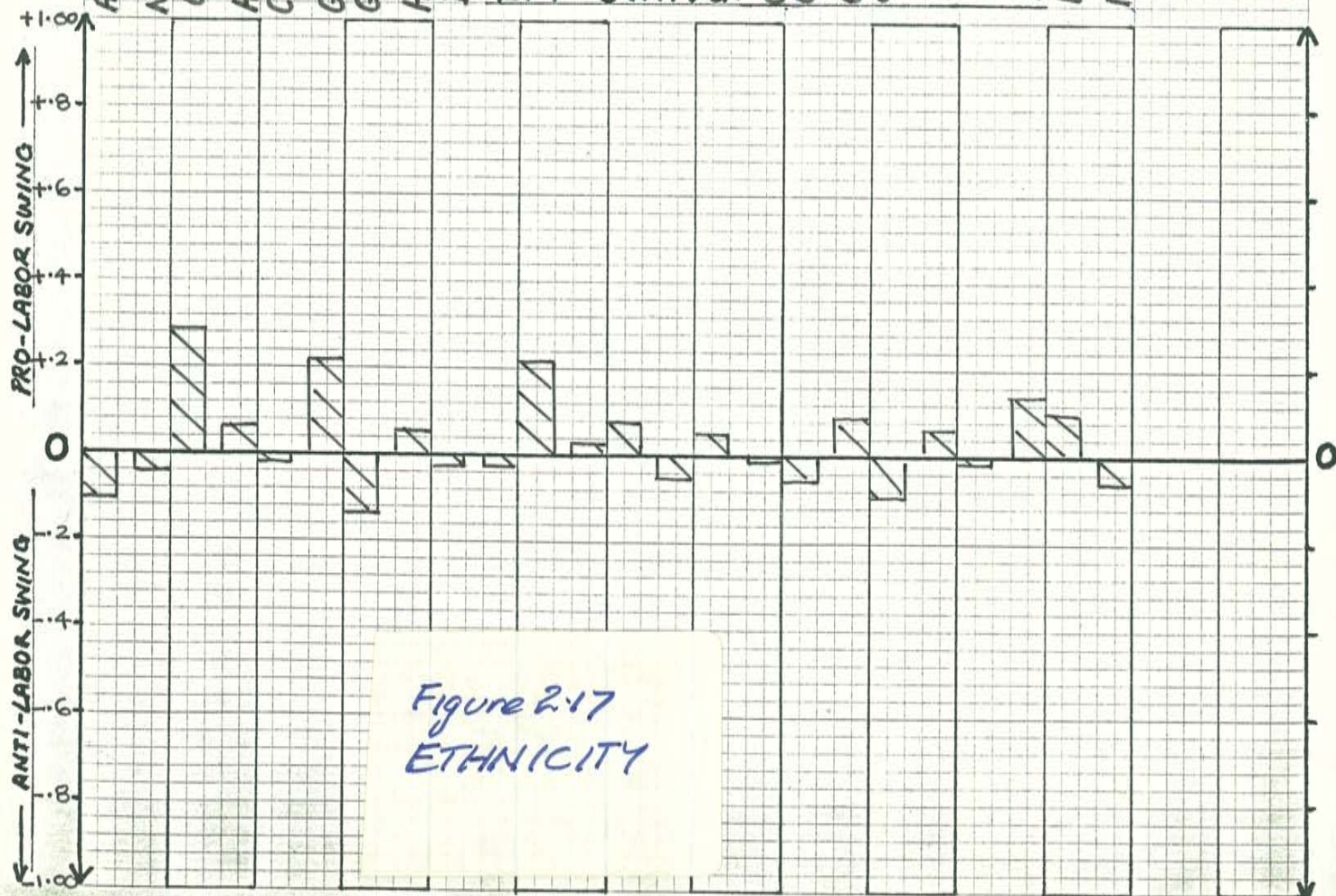
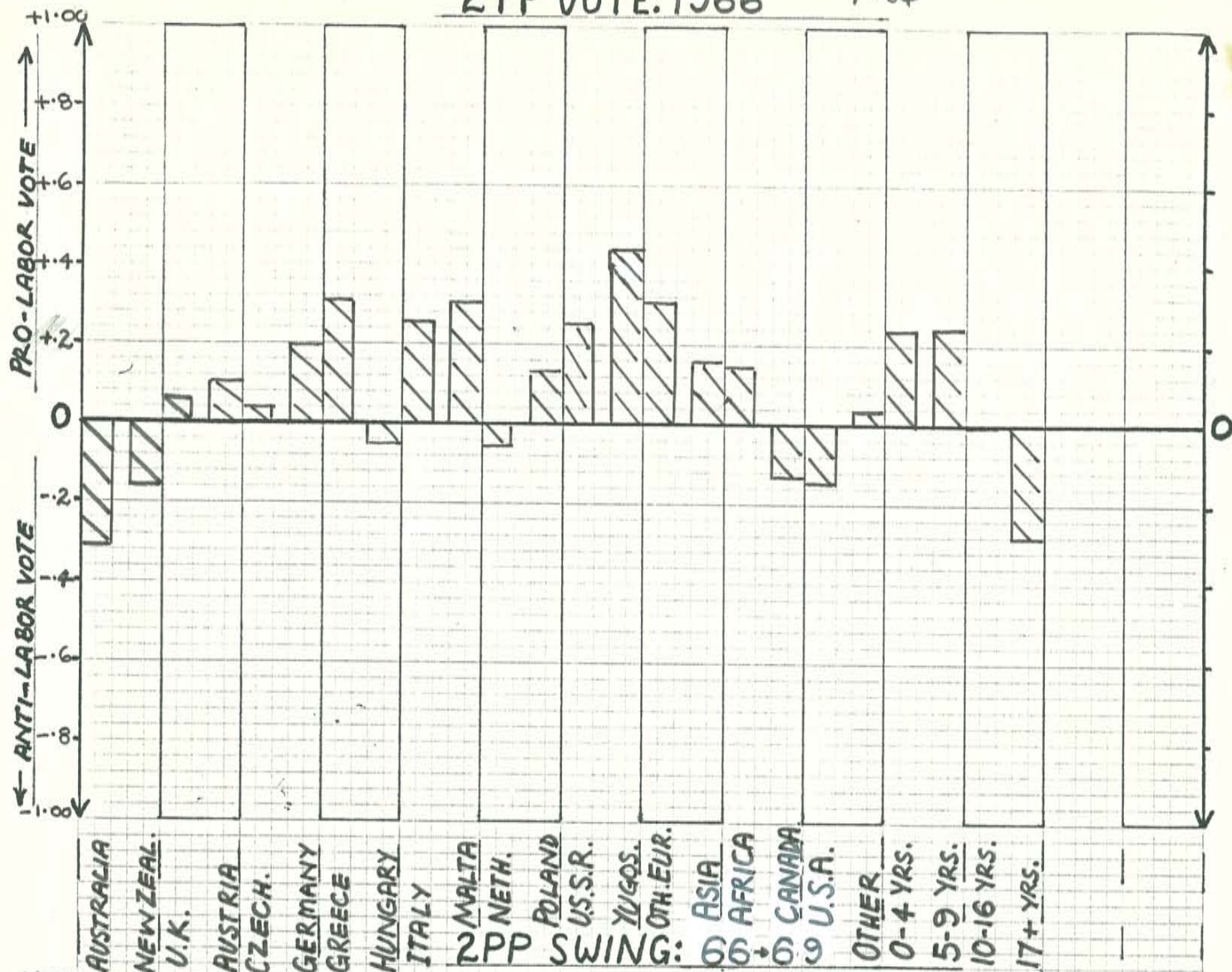
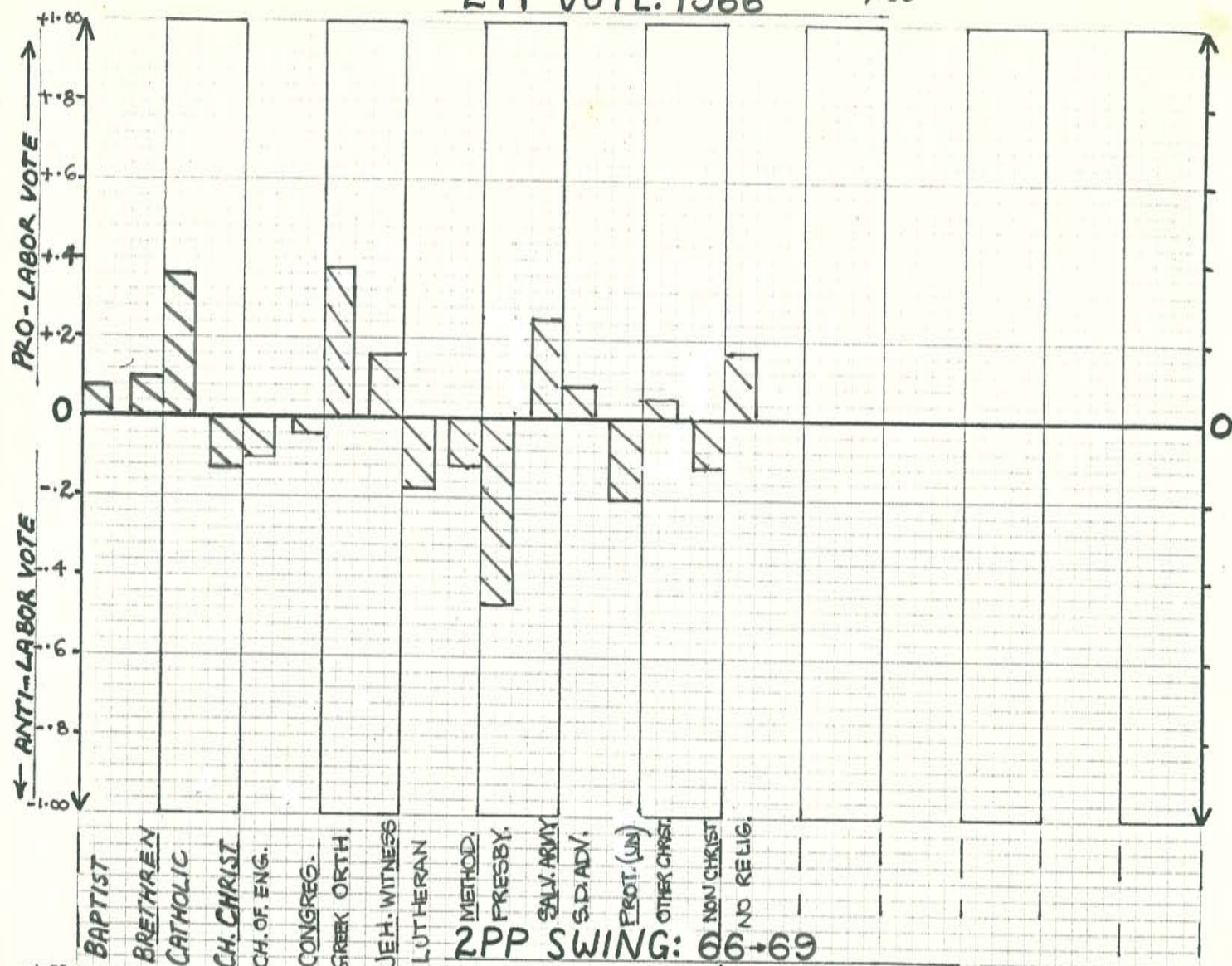


Figure 2.17
ETHNICITY

2 PP VOTE: 1966

485



2PP SWING: 66-69

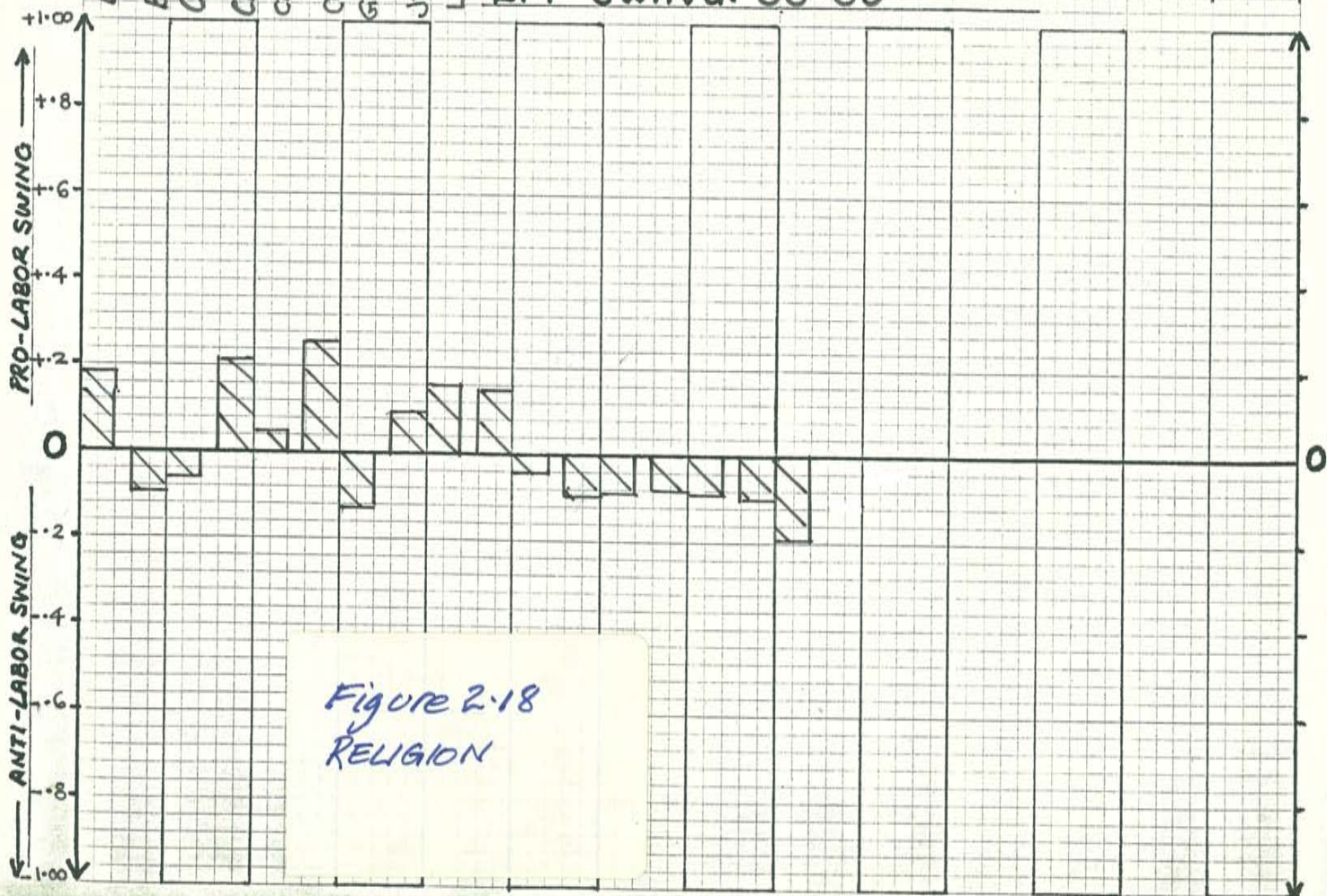


Figure 2.18
RELIGION

religious group - something that was expected from figure 2.7.

I shall let the top part of figure 2.19 pass without comment; it is very similar to the mean figure 2.8.

Lower figure 2.19 shows Labor in 1969 gained support from the tenants of low-cost State Housing Authority houses and lost support from tenants of high-cost S.H.A. houses. (See columns two and eight.)

Among tenants of private furnished rental homes, Labor lost support from the low-cost tenants, and gained ground among the high-cost tenants. (See columns one and seven.)

So it seems that not only is there a significant political cleavage between private and public housing renters, there also appears to be an even more significant difference in volatility between low and high-cost rental homes in both private and public categories.

The top portion of figure 2.20 shows that Labor in 1966 had an extremely low level of support from tenants of S.H.A. homes. This would have some bearing in the swing away from Labor between 1963-66, and also on the swing back to Labor shown among S.H.A. housing tenants in the bottom portion of figure 2.20.

Again this reinforces the earlier comments about the long-run volatility of public housing tenants.

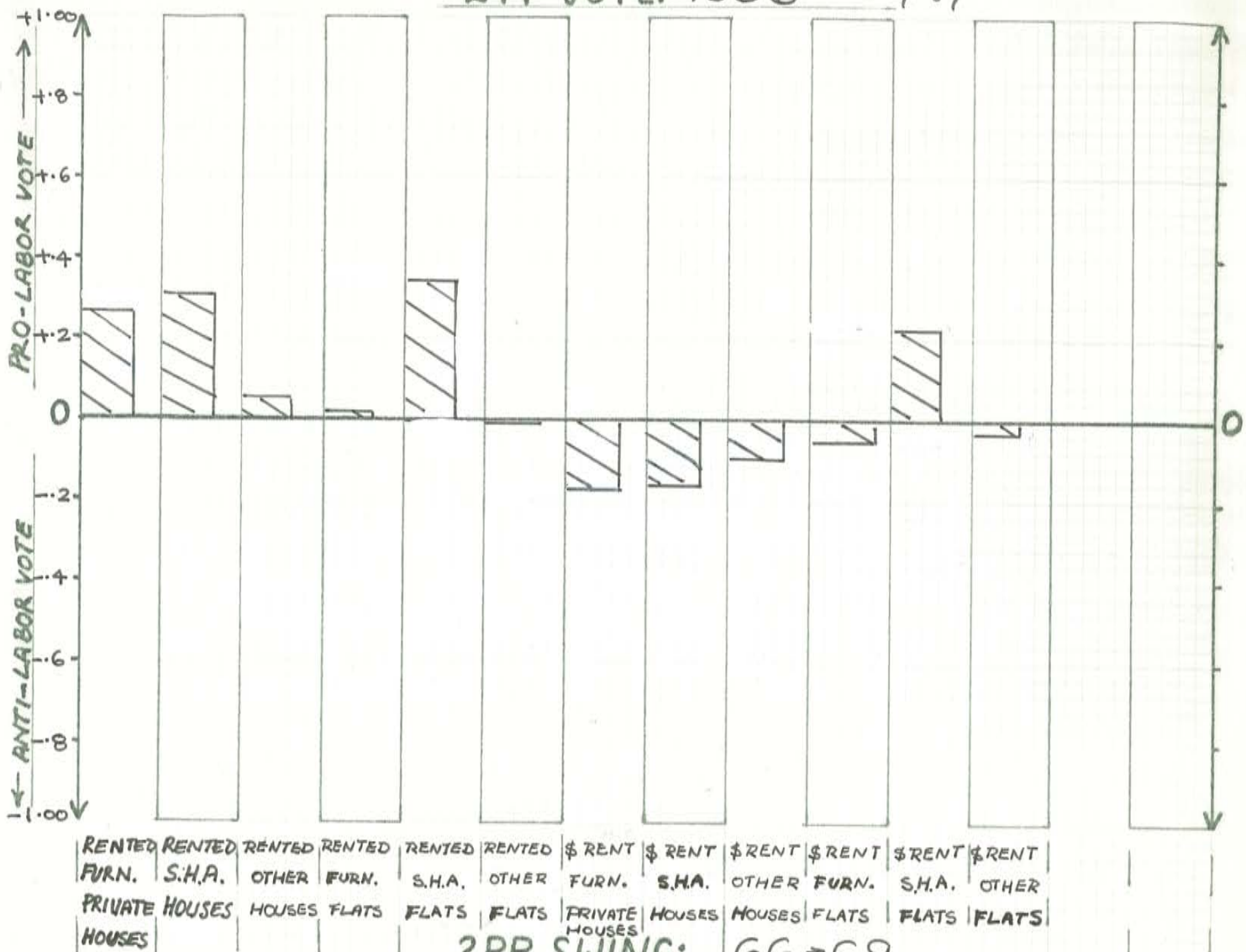
The bottom of figure 2.20 shows Labor gained support in 1969 from another volatile group mentioned earlier: urban dwellers with television sets and one car. To this group in 1969 could be added the more up-market group/older group of home owners with two-plus cars.

* * *

The only item of interest on table 2.18 which tells us more

2 PP VOTE: 1966

4.87



2 PP SWING: 66 → 69

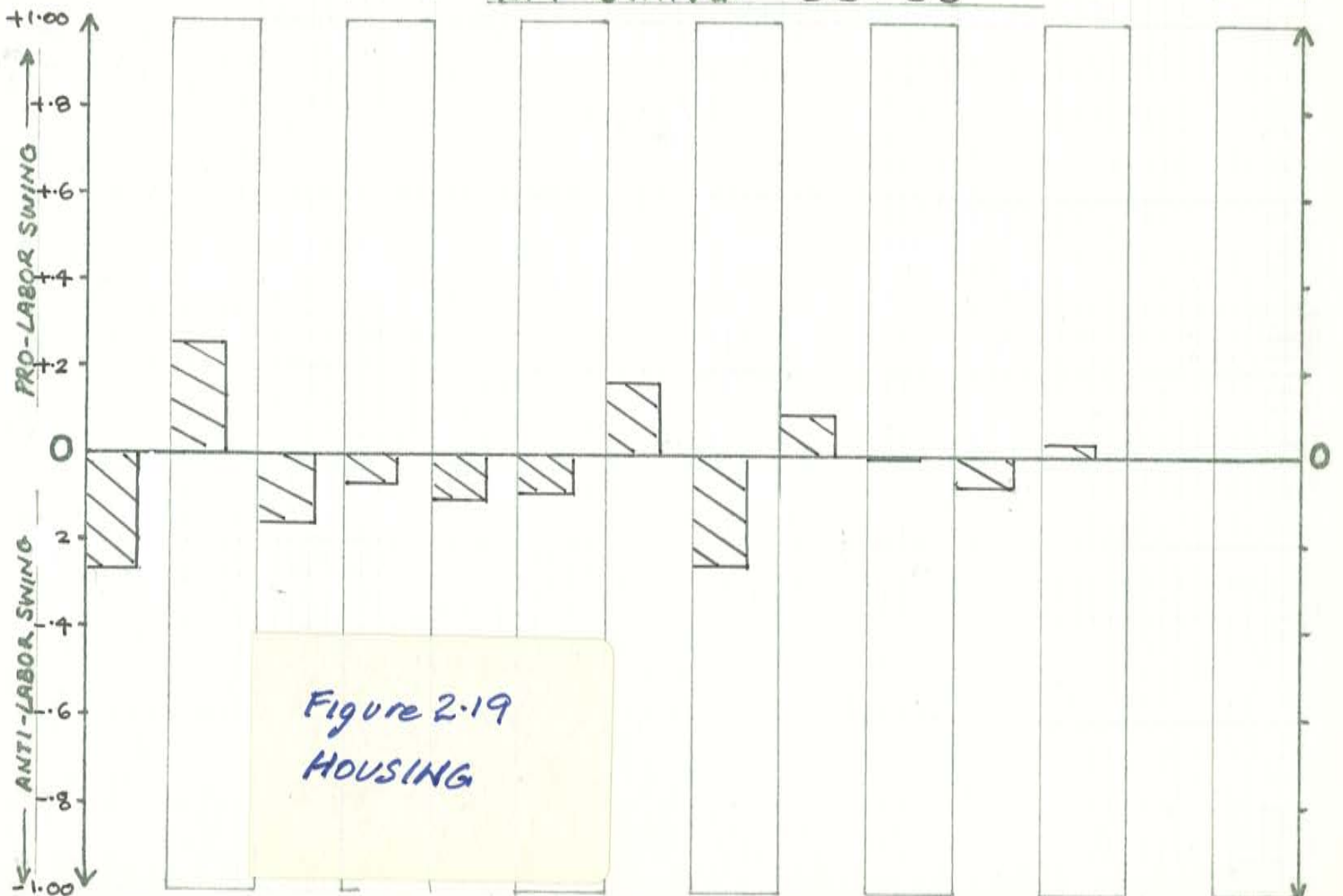
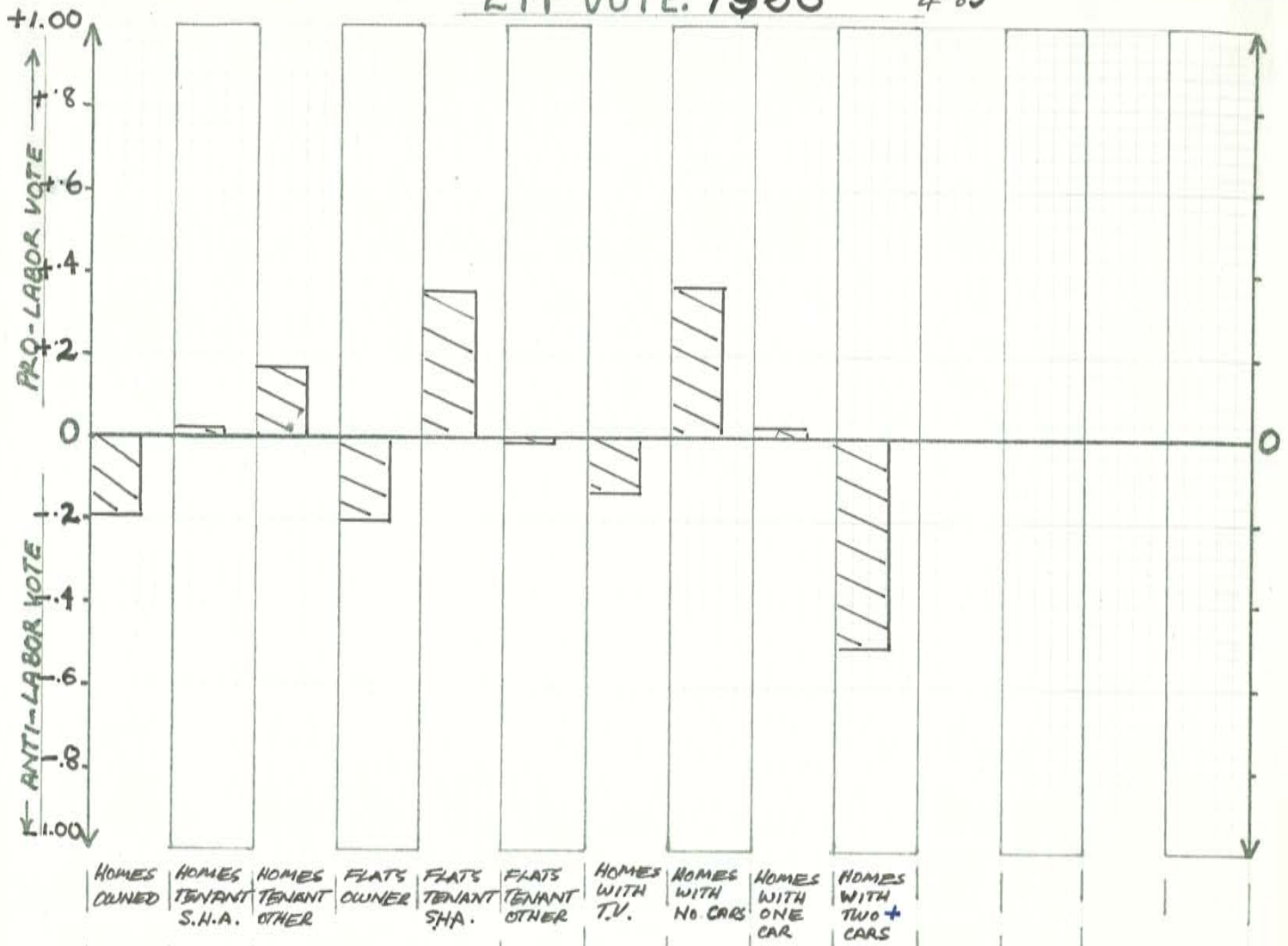


Figure 2.19
HOUSING

2 PP VOTE: 1966

4.89



2 PP SWING: 66 → 69

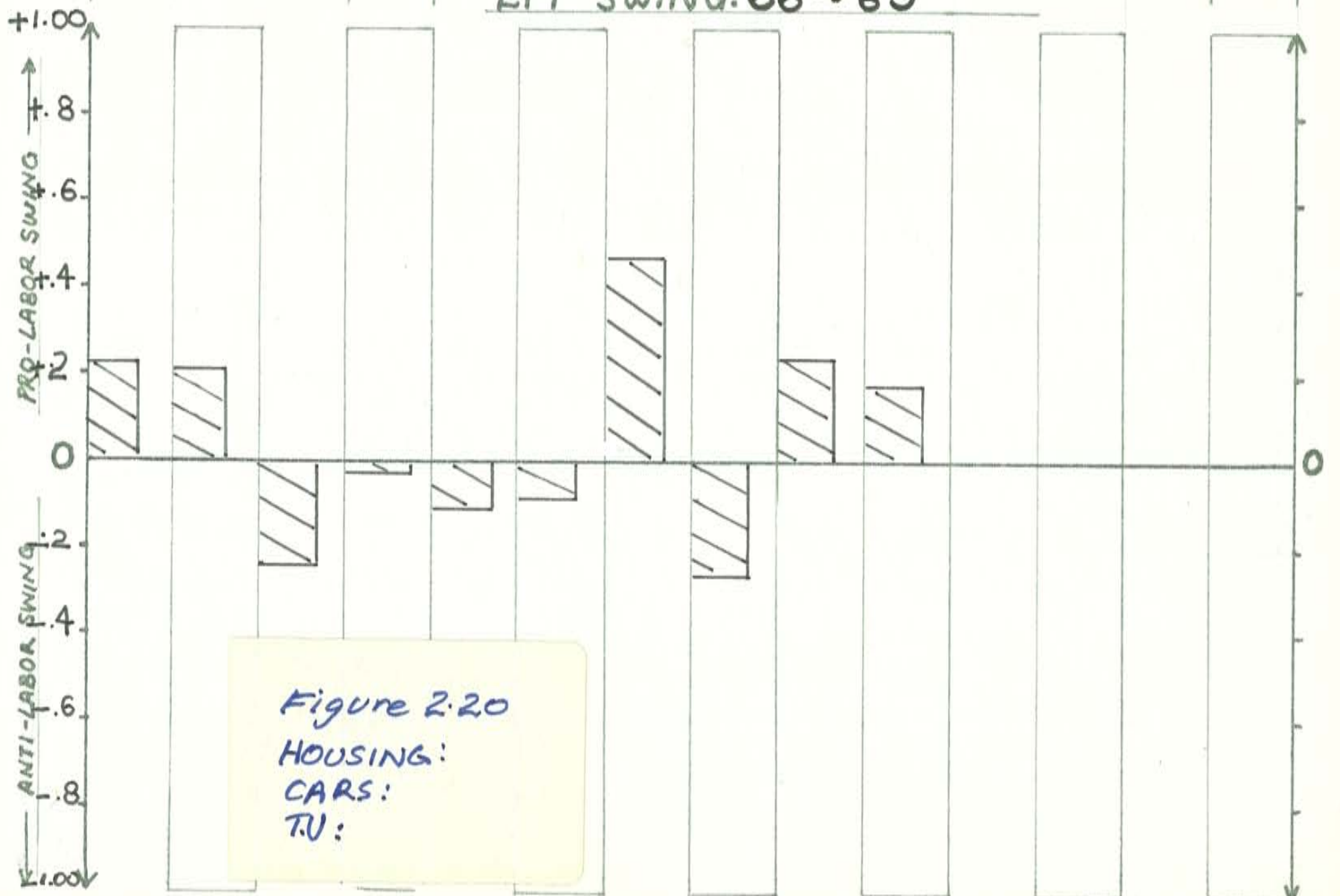


Figure 2.20
HOUSING:
CARS:
T.V.:

than the equivalent mean table 2.7 is the second line: male miners. This group in 1966 contributed 12.6 percent of the explained variance in Labor and had a positive coefficient (miners voted disproportionately Labor).

Earlier comments noted that this group was one of the long-run stable groups between 1966 and 1975. It also was one of the groups whose long-term support for the Labor Party progressively grew weaker during this period, through an anti-Labor swing in 1969 and a steady decline from then until 1974, with a small improvement in 1975. Pearson correlations for 1966 to 1975 are as follows:

ELECTION	1966	1969	1972	1974	1975	1966-75
CORRELATION	+.32	+.23	+.17	+.10	+.15	+.20

Table 2.19 shows those groups which swung towards (positive coefficients) and against (negative coefficients) the ALP in 1969.

Here the long-run volatile or stable groups listed in the equivalent mean table 2.8 contributed more than half of the

MULTIPLE REGRESSION

POLITICAL VARIABLE - VI 1966 2PP

VARIABLE NUMBER	DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES AND REGRESSION EQUATION (BELOW)	VARIANCE EXPLAINED (%)	EXTRA VARIANCE EXPLAINED (%)	SIGN OF COEFFICIENT AND CONSTANT
177	MALES - CRAFTSMEN	46.4	46.4	+
175	MALES - MINERS	59.0	12.6	+
200	RENTED - S.H.A. FLATS	64.7	5.7	+
137	FEMALES - WORKFORCE - 15 TO 19 YEARS	69.0	4.1	+
173	MALES - SALES	71.2	2.2	-
186	FEMALES - FARMERS	78.7	7.5	-
174	MALES - FARMERS	81.4	2.7	+
212	FLATS TENANT S.H.A.	82.2	0.8	-
	CONSTANT	-	-	+
	$VI = 177 \times .5665$			
	137×3.0330			
	173×-4.4031			
	186×-8.8283			
	174×1.2492			
	200×13.5314			
	212×-11.2246			
	175×2.1966			
	$+33.2466$			
	$+ 5.1316$			

TABLE 2.18

MULTIPLE REGRESSION

POLITICAL VARIABLE - V7 1966-69 SWING

VARIABLE NUMBER	DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES AND REGRESSION EQUATION (BELOW)	VARIANCE EXPLAINED (%)	EXTRA VARIANCE EXPLAINED (%)	SIGN OF COEFFICIENT AND CONSTANT
214	HOMES WITH T.V.	19.9	19.9	+
120	MALES - HIGHER DEGREE	26.5	6.6	+
197	RENTED S.H.A. HOUSES	32.2	5.7	+
111	FEMALES - COMPLETING SCHOOL TO GRADE 10	35.8	3.6	+
45	CHURCH OF CHRIST	40.8	5.0	+
175	MALES - MINERS	43.6	2.8	-
101	MALES - COMPLETING SCHOOL TO GRADE 10	45.6	2.0	-
172	MALES - CLERICAL	47.9	2.3	-
64	GERMAN-BORN	50.9	3.0	+
58	NO RELIGION/NO REPLY	53.1	2.2	-
	CONSTANT	-	-	-
	214 x +0.0787			
	175 x -0.7776			
	120 x +1.6756			
	197 x +0.1325			
	111 x +1.2190			
	45 x +1.9317			
	64 x +2.3798			
	101 x -1.1837			
	58 x -0.2855			
	172 x -0.3847			
	-0.2336			

+3.0283

TABLE 2.19

explained variance. The long-run volatile groups included were: homes with television, rented S.H.A. houses and male miners. While this last group (miners) was stable in the long-run between 1966 and 1975, this stability was preceded by an anti-Labor swing in 1969.

Other swinging groups in 1969 were: males high degree, females completing school to grade ten (junior or intermediate Church of Christ, German-born (pro-Labor); and males completing school to grade ten, males clerical and no religion/no reply (anti-Labor).

Here I would note the greater propensity of women rather than men, to swing towards Labor in an election such as 1969.

The anti-Labor swing by male clerical workers is also worthy of note and helps to develop our understanding of the dynamics of swing. I have already outlined three components of swing: movement by long-run volatile voters; re-alignments from election to election which can include movement in either direction; and long-term "drifts" in allegiance from one party to the other.

Clerical workers comprise a minor long-run swinging group which is not as significant as females, persons in the 25-39 age groups, or public housing tenants. In fact it just makes it into the critical range of significance. Despite this marginal nature of the volatility of the clerical workers, if we accept them into the long-run "volatile" category, then we can see that they in fact defied the general trend in 1969, when there was a large national urban swing to Labor. This forces us to concede that long-run volatile voters can swing either for or against the party gaining general support at any election. This appeals to common sense and the evidence already presented, which tells us that quite large gross movements from election to election can be hidden if they cancel each other out by producing a small net swing.

* * *

Discussion of Tables 2.20 and 2.21 will be restricted here because of the use of the 1968 boundaries to interpret the 1966 results.

In relation to Table 2.21 the reader can get an approximate idea of areas of over-performance and under-performance by examining the seats which remained substantially-unchanged in the 1968 redistribution.

State boundaries of course were unaffected and the observed, predicted and residual votes for all states are listed below in Table 2.22.

ELECTORATE	OBSERV- ED VOTE	PRE- DICTED VOTE	RESI- DUAL	ELECTORATE	OBSERV- ED VOTE	PRE- DICTED VOTE	RESI- DUAL
<u>NSW</u>				ROBERTSON	44.4	43.2	+1.
BANKS	52.8	50.4	+2.4	ST. GEORGE	41.3	45.8	-4.
BARTON	47.8	40.7	+7.1	SHORTLAND	57.9	51.7	+6.
BENNELONG	34.3	38.6	-4.3	SYDNEY	69.0	61.9	+7.
BEROWRA	26.2	31.2	-5.0	WARRINGAH	23.6	27.9	-4.
BLAXLAND	53.1	57.9	-4.8	WENTWORTH	32.5	26.4	+6.
BRADFIELD	16.4	23.8	-7.4	WERRIWA	57.1	51.7	+5.
CALARE	34.8	38.1	-3.3	NSW STATE	43.9	44.4	-0.
CHIFLEY	50.1	53.0	-2.9	<u>VIC</u>			
COOK	43.0	39.1	+3.9	BALACLAVA	32.6	26.3	+6.
COWPER	35.3	41.7	-6.2	BALLARAT	36.2	46.9	-10.
CUNNINGHAM	56.2	64.3	-8.1	BATMAN	52.2	51.5	+0.
DARLING	58.0	54.1	+3.9	BENDIGO	52.9	42.5	+10.
EDEN-MONARO	49.3	45.5	+3.8	BRUCE	35.0	34.2	-0.
EVANS	41.0	43.3	-2.3	BURKE	52.0	54.6	-2.
FARRER	25.8	34.9	-9.1	CASEY	39.0	35.0	+4.
FRAYNDLER	64.8	54.8	+10.0	CHISHOLM	30.3	31.2	-0.
GWYDER	38.7	36.2	+2.5	CORANGAMITE	27.0	24.9	+2.
HUGHES	58.4	53.1	+5.3	CORIO	45.1	53.8	-8.
HUME	43.1	40.0	+3.1	DEAKIN	36.2	33.3	+2.
HUNTER	74.4	64.1	+10.3	DIAMOND VALLEY	38.8	32.6	+6.
KINGSFORD-SMITH	57.6	53.8	+3.8	FLINDERS	36.1	36.3	-0.
LANG	52.7	51.8	+0.9	GELLIBRAND	63.0	58.9	+4.
LOWE	37.1	43.2	-6.1	GIPPSLAND	23.6	27.0	-3.
LYNE	32.3	40.6	-8.3	HENTY	37.9	39.6	-1.
MACARTHUR	34.8	47.8	-13.0	HIGGINS	28.8	30.3	-1.
MACKELLAR	28.5	29.8	-1.3	HOLT	37.6	48.0	+10.
MACQUARIE	54.9	46.6	+8.3	HOTHAM	38.9	38.6	+0.
MITCHELL	38.6	36.8	+1.8	INDI	25.1	29.9	-4.
NEWCASTLE	59.5	58.3	+1.2	ISAACS	38.1	35.0	+3.
NEW ENGLAND	33.3	36.5	-3.2	KOORYONG	31.4	27.8	+3.
NORTH SYDNEY	29.5	30.9	-1.4	LALOR	55.2	59.3	-4.
PARRAMATTA	37.9	42.0	-4.1	LA TROBE	39.4	39.4	+0.
PATERSON	34.5	45.6	-11.1	MALLEE	20.8	23.3	-2.
PHILLIP	41.2	36.5	+4.8	MARIBYRNONG	46.2	49.0	-2.
PROSPECT	52.1	51.8	+0.3	McMILLAN	39.1	35.3	+3.
REID	57.0	57.6	-0.6	MELBOURNE	62.3	70.2	-7.
RICHMOND	31.3	32.2	-0.9	MELBOURNE PORTS	50.0	50.1	-0.
RIVERINA	35.7	32.8	+2.9				

ELECTORATE	OBSERV- ED VOTE	PRE- DICTED VOTE	RESI- DUAL	ELECTORATE	OBSERV- ED VOTE	PRE- DICTED VOTE	RES DUAL
MURRAY	22.0	24.7	-2.7	WA			
SCULLIN	56.2	55.7	+0.5	CANNING	30.2	29.4	+0.
WANNON	34.0	28.6	+5.4	CURTIN	33.2	37.2	-4.
WILLS	54.6	57.2	-2.6	FORREST	42.2	42.3	-0.
WIMMERA	31.9	33.7	-1.8	FREMANTLE	60.4	51.1	+9.
VIC STATE	39.3	41.8	-2.5	KALGOORLIE	59.7	61.7	-2.
QLD				MOORE	40.1	39.4	+0.
BOWMAN	45.6	43.4	+2.2	PERTH	46.9	51.1	-4.
BRISBANE	47.3	47.5	-0.2	STIRLING	47.9	43.3	+4.
CAPRICORNIA	56.4	50.2	+6.2	SWAN	46.5	50.6	-4.
DARLING DOWNS	32.9	39.5	-6.6	WA STATE	45.7	47.3	-1.
DAWSON	58.1	61.8	-3.7	TAS			
FISHER	29.6	25.0	+4.6	BASS	59.0	47.4	+11.
GRIFFITH	44.4	42.4	+2.0	BRADDON	58.1	56.5	+1.5
HERBERT	50.0	48.8	+1.2	DENISON	47.4	44.7	+2.7
KENNEDY	46.7	50.6	-3.9	FRANKLIN	47.8	50.5	-2.7
LEICHHARDT	57.1	51.9	+5.2	WILMOT	56.4	52.0	+4.4
LILLEY	41.2	47.8	-6.6	TAS STATE	53.9	51.3	+2.6
McPHERSON	29.7	36.0	-6.3	ACT			
MARANOVA	34.2	32.5	+1.7	CANBERRA	55.8	50.3	+5.5
MORETON	38.7	42.7	-4.0	FRASER	55.8	50.3	+5.5
OXLEY	62.6	56.4	+6.2	NT			
PETRIE	40.7	42.1	-1.4	NORTHERN TERRITORY	48.3	50.4	-2.1
RYAN	33.1	36.7	-3.6	ONE S.E.E. = +5.13			
WIDE BAY	49.2	43.8	+5.4	TWO S.E.E. = +10.26			
QLD STATE	44.3	44.1	+0.2				
SA							
ADELAIDE	47.2	54.6	-7.4				
ANGAS	29.3	24.9	+4.4				
BARKER	31.5	29.3	+2.2				
BONYTHON	52.0	48.8	+3.2				
BOOTHBY	30.4	35.6	-5.2				
GREY	49.8	51.1	-1.3				
HAWKER	45.7	45.1	+0.6				
HINDMARSH	54.3	51.1	+3.2				
KINGSTON	38.3	39.1	-0.8				
PORT ADELAIDE	63.2	63.3	-0.1				
STURT	36.7	38.9	-2.2				
WAKEFIELD	28.0	24.9	+3.1				
SA STATE	42.4	43.6	-1.2				

VARIABLE: V7 1966-69 SWING

ELECTORATE	OBSERV- ED VOTE	PRE- DICTED VOTE	RESI- DUAL	ELECTORATE	OBSERV- ED VOTE	PRE- DICTED VOTE	RESI- DUAL
<u>NSW</u>							
BANKS	6.8	7.9	-1.1	ROBERTSON	7.8	5.7	+2.1
BARTON	5.3	6.5	-1.2	ST. GEORGE	8.8	6.1	+2.7
BENNELONG	8.8	9.5	-0.7	SHORTLAND	6.2	7.7	-1.5
BEROWRA	13.9	9.9	+4.0	SYDNEY	5.0	1.2	+3.8
BLAXLAND	9.6	9.0	+0.6	WARRINGAH	6.7	7.6	-0.9
BRADFIELD	11.9	13.1	-1.2	WENTWORTH	5.4	7.4	-2.0
CALARE	7.9	7.8	+0.1	WERRIWA	7.4	10.0	-2.6
CHIFLEY	14.7	10.1	+4.6	<u>VIC</u>			
COOK	4.2	9.9	-5.7	BALACLAVA	6.2	5.0	+1.2
COWPER	1.6	6.4	-4.8	BALLARAT	4.8	4.3	+0.5
CUNNINGHAM	9.4	10.7	-1.3	BATMAN	0.8	3.8	-3.0
DARLING	0.8	0.4	+0.4	BENDIGO	1.6	4.4	-2.8
EDEN-MONARO	4.3	7.7	-3.4	BRUCE	6.0	8.1	-2.1
EVANS	7.8	5.3	+2.5	BURKE	6.8	5.1	+1.7
FARRER	9.5	8.1	+1.4	CASEY	6.0	5.8	+0.2
GRAYNDLER	7.1	2.1	+5.0	CHISHOLM	7.5	5.0	+2.5
GWYDER	7.9	7.8	+0.1	CORANGAMITE	7.3	4.9	+2.4
HUGHES	7.8	6.6	+1.2	CORIO	9.5	8.0	+1.5
HUME	6.0	7.9	-1.9	DEAKIN	6.1	6.9	-0.8
HUNTER	-0.9	5.1	-6.0	DIAMOND VALLEY	5.1	6.2	-1.1
KINGSFORD-SMITH	7.5	6.1	+1.4	FLINDERS	-0.6	3.8	-4.4
LANG	8.9	5.6	+3.3	GELLIBRAND	0.7	4.2	-3.5
LOWE	6.4	6.4	+0.0	GIPPSLAND	6.7	4.1	+2.6
LYNE	6.2	7.9	-1.7	HENTY	2.8	4.8	-2.0
MACARTHUR	11.9	7.3	+4.6	HIGGINS	3.1	4.9	-1.8
MACKELLAR	10.7	8.2	+2.5	HOLT	8.9	6.9	+2.0
MACQUARIE	7.7	7.3	+0.4	HOTHAM	2.9	5.4	-2.5
MITCHELL	8.9	9.5	-0.6	INDI	7.7	6.5	+1.2
NEWCASTLE	5.4	4.9	+0.5	ISAACS	3.9	4.8	-0.9
NEW ENGLAND	7.6	8.2	-0.6	KOORYONG	5.2	6.4	-1.2
NORTH SYDNEY	7.7	7.5	+0.2	LALOR	6.8	8.8	-2.0
PARRAMATTA	9.4	9.5	-0.1	LA TROBE	5.5	5.6	-0.1
PATERSON	8.1	7.6	+0.5	MALLEE	12.7	6.0	+6.7
PHILLIP	8.4	7.3	+1.1	MARIBYRNONG	5.2	4.7	+0.5
PROSPECT	6.3	8.8	-2.5	McMILLAN	5.6	5.8	-0.2
REID	4.2	6.4	-2.2	MELBOURNE	-2.4	1.6	-4.0
RICHMOND	6.1	7.7	-1.6	MELBOURNE PORTS	6.0	1.8	+4.2
RIVERINA	16.8	6.7	+10.1				

ELECTORATE	OBSERV- ED VOTE	PRE- DICTED VOTE	RESI- DUAL	ELECTORATE	OBSERV- ED VOTE	PRE- DICTED VOTE	RESI- DUAL
MURRAY	7.1	5.0	+2.1	<u>WA</u>			
SCULLIN	3.8	5.0	-1.2	CANNING	15.0	14.2	+0.8
WANNON	4.3	4.4	-0.1	CURTIN	6.3	9.8	-3.5
WILLS	1.6	2.4	-0.8	FORREST	8.9	7.2	+1.7
WIMMERA	10.1	8.0	+2.1	FREMANTLE	3.8	8.4	-4.6
<u>QLD</u>				KALGOORLIE	0.4	0.2	+0.2
BOWMAN	7.0	6.5	+0.5	MOORE	4.4	8.3	-3.9
BRISBANE	6.7	5.6	+1.1	PERTH	10.3	8.5	+1.8
CAPRICORNIA	7.4	4.9	+2.5	STIRLING	8.0	9.8	-1.8
DARLING DOWNS	3.8	8.2	-4.4	SWAN	7.7	8.3	-0.6
DAWSON	6.1	1.5	+4.6	<u>TAS</u>			
FISHER	7.2	6.4	+0.8	BASS	-3.9	5.2	-9.1
GRIFFITH	4.1	4.8	-0.7	BRADDON	6.2	1.7	+4.5
HERBERT	-1.7	6.2	-8.0	DENISON	0.1	4.5	-4.4
KENNEDY	-3.3	-1.3	-2.0	FRANKLIN	8.2	6.0	+2.2
LEICHHARDT	6.4	2.0	+4.4	WILMOT	1.4	4.7	-3.3
LILLEY	7.1	6.0	+1.1	<u>ACT</u>			
McPHERSON	9.3	6.8	+2.5				
MARANOA	5.6	4.7	+0.9	CANBERRA	15.8	13.0	+2.8
MORETON	8.0	7.5	+0.5	FRASER	15.8	13.0	+2.8
OXLEY	7.0	8.6	-1.6				
PETRIE	5.4	6.3	-0.9	<u>NT</u>			
RYAN	10.8	9.6	+1.2	NORTHERN TERRITORY	-7.5	-4.5	-3.0
WIDE BAY	6.7	4.8	+1.9				
<u>SA</u>							
ADELAIDE	12.6	10.9	+1.7	ONE S.E.E. =	+3.02		
ANGAS	8.9	10.5	-1.6	TWO S.E.E. =	+6.04		
BARKER	10.7	11.0	-0.3				
BONYTHON	15.5	12.4	+3.1				
BOOTHBY	11.1	12.2	-1.1				
GREY	2.2	8.6	-6.4				
HAWKER	12.6	11.3	+1.3				
HINDMARSH	14.8	12.9	+1.9				
KINGSTON	15.8	10.4	+5.4				
PORT ADELAIDE	10.6	10.5	+0.1				
STURT	14.0	13.9	+0.1				
WAKEFIELD	10.3	8.4	+1.9				

STATE	OBSERVED	PREDICTED	RESIDUAL
New South Wales	43.9	44.4	-0.5
Victoria	39.3	41.8	-2.5
Queensland	44.3	44.1	+0.2
South Australia	42.4	43.6	-1.2
Western Australia	45.7	47.3	-1.6
Tasmania	53.9	51.3	+2.6

TABLE 2.22

New South Wales and more particularly Queensland provided quite reasonable results in 1966. The result in Tasmania was excellent. This was mainly a function of the small number of seats in the state (five) and the degree to which the personal votes of sitting members can consequently have a disproportionate impact on the state-wide Labor vote. In 1966 the Tasmanian over-performance was mainly due to the outstanding performance of Lance Barnard in Bass (see Table 2.20).

In Victoria, the 1966 residual of -2.5 was a poor result for Labor. When we consider the difference in the predicted results between New South Wales and Victoria from Table 2.22 we can see that Labor's vote in Victoria "should have been" about 2.6 percent lower than New South Wales due to the simple fact that New South Wales was a "safer" Labor state in 1966. States in this regard are directly comparable to seats and some have more working class persons than others and therefore return higher Labor votes. However, Labor's vote in Victoria was in fact (see the observed votes in Table 2.22) 4.6 percent lower than that for New South Wales.

The then Leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party, Gough Whitlam, had some pretty definite ideas on the reasons for this poor result in Victoria in 1966. If Whitlam's arguments were correct we would expect to see another negative residual in Victoria in 1969, despite an observed improvement in the vote, and an

improvement in the 1972 residual following the 1970 Federal intervention in Victoria.

Related organisational problems within the Western Australian Branch could also have had some impact on the 1966 Western Australian residual of -1.6. In Western Australia Labor in both State and Federal politics was at a low ebb in 1960 and had been so since the disastrous Western Australian Senate result of 1964, when the ALP polled a first-preference vote of 39.1 percent.

In South Australia the 1966 residual also indicated a poor result. The result according to Blewett and Jaensch in Playford to Dunstan was due in large part to the activities of the State Labor Government under Premier Walsh described in a chapter of the above book entitled, "Radicalism without a Rudder"; and to a State economic depression. If this interpretation of State-based exogenous factors was correct, we would expect to see a marked improvement in the South Australian residual in 1969. We will deal with this result in the next section.

* * *

Table 2.21 lists the observed predicted and residual swings for 1966-1969, based on 1968 boundaries. The results are meaningful only in those seats which were not significantly altered by the 1968 redistribution. Because of this difficulty I will not discuss this table in detail.