

Extract from Chapter entitled "Australia" by Dr Marian Simms, Canberra College of Advanced Education, to be published in J. Hills and J. Lavenduski (eds.) The Politics of the Second Electorate: Women and Public Participation, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1981.

1. Are women more conservative than men?

Senator Susan Ryan (1979, p. 3) while calling for the ALP to take positive steps to appeal to the women voters decried the fact that their support for Labor had 'lagged several percent behind' that of men.

In order to examine her statement and ascertain recent tendencies I looked at 36 Age Polls⁵ from March 1971 to April 1979, to try to map this difference between the sexes in their support for the ALP. I wanted to see whether we could detect any pattern: were the differences increasing or decreasing? Did it matter what party was in government? Did the formation of the Australian Democrats make an impact? I looked at the voting intention of the respondents. The question used in each of the surveys: 'If a federal election for the House of Representatives was held tomorrow, for which political party would you probably vote?', and the respondent was handed a card with the names of the parties. In each survey I subtracted the percentage of women who intended to vote for the ALP from the percentage of men who intended to vote for the ALP (excluding 'Don't Know'). This measurement was the only one that controlled for fluctuations in support on the whole and was readily available at the same time. In Figure 1 we can see that the difference is decreasing and predicting the future from the regression line fitted to the plotted values it should disappear by late 1981. (It seems to make no difference at all which party is in power). The trend in Figure 1

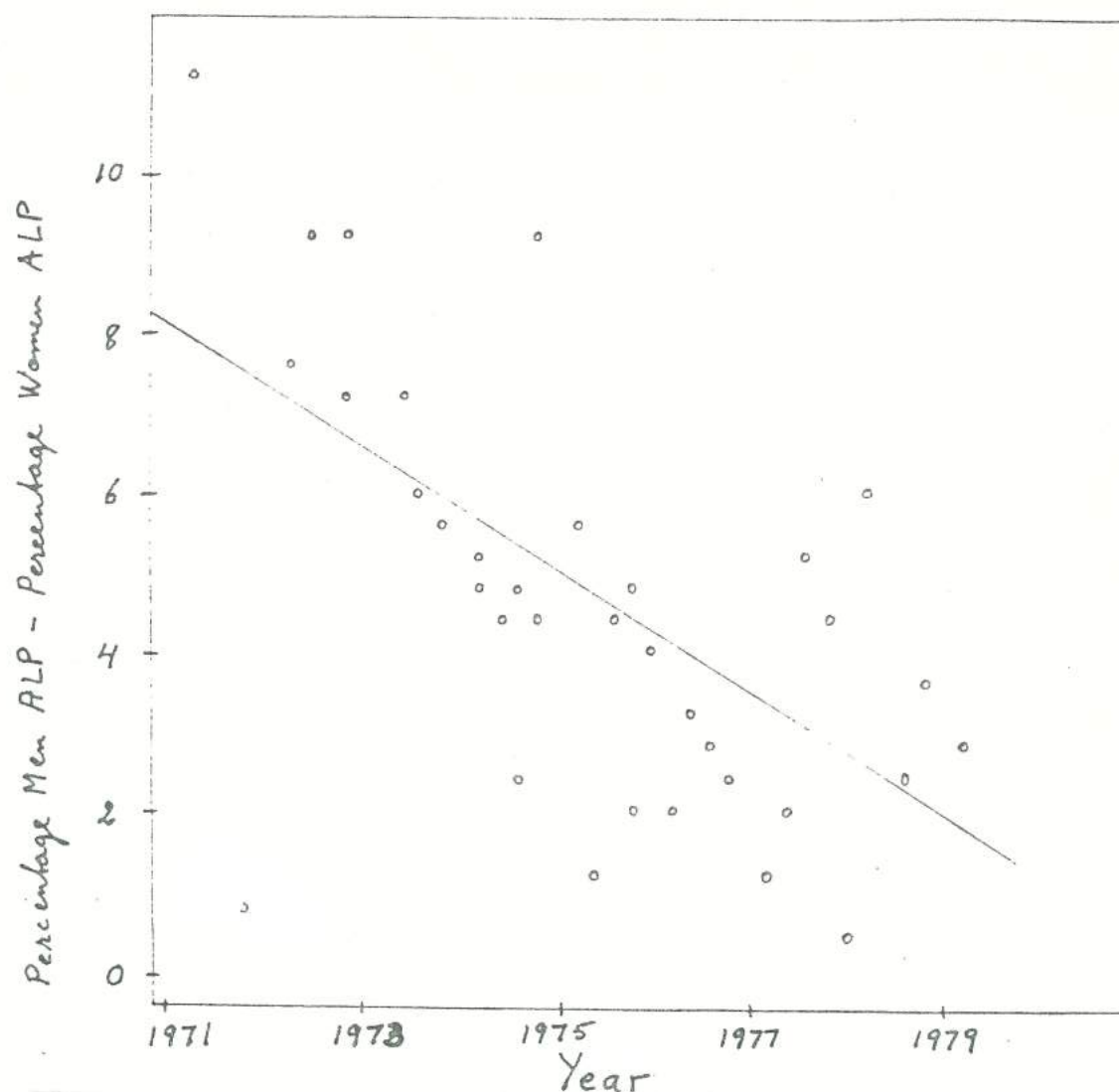
Extract (cont.)

FIGURE 1: Difference between percentage intended vote for ALP among men and percentage intended vote for ALP among women.

Trend in the Age Polls, March 1971 to April 1979.

($r = -.61$. Equation: $Y = 61.02 - .7449X$)

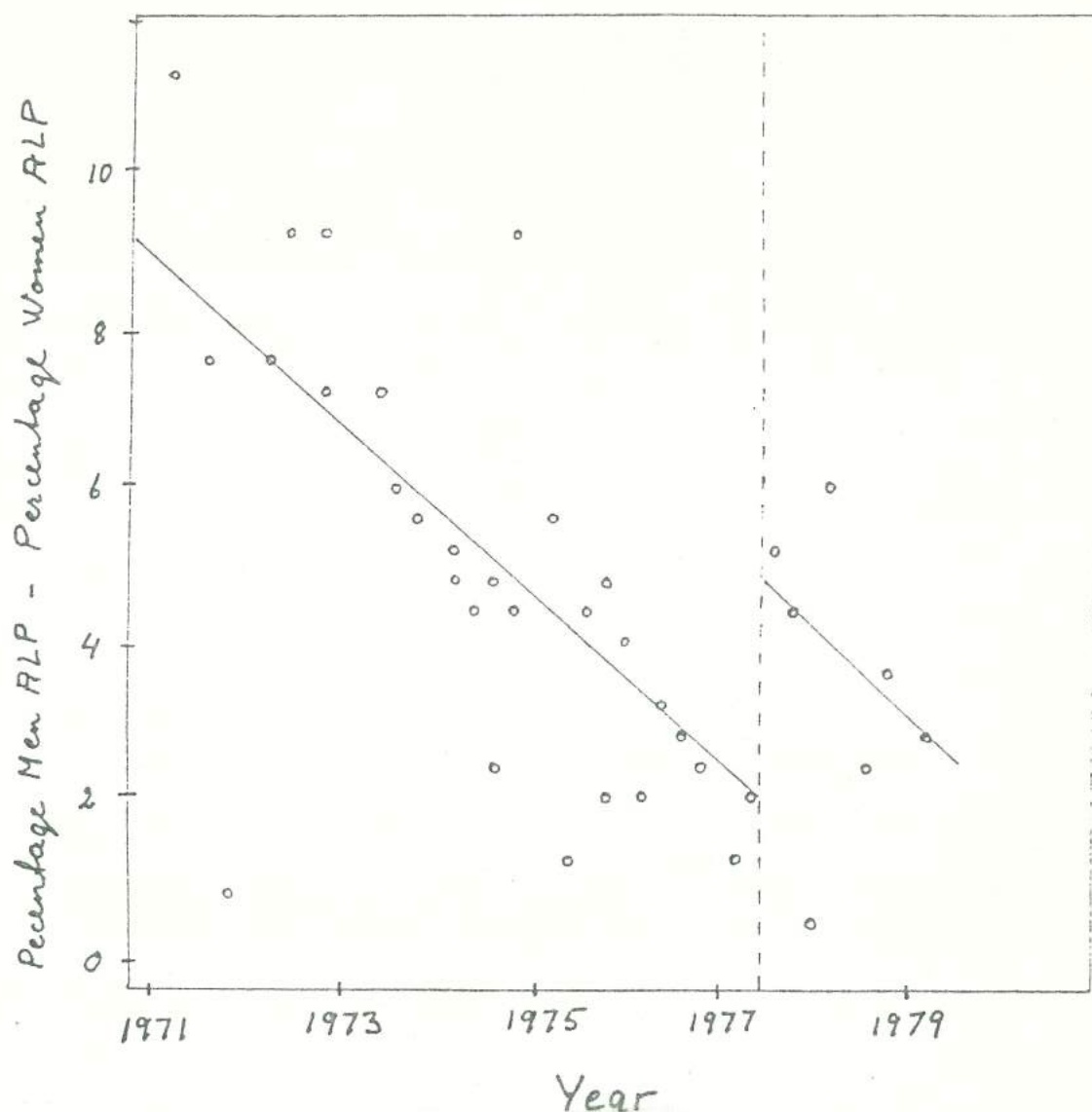
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FIGURE 2: Difference between percentage intended vote for ALP among men and percentage intended vote for ALP among women. Trends in the Age Polls (March 1971 to April 1979), before and after the Australian Democrats were formed.

(1971-77: $r = -.70$ Equation: $Y = 87.56 - 1.1047X$)

1977-79: $r = -.21$ Equation: $Y = 56.92 - .6778X$)

Note: The second part of this scattergram has fewer observations than the first part and the trend line is therefore not as reliable. The latest Age Poll (late 1979) confirms the trend, however; the difference being zero.

Extract (cont.)

raises several questions: Why this is happening? Will the trend even out around a couple of percent? Around zero? Increase again? Or will women in the future support the ALP to a higher degree than men? We will come back to some of these questions later.

When we look closely at the plotted values we find that in 1977 the differences suddenly increased only to start to decrease again and had at the end of the whole period reached about the same level as before the increase. In the June 1977 Age Poll a putative 'Centre Party' was mentioned for the first time and at the time of the September 1977 poll the Australian Democrats had been formed. In Table 2 we compare the two polls, before and after the Australian Democrats emerged. The

| VOTING INTENTION | | | | |
|------------------|--------------|----------------|----------|------------|
| | Men--Liberal | Women--Liberal | Men--ALP | Women--ALP |
| March 1977 | 40.0 | 42.0 | 46.4 | 45.1 |
| Sept. 1977 | 32.5 | 40.9 | 46.4 | 41.0 |
| LOSS | 7.5 | 1.1 | 0.0 | 4.1 |

Table 2: Voting intention by sex, March 1977, Sept. 1977
Source: Age Polls

Australian Democrats seem to have attracted more male than female Liberal voters, and more female than male ALP voters, and as a consequence the differences within the parties (ALP and Liberal) between men and women increased. In Figure 2 there are two trend lines, before and after the emergence of the Australian Democrats. It seems the Australian Democrats put the trend back a couple of years but didn't put a stop to it or alter it.

During the eighties Labor may well gain a higher percentage of votes from women than from men, as the relative size of the female workforce increases at the expense of the proportion of women who are full-time housewives.

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The two public service correlations in upper figure 4.8 indicate that Labor enjoyed moderate support in 1977 from Federal public servants, while state public servants were politically-neutral.

The qualification correlations recorded in the right-hand portion of upper figure 4.8 are quite consistent with those presented in projects two and three and require no additional comment. The only point I would make in passing is the observation that the two up-market groups - federal public servants and graduates - were a good deal more pro-Labor than their down-market poorer relations - state public servants and diplomats respectively.

The part-time workers group in the centre of upper figure 4.8 were anti-Labor in 1977 due to the fact (unknown to me when I set the 35 hour part-time benchmark for the 1976 data) that many upper-white collar workers in 1976 worked less than 35 hours a week as a matter of routine. This distorting factor makes the part-time worker variable a bit dubious as a basis of further interpretation.

Lower figure 4.8 shows there were small swings against Labor from ex-married female workers, part-time workers (two positively-correlated groups) and persons with technical qualifications in 1977-80. This last group includes field assistants, laboratory assistants and the like. Lower figure 4.8 also shows a continuation of the drift to Labor in 1977-80 from the large married female working group.

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The left-hand portion of upper figure 4.9 contains few surprises. The aged pensioners and war pensioners are two older groups, whose anti-Labor vote would be determined largely by age. They were certainly low-income groups and as such would have contributed significantly to the U-shaped income-vote curves discussed earlier.

The strong pro-Labor position of widows is quite interesting. Sociological evidence indicates that blue-collar male workers with the dirtier jobs tend to die younger than their white-collar colleagues and widows pensioners would therefore tend to be found in strong Labor areas. I should also point out that widows' pensioners become aged pensioners at age 60, so the two groups are quite distinct.

Labor's support from unemployment-beneficiaries was quite disappointing. I have discussed elsewhere that this group can be quite hostile towards the ALP - this was especially so in Tasmania in the mid-seventies.

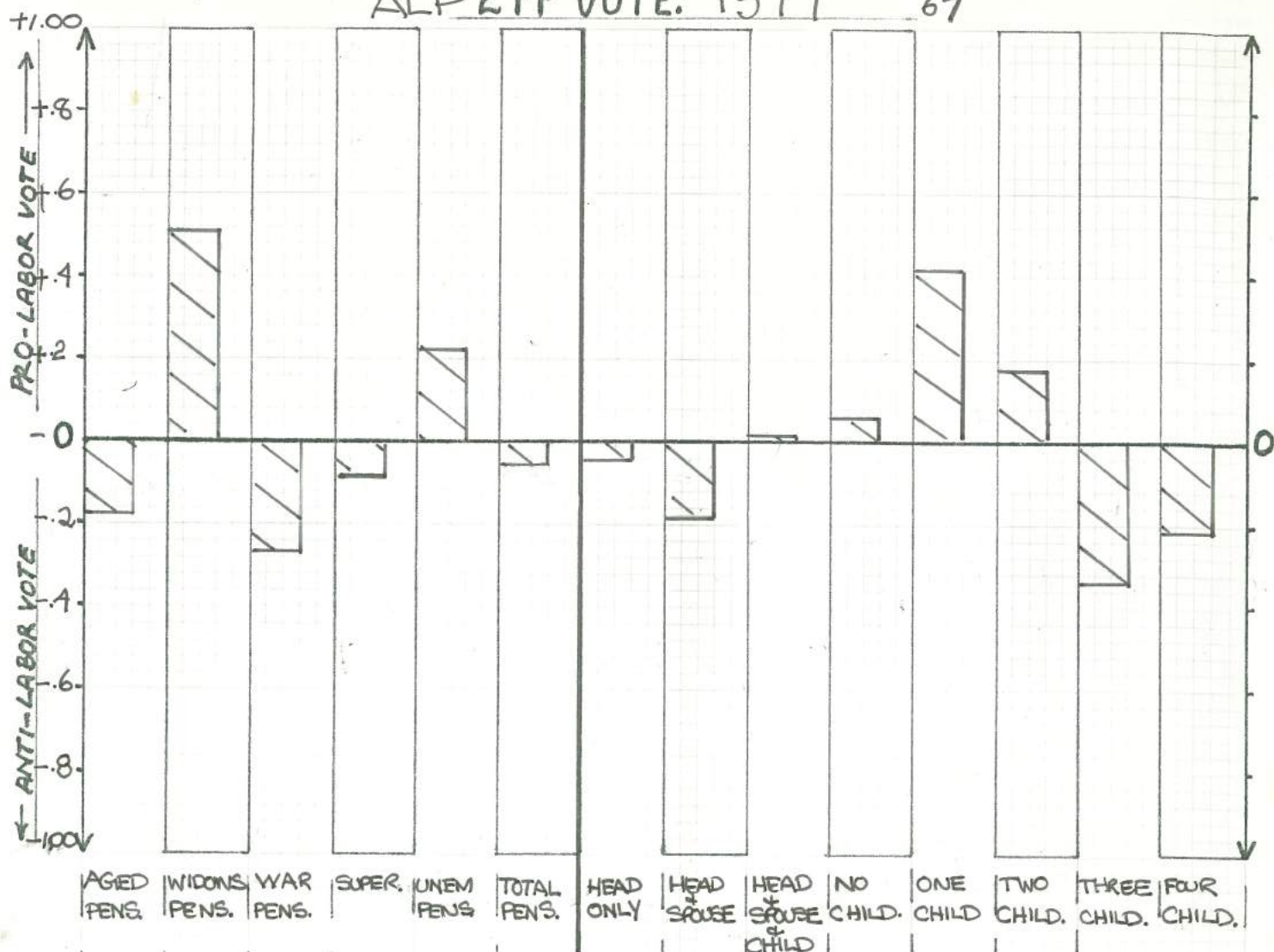
Labor gained no support in 1977 from superannuants and total pensioners - highlighting again the contribution of unearned income recipients to the U-shaped income-vote curve.

The family data in the right-hand portion of upper figure 4.9 is quite patchy, with Labor gaining no support from families consisting of the head only, the head plus spouse plus children, or the group of married women with no children. The non-Labor parties gained from families consisting of the head plus spouse only, while Labor's support was quite high for families with one child but it fell off markedly for subsequent children.

The correlation matrix indicates the first two groups from the left, head-only and head-plus-spouse, were mainly the very old and hence conservative voters. The head-only group also included some younger persons in their early twenties living alone and this is

ALP 2 PP VOTE: 1977

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ALP 2 PP SWING: 77 → 80

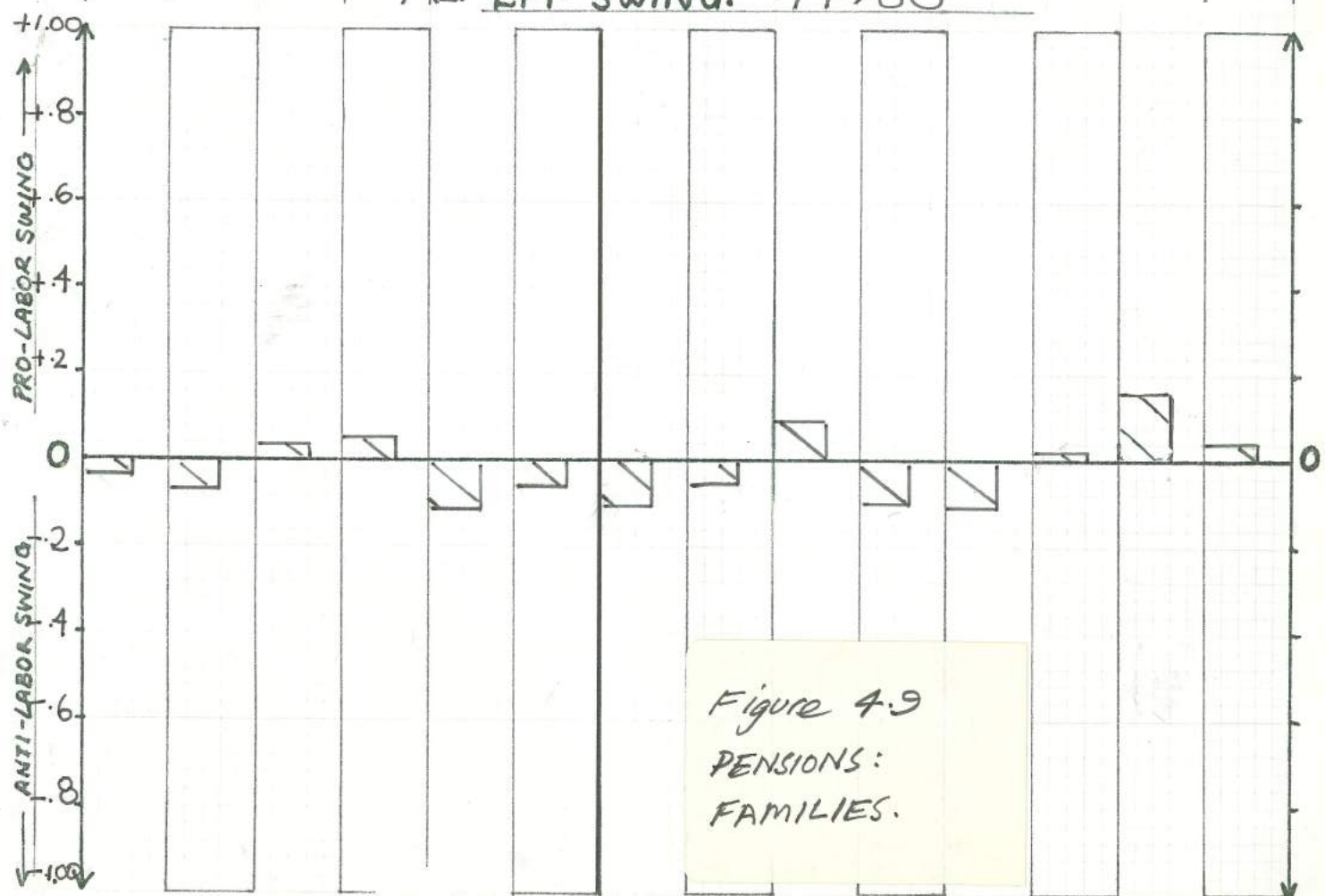


Figure 4.9
PENSIONS:
FAMILIES.

probably why the head-only group was less anti-Labor than the head-plus-spouse group.

If we examine the head-plus-spouse-plus-children group in the correlation matrix we see that it is very strongly (positively) correlated with the key 30-44 year old group we identified as a target group in the discussion on figure 4.4.

The correlations for the head-plus-spouse-plus-children (which could include one-only child) variable and for the female age groups ranging from 18-19 up to 50-54 are as follows:

| 18-19 | 20-24 | 25-29 | 30-34 | 35-39 | 40-44 | 45-49 | 50-54 |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| -.08 | +.17 | +.74 | +.89 | +.89 | +.72 | +.11 | -.48 |

The correlations were very similar for males in equivalent age groups. So when we talk about 30-44 year olds, we are talking about families rather than individuals. We are also talking about an age group which records a strong positive correlation with now-married female workers (averaging +.64 for females 30-44).

If we try to make some sense out of the inverse relationship between the Labor vote and the number of children of ever-married women (for "ever-married women" read families) we run into some curious results in the correlation matrix. If we examine the major predictor of vote - occupational class - we see that farmers and to a lesser extent miners, tend to have larger families, containing three or more children. The male farmer group in particular, has a correlation of +.80 with the variable four-plus children.

The male upper-white collar and middle-white collar occupation groups however are positively correlated with smaller families of no children, one child or two children, while male service workers are similarly linked with no children or one-child families. Male transport workers tend to have larger families, while the male craftsmen tend (mildly) towards families of one or two children.

The female occupation groups have similar links with families of different sizes as their male counterparts, except that female clerks tend to have between zero and three children, and the low-income anti-Labor group of female sales workers tend to have four or more children.

If we examine the family income links with family size we leave behind the patchy occupation-family size links and emerge with some reasonably-even trends. These are for families with incomes of less than \$9000 per annum to have four or more children, families with incomes between \$9000 and \$12000 to have two, and to a lesser extent, three children, families with incomes between \$12000 and \$18000 to have two, and to a lesser extent one child, and families with incomes of more than \$18000 to have either no children or two children.

If we combine these occupation/family income results we see that our no-children anti-Labor families tend to very high income-earning (\$18000 plus) white collar workers or low income service workers; our one or two child pro-Labor families are high-income or very high-income (\$9000 to \$18000) families with father a craftsman and mother a clerk; while our anti-Labor three and four plus child families are the low-income farming and mining families and rural families where mother is a low-income sales worker (or perhaps a clerk).

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Lower figure 4.9 shows the swings to and from Labor among pensioner and family groups in 1977-80. Surprising to some would have been the swing against Labor in 1977-80 from persons who in 1976 were receiving the unemployment benefit. Despite the fact that the persons actually drawing unemployment benefits in 1980 would usually be different persons from those drawing benefits in 1976, the general nature of the unemployed would not have changed to a sufficient extent to alter the different proportions of persons unemployed within each federal electorate. In other words, the

conclusion remains; Labor's vote fell in 1977-80 in areas of high unemployment. Either the unemployed felt that Labor could not create sufficient long-term jobs for them, or they felt that the federal Government was not to blame for their situation, or both. In any event, Labor cannot afford to make the assumption that the unemployed are strongly pro-Labor (they aren't) or that they are politically volatile (they aren't) and they automatically swing against the party in power (they don't).

For the family groups, lower figure 4.9 shows that Labor between 1977-80 lost support from small no-child and one-child families and gained a moderate increase in support from three-child families. As this three-child family group appears later in the regression table for the 1977-80 swing I will provide a brief ecological description from the correlation matrix:

AGE: 35-49

OCCUPATION: Farmers and female sales workers.

WORKFORCE: Employers/self-employed (linked with farmers) and married female workers (linked with female sales workers).

INCOME: Very low income females (individual incomes) and high-income families (\$9000-\$12000).

QUALIFICATIONS: None

HOUSING: Home buyers, paying low mortgage payments of less than \$99 a month in 1976. Includes a smaller group making very low weekly rental payments of less than \$29 a week in 1976.

FAMILIES: Very strong negative correlation with smaller no-child and one-child families.

TRANSPORT: Poor users of public transport, owning two cars or three or more cars (farmers).

ETHNICITY: Australian born.

RELIGION: Uniting plus Lutherans (the farmers' religion) and Church of England (the sales workers).

I might also point out that there are mild negative correlations between Catholics and three-child and four-plus child families, and quite strong positive correlations between Uniting plus Lutheran

Church followers and three-child and four-plus child families. It seems that farmers are the only group which can afford large families these days and they tend very strongly to be either Lutherans or Uniting Church followers.

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Upper figure 4.10 shows that Labor in 1977 gained moderate support from parents of minded children aged 0-5 years, but neutral support from parents of all 0-4 year olds and handicapped persons. Handicapped persons - almost five percent of the total population in 1976 - apparently felt ill-served by both Labor and non-Labor in 1977.

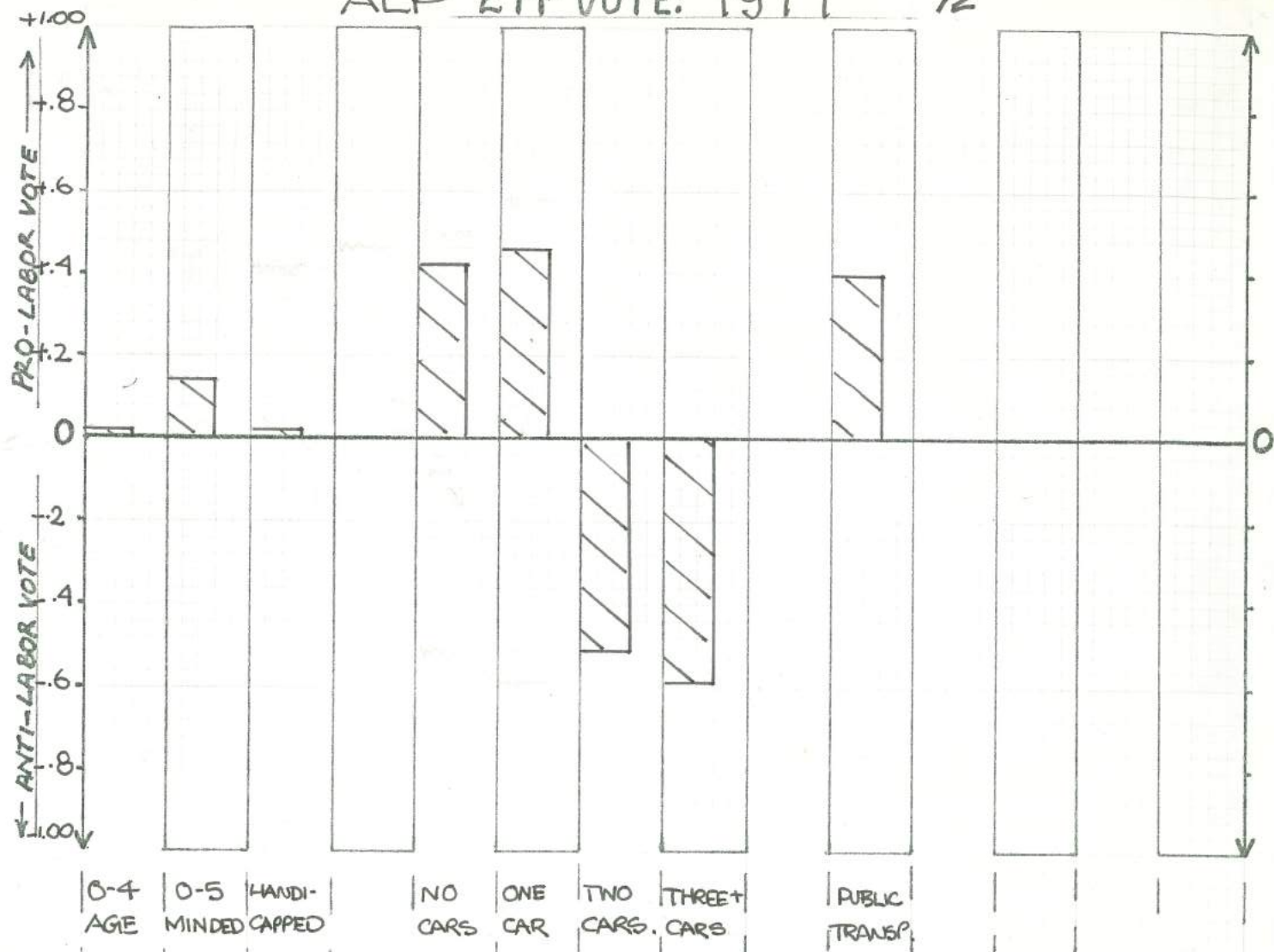
Children aged 0-4 are very strongly correlated with aged groups 25-44, with a positive correlation of +.86 with females aged 30-34, probably the single most important electoral group for 1983 identified so far in the current project. Minded children aged 0-5 years (as a percentage of all children aged 0-5 years) however tend to be negatively correlated with these key female age groups.

However, for working married women, there is a moderately strong correlation with children aged 0-4 (+.45) and a very strong correlation with minded children aged 0-5 years (+.80).

This points very strongly to the need for pre-school child care facilities experienced by working mothers in the key age groups 30-44 and the potential importance of this as campaign issue for this key group.

The link between the number of cars and the Labor vote shown in upper 4.10 is consistent with trends in projects two and three, except that in the current project homes with one car were much more pro-Labor than the results had shown for earlier projects. I would attribute this jump in support to a general increase in affluence among Labor voters between censuses, as projects two and three revealed no long-term drift to Labor from one-car house-

ALP 2PP VOTE: 1977 72



ALP 2PP SWING: 77→80

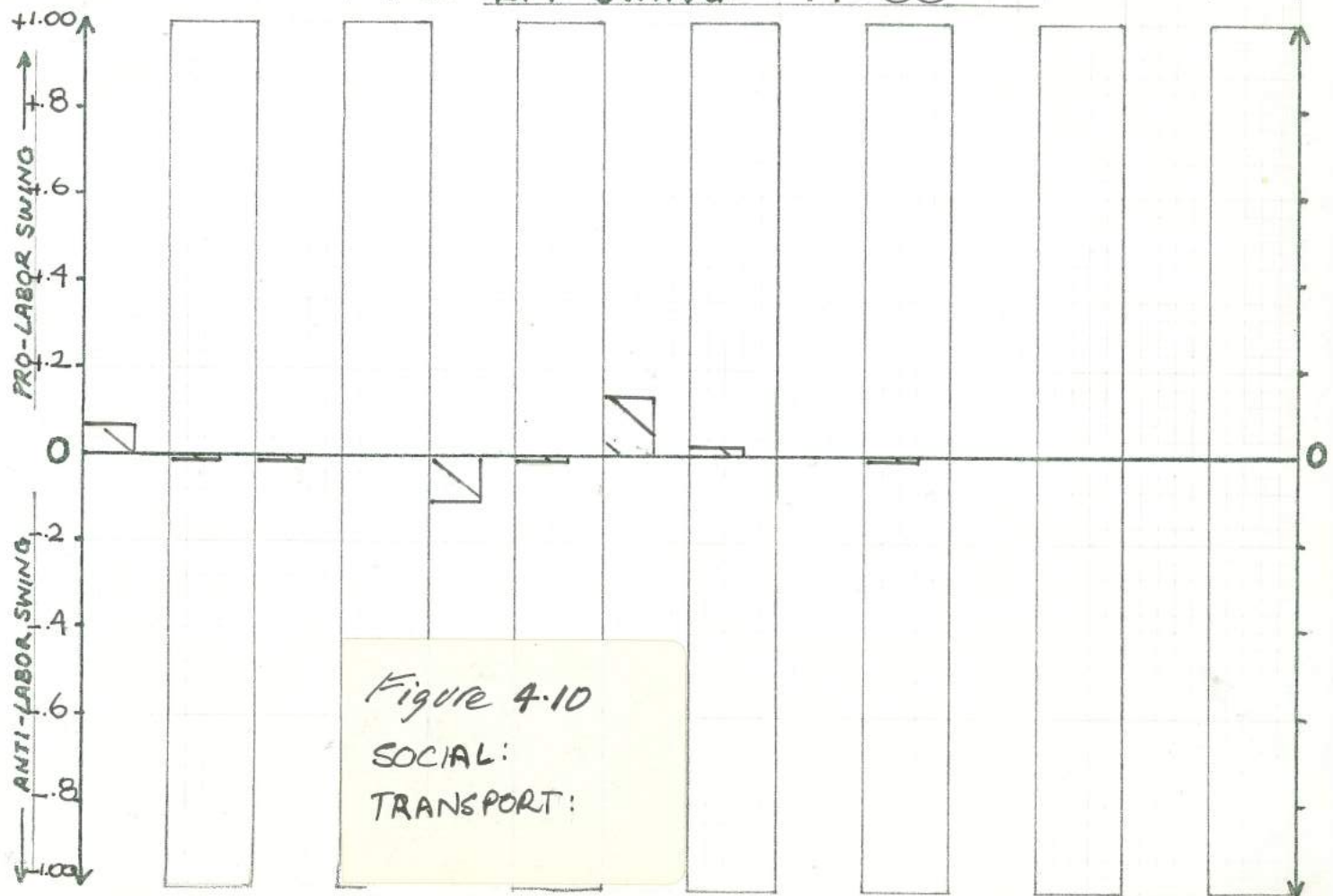


Figure 4.10
SOCIAL:
TRANSPORT:

holds. In general terms, older persons and blue-collar workers in 1976 tended to have no car or one car, while white collar workers and rural workers (farmers and miners) tended to have two or more cars. This explains the downward slope of the car-ownership-vote correlations.

Public transport was heavily utilised by white collar workers and blue collar workers (especially clerks and male service workers) and of course poorly used by farmers and miners, the two rural groups. The use of public transport therefore was very much a matter of whether or not the service was available (city versus country), although there was some disproportionate usage by the marginally volatile clerical workers, both male and female.

Lower figure 4.10 shows a mild swing away from Labor by the older inner-city group with no cars and a swing to Labor from the white collar workers with two cars.

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Upper figure 4.11 shows Labor in 1977 receiving strong support from the mildly blue collar and medium-income group of public housing tenants, and non-Labor receiving strong support from the older and more affluent group of home owners.

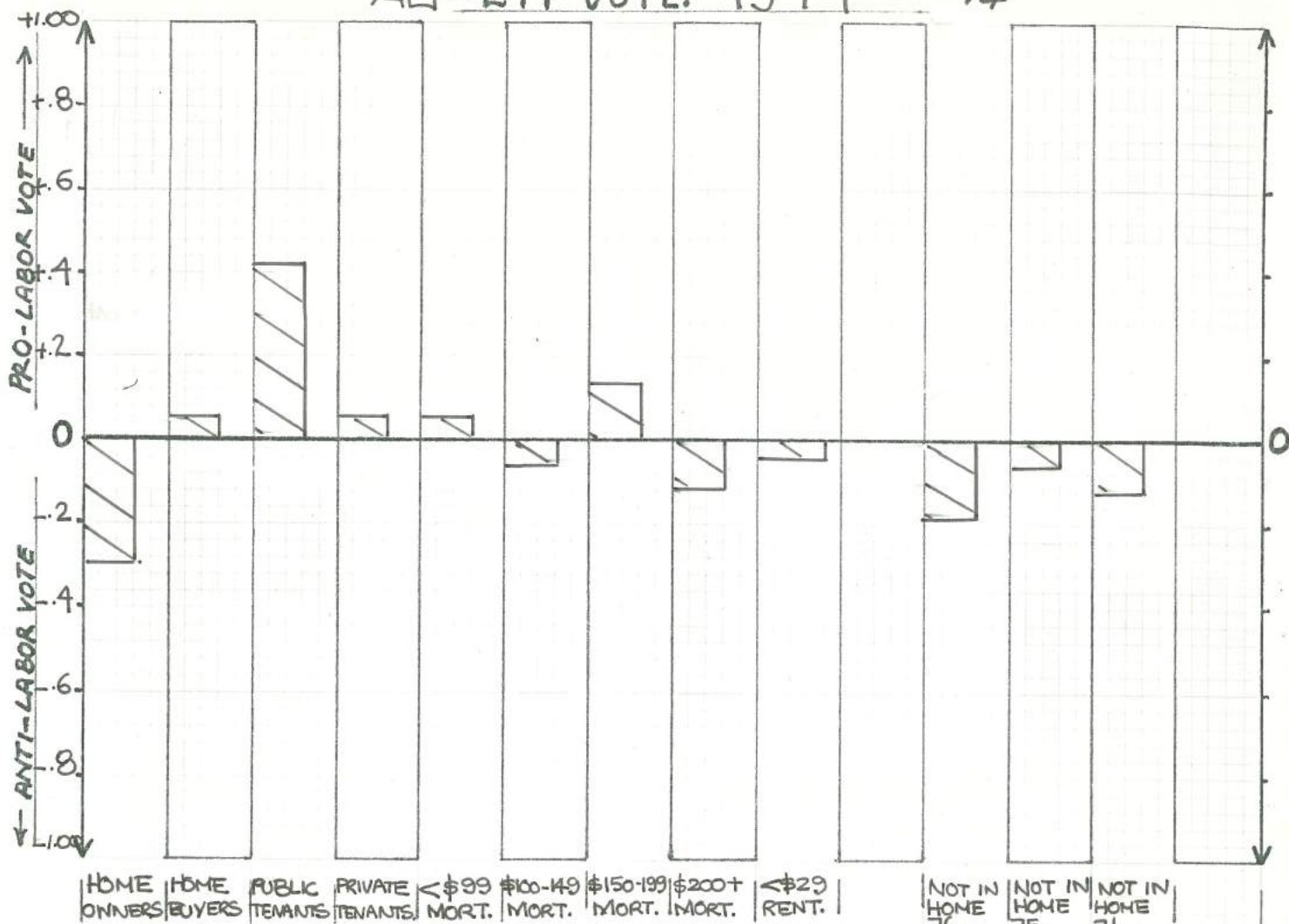
Moderate levels of pro-Labor support in 1977 were also recorded from persons in 1976 making monthly mortgage payments of \$150-\$199 (about \$220 to \$300 on today's C.P.I. figures).

The persons not in their usual home in 1976 (not in home '76 on figure 4.11) tended to be older persons on holidays and younger 20-24 year olds living semi-permanently away from home. This was a moderate anti-Labor group in 1977.

In 1977-80, lower figure 4.11 shows Labor won votes from home buyers, especially those making monthly mortgage payments in 1976 of \$100 to \$149 (about \$150 to \$220 on today's C.P.I. figures). This 25-34 year old blue-collar group was described in detail

ALP 2 PP VOTE: 1977

74



ALP 2 PP SWING: 77→80

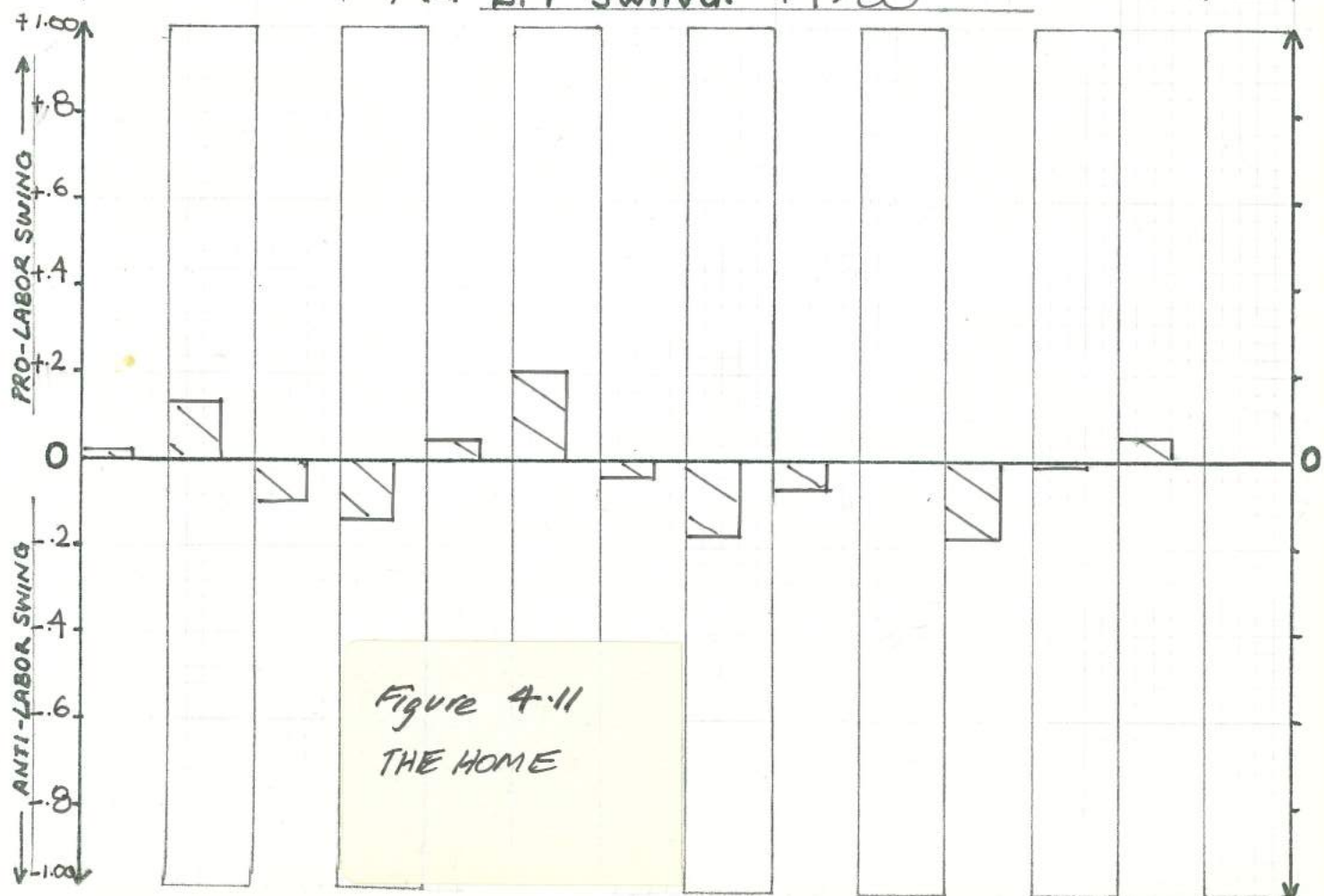


Figure 4-11
THE HOME

earlier in the discussion of table 4.2 (see table 4.5). In general terms, the group was quite close demographically to the key target group for 1983.

Labor's vote in 1977-80 dropped moderately across a wide range of housing groups, including public housing tenants, private housing tenants, high-cost purchase housing and the "not in home" 76 group (which would be strongly linked with the private tenants group).

Figure 4.12 shows the 1977 electoral alignments of ethnic and religious groups (upper portion) and the 1977-80 swings by these groups (lower portion). Occupational class explains virtually all of the trends in figure 4.12.

Migrants tend overwhelmingly to fill the blue-collar pro-Labor jobs; while Catholics tend to be blue-collar workers; Church of England and No Religion persons tend to be urban white-collar workers and the Uniting and Lutheran faiths dominate Australia's non-urban areas.

Perhaps the only points of interest here can be found in lower figure 4.12 where the large pro-Labor swing of 1977-80 was accompanied by only small positive swings from the long-run volatile ethnic groups: U.K. and central Europe migrants, and by a small negative correlation with the mild long-run volatile religious groups: Church of England.

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Table 4.5 provides the multiple regression table for the 1977 ALP 2PP vote across all electorates. The methodology used to derive this table was the same as that used for the regression analysis in earlier projects.

In broad terms regression table 4.6 is very similar to all the equivalent vote-regression tables provided in project two. The

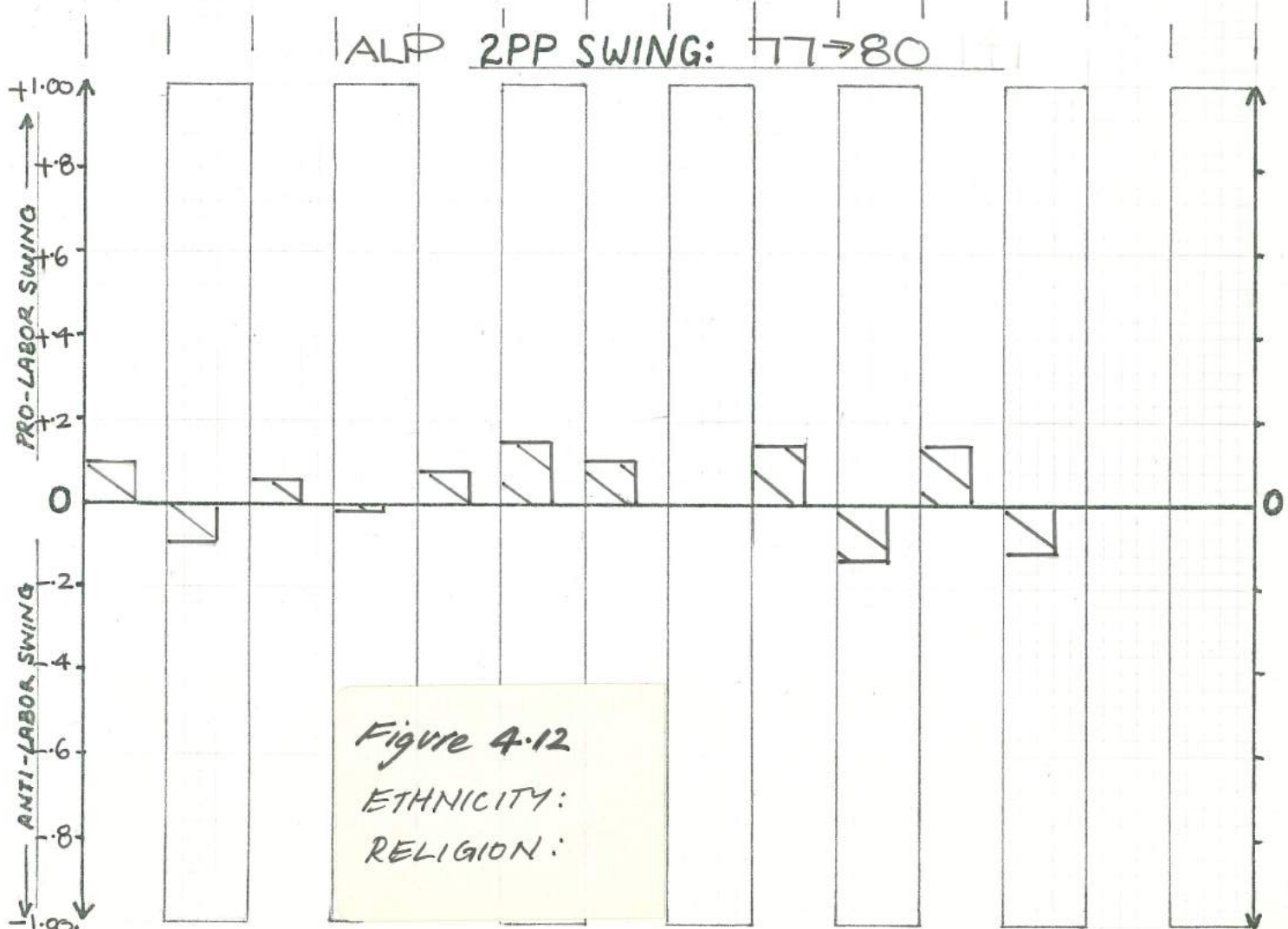
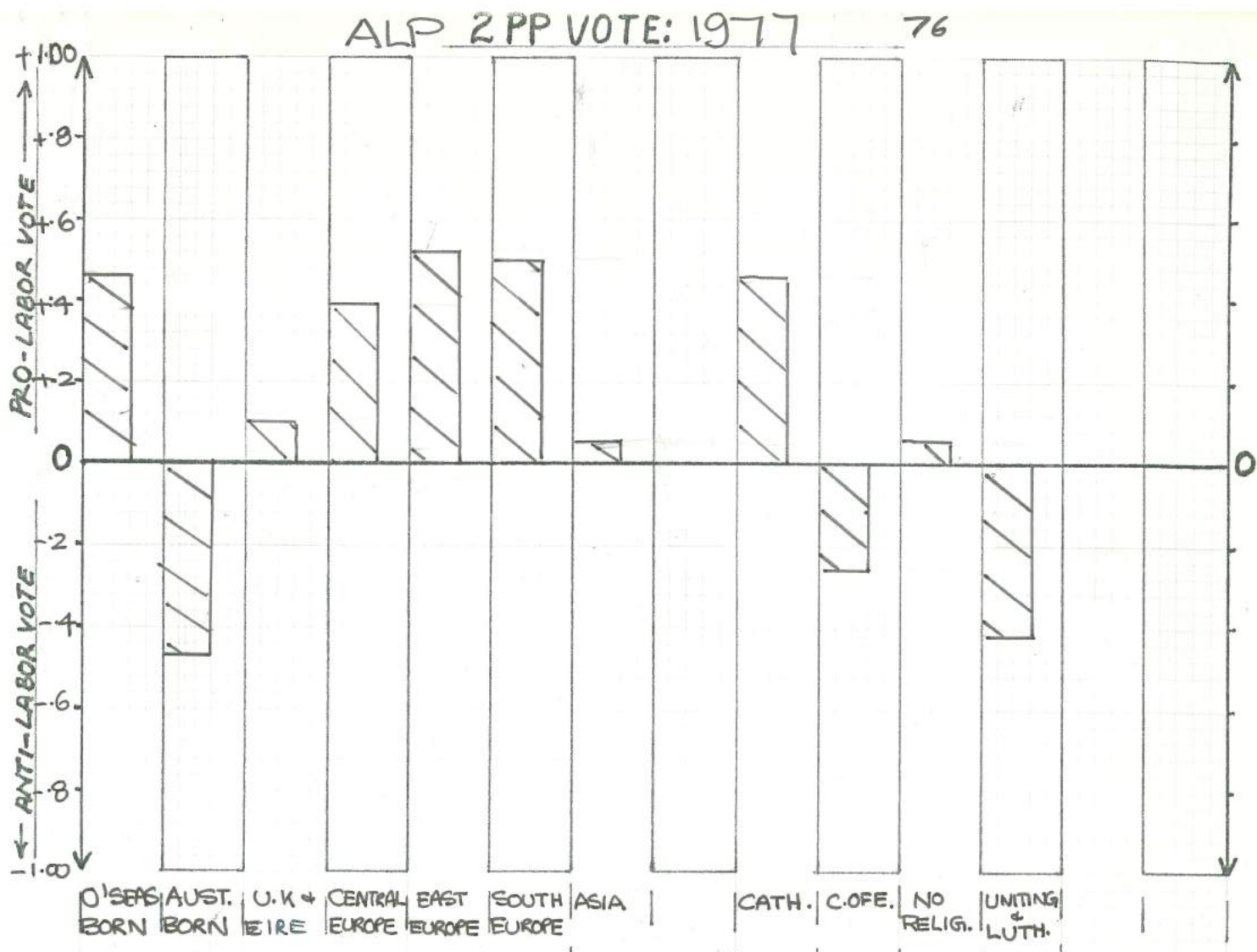


Figure 4.12
 ETHNICITY:
 RELIGION:

MULTIPLE REGRESSION

POLITICAL VARIABLE - V139 - 1977 A.L.P. 2 PP

| VARIABLE NUMBER | DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES AND REGRESSION EQUATION (BELOW) | VARIANCE EXPLAINED (%) | EXTRA VARIANCE EXPLAINED (%) | SIGN OF COEFFICIENT AND CONSTANT |
|--------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| 34 | MALES - CRAFTSMEN | 59.8 | 59.8 | + |
| 49 | EMPLOYER/SELF-EMPLOYED | 70.7 | 10.9 | + |
| 28 | MALES - ADMINISTRATIVE | 82.0 | 11.3 | - |
| 30 | MALES - SALES | 82.8 | .8 | - |
| 113 | ONE CHILD | 83.8 | 1.0 | + |
| 15 | FEMALES - 20 TO 24 YEARS | 84.9 | 1.1 | - |
| 85 | PUBLIC TENANTS | 86.2 | 1.2 | + |
| 66 | MALES - INCOME OVER \$18,000 | 86.6 | .4 | + |
| 13 | MALES - 75 YEARS AND OVER | 87.2 | .5 | - |
| 104 | WIDOWS' PENSIONS | 87.5 | .4 | + |
| 138 | UNITING AND LUTHERAN | 88.0 | .4 | + |
| 100 | FAMILY INCOME - \$12,000 TO \$15,000 | 88.3 | .3 | + |
| 42 | FEMALES - FARMERS | 88.7 | .4 | - |
| 135 | CATHOLIC | 89.0 | .3 | + |
| 132 | EASTERN EUROPEAN BORN | 89.2 | .2 | - |
| | CONSTANT | - | - | + |
| | S.E.E. = <u>+3.74</u> | | | |
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Table 4.6

only difference is a marginal one, in that table 4.6 explains more of the variance than any of the preceding tables. This is in accord with the longer-term trend for Australia to vote more as one nation than a collection of states or regions. The percentages of the variance explained by successive vote-regression tables from 1966 to 1980 are as follows:

| Election | 1966 | 1969 | 1972 | 1974 | 1975 | 1977 |
|----------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Variance | 82.2 | 77.1 | 81.3 | 86.5 | 88.2 | 89.2 |

Except for the "destabilising" election of 1969 when Labor's recovery from the defeat of 1966 was quite regional, the figures above show a trend towards greater national cohesion, to the extent that in 1977, almost 90 percent of the variance in the vote across all electorates in the country was explained by the one regression equation relying only on demographic data from these electorates.

This also produced the lowest standard error of estimate for the 1977 regression table: $\pm 3.74\%$, indicating a narrowing gap in all electorates between the actual observed 2PP vote and the vote predicted from the regression equation. Accordingly we would expect to see in the following tables and maps of the 1977 residuals much less variation from the predicted vote across major regions.

The variables in Table 4.6 and the positive and negative contribution to the Labor votes across electorates are much what we would have expected from our earlier discussion of equivalent tables. Labor's vote was boosted by the large blue-collar craftsmen variable, reduced by the employer/self-employed variable (heavily linked to the farmer variable in earlier tables), reduced still further by the male administrative and sales workers which made frequent appearances in earlier tables, boosted by one-child families and public housing tenants and

reduced by young females aged 20-24 years.

Labor's crude pearson correlational support from this last female 20-24 years group (see figure 4.4) was then only a function of that occupational class and family status.

I won't discuss here in any detail the lines below public tenants, as they contribute little extra variance (all below one percent) and hence very little additional explaining power for the regression table.

The income variables in particular were a disappointment to me because of their low marginal value to the regression equation. Income as a measure of Australian political behaviour pales into virtual insignificance alongside the occupational-class variables.

The high family income (\$12000 - \$15000) group listed as variable 100 in the regression table made a positive contribution to the 1977 Labor vote - in accordance with the simple pearson correlation figure 4.13, but once the regression program accounted by the variance explained by the occupational class factors, the very-high income males provided a positive contribution to the 1977 Labor vote. Income it seems is analogous to religion or ethnicity in Australian electoral behaviour in that all three provide only superficial images of the real underlying dynamic of voting patterns: occupational class.

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Table 4.7 lists the regression analysis results for the 1977-80 swing. As discussed earlier, the 1977-80 campaign failed to draw a major response from any significant demographic group. This produced a low percentage of explained variance, 41.8 percent, relative to earlier swings between 1966 and 1977. Table 4.8 below lists the variance explained by regression equations for all swings up to 1977-80:

MULTIPLE REGRESSION

POLITICAL VARIABLE - V141 - 1977-80 A.L.P.

2 PP SWING

| VARIABLE NUMBER | DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES AND REGRESSION EQUATION (BELOW) | VARIANCE EXPLAINED (%) | EXTRA VARIANCE EXPLAINED (%) | SIGN. OF COEFFICIENT AND CONSTANT |
|--------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| 88 | HOMES - \$100 TO \$149 MONTHLY MORTGAGE | 4.2 | 4.2 | + |
| 124 | NOT IN HOME - '76 | 10.6 | 6.4 | - |
| 136 | CHURCH OF ENGLAND | 14.9 | 4.2 | - |
| 30 | MALES - SALES | 16.5 | 1.7 | + |
| 55 | UNDER 35 HOURS' WORK PER WEEK | 20.2 | 3.7 | - |
| 138 | UNITING AND LUTHERAN | 23.0 | 2.8 | - |
| 115 | THREE CHILDREN | 27.8 | 4.8 | + |
| 24 | FEMALES - 65 TO 69 YEARS | 32.0 | 4.3 | + |
| 47 | FEMALES - ARMED SERVICES | 35.4 | 3.3 | + |
| 37 | MALES - OTHER (WORKFORCE) | 37.8 | 2.5 | + |
| 133 | SOUTHERN EUROPEAN BORN | 38.8 | 1.0 | - |
| 52 | FEMALES - EX-MARRIED (WORKFORCE) | 39.4 | .6 | - |
| 45 | FEMALES - CRAFTSMEN | 40.1 | .7 | - |
| 22 | FEMALES - 55 TO 59 YEARS | 41.1 | 1.0 | + |
| 121 | TWO CARS | 41.8 | .7 | - |
| | CONSTANT | - | - | - |
| | S.E.E. = +2.31 | | | |
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Table 4.7

| Swing | 1966-69 | 1969-72 | 1972-74 | 1974-75 | 1975-77 | 1977-80 |
|----------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Variance | 53.1 | 66.2 | 46.6 | 49.5 | 86.9* | 41.8 |

* Smaller Sample

TABLE 4.8

Table 4.8 shows that the variance explained by the 1977-80 regression equation was the lowest for all swings between 1966-80, despite the fact that the swing itself of plus 4.2 percent was the third-best swing back to Labor since the second world war.

Electoral history since 1946 however shows that excellent national votes for Labor are of no use unless these votes are accompanied by excellent results in winnable marginal seats.

Labor's 1977-80 swing was too uniform, and in addition, the slight bias in the swing meant that its minor deviation from uniformity was in the wrong direction: towards fairly safe ALP seats. This is shown by table 4.9 below, which illustrates that the 1977-80 swing was lower than the mean (of 4.2 percent) in winnable Government seats and considerably higher than the mean in fairly safe Labor seats:

| SEATS | PRO-LABOR SWING |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| 42 Safe Govt. | 4.3% |
| 21 fairly safe Govt. | 5.5% |
| 24 marginal Govt. | 3.9% |
| 11 marginal ALP | 4.5% |
| 9 fairly safe ALP | 6.4% |
| 18 safe ALP | 2.2% |

TABLE 4.9

If the ALP in 1977-80 had won the 6.4 percent it obtained in its fairly safe seats in marginal Government seats (where the swing

was only 3.9 percent) then Labor would have won Government in 1980.

To win Government in 1983 Labor needs to regain the share of the vote it held in 1972 and 1974 among the 30-44 year old groups which dominate the sort of outer-urban seats Labor held in the early seventies. Labor lost heavily among these voters in 1975 and again in 1977.

Almost all of the variables listed in table 4.7 have been discussed in some detail in the earlier part of the discussion, so there is no need for me to repeat these comments here. Instead I will make a few general comments about the nature of the groups listed in table 4.7.

Probably the most interesting general information which can be derived from table 4.7 is the anti-Labor nature of the groups it contains. Of the groups which contributed more than one percent of the explained variance, almost all are basically anti-Labor, or neutral, in terms of their political allegiance. The 1977-80 swing therefore involved a minor re-shuffling of non-Labor demographic groups to Labor's advantage only in fairly safe Labor seats.

Other points to note include the minor appearance in Table 4.7 of the long-run volatile groups: Church of England and female armed services; the continued drift to Labor from the normally stable group of older females; and the absence from the table of any of the 25-44 volatile age groups.

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Table 4.10 lists the observed, predicted and residual votes for the 1977 elections for all seats and all states.

Table 4.10 is summarised in a number of smaller tables. The first of these, table 4.11 lists the areas of major overperformance and underperformance, where the residuals were larger in absolute terms than one standard error of estimate.

| ELECTORATE | OBSERV- ED VOTE | PRE- DICTED VOTE | RESI- DUAL | ELECTORATE | OBSERV- ED VOTE | PRE- DICTED VOTE | RES DUAL |
|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------|
| NSW | | | | ROBERTSON | 52.3 | 46.9 | + 5 |
| BANKS | 54.2 | 56.8 | - 2.6 | ST. GEORGE | 48.0 | 51.5 | - 3 |
| BARTON | 46.0 | 46.9 | - 0.9 | SHORTLAND | 59.6 | 56.0 | + 3 |
| BENNELONG | 36.7 | 39.0 | - 2.3 | SYDNEY | 73.2 | 65.6 | + 7 |
| BEROWRA | 30.3 | 33.2 | - 2.9 | WARRINGAH | 29.9 | 33.9 | - 4 |
| BLAXLAND | 62.3 | 57.8 | + 4.5 | WENTWORTH | 35.7 | 38.9 | - 3 |
| BRADFIELD | 19.9 | 19.5 | + 0.4 | WERRIWA | 60.8 | 58.0 | + 2 |
| CALARE | 44.8 | 43.7 | + 1.1 | | | | |
| CHIFLEY | 67.3 | 63.2 | + 4.1 | NSW STATE | | | |
| COOK | 41.6 | 40.2 | + 1.4 | VIC | | | |
| COWPER | 36.1 | 38.2 | - 2.1 | BALACLAVA | 36.4 | 33.6 | + 2 |
| CUNNINGHAM | 60.7 | 60.8 | - 0.1 | BALLARAT | 43.1 | 45.1 | - 2 |
| DUNDAS | 40.2 | 41.2 | -1.0 | BATMAN | 53.4 | 54.2 | - 0 |
| EDEN-MONARO | 44.5 | 40.6 | + 3.9 | BENDIGO | 41.0 | 40.4 | + 1 |
| | | | | BRUCE | 39.2 | 40.0 | - 1 |
| FARRER | 33.0 | 35.4 | - 1.6 | BURKE | 56.0 | 60.8 | - 4 |
| GRAYNDLER | 62.7 | 62.8 | - 0.1 | CASEY | 40.3 | 35.5 | + 4 |
| GWYDER | 36.0 | 34.8 | + 2.0 | CHISHOLM | 41.5 | 40.8 | + 0 |
| HUGHES | 61.2 | 54.6 | + 6.6 | CORANGAMITE | 32.0 | 33.1 | - 1 |
| HUME | 40.7 | 31.2 | + 9.5 | CORIO | 52.9 | 58.3 | - 5 |
| HUNTER | 66.4 | 60.6 | + 5.8 | DEAKIN | 42.6 | 40.1 | + 2 |
| KINGSFORD-SMITH | 67.4 | 71.3 | - 3.9 | DIAMOND VALLEY | 40.2 | 33.8 | + 6 |
| | | | | FLINDERS | 38.5 | 38.7 | - 0 |
| LOWE | 44.2 | 52.6 | - 8.4 | GELLIBRAND | 65.2 | 65.1 | + 0 |
| LYNE | 38.2 | 42.3 | - 4.1 | GIPPSLAND | 29.7 | 32.4 | - 2 |
| MACARTHUR | 48.1 | 49.2 | - 1.1 | HENTY | 47.3 | 44.0 | + 3 |
| MACKELLAR | 35.4 | 32.7 | + 2.7 | HIGGINS | 33.7 | 30.2 | + 3 |
| MACQUARIE | 48.3 | 51.8 | - 3.5 | HOLT | 48.2 | 48.9 | - 0 |
| MITCHELL | 32.2 | 35.5 | - 3.3 | HOTHAM | 48.3 | 49.7 | - 1 |
| NEWCASTLE | 63.6 | 59.0 | + 3.7 | INDI | 33.3 | 35.7 | - 2 |
| NEW ENGLAND | 36.2 | 34.6 | + 1.6 | ISAACS | 42.7 | 42.6 | + 0 |
| NORTH SYDNEY | 32.8 | 34.3 | - 1.5 | KOOYONG | 31.9 | 31.6 | + 0 |
| PARRAMATTA | 56.1 | 55.0 | + 1.1 | LALOR | 58.0 | 61.1 | - 3 |
| PATERSON | 37.0 | 39.4 | - 1.6 | LA TROBE | 49.2 | 41.3 | + 7 |
| PHILLIP | 48.0 | 48.3 | - 0.3 | MALLEE | 26.7 | 26.4 | + 0 |
| PROSPECT | 60.0 | 60.3 | - 0.3 | MARIBYRNONG | 52.0 | 53.0 | - 1 |
| REID | 62.7 | 66.5 | - 3.8 | McMILLAN | 45.2 | 42.1 | + 3 |
| RICHMOND | 35.2 | 36.5 | - 1.3 | MELBOURNE | 61.8 | 61.1 | + 0 |
| RIVERINA | 50.1 | 38.5 | +11.6 | MELBOURNE PORTS | 55.8 | 55.3 | + 0 |

TABLE 4.10

| ELECTORATE | OBSERV- ED VOTE | PRE- DICTED VOTE | RESI- DUAL | ELECTORATE | OBSERV- ED VOTE | PRE- DICTED VOTE | RESI- DUAL |
|---------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| MURRAY | 23.6 | 26.9 | - 3.3 | <u>WA</u> | | | |
| SCULLIN | 57.3 | 55.1 | + 2.2 | CANNING | 33.7 | 40.2 | - 6.5 |
| WANNON | 34.5 | 33.5 | + 1.0 | CURTIN | 31.9 | 30.2 | + 1.7 |
| WILLS | 62.7 | 60.6 | + 2.1 | FORREST | 34.3 | 29.7 | + 4.6 |
| | | | | FREMANTLE | 51.0 | 47.7 | + 3.3 |
| VIC STATE | | | | KALGOORLIE | 41.3 | 43.1 | - 1.8 |
| <u>QLD</u> | | | | MOORE | 33.7 | 36.1 | - 2.4 |
| BOWMAN | 44.7 | 44.0 | + 0.7 | PERTH | 40.3 | 42.1 | - 1.8 |
| BRISBANE | 46.8 | 46.5 | + 0.3 | STIRLING | 41.1 | 45.2 | - 4.1 |
| CAPRICORNIA | 52.0 | 44.5 | + 7.5 | SWAN | 49.5 | 47.9 | + 1.6 |
| DARLING DOWNS | 30.7 | 37.6 | - 6.9 | YANGNEY | 40.9 | 42.6 | - 1.7 |
| DAWSON | 42.5 | 44.5 | - 2.0 | WA STATE | | | |
| FADDEN | 44.0 | 44.9 | - 0.9 | <u>TAS</u> | | | |
| FISHER | 34.4 | 37.0 | - 2.6 | BASS | 40.2 | 46.5 | - 6.3 |
| GRIFFITH | 53.4 | 49.5 | + 3.9 | BRADDON | 41.8 | 44.9 | - 3.1 |
| HERBERT | 42.3 | 48.5 | - 6.2 | DENISON | 47.0 | 48.4 | - 1.4 |
| KENNEDY | 35.7 | 39.5 | - 3.8 | FRANKLIN | 45.3 | 51.1 | - 5.8 |
| LEICHHARDT | 49.1 | 45.6 | + 3.5 | WILMOT | 44.3 | 43.0 | + 1.3 |
| LILLEY | 44.4 | 47.1 | - 2.7 | TAS STATE | | | |
| MCPHERSON | 34.2 | 37.4 | - 3.2 | <u>ACT</u> | | | |
| MARANOVA | 26.5 | 26.3 | + 0.2 | CANBERRA | 49.0 | 51.2 | - 2.2 |
| MORETON | 38.2 | 41.0 | - 2.8 | FRASER | 59.4 | 53.3 | + 6.1 |
| OXLEY | 58.7 | 60.0 | - 1.3 | <u>NT</u> | | | |
| PETRIE | 40.3 | 42.8 | - 2.5 | NORTHERN TERRITORY | 47.5 | 51.6 | - 4.1 |
| RYAN | 36.1 | 34.3 | + 1.8 | NEW SOUTH WALES | 47.6 | 47.4 | + 0.2 |
| WIDE BAY | 41.8 | 40.0 | + 1.8 | VICTORIA | 44.5 | 45.3 | - 0.8 |
| QLD STATE | | | | QUEENSLAND | 42.0 | 43.4 | - 1.4 |
| <u>SA</u> | | | | SOUTH AUSTRALIA | 48.7 | 48.9 | - 0.2 |
| ADELAIDE | 56.3 | 55.1 | + 1.2 | WESTERN AUSTRALIA | 39.9 | 41.8 | - 1.9 |
| BARKER | 32.2 | 33.0 | - 1.6 | TASMANIA | 43.8 | 46.8 | - 3.0 |
| BONYTHON | 60.0 | 56.8 | + 3.2 | | | | |
| BOOTHBY | 34.2 | 36.5 | - 2.3 | | | | |
| GREY | 50.1 | 48.7 | + 1.4 | | | | |
| HAWKER | 50.6 | 48.1 | + 2.5 | | | | |
| HINDMARSH | 61.3 | 53.1 | + 8.2 | | | | |
| KINGSTON | 48.2 | 46.7 | + 1.5 | | | | |
| PORT ADELAIDE | 65.7 | 69.5 | - 3.8 | | | | |
| STURT | 43.2 | 44.9 | - 1.7 | | | | |
| WAKEFIELD | 34.0 | 35.1 | - 1.1 | | | | |
| SA STATE | | | | | | | |

| Negative Residuals Less Than -3.74% | | Positive Residuals More Than + 3.74% | |
|--|----------|---|----------|
| Seat | Residual | Seat | Residual |
| Kingsford-Smith | - 3.9 | Blaxland | + 4.5 |
| Lowe | - 8.4** | Chifley | + 4.1 |
| Lyne | - 4.1 | Eden Monaro | + 3.9 |
| Reid | - 3.8 | Hughes | + 6.6 |
| Warringah | - 4.0 | Hume | + 9.5** |
| | | Hunter | + 5.8 |
| Burke | - 4.6 | Riverina | +11.6** |
| Corio | - 5.4 | Robertson | + 5.4 |
| | | Sydney | + 7.6** |
| Darling Downs | - 6.9 | Casey | + 4.9 |
| Herbert | - 6.2 | Diamond Valley | + 6.4 |
| Kennedy | - 3.8 | Latrobe | + 7.9** |
| Canning | - 6.5 | Capricornia | + 7.5** |
| Stirling | - 4.1 | Griffith | + 3.9 |
| Bass | - 6.3 | | |
| Franklin | - 5.8 | Hindmarsh | + 8.2** |
| Northern Territory | - 4.1 | Forrest | + 4.6 |
| | | Fremantle | + 4.1 |
| | | Fraser | + 6.1 |

** indicates residual $> \pm 2$ SEEs

TABLE 4.11

In Table 4.11 we see a continuation of the historical pattern for New South Wales, with excellent results in safe Labor seats tending to easily outnumber poor results in more marginal areas.

In Victoria too, the pattern for the new seats in 1977 was similar to that for the 1975 election with most results sticking very close to the predicted figures. In Victoria, however, the areas of overperformance coincided with more marginal seats, while the underperformance took place in Labor-held seats.

The Queensland 1977 result was also quite favourable for the ALP - with areas of overperformance coinciding with two winnable marginal seats - Labor's only two real gains from non-Labor in 1977.

Overperformances in Western Australia were generally encouraging for Labor, while Tasmania provided somewhat less pleasing figures.

Table 4.12 focusses attention on the marginal seats where minor variations in performance are most important for Labor and compares predicted seat wins with actual results.

For the two major states we see a continuation of long-term trends, with New South Wales overperformance in the non-Sydney area winning the seats of Robertson and Riverina (a result virtually identical to 1975) and underperformance in the mid-western suburbs costing Labor two marginal seats (again a similar result to 1975 - see Table 2.58).

In Victoria however, the predicted tally of seats coincided exactly with the observed results. In general terms the excellent residuals in Victoria tended to coincide with seats that in 1972 and 1974 had been marginally pro-Labor (including Casey, Diamond Valley and La Trobe). However the base ALP vote did not rise sufficiently for Labor to make any gains in these seats.

The results in Queensland, South Australia and Western Australia were excellent, producing five net bonuses for Labor in 1977. In Queensland, Capricornia and Griffith represented Labor's only two gains - and both came despite predicted losses.

In South Australia, both Grey and Hawker had been "lost" for Labor in the 1977 redistribution and sitting Labor candidates were able to increase their personal votes to cheat the computer's predicted losses.

| Seats Labor Should Have Won, But Did Not | States Net | Seats Labor Should Not Have Won, But Did. |
|--|------------|---|
| Lowe Macquarie St. George | NSW -1 | Riverina Robertson |
| | VIC 0 | |
| | QLD +2 | Capricornia Griffith |
| | SA +2 | Grey Hawker |
| | WA +1 | Fremantle |
| Franklin | TAS -1 | |
| Canberra NT | TERR -2 | |
| | AUST +1 | |

TABLE 4.12

In Western Australia, Labor's only seat was held despite a predicted loss and Labor's failure to gain any seats in that state in 1977 was entirely in accordance with predicted figures.

After allowing for three net losses in Tasmania and the Territories, Labor in 1977 obtained a net result of one seat more than the computer prediction for the nation, confirming both the relevance and accuracy of the current analysis.

The final portion of the discussion on table 4.10 deals with the state-based residuals listed at conclusion of the table. To facilitate comparisons with residuals for the preceding election (table 2.59) both the 1975 and 1977 residuals are listed below in table 4.13.

| State | Residual 1975 | Residual 1977 | Change in Residual 1977-1975 |
|-------|------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| NSW | -0.2 | +0.2 | +0.4 |
| VIC | -2.3 | -0.8 | +1.5 |
| QLD | -3.0 | -1.4 | +1.6 |
| SA | -0.4 | -0.2 | +0.2 |
| WA | -1.6 | -1.9 | -0.3 |
| TAS | -1.8 | -3.0 | -1.2 |

TABLE 4.13

Table 4.13 shows that between 1975 and 1977 Labor's performance in two traditionally weak states - Victoria and Queensland - improved considerably and Tasmania experienced some decline.

The states of New South Wales, South Australia and Western Australia returned 1977 residuals similar to the 1975 results.

The decline in Tasmania in 1977 would undoubtedly be due in large part to entrenchment of non-Labor sitting members. Labor gained prior to 1974 from the reverse of this factor. The Tasmanian state ALP also won a state election in between

the 1975 and 1977 federal elections, a state factor which can often work against federal candidates.

In Queensland and Victoria the improvements in the residuals followed losses by both state Labor parties at state elections between the federal elections of 1975 and 1977.

In Queensland, the federal election on December 10, 1977, followed soon after the state elections of November 29, in which the state ALP picked up a swing of more than seven percent from the disastrous 1974 state result. The state ALP was generally regarded by the electorate as having received fewer seats than it "deserved" to win, largely because of the state gerrymander (shades of South Australia in 1968). The State Coalition Parties also fought bitterly between the state and federal elections over the division of Cabinet posts. Both of these events would have boosted Labor's federal vote in the following national election.

In Victoria, the state non-Labor Government was on the run from the state Labor party over land dealings which eventually resulted in the forced resignation of senior Victorian Liberal and Federal Treasurer Phillip Lynch on November 18 and the federal non-Labor parties also suffered from the disproportionate strength in Victoria of the newly-formed Australian Democrats. Both of these factors could have influenced the improvement of Labor's residual in Victoria in 1977.

Table 4.14 lists the Observed, Predicted and Residual 1977-80 swings for all electorates and all states.

The implications of these swings for the 1980 results will be discussed in detail in the following section.

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TABLE 4.14

| ELECTORATE | OBSERV- ED VOTE | PRE- DICTED VOTE | RESI- DUAL | ELECTORATE | OBSERV- ED VOTE | PRE- DICTED VOTE | RES DUAL |
|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------|
| <u>NSW</u> | | | | ROBERTSON | 5.0 | 5.1 | - 0. |
| BANKS | 4.7 | 4.2 | + 0.5 | ST. GEORGE | 7.5 | 4.5 | + 3. |
| BARTON | 3.6 | 3.3 | + 0.3 | SHORTLAND | 7.4 | 4.1 | + 3. |
| BENNELONG | 3.9 | 2.0 | + 1.9 | SYDNEY | -1.2 | 2.7 | - 3. |
| BEROWRA | 4.2 | 2.3 | + 1.9 | WARRINGAH | 3.1 | 1.9 | + 1. |
| BLAXLAND | 2.2 | 3.7 | - 1.5 | WENTWORTH | 1.1 | 0.5 | + 0. |
| BRADFIELD | 1.7 | 2.5 | - 0.8 | WERRIWA | 3.2 | 3.7 | - 0. |
| CALARE | 3.5 | 3.4 | + 0.1 | | | | |
| CHIFLEY | 2.6 | 4.0 | - 1.3 | NSW STATE | | | |
| COOK | 2.7 | 2.5 | + 0.2 | <u>VIC</u> | | | |
| COWPER | 7.1 | 3.5 | - 3.6 | BALACLAVA | 6.5 | 5.8 | + 0. |
| CUNNINGHAM | 3.8 | 3.7 | + 0.1 | BALLARAT | 7.6 | 6.4 | + 1. |
| DUNDAS | 4.5 | 3.8 | +0.7 | BATMAN | 6.5 | 5.4 | + 1. |
| EDEN-MONARO | 2.7 | 3.9 | - 1.2 | BENDIGO | 6.9 | 5.0 | + 1. |
| | | | | BRUCE | 5.4 | 5.7 | - 0. |
| FARRER | 3.8 | 5.0 | - 1.2 | BURKE | 1.5 | 4.9 | - 3. |
| GRAYNDLER | -0.2 | 3.0 | - 3.2 | CASEY | 7.8 | 6.3 | + 1. |
| GWYDER | 2.0 | 4.0 | - 2.0 | CHISHOLM | 6.3 | 6.1 | + 0. |
| HUGHES | -0.5 | 2.5 | - 2.0 | CORANGAMITE | 4.1 | 4.9 | - 0. |
| HUME | 2.3 | 4.5 | - 2.2 | CORIO | 7.0 | 5.5 | + 1. |
| HUNTER | 4.6 | 1.7 | + 2.9 | DEAKIN | 5.1 | 6.4 | - 1. |
| KINGSFORD-SMITH | 4.0 | 5.1 | - 1.1 | DIAMOND VALLEY | 6.1 | 7.7 | - 1. |
| | | | | FLINDERS | 6.5 | 10.3 | - 3. |
| LOWE | 4.7 | 4.4 | + 0.3 | GELLIBRAND | 6.9 | 7.4 | - 0. |
| LYNE | 2.9 | 3.7 | - 0.8 | GIPPSLAND | 7.6 | 5.8 | + 1. |
| MACARTHUR | -1.5 | 2.3 | - 3.8 | HENTY | 5.5 | 6.1 | - 0. |
| MACKELLAR | 0.0 | 2.3 | - 1.5 | HIGGINS | 5.4 | 4.1 | + 1. |
| MACQUARIE | 4.5 | 3.8 | - 0.7 | HOLT | 8.4 | 6.5 | + 1. |
| MITCHELL | 1.8 | 3.8 | - 2.0 | HOTHAM | 5.7 | 5.6 | - 0. |
| NEWCASTLE | -0.7 | 3.3 | - 4.0 | INDI | 4.3 | 4.3 | + 0. |
| NEW ENGLAND | 6.9 | 3.3 | + 3.6 | ISAACS | 9.1 | 6.7 | + 2. |
| NORTH SYDNEY | 2.4 | -0.4 | + 2.8 | KOOYONG | 6.7 | 5.2 | + 1. |
| PARRAMATTA | 4.0 | 1.9 | + 2.1 | LALOR | 13.7 | 7.9 | + 5. |
| PATERSON | 3.9 | 2.9 | + 1.0 | LA TROBE | 3.1 | 6.5 | - 3. |
| PHILLIP | 1.4 | 3.9 | - 2.5 | MALLEE | 2.5 | 4.2 | - 1. |
| PROSPECT | 0.9 | 3.9 | - 3.0 | MARIBYRNONG | 8.3 | 6.3 | + 2. |
| REID | 3.2 | 4.7 | - 1.5 | McMILLAN | 6.2 | 6.9 | - 0. |
| RICHMOND | 4.7 | 5.4 | - 0.7 | MELBOURNE | 5.9 | 5.6 | + 0. |
| RIVERINA | -0.6 | 2.3 | - 2.9 | MELBOURNE PORTS | 6.1 | 4.0 | + 2. |

TABLE 4.14

| ELECTORATE | OBSERV- ED VOTE | PRE- DICTED VOTE | RESI- DUAL | ELECTORATE | OBSERV- ED VOTE | PRE- DICTED VOTE | RE- DU. |
|---------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------|
| MURRAY | 8.9 | 6.1 | + 2.8 | WA | | | |
| SCULLIN | 13.0 | 7.0 | + 6.0 | CANNING | 6.4 | 6.7 | - 0 |
| WANNON | 4.1 | 2.9 | + 1.2 | CURTIN | 4.9 | 5.7 | - 0 |
| WILLS | 6.4 | 7.2 | - 0.8 | FORREST | 5.1 | 5.8 | - 0 |
| | | | | FREMANTLE | 5.0 | 5.2 | - 0 |
| VIC STATE | | | | KALGOORLIE | 6.6 | 5.9 | + 0 |
| QLD | | | | MOORE | 8.9 | 6.9 | + 2 |
| BOWMAN | 4.1 | 5.6 | - 1.5 | PERTH | 9.8 | 7.4 | + 2 |
| BRISBANE | 5.0 | 6.5 | - 1.5 | STIRLING | 6.8 | 8.0 | - 1 |
| CAPRICORNIA | 2.1 | 3.8 | - 1.7 | SWAN | 8.0 | 6.7 | + 1 |
| DARLING DOWNS | 2.4 | 6.8 | - 4.5 | TANGNEY WA STATE | 5.2 | 6.8 | -1. |
| DAWSON | 5.1 | 4.9 | 0.2 | TAS | | | |
| FADDEN | 4.5 | 4.8 | -0.3 | BASS | 5.6 | 3.4 | + 2. |
| FISHER | 6.4 | 4.1 | 2.3 | BRADDON | 3.1 | 4.8 | - 1. |
| GRIFFITH | 7.3 | 3.1 | 4.4 | DENISON | 1.0 | 2.3 | - 1. |
| HERBERT | 6.8 | 4.4 | 2.3 | FRANKLIN | 1.9 | 4.1 | - 2. |
| KENNEDY | 0.9 | 2.1 | - 1.2 | WILMOT | 5.6 | 1.4 | + 4. |
| LEICHHARDT | - 0.2 | 4.0 | - 4.2 | TAS STATE | | | |
| LILLEY | 6.4 | 5.6 | 0.8 | ACT | | | |
| MCPHERSON | 1.8 | 1.1 | 0.7 | CANBERRA | 6.2 | 6.0 | + 0. |
| MARANOVA | 6.1 | 3.6 | 2.5 | FRASER | 4.9 | 4.4 | + 0. |
| MORETON | 7.6 | 6.4 | 1.1 | NT | | | |
| OXLEY | 9.0 | 5.0 | 4.0 | NORTHERN TERRITORY | 2.8 | 3.1 | - 0. |
| PETRIE | 6.3 | 5.3 | 1.0 | NEW SOUTH WALES | 2.8 | 3.1 | - 0. |
| RYAN | 3.1 | 4.5 | - 1.4 | VICTORIA | 6.2 | 6.0 | + 0. |
| WIDE BAY | 2.6 | 3.7 | - 1.1 | QUEENSLAND | 4.9 | 4.4 | + 0. |
| QLD STATE | | | | SOUTH AUSTRALIA | 0.7 | 2.3 | - 1. |
| SA | | | | WESTERN AUSTRALIA | 6.7 | 6.5 | + 0. |
| ADELAIDE | 2.3 | 1.6 | + 0.7 | TASMANIA | 3.3 | 3.0 | + 0. |
| BARKER | 0.5 | 1.3 | - 0.8 | | | | |
| BONYTHON | 1.4 | 2.5 | - 1.1 | | | | |
| BOOTHBY | 3.2 | 1.6 | + 1.6 | | | | |
| GREY | 3.0 | 2.1 | + 0.9 | | | | |
| HAWKER | 3.2 | 3.3 | - 0.1 | | | | |
| HINDMARSH | -5.6 | 4.0 | - 9.6 | | | | |
| KINGSTON | 1.6 | 2.6 | - 1.0 | | | | |
| PORT ADELAIDE | 2.8 | 1.8 | + 1.0 | | | | |
| STURT | 2.0 | 3.5 | - 1.5 | | | | |
| WAKEFIELD | -0.1 | 0.9 | - 1.0 | | | | |
| SA STATE | | | | | | | |

The final portion of the discussion of the 1977 vote deals with the variation of Labor's 1977 residual votes by electorates and regions.

To facilitate this discussion I have mapped the residuals presented in table 4.10. The system of shading used is identical to that employed for all previous maps: the darker the shading, the better the result for Labor. A set of key maps for the 1977 boundaries is also included here to assist the reader.

New South Wales: Labor's excellent performance in N.S.W. in 1977 was highlighted by the fact that only one seat - Lowe - recorded a performance in bottom quintile which includes residuals smaller than minus 4.9 percent. Other trends were as follows:

Labor's performances in the major provincial city coastal seats based on Newcastle continued to be outstanding in 1977, as did performances in the western country seats of Riverina and Hume. Performances in the country coastal dairy seats of Cowper and Lyne were an improvement on previous elections, but were still down in relative terms to the rest of the state.

In Sydney, Labor's performances in the north-western and mid-western suburban seats continued to be below predicted levels, while the safe Labor inner-suburban seat of Sydney provided an excellent result.

In the ACT, the Fraser result was excellent, while the Canberra result was comparatively poor.

Victoria: Rural performances in the eastern country seats were below predicted levels, while those in the western country seats were up to standard.

In Melbourne, the performances were remarkably close to the predicted levels in almost all seats, while Labor received

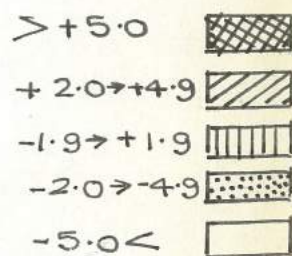
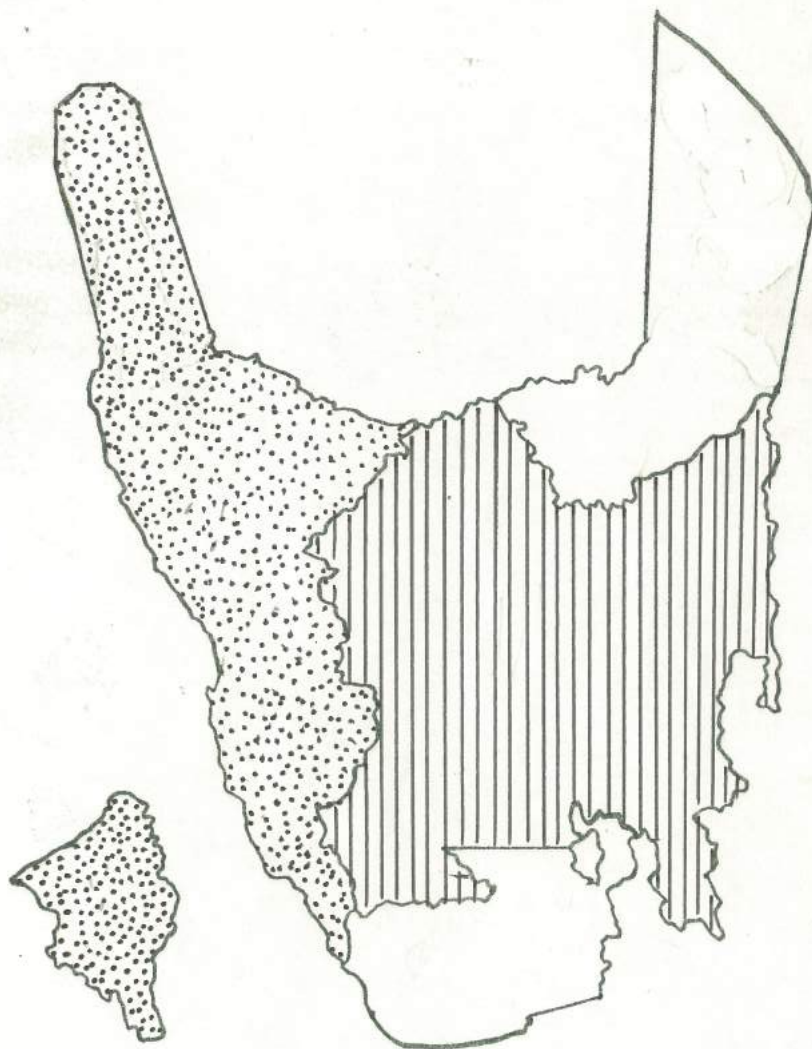
generally excellent results in the important eastern suburbs and outer-northern suburbs marginal seats. In summary this was an excellent result for Victoria.

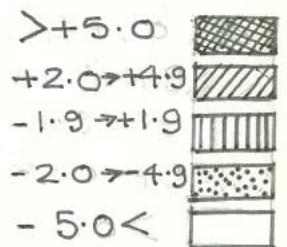
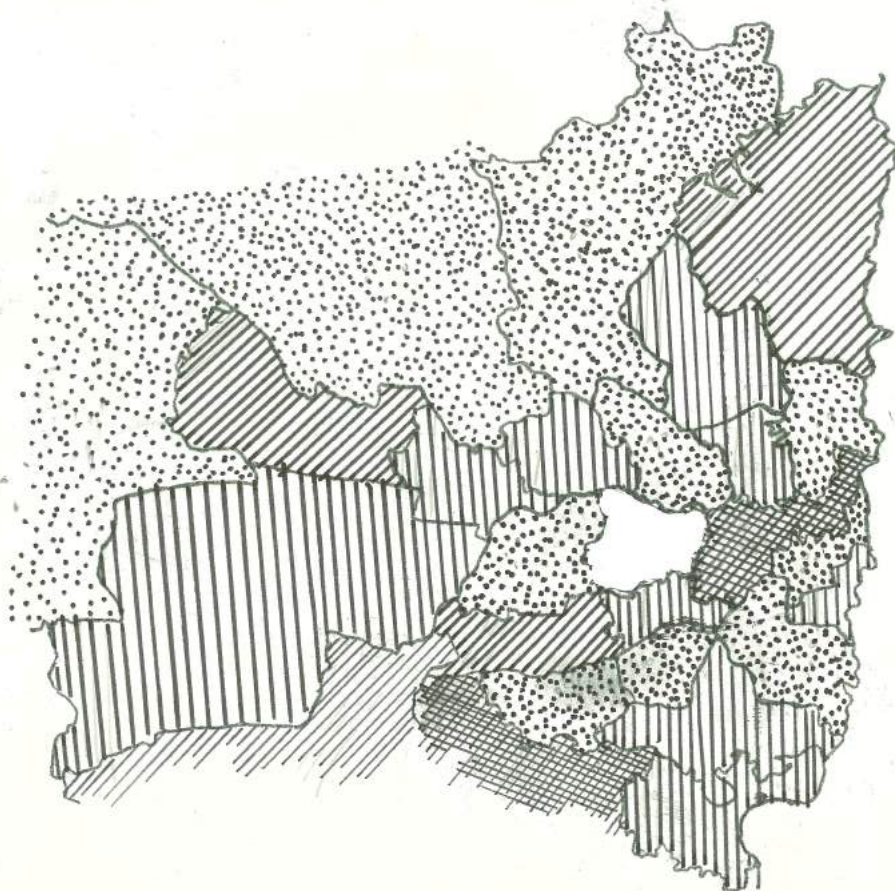
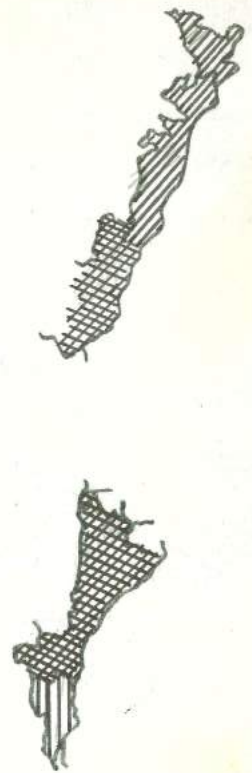
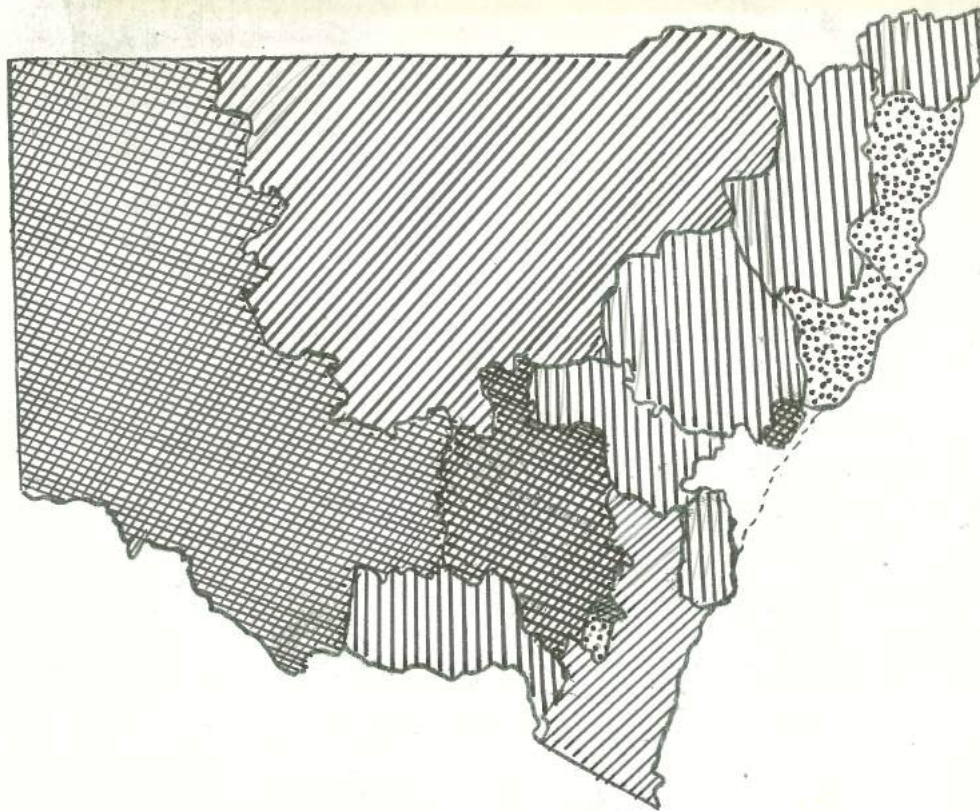
Queensland: The results in the country seats of Leichhardt and Capricornia were excellent, while the performances in the mid-northern seats of Kennedy, Dawson and Herbert were poor. The coastal seats to the north and south of Brisbane (Fisher and McPherson) were below par, while in Brisbane the residuals in the northern suburbs seats of Petrie and Lilley and the southern suburbs seat of Moreton continued to favour the non-Labor parties.

South Australia: Performances in all country seats were close to predicted levels, while in Adelaide, the areas of historical underperformance - Adelaide and Sturt - returned to the centre quintile. The western suburbs continued to favour Labor, although Port Adelaide in 1977 slipped back a little.

Western Australia: All the Western Australian results - in the city and the country were very close to predicted levels. The southern industrial suburbs of Perth continued to display moderately-strong pro-Labor bias.

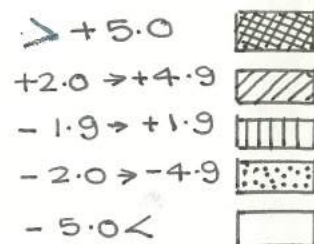
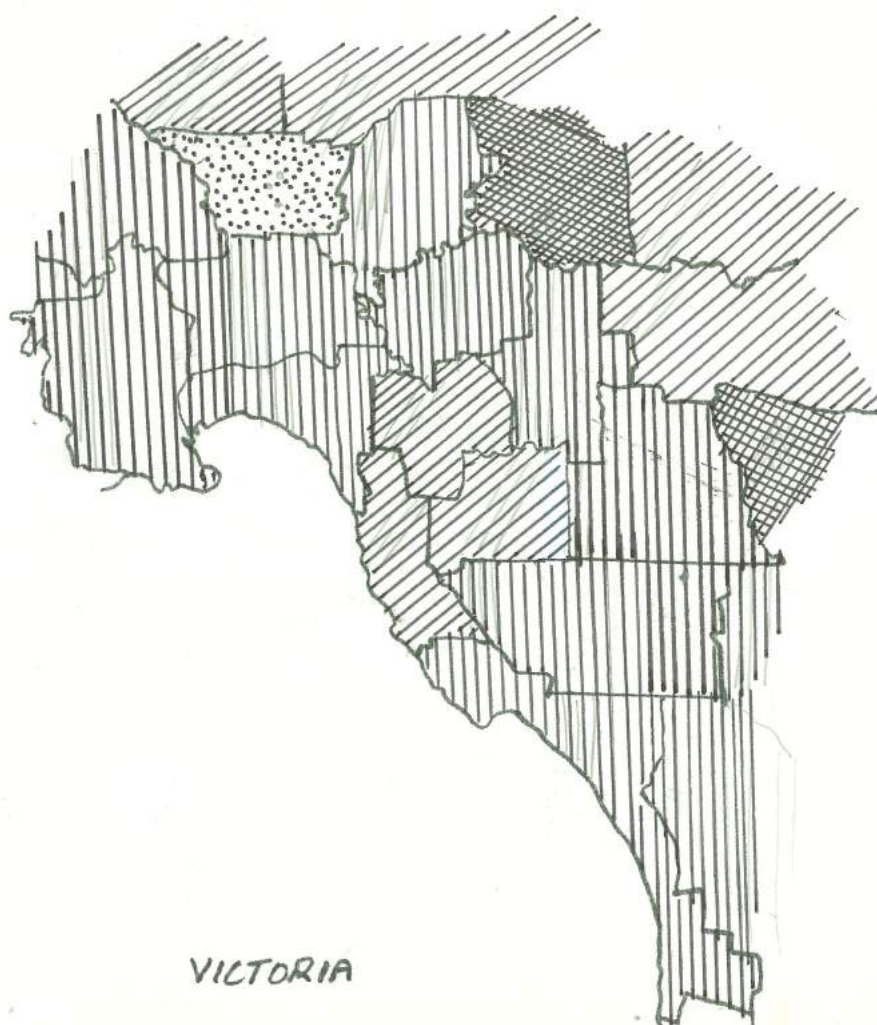
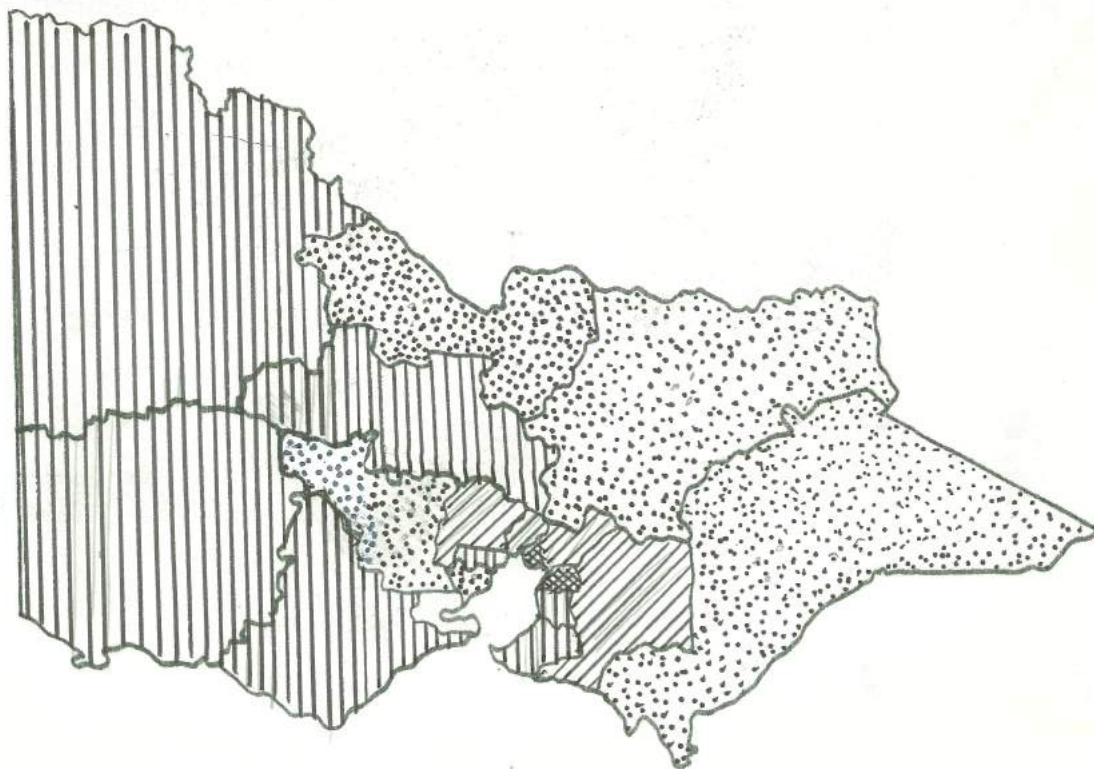
Tasmania: The results were generally poor for Labor in 1977. The residuals for the northern seat of Bass and the southern seat of Franklin were two of the lowest in the nation for 1977 and only Wilmot and Denison recorded acceptable levels of performance.



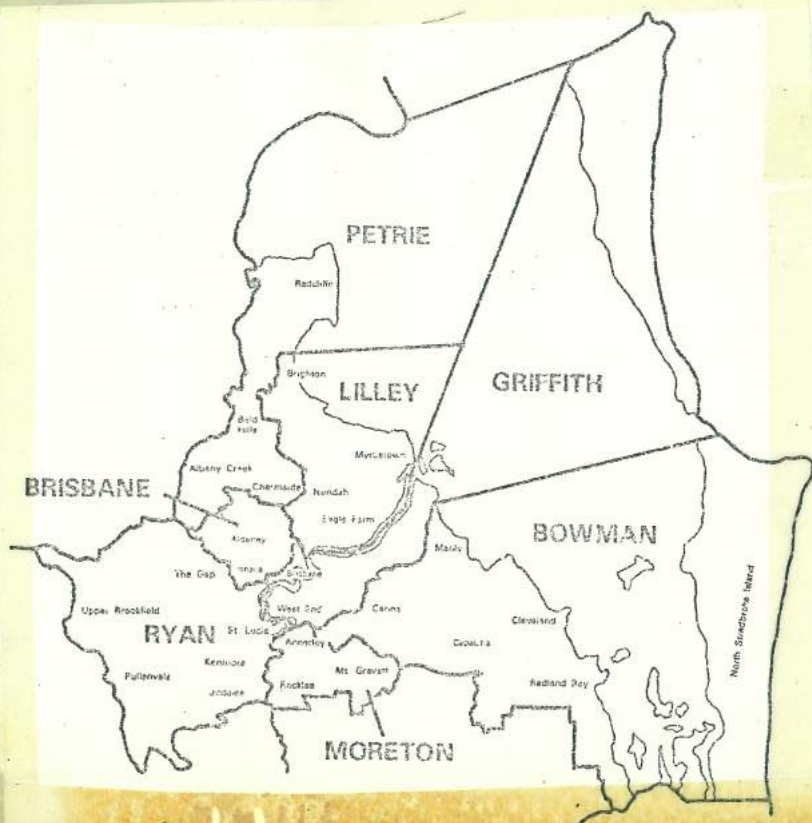
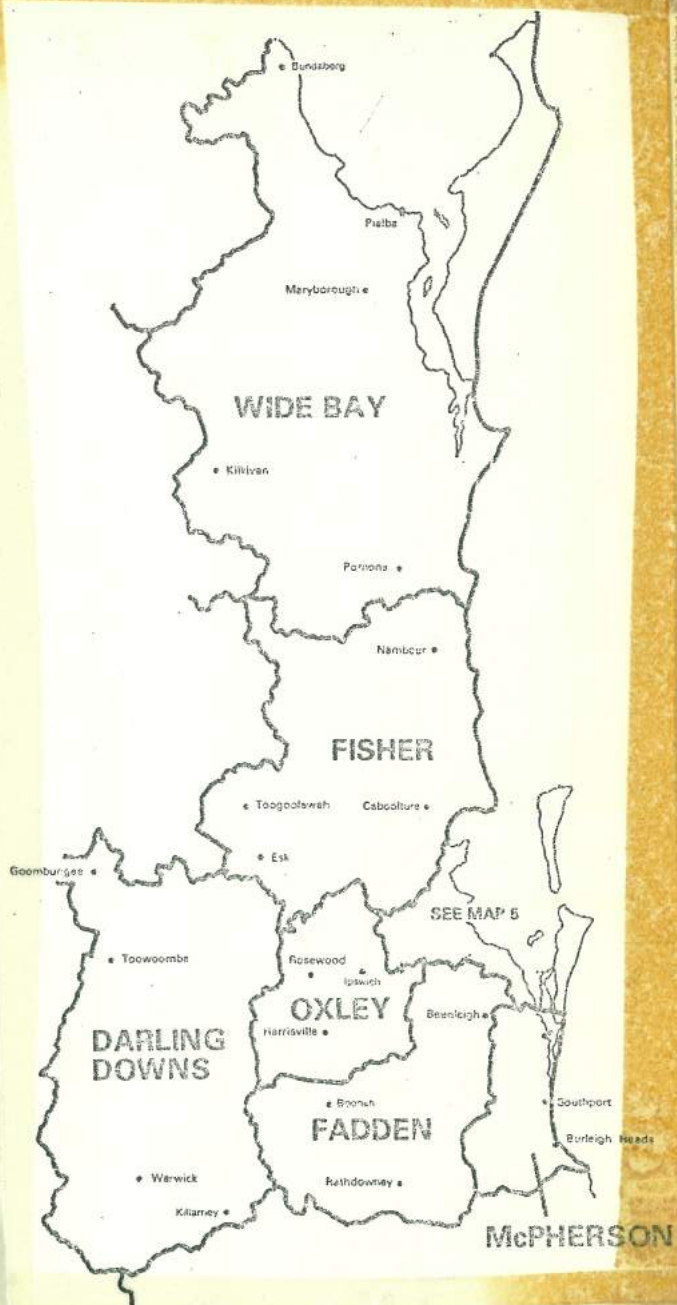
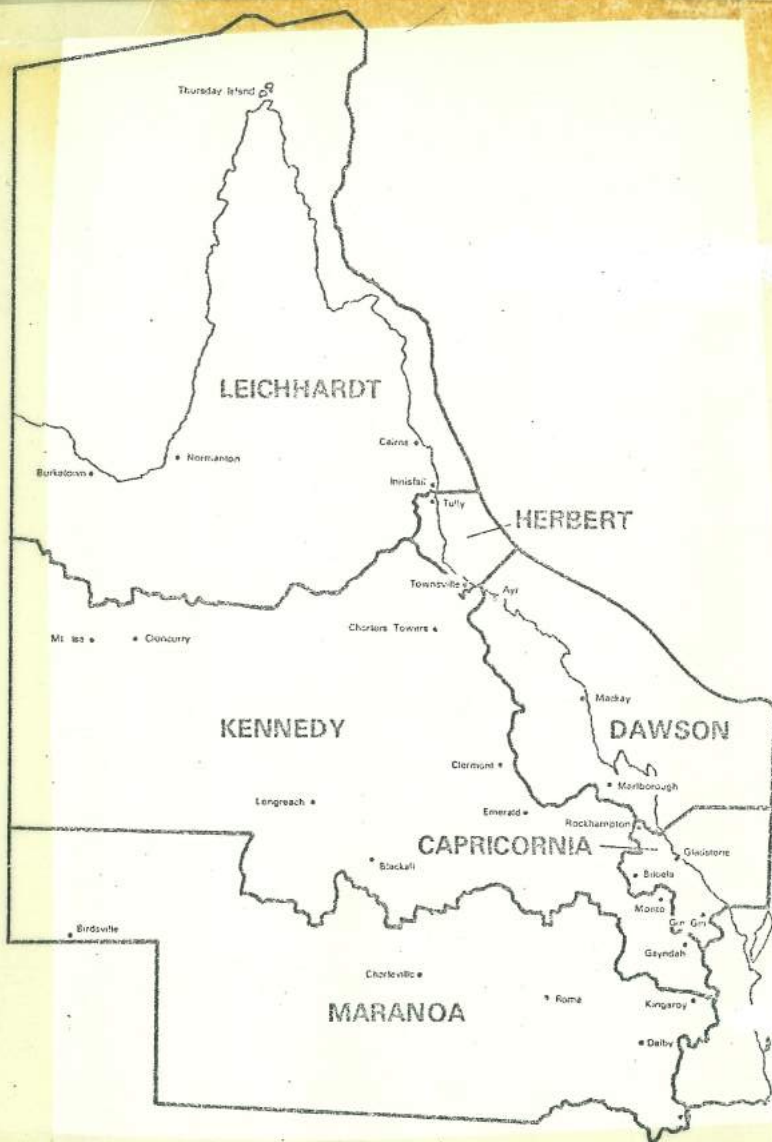


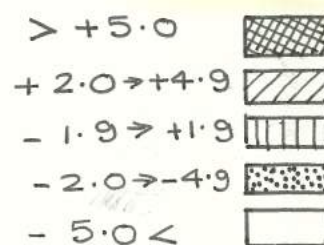
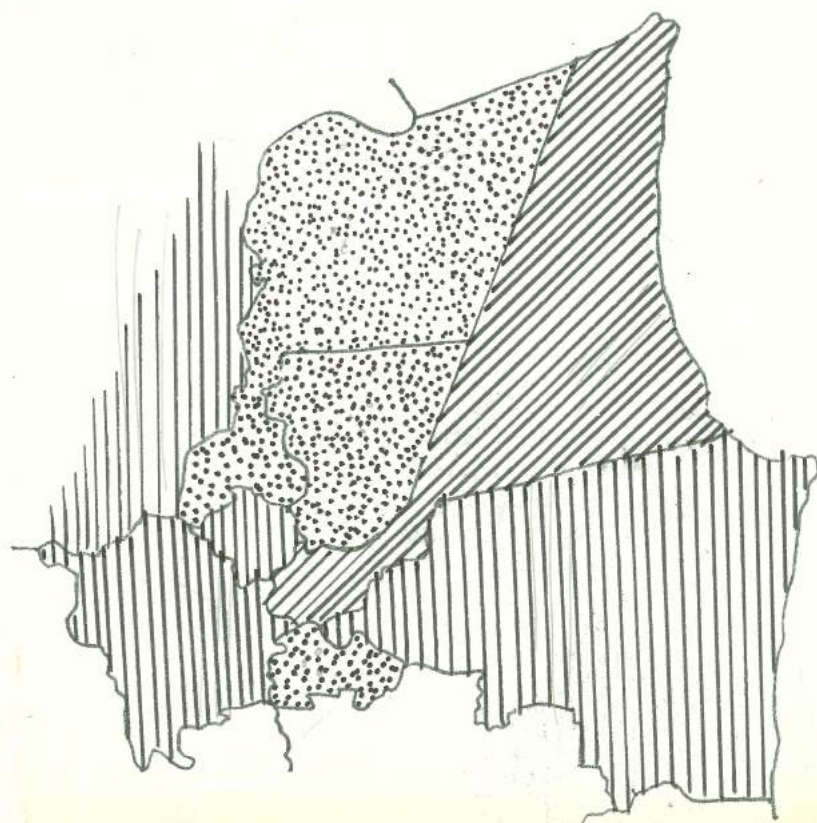
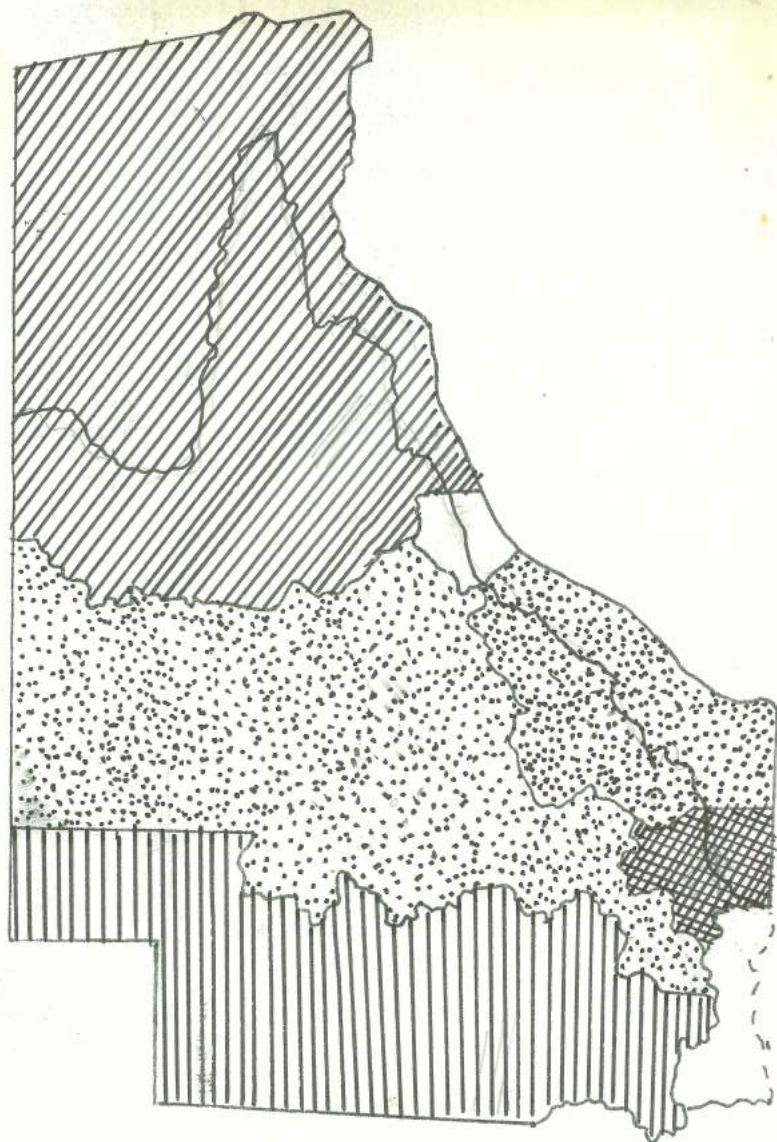
MAP 4.1
1977 ZPP
RESIDUALS

NEW SOUTH WALES + ACT

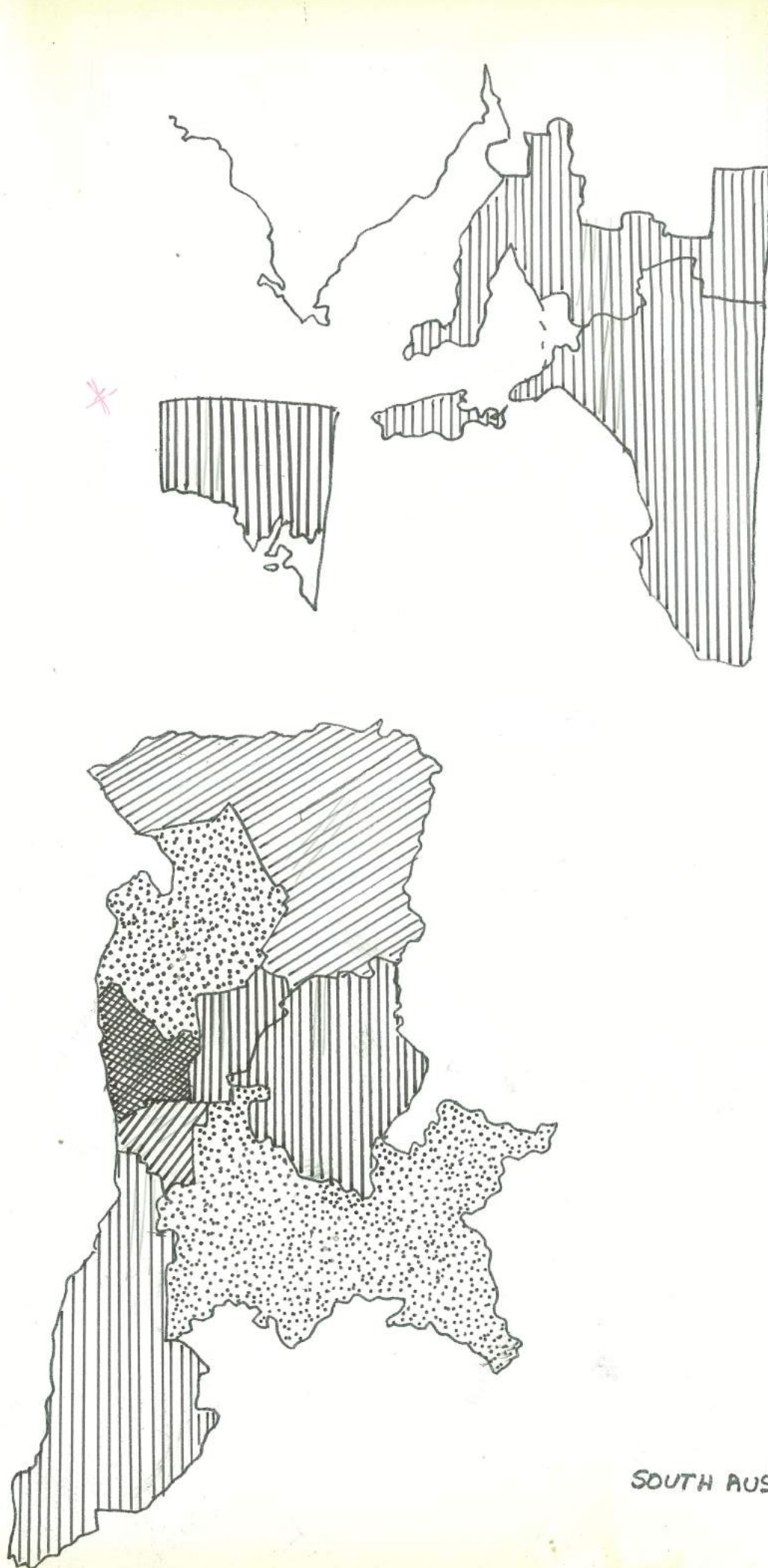


VICTORIA



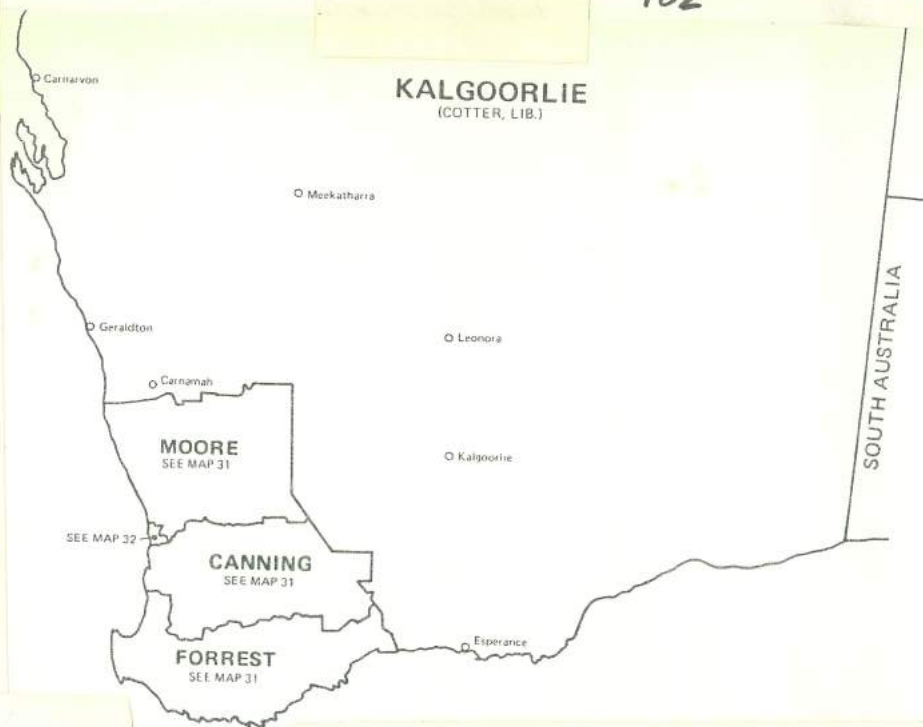


QUEENSLAND



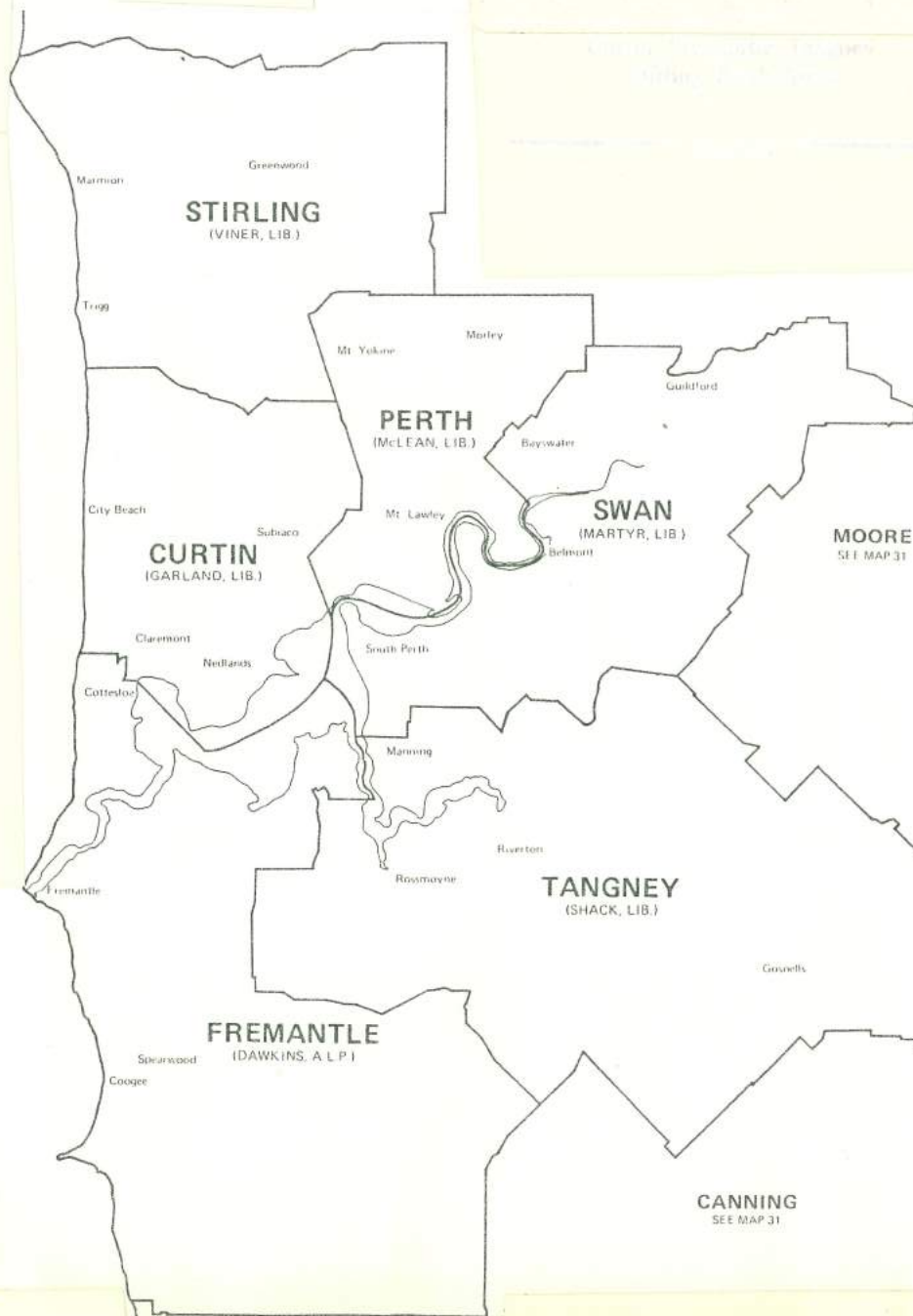
KALGOORLIE

(COTTER, LIB.)



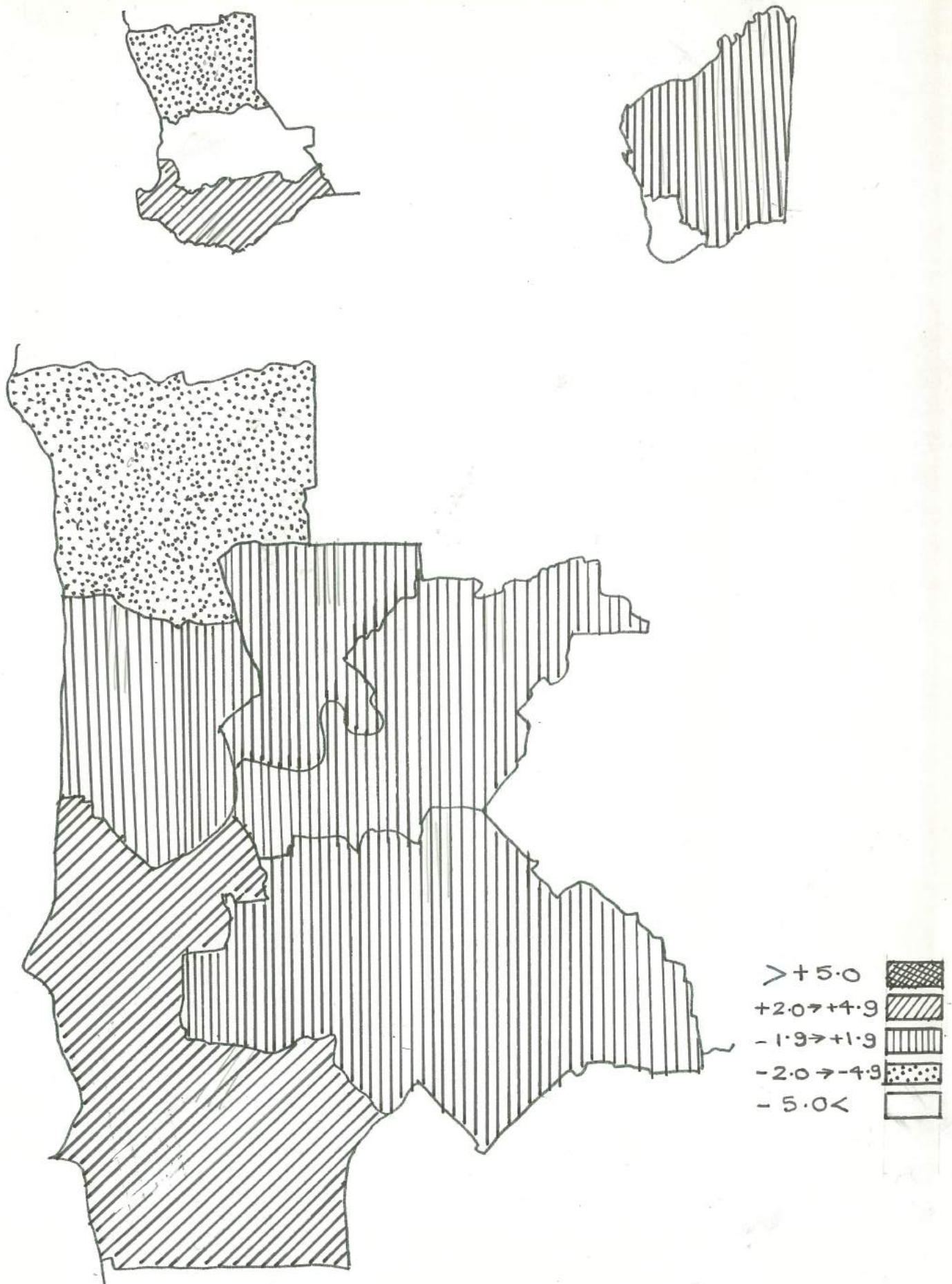
STIRLING

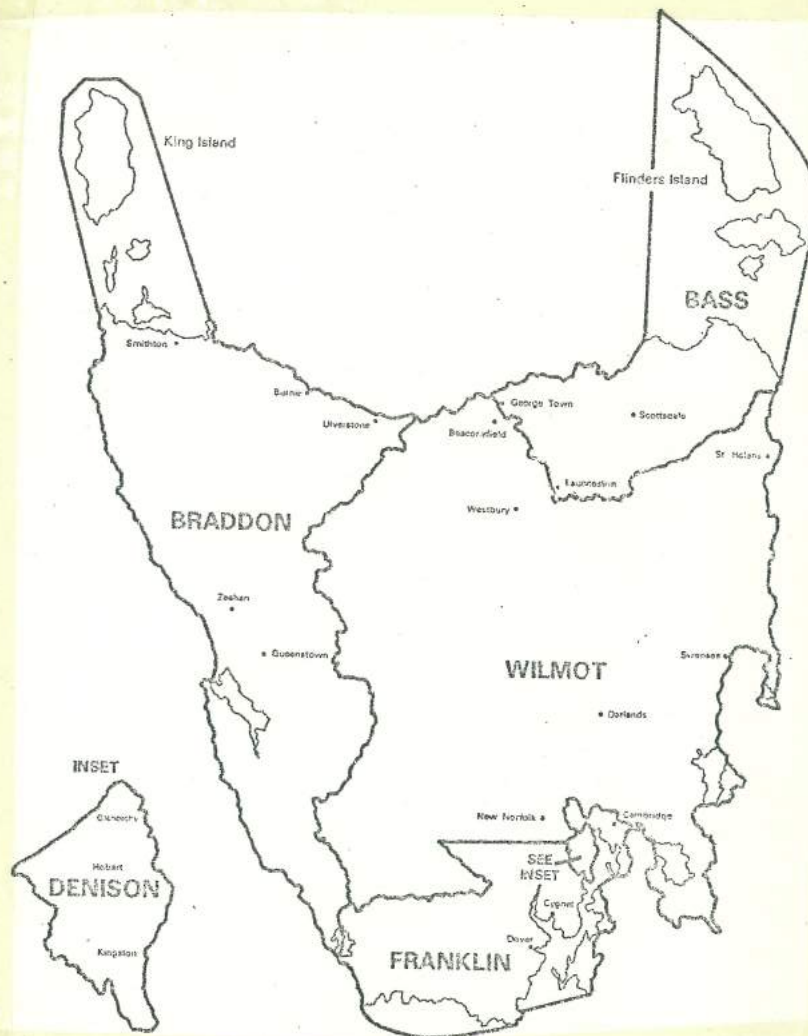
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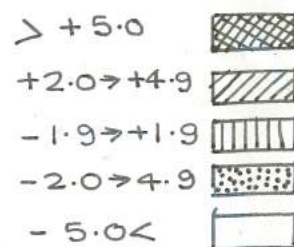
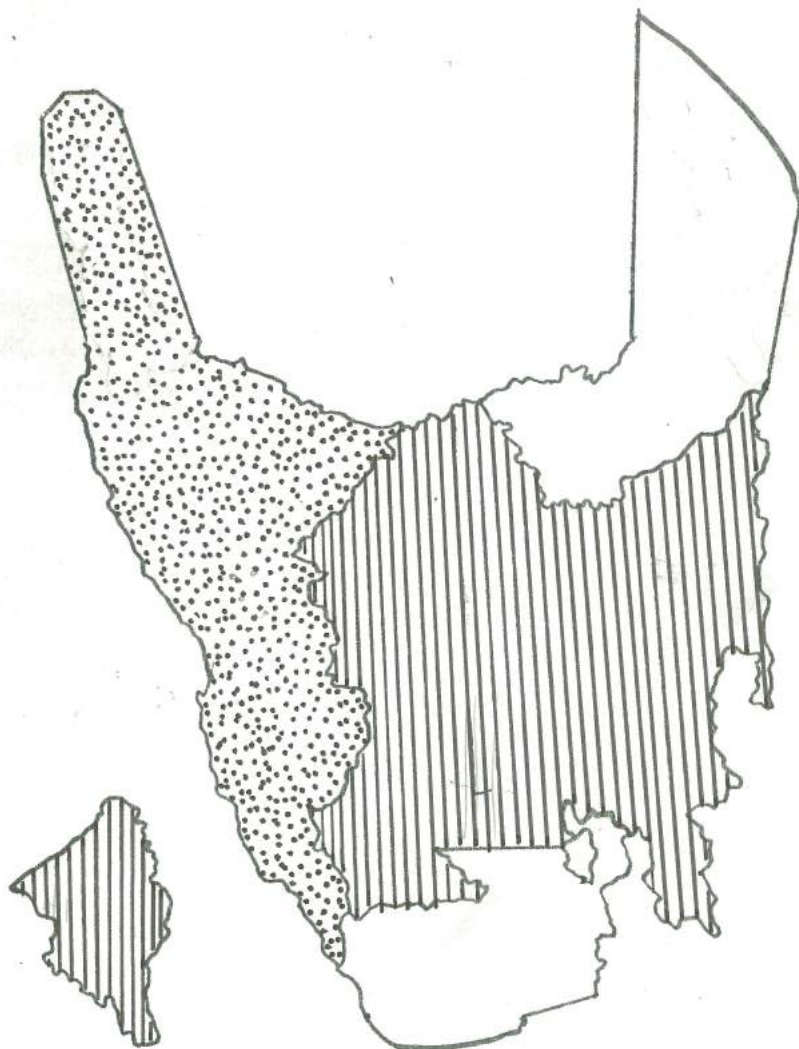


WESTERN

AUSTRALIA - 1977







V140 - 1980 2PP ALP VOTE

The 1977-80 swing was extremely uniform. Demographic correlations with the swing were therefore low and involved very little change in the 1980 demographic alignments when compared to the 1977 results.

Most figures and tables in the current section are in fact often almost identical with those in the preceding 1977 section, a section which has already been discussed in some detail. I will therefore present the current results without accompanying discussion, unless it seems warranted because of changes brought about by the 1977-80 swing.

Table 4.15: Top 26 demographic correlations with the 1980 vote.
Comment: No change on 1977.

Figure 4.14: Correlations by age and sex with the 1980 vote.
Comment: No change on 1977.

Figure 4.15: Correlations by occupational class and sex with the 1980 vote.

Comment: The 1977-80 swing produced a small improvement in Labor's vote among female craftsmen, bringing it still closer to the male correlation and continuing the polarisation of working women along class lines, a trend which has been favouring the Labor party since the late sixties.

Figure 4.16: Correlations by individual income and sex with the 1980 vote.

Comment: No change on 1977.

Figure 4.17: Correlations of family income with the 1980 vote.

Comment: The 1980 family income-vote relationship is a marginally-more polarised version of the 1977 correlations, with a decline in support for Labor in 1980 among very low income families (below \$3000) and an increase in support for Labor in 1980 from the high and very high (1976) income families (\$9000-\$15000).

PEARSON R TABLE

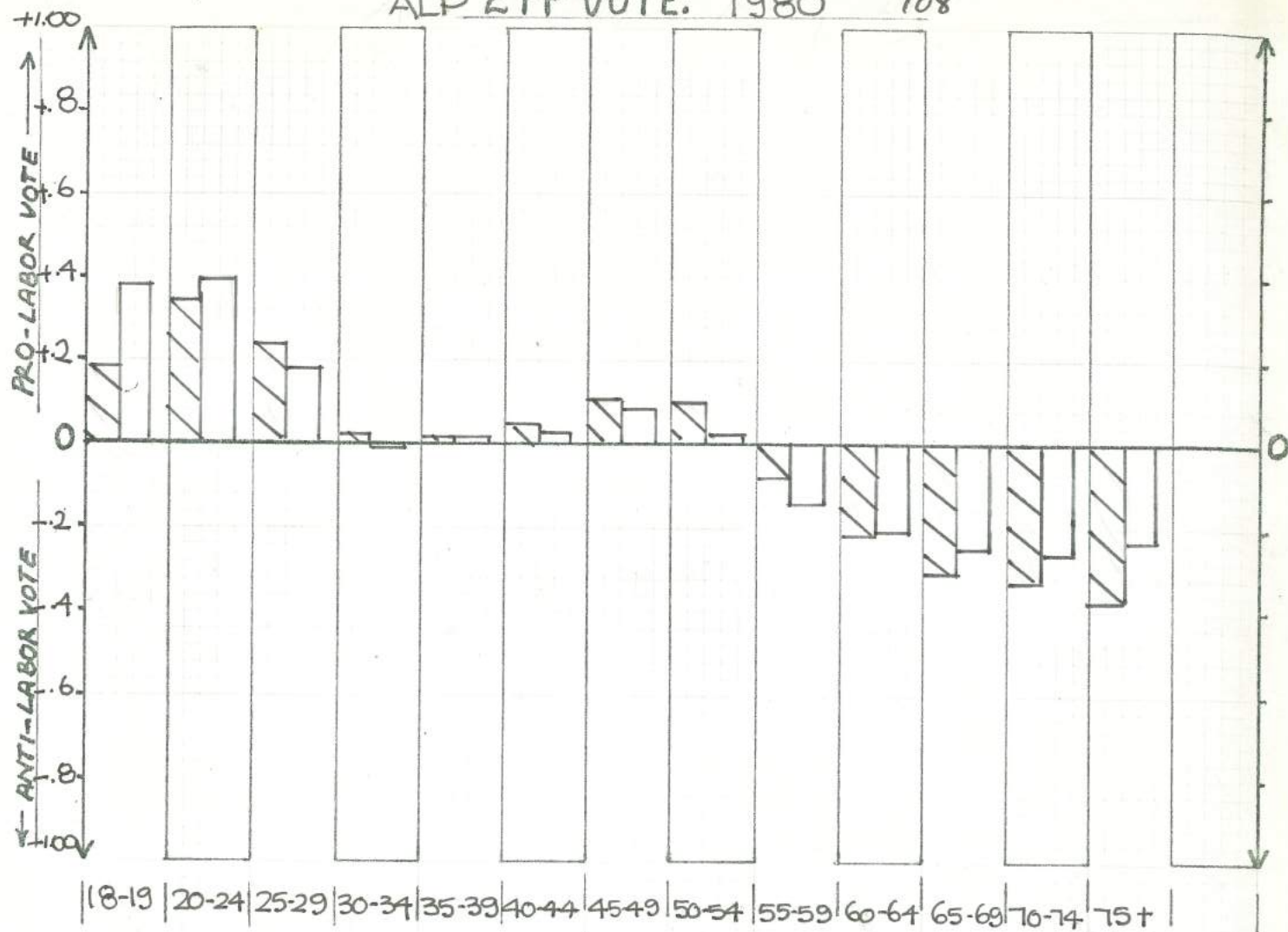
Political Variable - V140 - 1980

A.L.P. 2 PP

| PEARSON R | DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES |
|-----------|--|
| +.80 | V 34 MALES - CRAFTSMEN |
| +.71 | V 61 MALES - INCOME - \$7,000 TO \$8,000 |
| +.70 | V 62 MALES - INCOME - \$8,000 TO \$9,000 |
| +.70 | V 45 FEMALES - CRAFTSMEN |
| +.63 | V 70 FEMALES - INCOME - \$5,000 TO \$6,000 |
| +.56 | V132 EASTERN-EUROPEAN BORN |
| +.55 | V133 SOUTHERN-EUROPEAN BORN |
| +.51 | V 33 MALES - TRANSPORT |
| +.51 | V135 CATHOLIC |
| +.50 | V104 WIDOWS' PENSIONS |
| +.49 | V127 O'SEAS BORN |
| +.47 | V 71 FEMALES - INCOME - \$6,000 TO \$7,000 |
| +.47 | V120 ONE CAR |
| -.45 | V 75 FEMALES - INCOME - \$12,000 TO \$15,000 |
| -.45 | V 57 MALES - INCOME - \$3,000 TO \$4,000 |
| -.45 | V138 UNITING AND LUTHERAN |
| -.46 | V121 TWO CARS |
| -.49 | V128 AUSTRALIAN BORN |
| -.50 | V 42 FEMALES - FARMERS |
| -.51 | V 31 MALES - FARMERS |
| -.53 | V 39 FEMALES - ADMINISTRATIVE |
| -.54 | V 28 MALES - ADMINISTRATIVE |
| -.54 | V 74 FEMALES - INCOME - \$9,000 TO \$12,000 |
| -.58 | V122 THREE CARS |
| -.59 | V 79 DIPLOMA |
| -.65 | V 49 EMPLOYER/SELF-EMPLOYED |

TABLE 4.15

ALP 2 PP VOTE: 1980 108



2PP SWING:

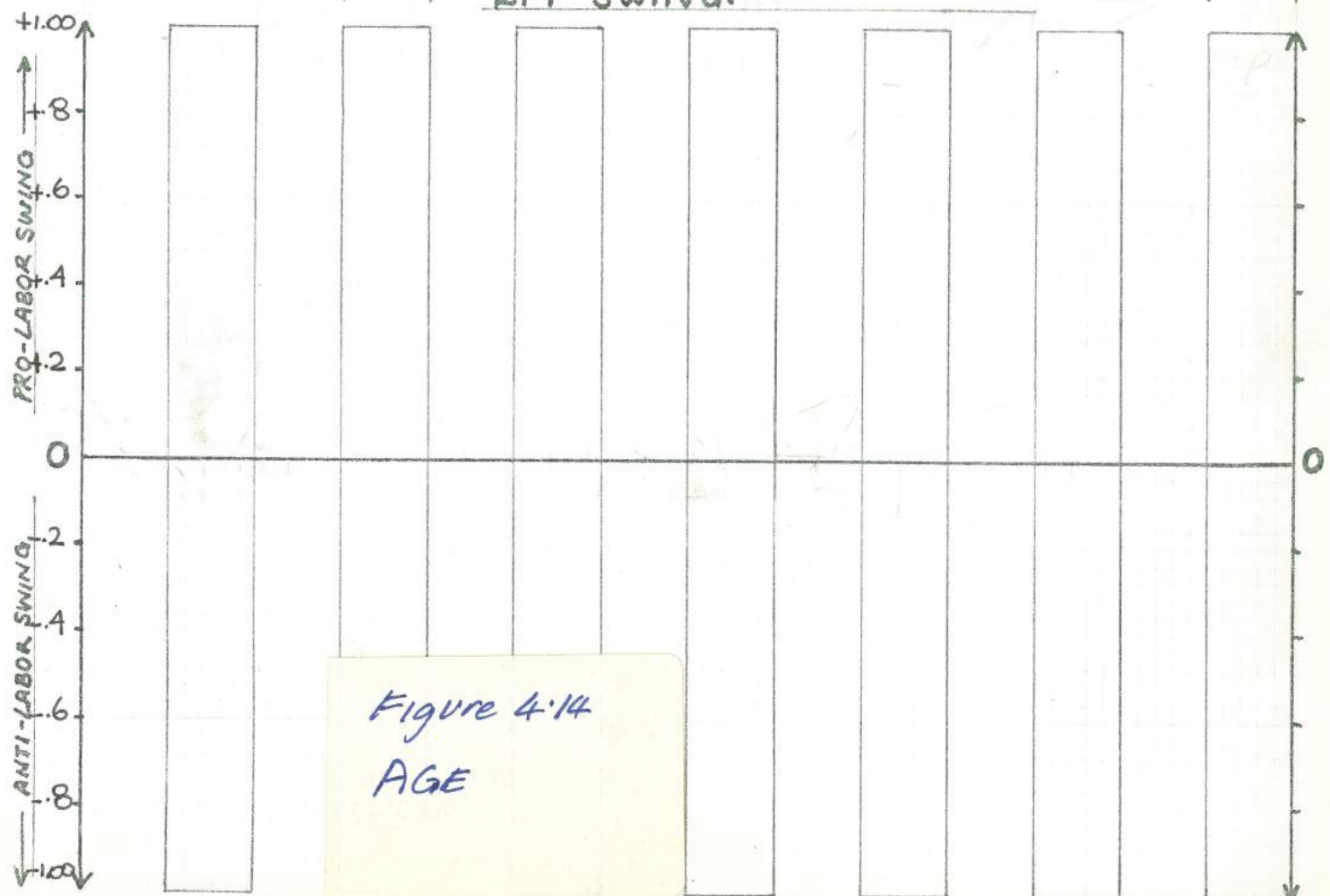
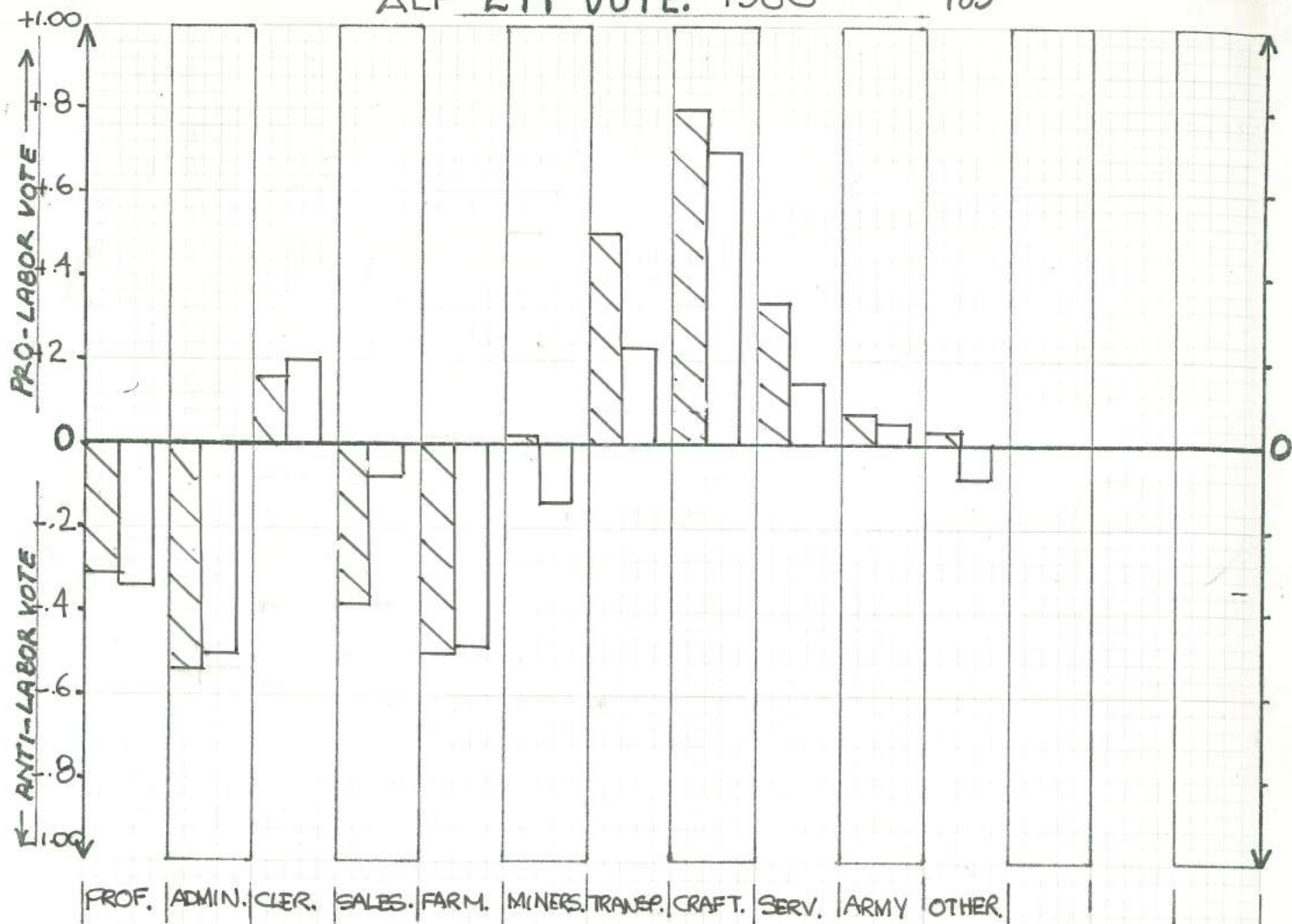


Figure 4.14
AGE



2PP SWING:

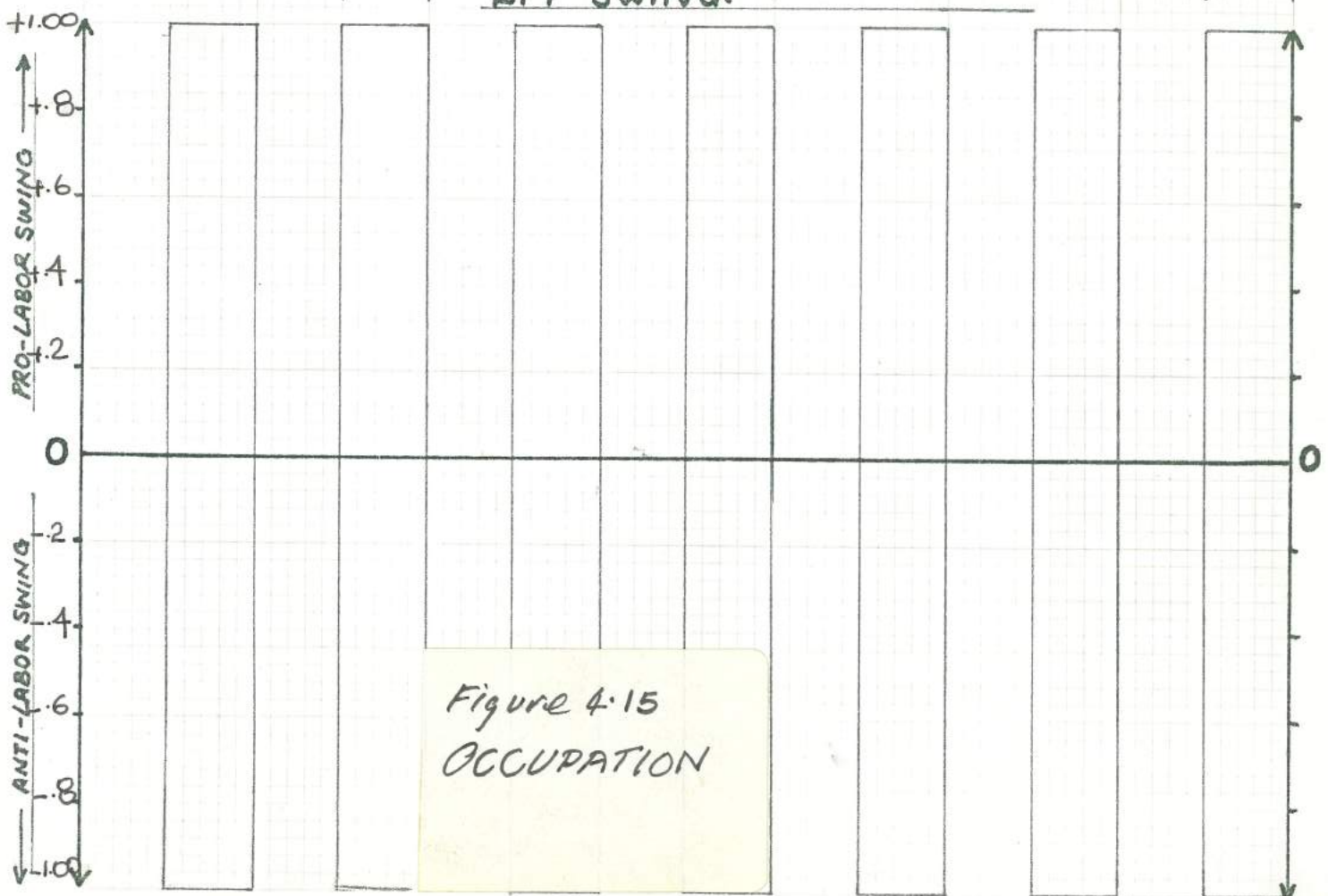
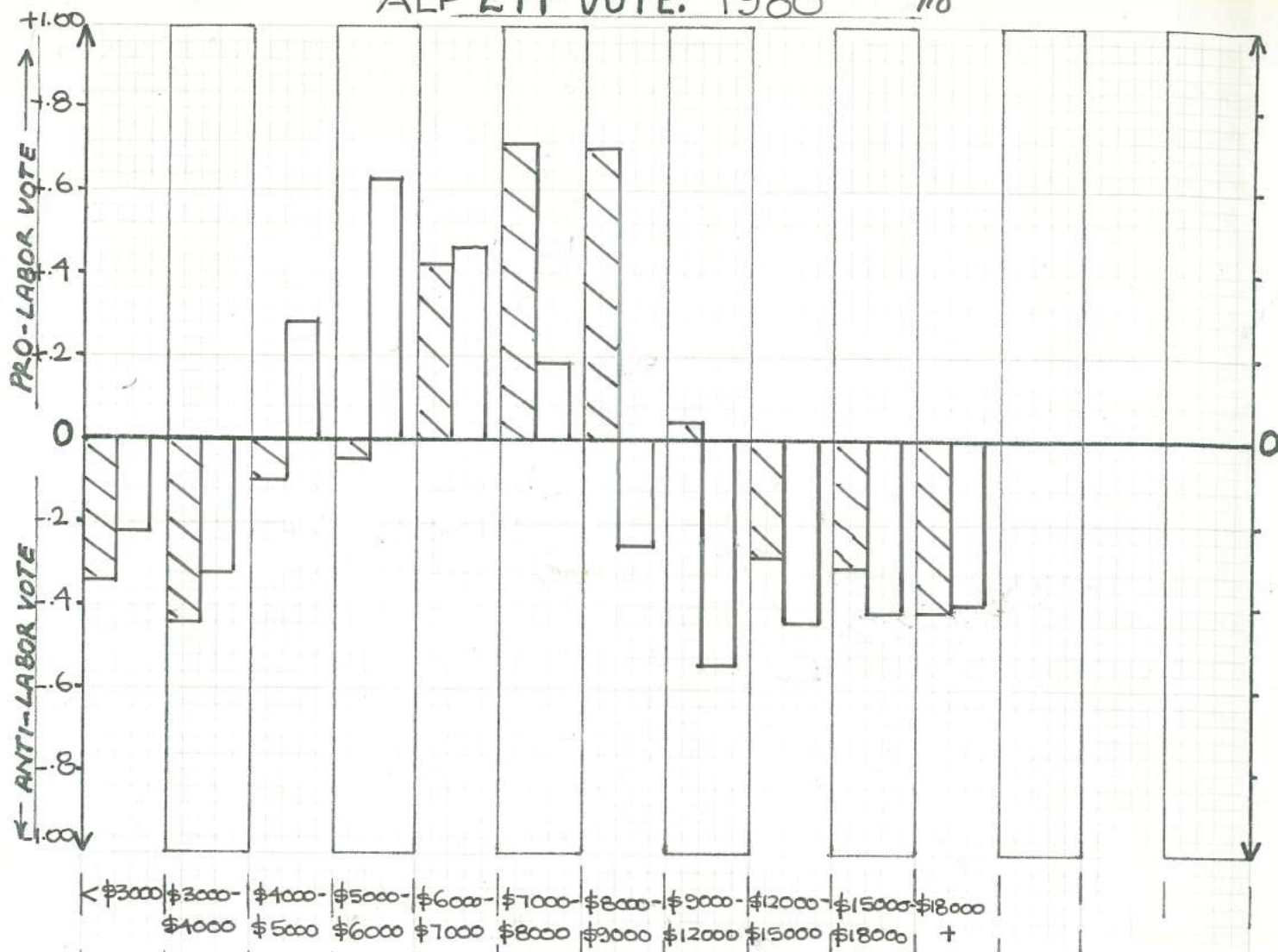


Figure 4.15
OCCUPATION



2PP SWING:

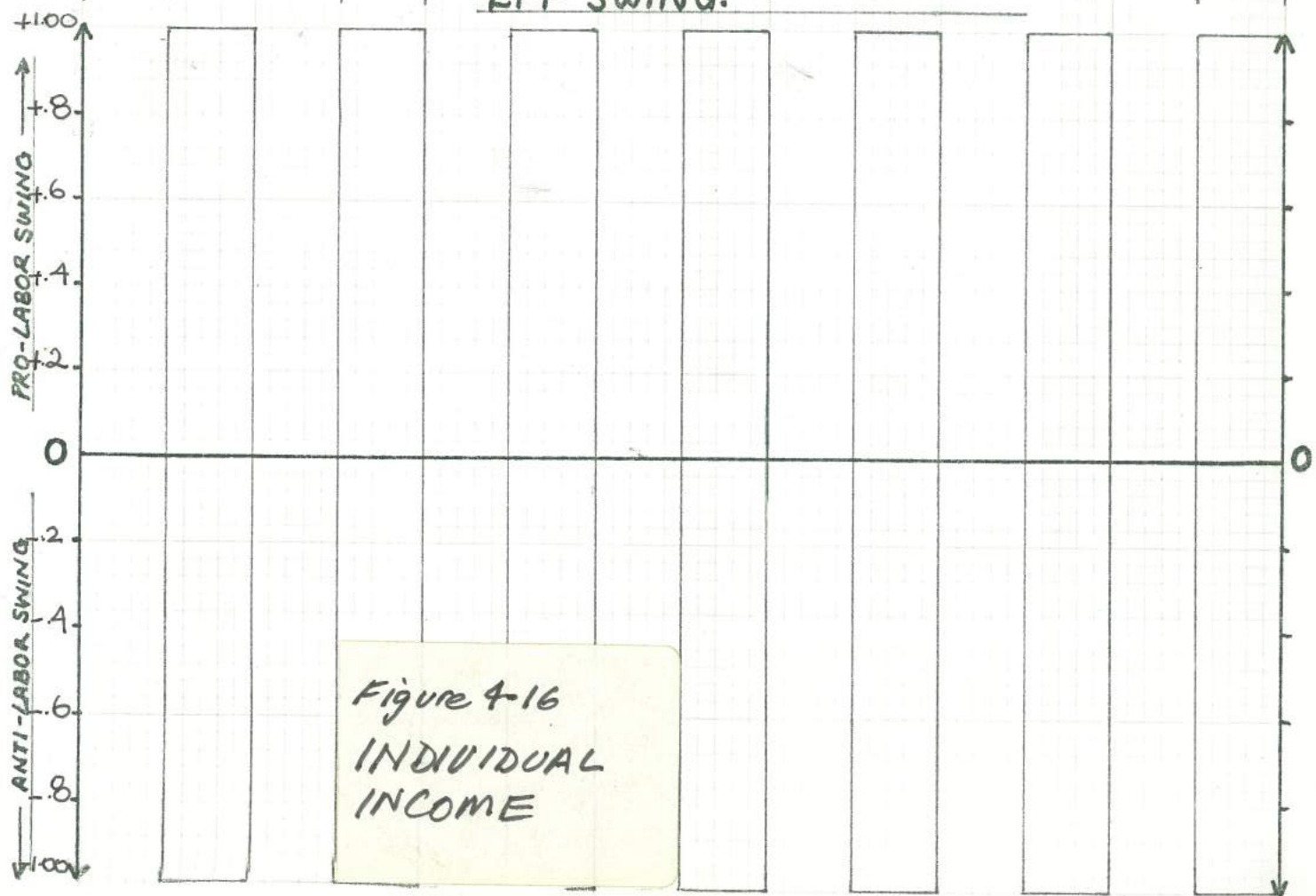
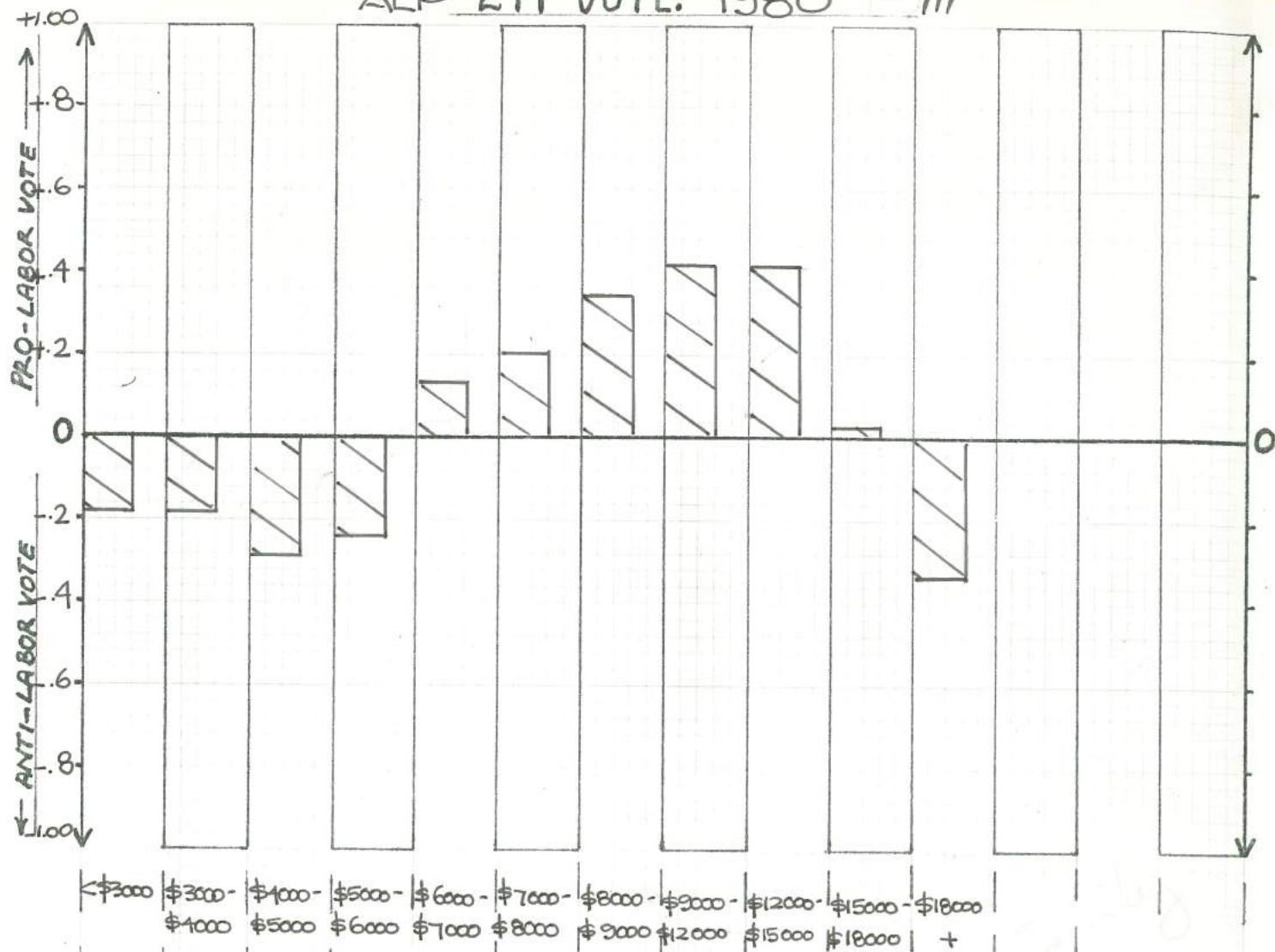


Figure 4-16
INDIVIDUAL
INCOME

ALP 2 PP VOTE: 1980 III



2PP SWING:

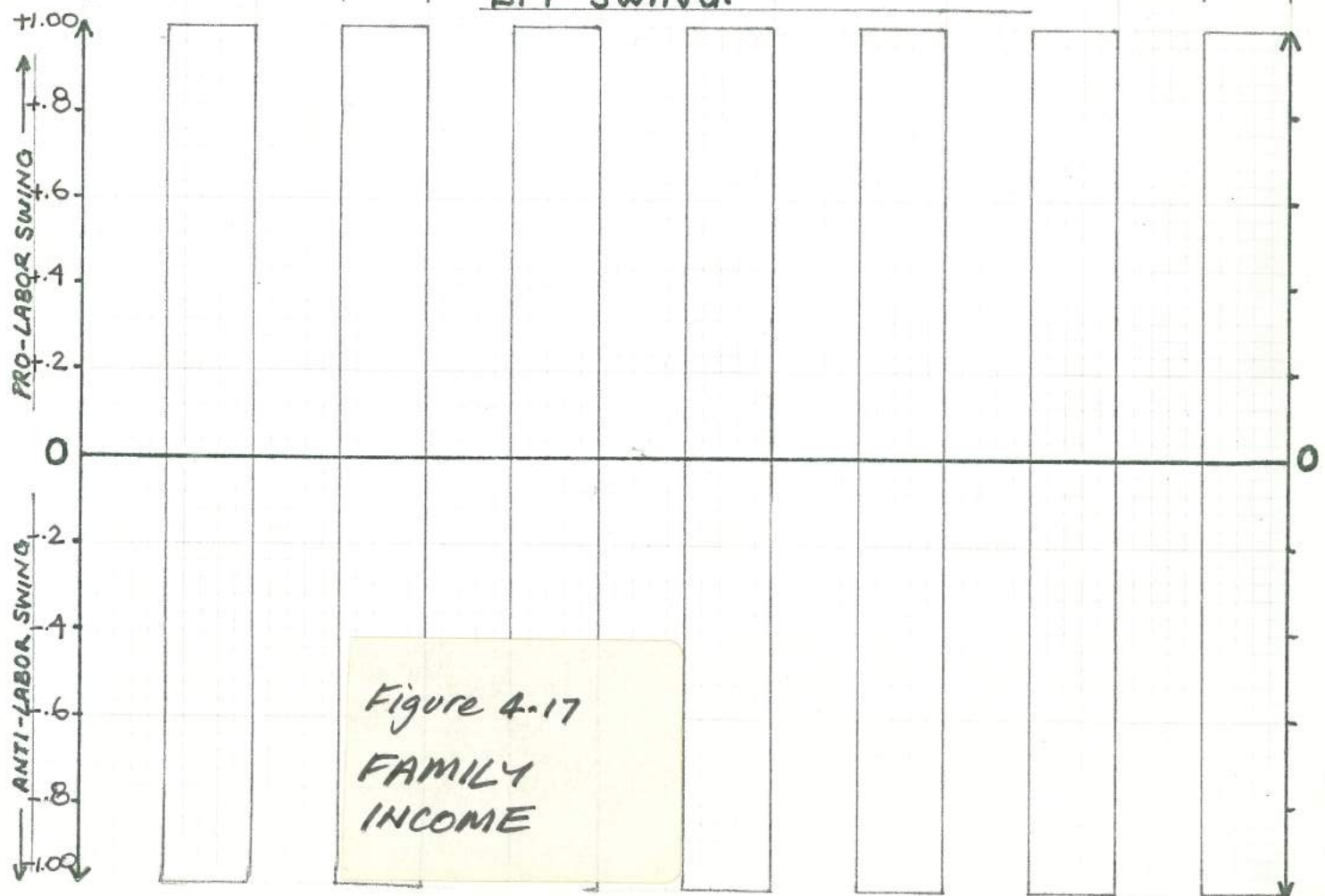


Figure 4.17
FAMILY
INCOME

Figure 4.18: Correlations of workforce and qualifications variables with the 1980 vote.

Comment: The correlations are very similar to those for 1977, except that Labor lost marginal support from ex-married female workers, persons working less than 35 hours a week, university graduates and persons with technical qualifications, and gained marginal support from married female workers (continuing the long-run trend in Labor's favour mentioned above), Diplomates and tradesmen.

Figure 4.19: Correlations of pensioner and family-type variables with the 1980 vote.

Comment: All correlations are virtually identical with those for 1977, except for a marginal improvement in Labor's position among ever-married women with three children.

Figure 4.20: Correlations between selected social and transport variables and the 1980 vote.

Comment: No change on the 1977 figure, except that Labor in 1977-80 gained marginal support from households with two cars.

Figure 4.21: Correlations between housing/tenancy/mortgage/mobility variables and the 1980 vote.

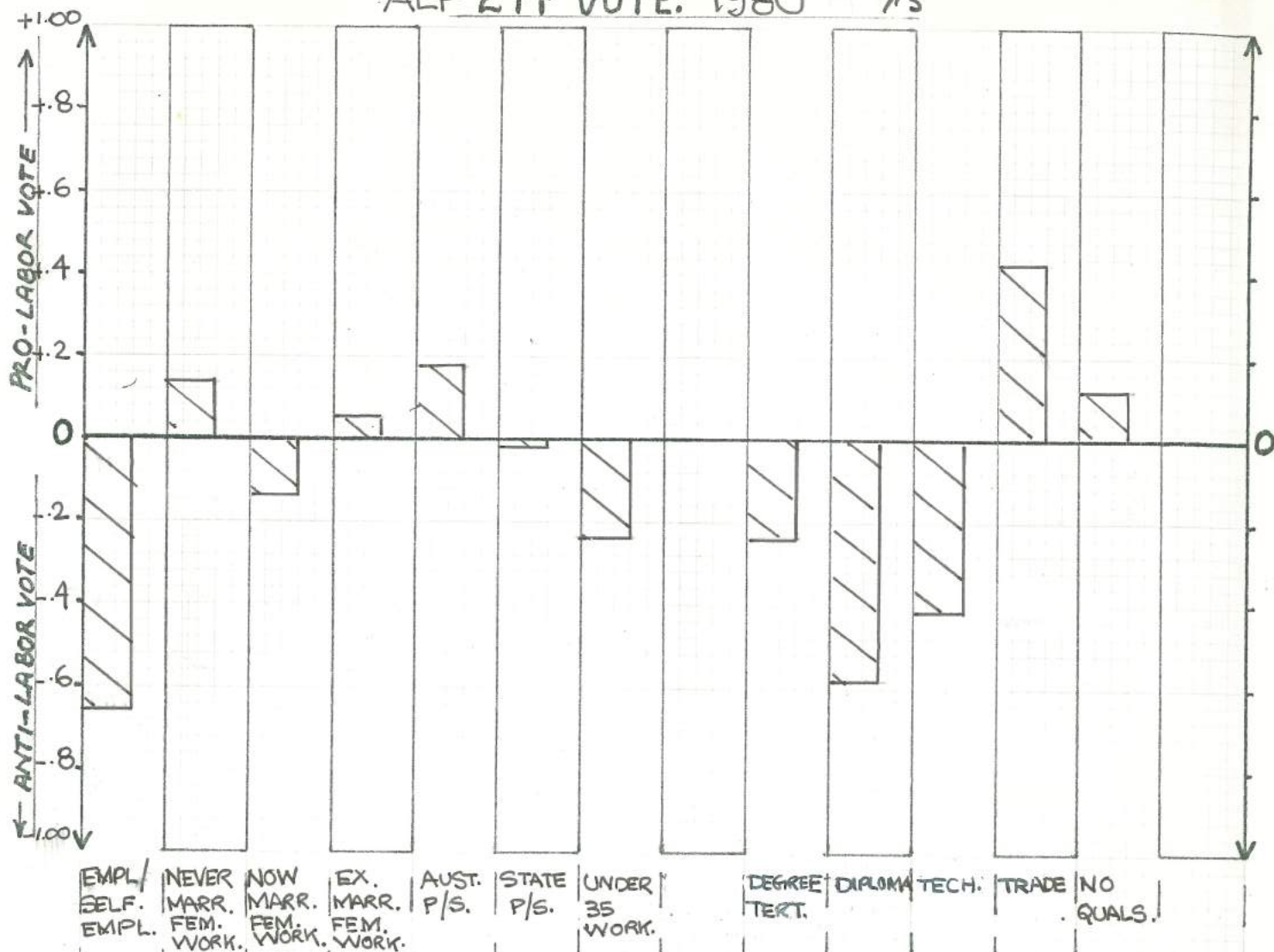
Comment: Labor in 1977-80 gained some extra support from home-buyers, especially those paying off mortgages at the rate of \$100 to \$149 a month (about \$150 to \$220 a month on today's CPI figures). Labor also lost some support in 1977-80 from home-buyers making monthly mortgage payments of \$200 or more (\$3000-plus on today's CPI figures). There were no other changes of consequence in the 1980 figure.

Figure 4.22: Correlations between ethnic and religious variables and the 1980 vote.

Comment: There was a marginal polarisation of already existing patterns of ethnic and religious support in 1977-80.

Table 4.16: Multiple Regression table for the 1980 vote.

Comment: The 1980 regression table explained 89.4 percent of



2PP SWING:

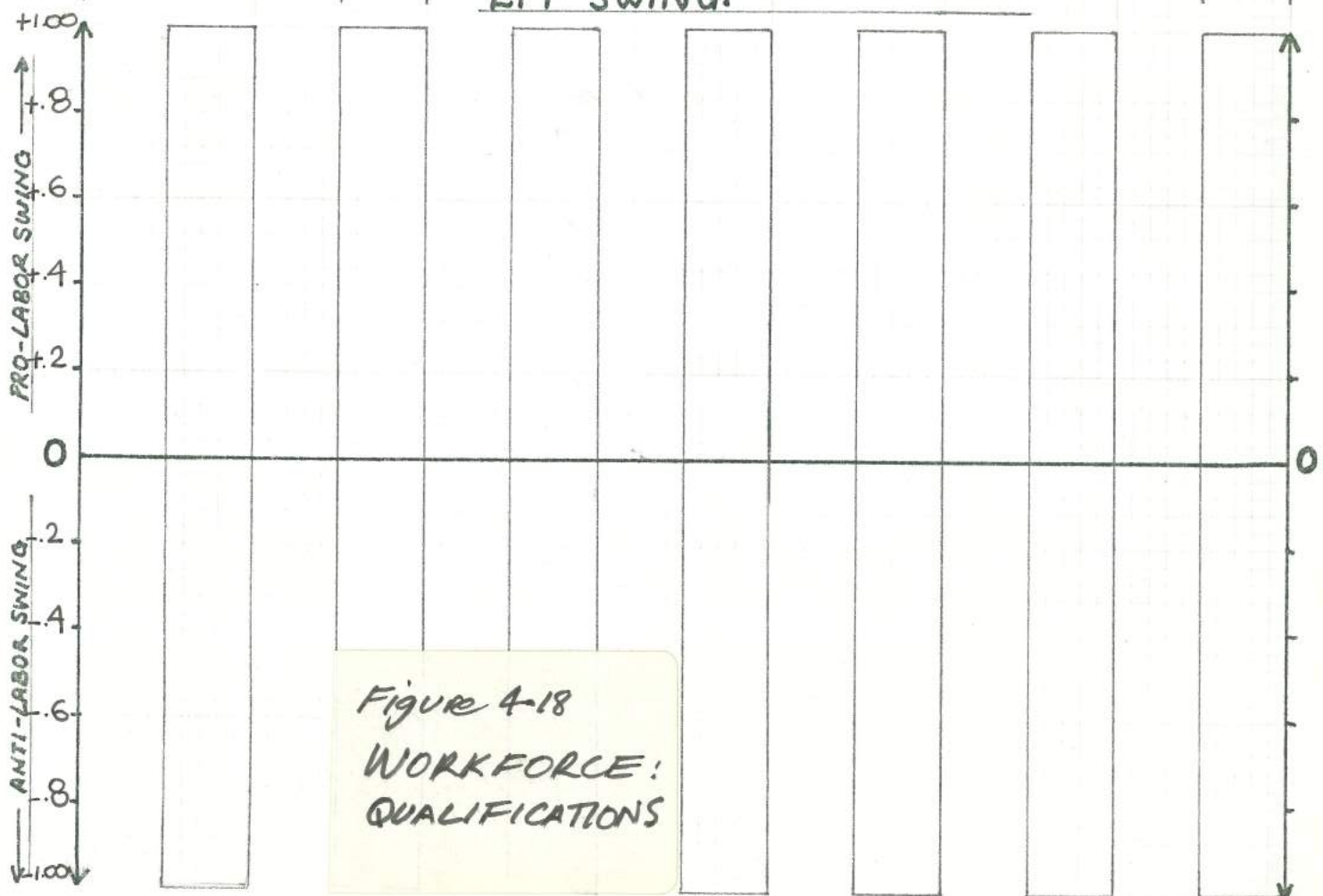
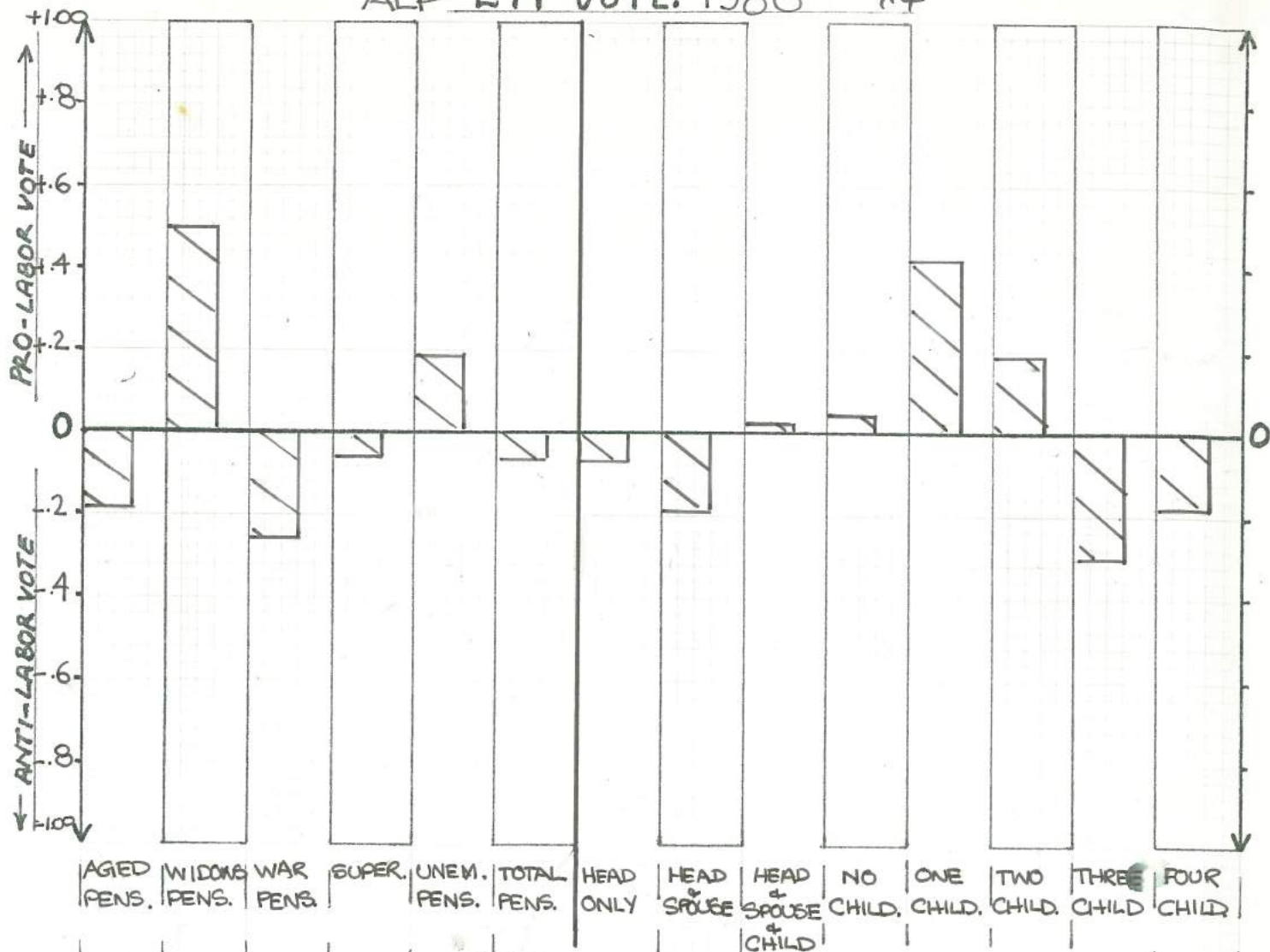


Figure 4-18
WORKFORCE:
QUALIFICATIONS

ALP 2PP VOTE: 1980 114



2PP SWING:

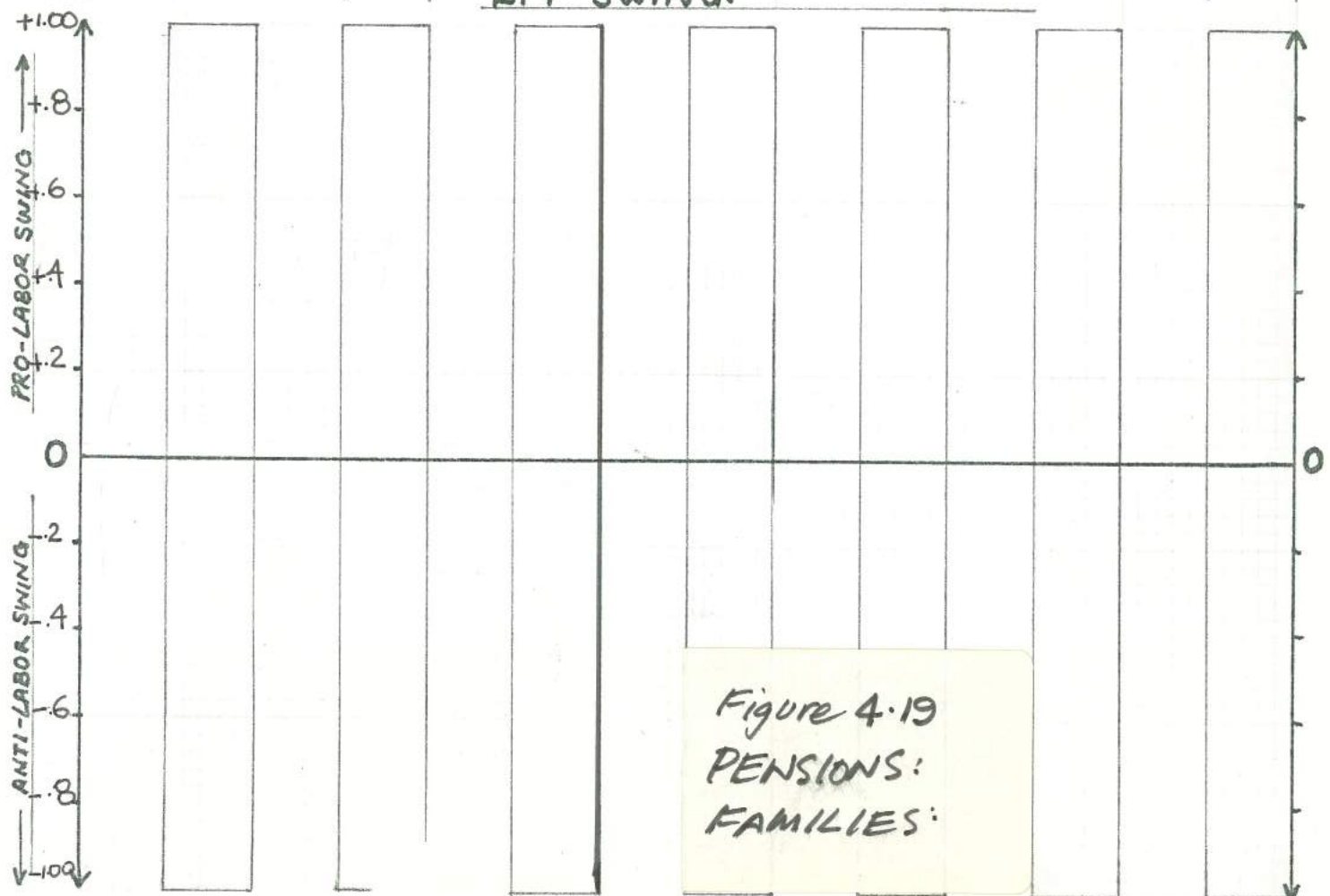
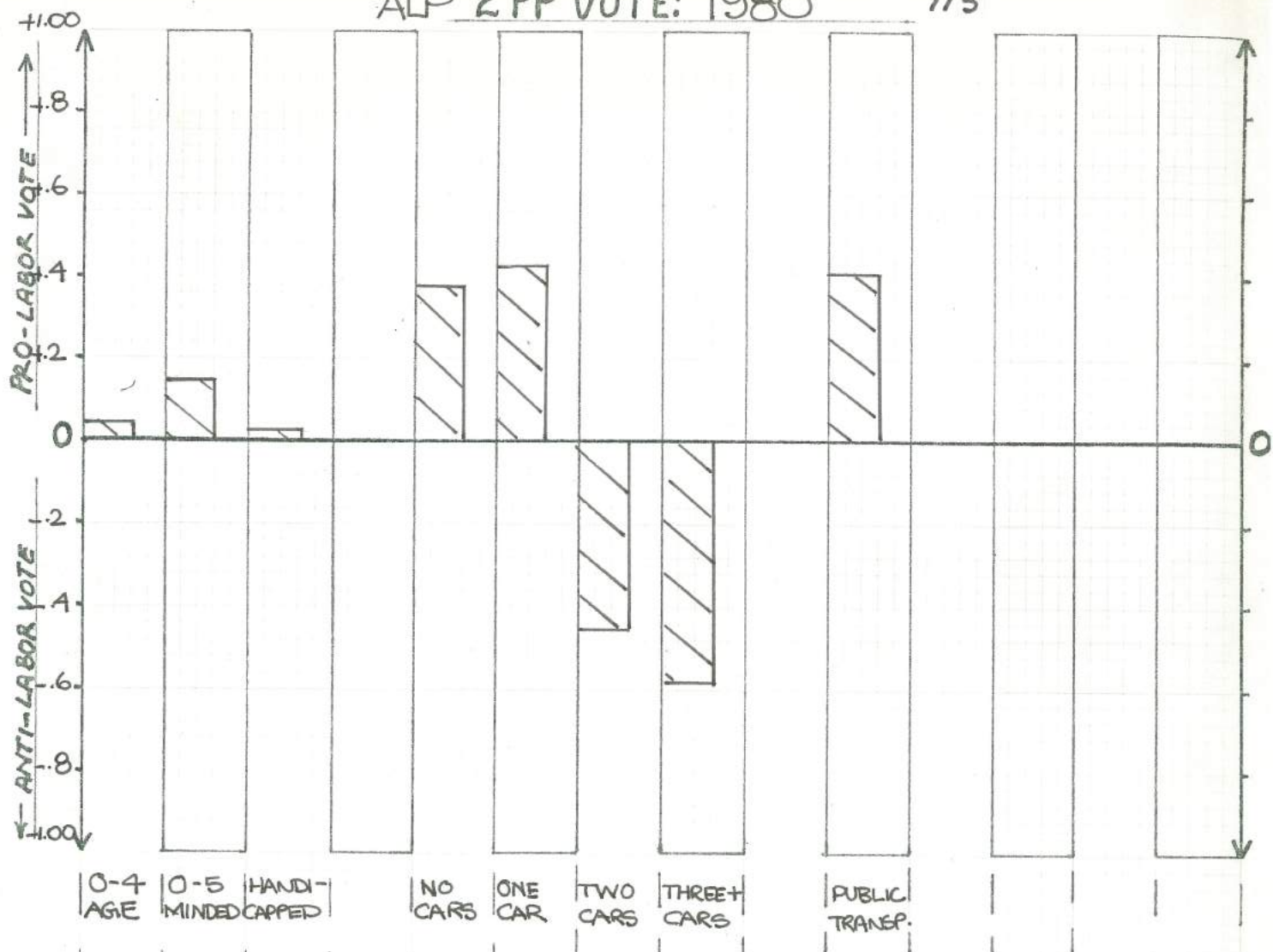


Figure 4.19
PENSIONS:
FAMILIES:



2PP SWING:

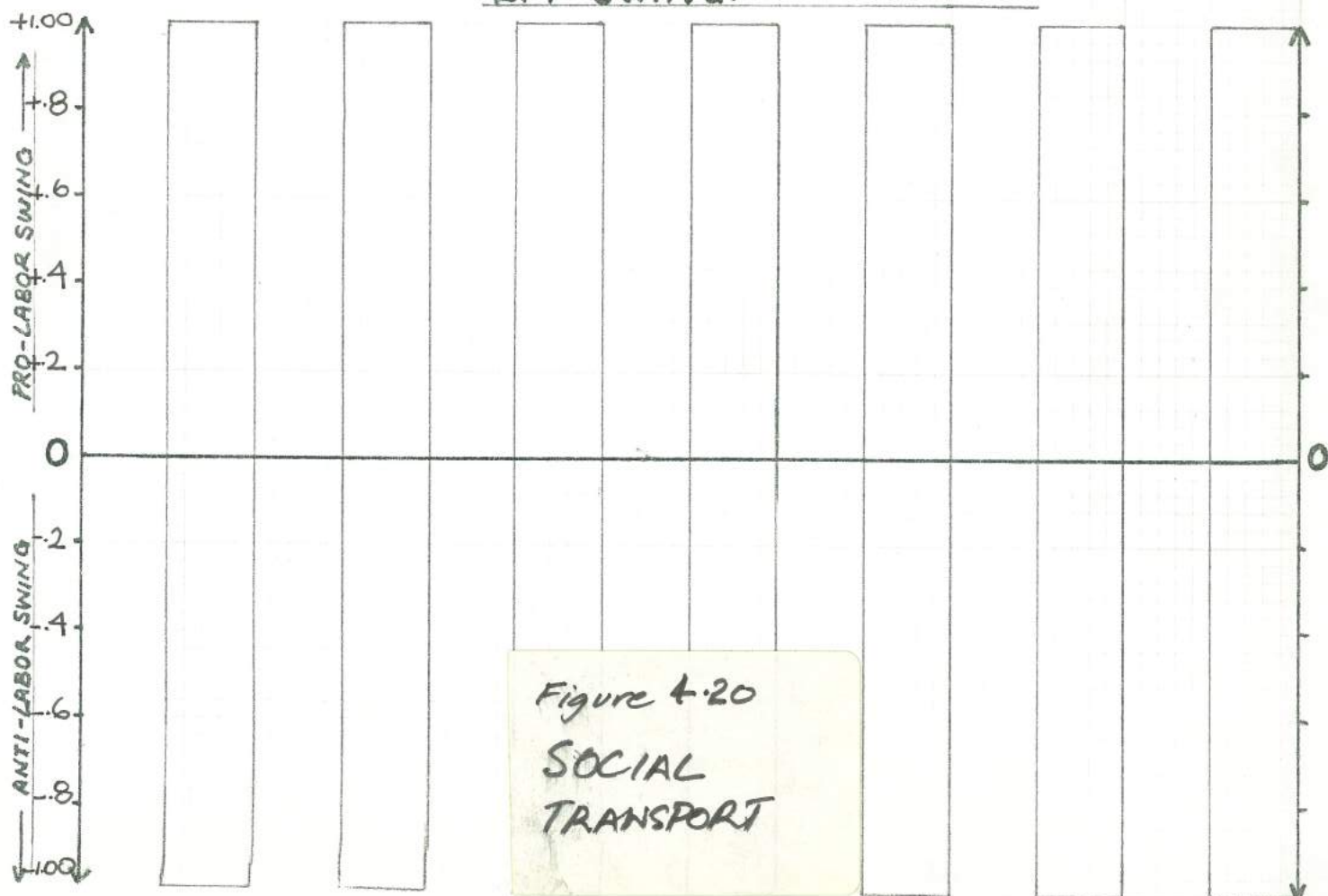
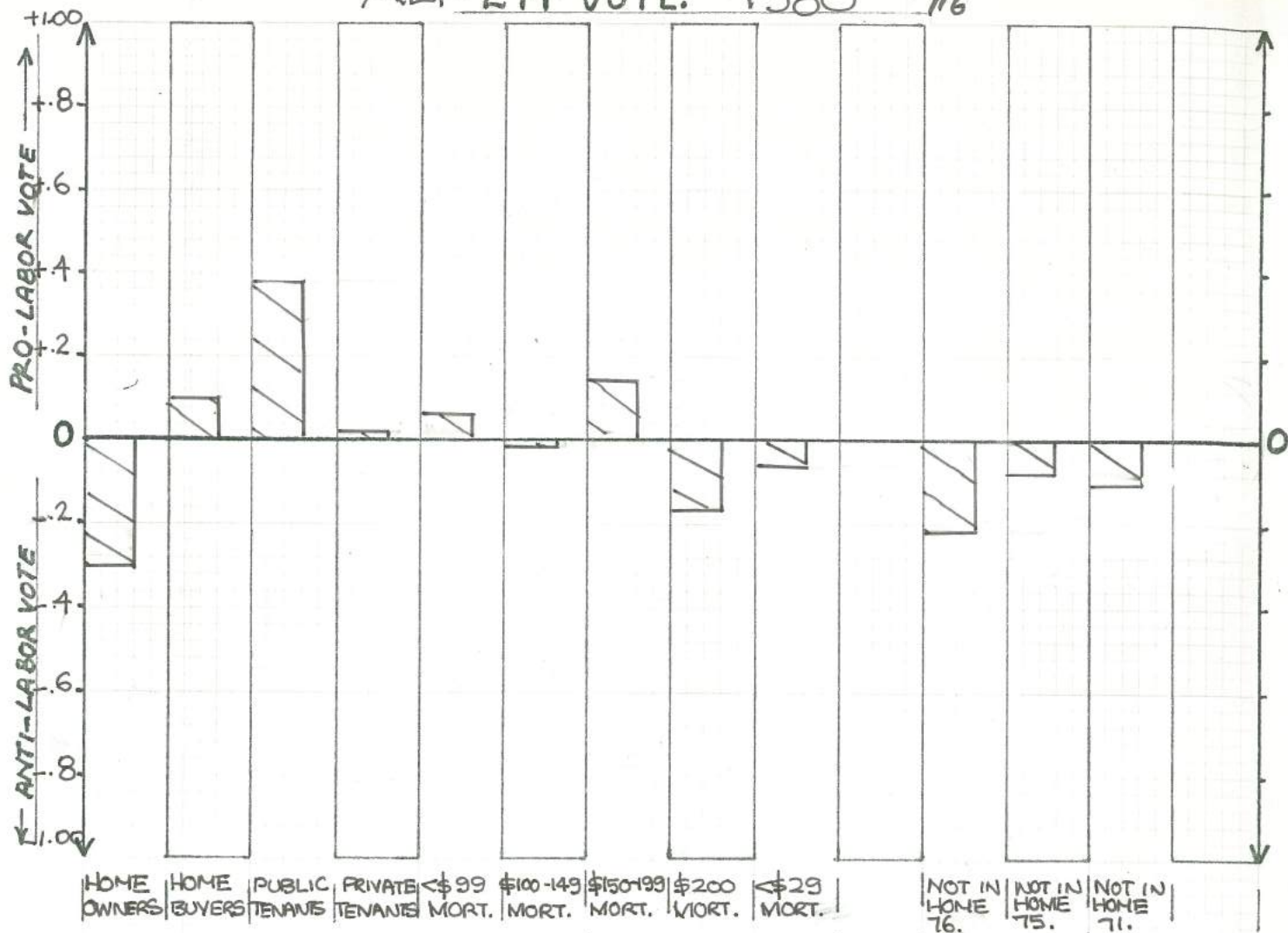


Figure 4.20
SOCIAL
TRANSPORT

ALP 2 PP VOTE: 1980 116



2PP SWING:

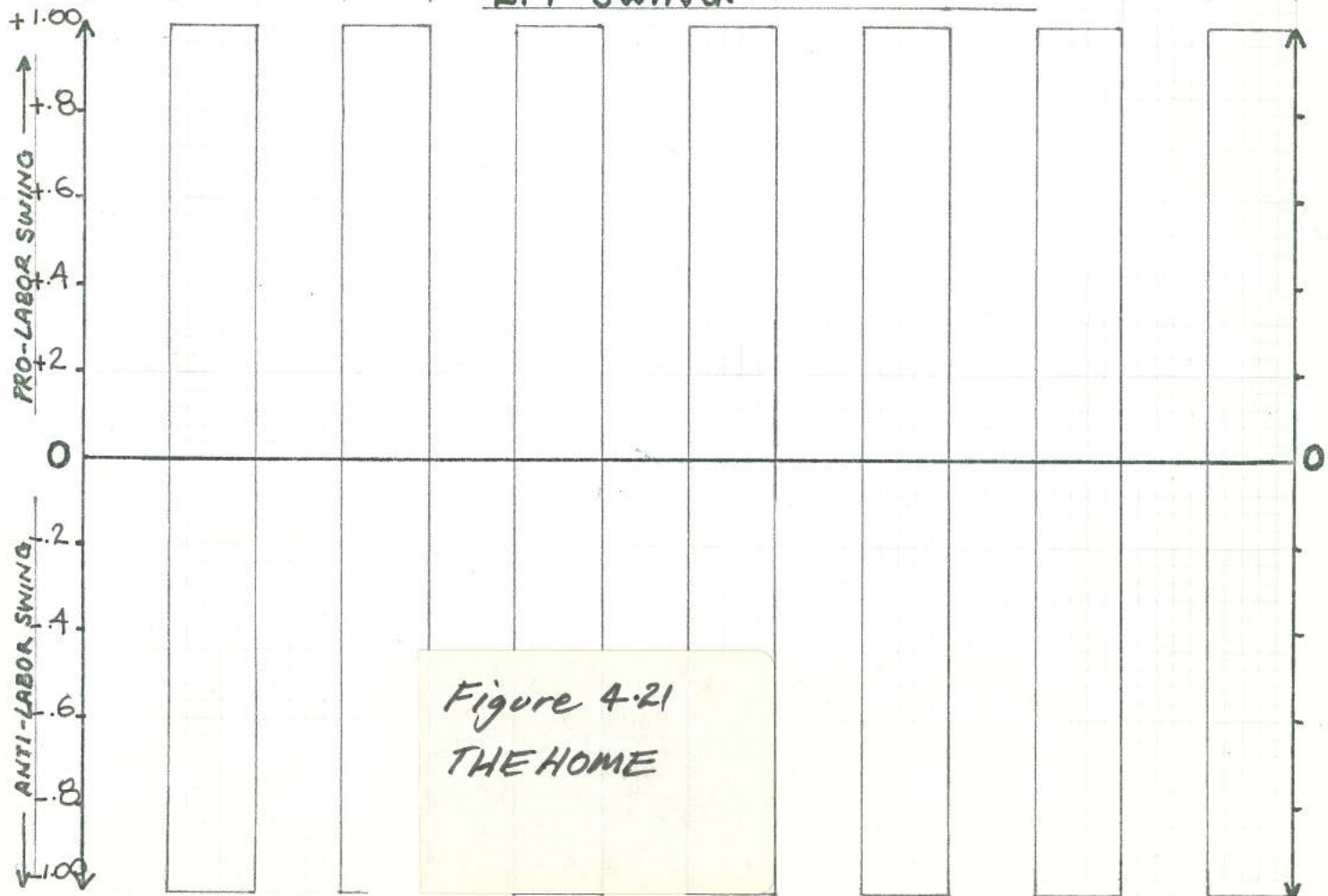
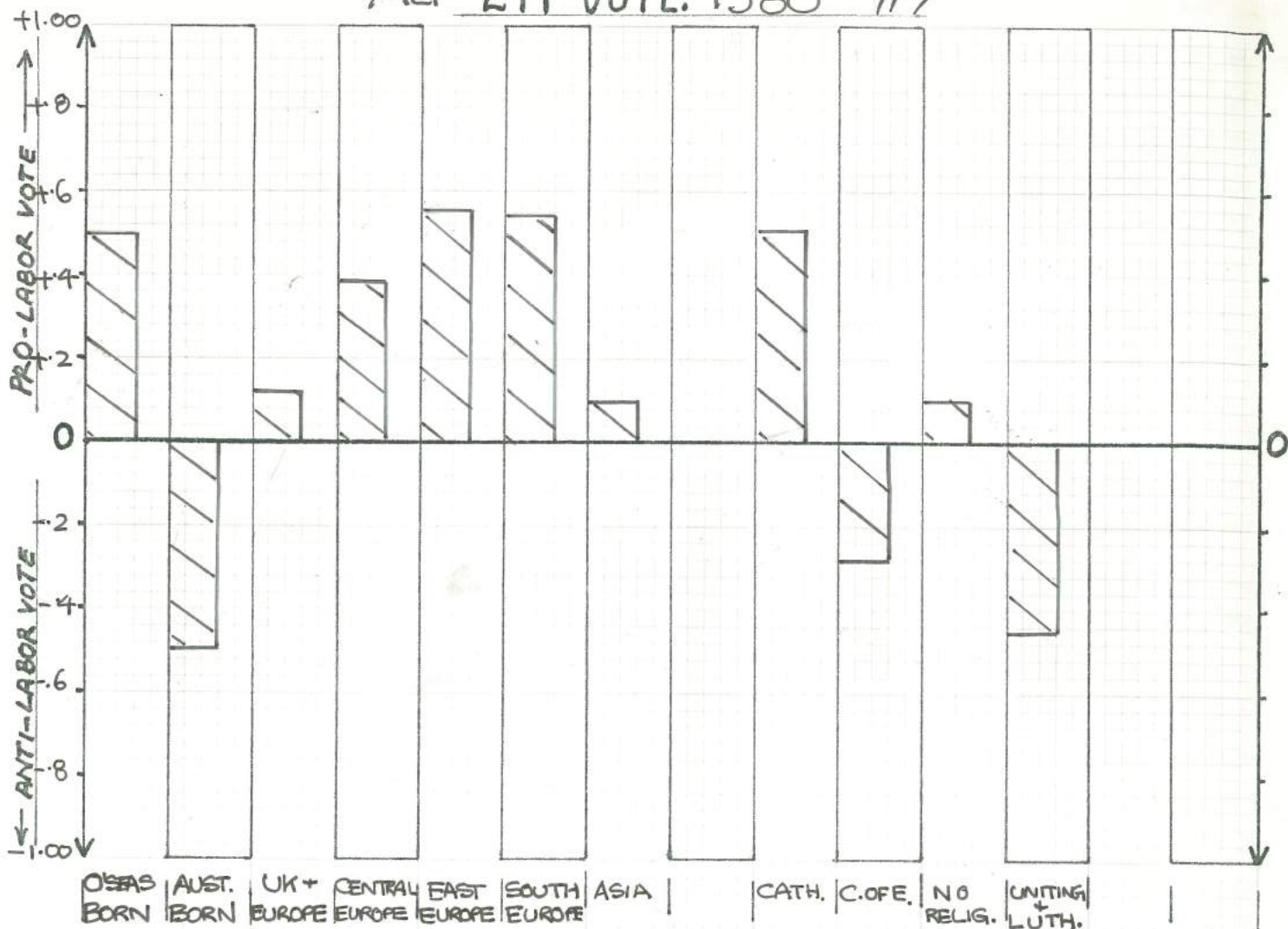


Figure 4.21
THE HOME

ALP 2PP VOTE: 1980 117



2PP SWING:

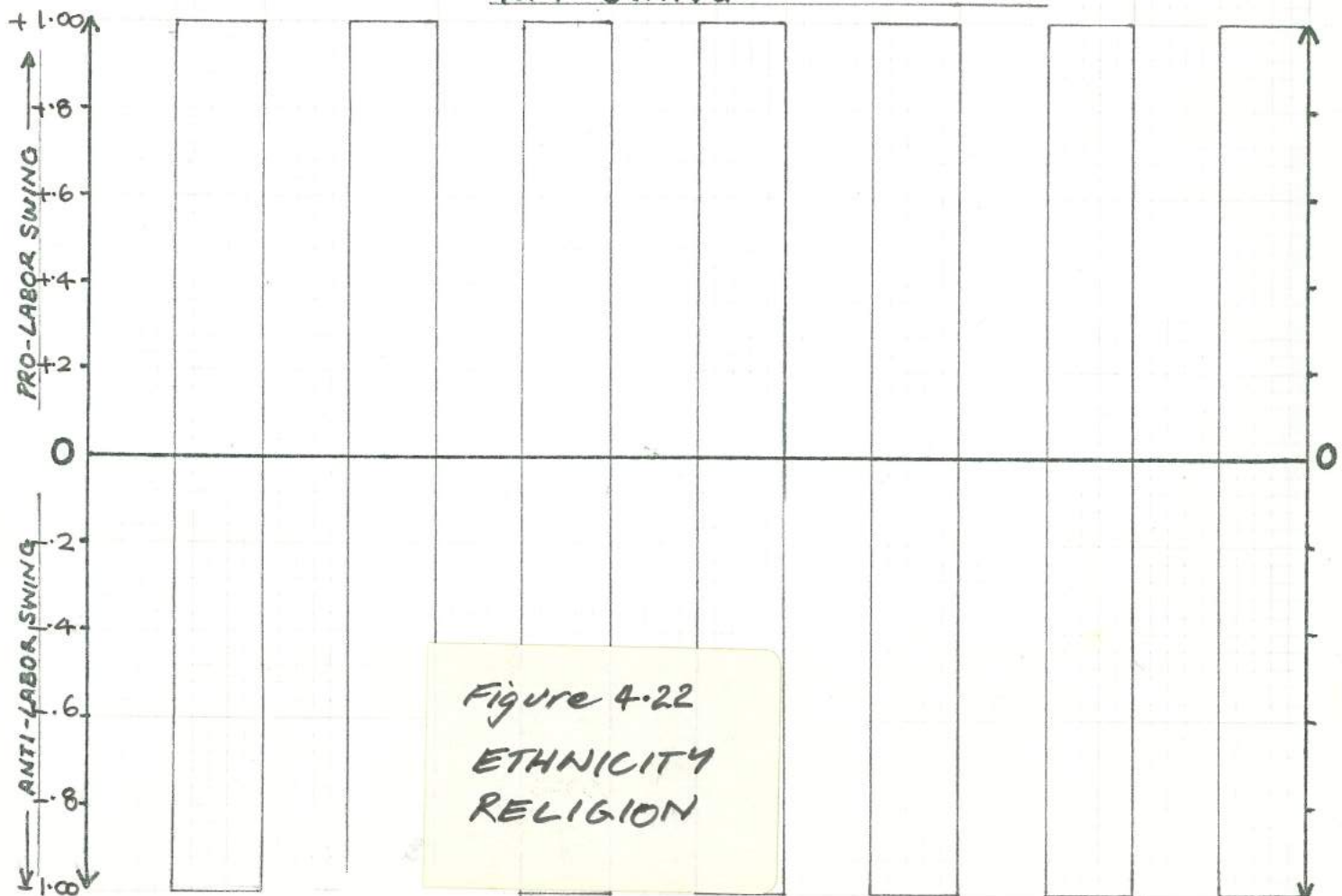


Figure 4.22
ETHNICITY
RELIGION

MULTIPLE REGRESSION

POLITICAL VARIABLE - V140 - 1980 A.L.P. 2 PP

| VARIABLE NUMBER | DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES AND REGRESSION EQUATION (BELOW) | VARIANCE EXPLAINED (%) | EXTRA VARIANCE EXPLAINED (%) | SIGN OF COEFFICIENT AND CONSTANT |
|--------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| 34 | MALES - CRAFTSMEN | 64.0 | 64.0 | + |
| 49 | EMPLOYERS/SELF-EMPLOYED | 74.1 | 10.1 | + |
| 28 | MALES - ADMINISTRATIVE | 83.9 | 9.8 | - |
| 66 | MALES - INCOME OVER \$18,000 | 85.1 | 1.2 | + |
| 2 | MALES - 20 TO 24 YEARS | 85.9 | .8 | - |
| 133 | SOUTHERN EUROPEAN BORN | 86.8 | .9 | + |
| 42 | FEMALES - FARMERS | 87.2 | .4 | - |
| 85 | PUBLIC TENANTS | 87.6 | .4 | + |
| 45 | FEMALES - CRAFTSMEN | 87.9 | .3 | + |
| 61 | MALES - INCOME - \$7,000 TO \$8,000 | 88.2 | .3 | - |
| 75 | FEMALES - INCOME - \$12,000 TO \$15,000 | 88.4 | .2 | - |
| 113 | ONE CHILD | 88.6 | .2 | + |
| 62 | MALES - INCOME - \$8,000 TO \$9,000 | 88.9 | .2 | + |
| 127 | O'SEAS BORN | 89.2 | .3 | - |
| 76 | FEMALES - INCOME - \$15,000 TO \$18,000 | 89.4 | .2 | + |
| | CONSTANT | - | - | + |
| | S.E.E. = +3.73 | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

TABLE 4.16

the variance - compared to the 89.2 percent for 1977. This 1980 figure was the highest obtained so far from all elections. The 1980 table was also more polarised than that for 1977, with the males craftsmen variable explaining 64 percent of the variance in 1980, compared to 59.8 percent of the variance in 1977. In addition, very high income males earning more than \$18000 per annum in 1976 emerged in 1980 as marginally-relevant pro-Labor group, once the regression program had allowed for the contribution of variables which effectively controlled for occupational class (craftsmen, employer/self-employed/administrative workers).

Table 4.17: This table presents the observed, predicted and residual votes for all seats and states for the 1980 elections (1977 boundaries are used for Western Australia).

Excellent and poor results for Labor in table 4.17 are summarised in table 4.18, which lists all cases where the absolute value of the residual exceeded one standard error of estimate, in this case 3.73 percent (the smallest S.E.E. of any election between 1966 and 1980).

The relatively small number of seats in Table 4.18 illustrates the general conformity of the 1980 observed votes to the predicted results.

Major areas of deviation from the predicted results continued in provincial city and western country seats in New South Wales. In the other states the party's worst performances were generally recorded in rural or provincial city seats, while the better performances were all found in urban areas.

Table 4.19: This table disregards extreme residuals and instead examines areas where overperformance and underperformance cost the Labor party marginal seats.

The national picture provided by table 4.19 was rather bleak, with a net eight marginal seats lost by Labor through underperformance. If these eight seats had been won by Labor, the ALP would have been only four seats short of Government in 1980; if they had

TABLE 4.17

| ELECTORATE | OBSERV- ED VOTE | PRE- DICTED VOTE | RESI- DUAL | ELECTORATE | OBSERV- ED VOTE | PRE- DICTED VOTE | RESI- DUAL |
|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| <u>NSW</u> | | | | ROBERTSON | 57.3 | 52.5 | +4.8 |
| BANKS | 58.9 | 59.3 | -0.4 | ST. GEORGE | 55.5 | 57.9 | -2.4 |
| BARTON | 49.6 | 51.0 | -1.4 | SHORTLAND | 67.0 | 60.5 | +6.5 |
| BENNELONG | 40.6 | 43.6 | -3.0 | SYDNEY | 72.0 | 66.6 | +5.4 |
| BEROWRA | 34.5 | 33.9 | +0.6 | WARRINGAH | 33.0 | 36.5 | -3.5 |
| BLAXLAND | 64.5 | 61.9 | +2.6 | WENTWORTH | 36.8 | 38.9 | -2.1 |
| BRADFIELD | 21.6 | 20.0 | +1.6 | WERRIWA | 64.0 | 62.8 | +1.2 |
| CALARE | 48.3 | 48.2 | +0.1 | | | | |
| CHIFLEY | 69.9 | 68.8 | +1.1 | NSW STATE | | | |
| COOK | 44.3 | 43.4 | +1.9 | <u>VIC</u> | | | |
| COWPER | 43.2 | 41.2 | +2.0 | BALACLAVA | 42.9 | 39.2 | +3.7 |
| CUNNINGHAM | 64.5 | 68.2 | -3.7 | BALLARAT | 50.7 | 51.8 | -1.1 |
| DUNDAS | 42.0 | 44.7 | -2.7 | BATMAN | 59.9 | 62.4 | -2.5 |
| EDEN-MONARO | 47.2 | 43.8 | +3.4 | BENDIGO | 48.7 | 47.9 | +0.8 |
| | | | | BRUCE | 44.6 | 44.4 | +0.2 |
| FARRER | 37.6 | 39.5 | -1.9 | BURKE | 58.3 | 67.5 | -9.2 |
| GRAYNDLER | 62.5 | 65.4 | -2.9 | CASEY | 48.1 | 43.4 | +4.7 |
| GWYDER | 38.8 | 36.4 | +2.4 | CHISHOLM | 47.8 | 44.6 | +3.2 |
| HUGHES | 61.7 | 59.0 | +2.7 | CORANGAMITE | 36.1 | 34.7 | +1.4 |
| HUME | 43.0 | 34.6 | +8.4 | CORIO | 59.9 | 65.3 | -5.4 |
| HUNTER | 71.0 | 63.1 | +7.9 | DEAKIN | 47.7 | 46.7 | +1.0 |
| KINGSFORD-SMITH | 71.4 | 71.0 | +0.4 | DIAMOND VALLEY | 46.3 | 40.1 | +5.8 |
| | | | | FLINDERS | 45.0 | 45.9 | -0.9 |
| LOWE | 48.9 | 56.8 | -7.9 | GELLIBRAND | 72.1 | 69.7 | +2.4 |
| LYNE | 41.1 | 48.3 | -7.2 | GIPPSLAND | 37.3 | 37.5 | -0.2 |
| MACARTHUR | 46.6 | 55.0 | -8.4 | HENTY | 52.8 | 50.1 | +1.9 |
| MACKELLAR | 36.2 | 36.4 | -0.2 | HIGGINS | 39.1 | 37.0 | +2.1 |
| MACQUARIE | 52.8 | 53.9 | -1.1 | HOLT | 56.6 | 55.7 | +0.9 |
| MITCHELL | 34.0 | 38.1 | -4.1 | HOTHAM | 54.0 | 56.0 | -2.0 |
| NEW ENGLAND | 43.1 | 40.7 | +2.4 | INDI | 37.6 | 40.9 | -3.3 |
| NEWCASTLE | 62.9 | 59.9 | +3.0 | ISAACS | 51.8 | 46.0 | +5.9 |
| NORTH SYDNEY | 35.2 | 38.0 | -2.8 | KOOYONG | 38.6 | 40.0 | -1.4 |
| PARRAMATTA | 60.1 | 58.9 | +1.2 | LATROBE | 52.3 | 50.9 | +1.4 |
| PATERSON | 41.7 | 43.6 | -2.0 | LALOR | 71.7 | 69.0 | +2.7 |
| PHILLIP | 49.4 | 48.8 | +0.6 | MALLEE | 29.2 | 31.0 | -1.0 |
| PROSPECT | 60.9 | 63.0 | -2.1 | MARIBYRNONG | 60.3 | 58.8 | +1.5 |
| REID | 65.9 | 67.2 | -1.3 | McMILLAN | 51.4 | 51.0 | +0.4 |
| RICHMOND | 39.9 | 39.4 | +0.5 | MELBOURNE | 67.7 | 66.8 | +0.9 |
| RIVERINA | 49.5 | 38.2 | +11.3 | MELBOURNE PORTS | 61.9 | 60.2 | +1.7 |

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TABLE 4.17

| ELECTORATE | OBSERV- ED VOTE | PRE- DICTED VOTE | RESI- DUAL | ELECTORATE | OBSERV- ED VOTE | PRE- DICTED VOTE | RE DU. |
|---------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------|
| MURRAY | 32.5 | 35.1 | -2.6 | WA | | | |
| SCULLIN | 70.3 | 65.1 | +5.2 | CANNING | 40.1 | 42.3 | -2.2 |
| WANNON | 38.6 | 37.5 | +1.1 | CURTIN | 36.8 | 38.3 | -1.5 |
| WILLS | 69.1 | 70.5 | -1.4 | FORREST | 39.4 | 39.3 | +0.1 |
| | | | | FREMANTLE | 56.8 | 52.4 | +4.4 |
| VIC STATE | | | | KALGOORLIE | 47.9 | 51.0 | -3.1 |
| QLD | | | | MOORE | 42.6 | 39.5 | +3.1 |
| BOWMAN | 48.8 | 48.7 | +0.1 | PERTH | 50.1 | 49.7 | +0.4 |
| BRISBANE | 51.8 | 50.1 | +1.7 | STIRLING | 47.9 | 50.4 | -2.5 |
| CAPRICORNIA | 54.1 | 50.4 | +3.7 | SWAN | 57.5 | 52.7 | +4.8 |
| DARLING DOWNS | 33.1 | 40.3 | -7.2 | TANGNEY | 46.1 | 47.2 | -1.1 |
| DAWSON | 47.6 | 47.7 | -0.1 | WA STATE | | | |
| FADDEN | 48.5 | 48.0 | +0.5 | TAS | | | |
| FISHER | 40.8 | 43.0 | -2.2 | BASS | 45.8 | 51.4 | -5.6 |
| GRIFFITH | 61.0 | 53.7 | +7.3 | BRADDON | 44.9 | 46.9 | -2.0 |
| HERBERT | 49.1 | 51.6 | -2.5 | DENISON | 48.0 | 51.5 | -3.5 |
| KENNEDY | 36.6 | 43.3 | -6.7 | FRANKLIN | 47.2 | 55.4 | -8.2 |
| LEICHHARDT | 48.9 | 47.3 | +1.6 | WILMOT | 49.9 | 48.8 | +1.1 |
| LILLEY | 50.8 | 52.3 | -1.5 | TAS STATE | | | |
| MCPHERSON | 36.0 | 40.6 | -4.6 | ACT | | | |
| MARANOVA | 32.6 | 28.9 | +3.7 | CANBERRA | 55.4 | 56.3 | -0.9 |
| MORETON | 45.8 | 43.7 | +2.1 | FRASER | 61.7 | 57.1 | +4.6 |
| OXLEY | 67.7 | 62.4 | +5.3 | NT | | | |
| PETRIE | 46.6 | 48.2 | -1.6 | NORTHERN TERRITORY | 48.8 | 54.0 | -5.2 |
| RYAN | 39.2 | 37.2 | +2.0 | NEW SOUTH WALES | 50.4 | 50.9 | -0.5 |
| WIDE BAY | 44.4 | 45.8 | -1.4 | VICTORIA | 50.7 | 51.4 | -0.7 |
| QLD STATE | | | | QUEENSLAND | 46.9 | 47.3 | -0.4 |
| SA | | | | SOUTH AUSTRALIA | 49.4 | 50.7 | -1.3 |
| ADELAIDE | 58.6 | 56.0 | +2.6 | WESTERN AUSTRALIA | 46.6 | 47.0 | -0.4 |
| BARKER | 32.7 | 36.8 | -4.1 | TASMANIA | 47.1 | 51.3 | -4.2 |
| BONYTHON | 61.4 | 58.6 | +2.8 | | | | |
| BOOTHBY | 37.4 | 40.8 | -3.4 | | | | |
| GREY | 53.1 | 51.9 | +1.2 | | | | |
| HAWKER | 53.0 | 51.3 | +2.5 | | | | |
| HINDMARSH | 55.7 | 56.7 | -1.0 | | | | |
| KINGSTON | 49.8 | 49.9 | -0.1 | | | | |
| PORT ADELAIDE | 68.5 | 68.5 | -0.0 | | | | |
| STURT | 45.2 | 48.4 | -3.2 | | | | |
| WAKEFIELD | 33.9 | 34.0 | -0.1 | | | | |
| SA STATE | | | | | | | |

1980

| Negative Residuals Less Than -3.73% | | Positive Residuals More Than +3.73% | |
|--|----------|--|----------|
| Seat | Residual | Seat | Residual |
| Lowe | - 7.9** | Hume | + 8.4** |
| Lyne | - 7.2 | Hunter | + 7.9** |
| Macarthur | - 8.4** | Riverina | +11.3*** |
| Burke | - 9.2** | Robertson | + 4.8 |
| Corio | - 5.4 | Shortland | + 6.5 |
| | | Sydney | + 5.4 |
| Darling Downs | - 7.2 | Casey | + 4.7 |
| Kennedy | - 6.7 | Diamond Valley | + 5.8 |
| McPherson | - 4.6 | Isaacs | + 5.2 |
| Barker | - 4.1 | Scullin | + 5.2 |
| Bass | - 5.6 | Griffith | + 7.3 |
| Franklin | - 8.2** | Oxley | + 5.2 |
| Northern Territory - 5.2 | | Fremantle * | + 4.4 |
| | | Swan * | + 4.8 |
| | | Fraser | + 4.6 |

** indicates residual > ± 2 SEEs

* W.A. 1977 Boundaries

TABLE 4.18

| Seats Labor Should Have Won, But Did Not | States Net | Seats Labor Should Not Have Won, But Did |
|--|-------------|--|
| Barton Lowe Macarthur | NSW -3 | |
| | VIC +1 | Isaacs |
| Herbert | QLD -1 | |
| | SA 0 | |
| Kalgoorlie * Stirling * | WA -1 | Perth * |
| Bass Denison Franklin | TAS -3 | |
| NT | TER -1 | |
| | AUST. -8 | |

* WA 1977 Boundaries

TABLE 4.19

been won in addition to the two bonus seats of Isaacs and Perth (1977 boundaries), Labor would have won 61 seats to the Government's 64 in 1980.

On a state basis, New South Wales and Tasmania each contributed three losses to the national total. The Labor party in NSW continued for the sixth successive election to perform badly in marginal mid-suburban Sydney seats, the seats included in an arc about one seat wide sweeping around outside the inner-urban core seats of Sydney, Wentworth, Phillip and Kingsford Smith.

In Tasmania the performances in all seats except Wilmot were poor results for Labor.

The states of Victoria, Queensland and South Australia were all within one seat of the predicted result. In Western Australia of course the 1979 redistribution meant that Kalgoorlie was in fact won by the ALP on the new boundaries, while Perth would have been a bonus seat on the old boundaries. Stirling would have been a loss on either set of boundaries.

Therefore the projection of the 1980 predicted, observed and residual votes on the W.A. 1977 boundaries would have seen W.A. contribute one net loss, a result in harmony with all states except N.S.W. and Tasmania. (Stirling would be the only net loss; Kalgoorlie would be an observed and predicted win and would disappear from the table as would Perth after it became a predicted and observed loss).

The bottom portion of Table 4.17 lists the observed, predicted and residual votes for all states in 1980. Movements in the state residuals between 1977 and 1980 were as follows:

New South Wales: Down 0.7 percent, following the return of the State Labor Government for its second term in 1978.

Victoria: Up 0.1 percent following a 1979 state election which saw some seats fall to Labor but did not bring down the Government.

Queensland: Up one percent following intervention by the National Executive in early 1980.

South Australia: Down 1.1 percent following the heavy defeat of the state Labor Government in 1979 and the installation of a State Liberal Government still in its effective "honeymoon" period.

Western Australia: Up 1.5 percent (the best state improvement in 1977-80) following return of the non-Labor State Government in February 1980.

Tasmania: Down 1.2 percent to an abysmal minus 4.2 percent, following the re-election of the State Labor Government for its third term in July 1979.

Map 4.2: This map provides in visual form the residuals for the 1980 election for all seats.

New South Wales: Once again Labor lost marginal seats through underperformance in a mid-suburban arc one seat wide which sweeps around the inner-city urban core seats from the northern beachside suburbs to the southern suburbs of Barton.

Again performances in the western country seats of Riverina and Hume were outstanding and performances in the coastal dairy seats were poor (almost as poor as the stated taxable incomes of the farmers in these seats).

Victoria: Labor performed up to the predicted standard in almost all country seats - an excellent result for the non-urban component of any state.

In Melbourne, the residuals were generally in the top three quintiles for most urban seats, however, the residuals in the far-flung outer suburbs/rural seats varied a great deal. Performances in the Labor seats in Corio and Burke continued to be well below predicted levels on the western and north western periphery of Melbourne, while performances in outer-northern and outer north-eastern marginal non-Labor seats tended to favour the ALP. It is pity that Labor's excellent state-wide observed result in Victoria in 1980 of 50.7 percent (a better result than either 1972 or 1974) was not biased more towards these outer-urban marginals, as the positive residuals were certainly there in 1980 to facilitate large gains of marginal Government seats for Labor.

Queensland: The residuals in Queensland country seats outside the south-eastern area were again quite patchy, with declines over the 1977 results in Leichhardt, Kennedy, Capricornia, and improvements over the 1977 residuals in Herbert, Dawson and Maranoa. In the south-eastern non-Brisbane area, the residuals were identical to the 1977 results, except for the major improvement in Labor's performance in Oxley.

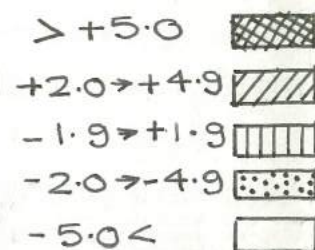
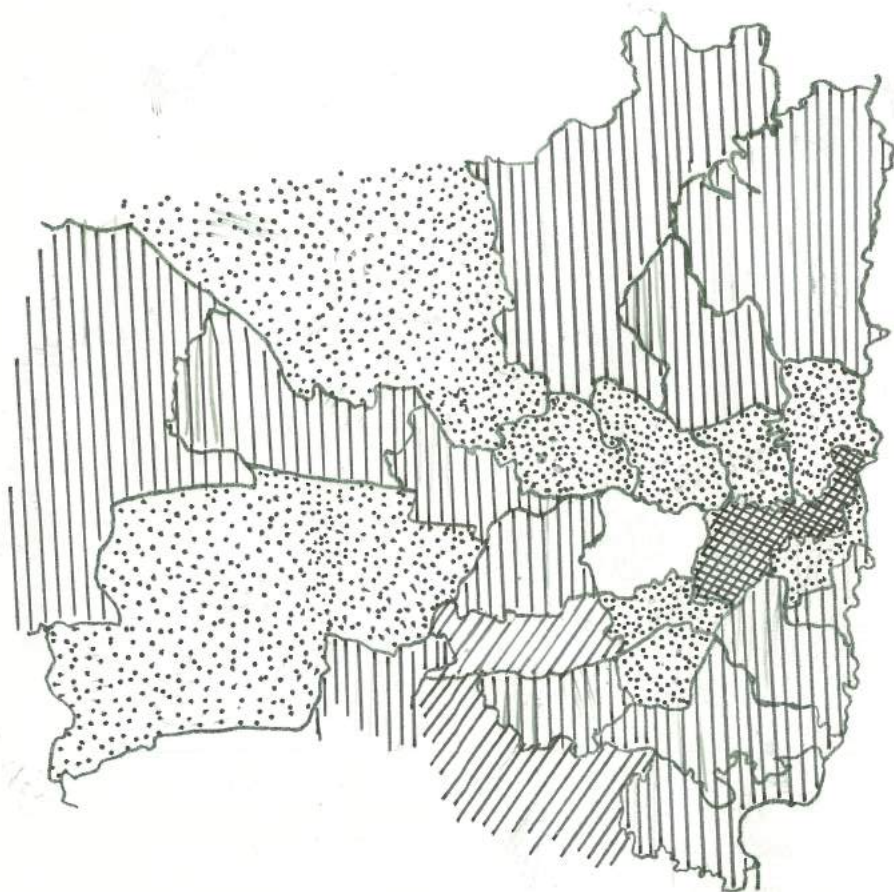
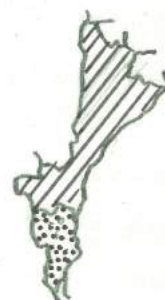
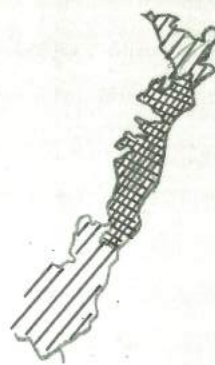
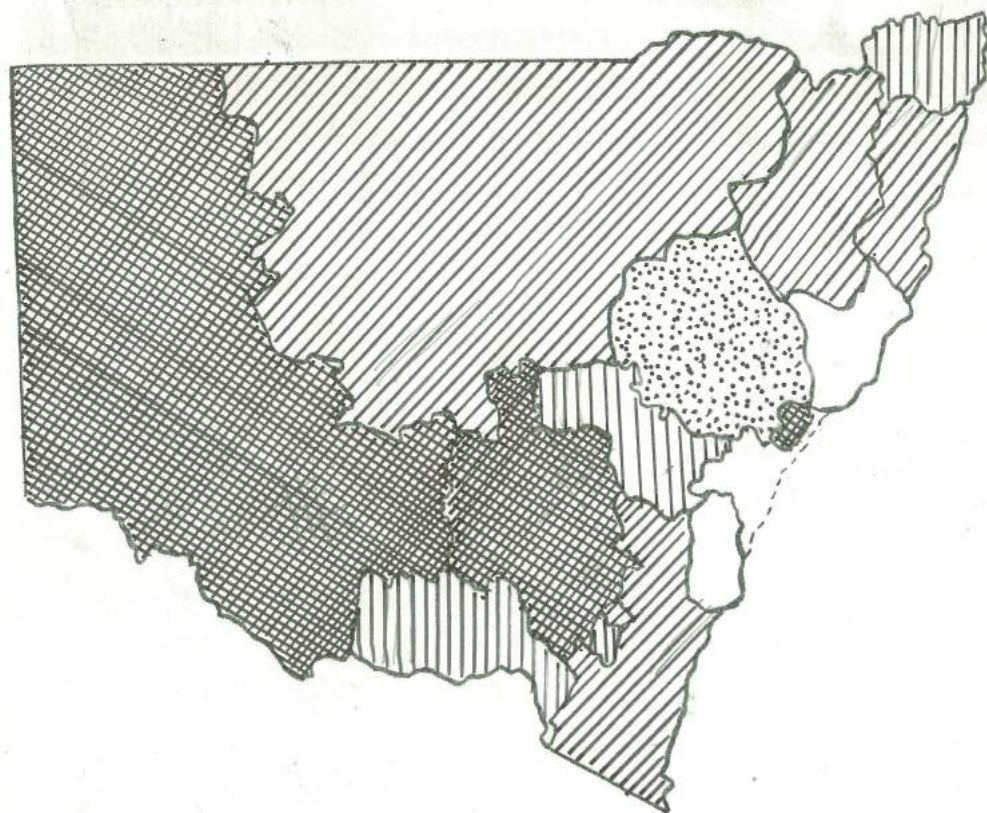
In Brisbane, the results were quite encouraging for Labor, with the ALP at last performing up to standard in the northern suburbs seats of Petrie and Lilley and in the southern suburbs seat of Moreton. Griffith, traditionally Labor's top area of overperformance in Queensland again returned an excellent residual result.

South Australia: Results in the country were unexceptional, while in the Adelaide area, the eastern suburbs' seats returned to the residual doldrums.

All the seats outside the south-eastern "dress circle" suburbs returned excellent or satisfactory results. The previously-high residual in Hindmarsh obviously suffered a major setback with the retirement in 1980 of long-serving Labor member Clyde Cameron.

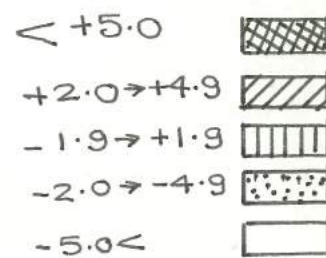
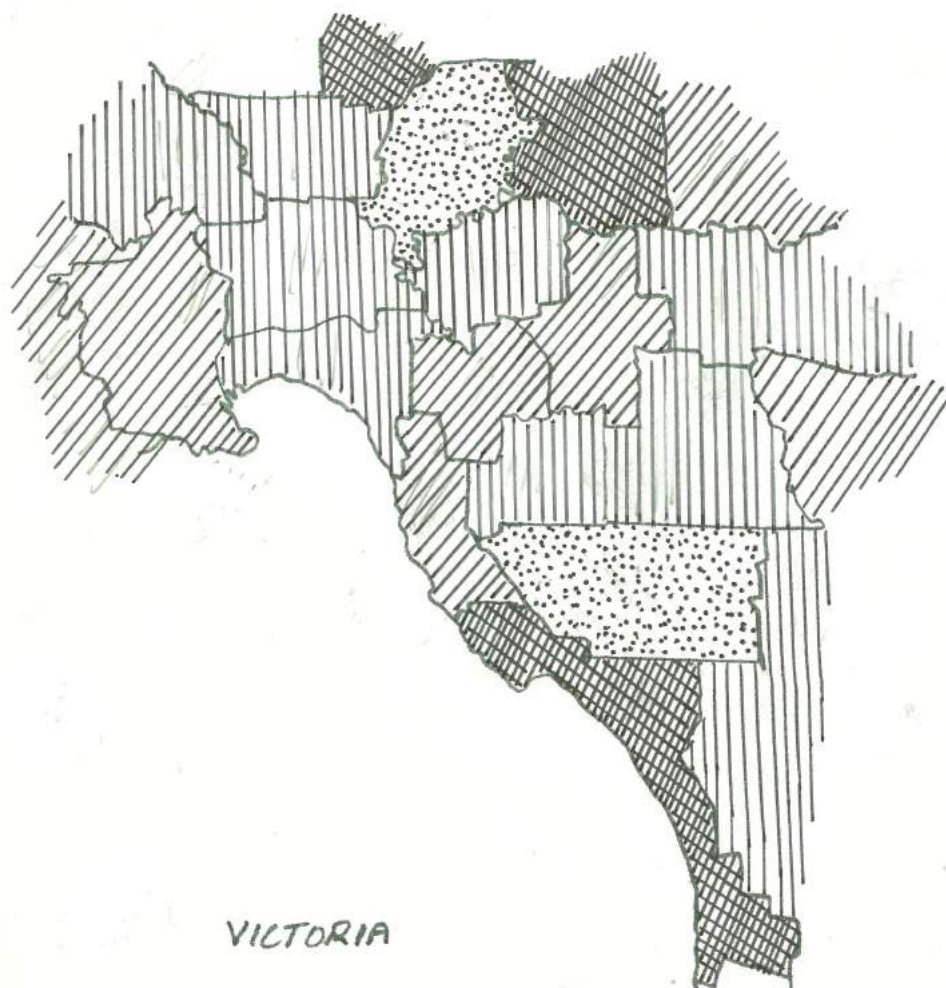
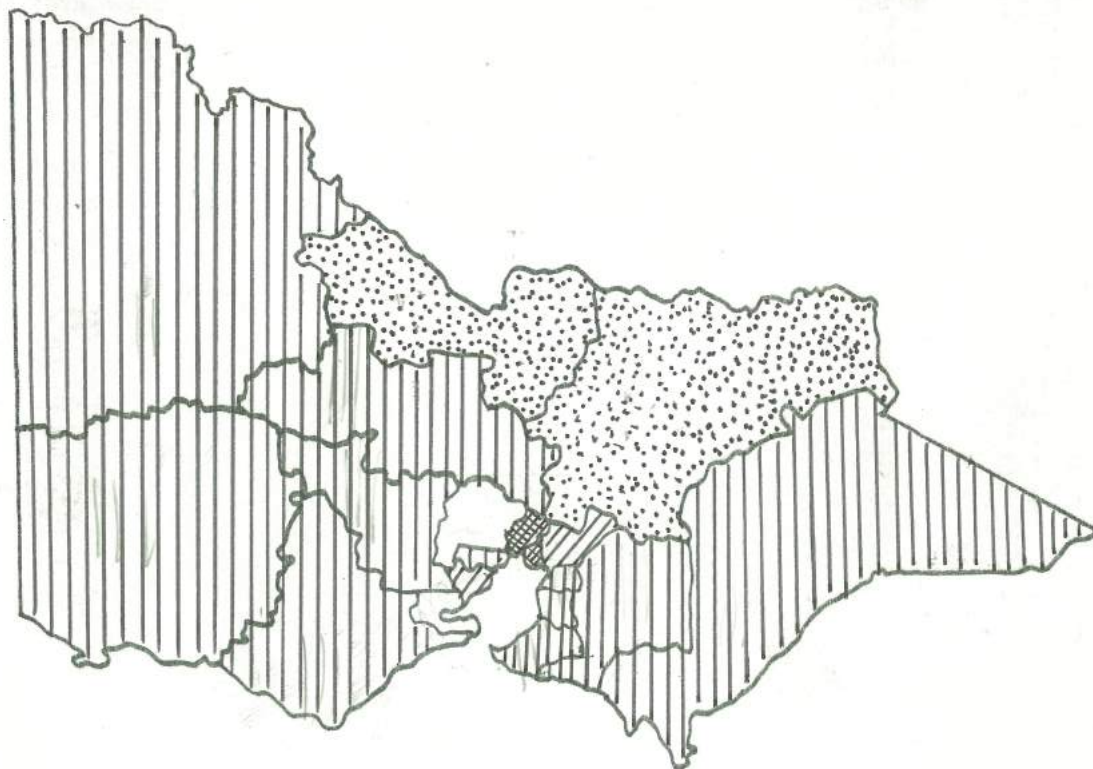
Western Australia: The result in Kalgoorlie was down on the 1977 residual, while in the Perth area, all results except one were either close to the predicted figure, or in the case of Swan and Fremantle in the second-top quintile. Stirling, the only exception, continued its low level of performance recorded in 1977.

Tasmania: The Tasmanian residuals were all either bad or poor, except for the fair (predicted) result in Wilmot. Bass, Franklin, Denison all returned disappointing residuals which cost the ALP all three seats in 1980 (see Table 4.19).

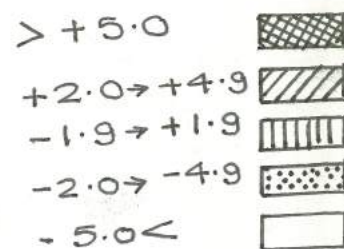
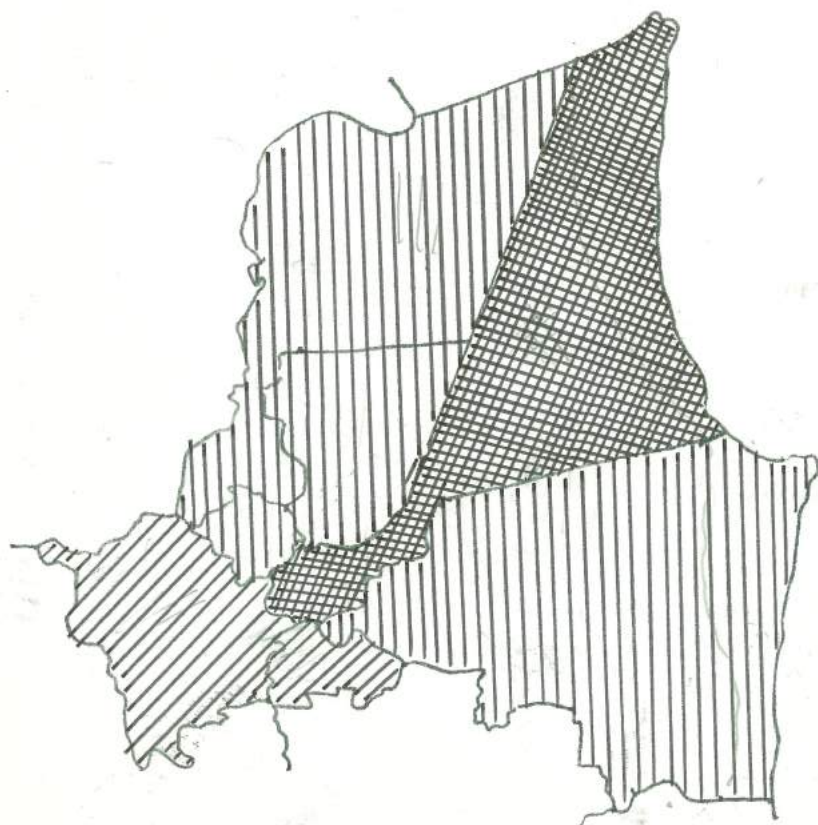
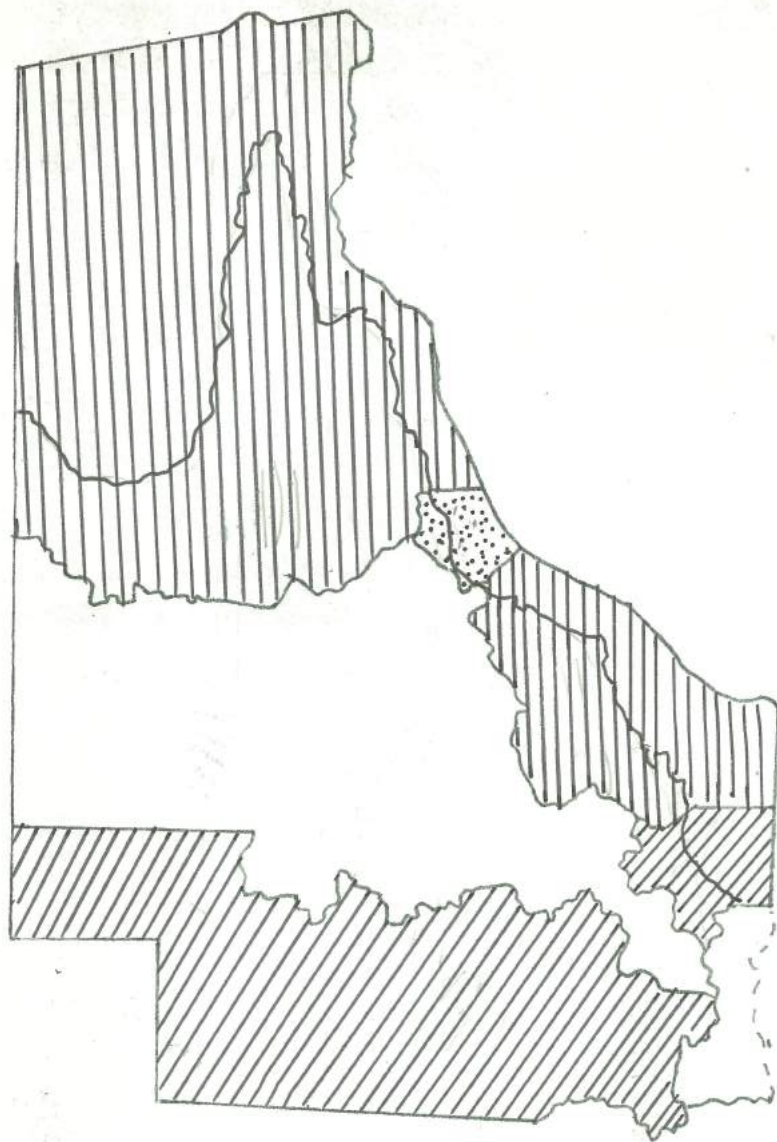


MAP 4.2
1980 ZPP
RESIDUALS

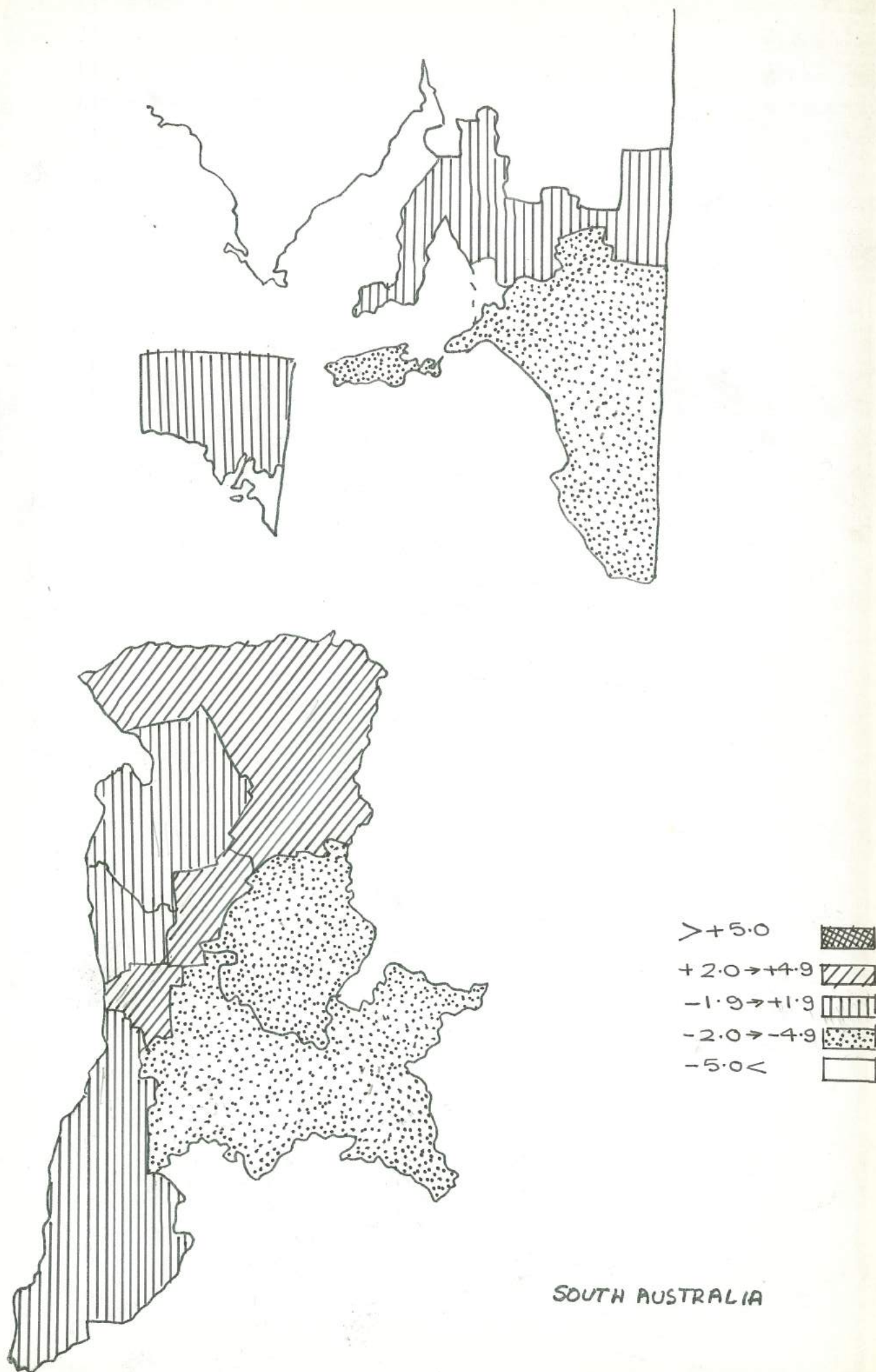
NEW SOUTH WALES + ACT

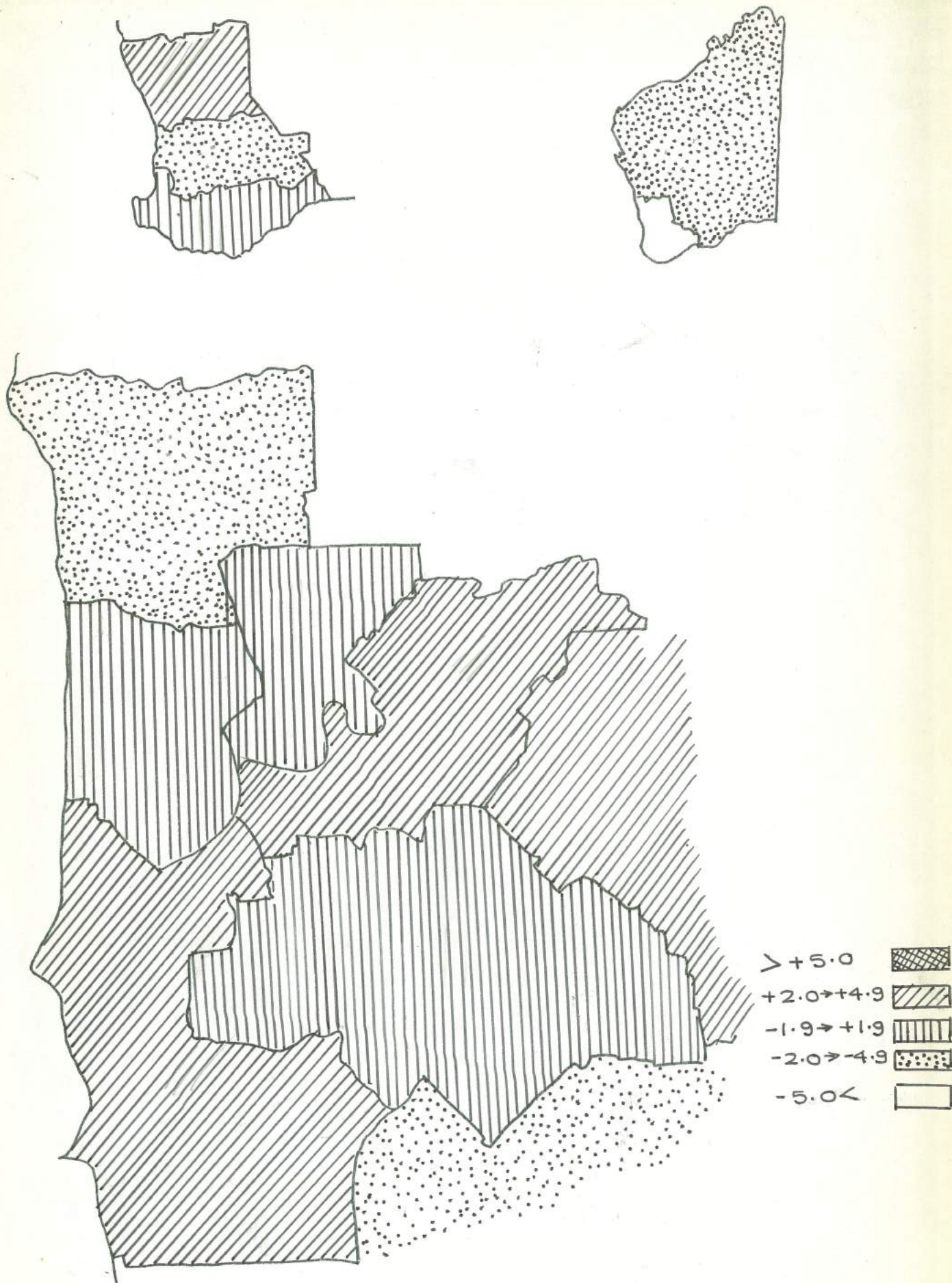


VICTORIA



QUEENSLAND





WESTERN AUSTRALIA - 1977 BOUNDARIES - 1980 RESULT

