PARLIAMENTARY LIBRARY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA
RESEARCH NOTES
NO.1

MARGINAL COUNTRY SEATS

In its 1994 Report, the Commission took the view that "country seats are usually much less volatile than metropolitan seats". This view was based on "general experience ", on a table submitted as evidence by the ALP, and also on swings from 1989 to 1993 (EDBC 1994 Report pp. 15-16). The Commission's adoption of this view had the effect of throwing into doubt whether the ALP could win Eyre (LIB 56.4%) and Frome (LIB 55.6%) with an average swing across the State of 11% (which would be required to win government).

> "...we are satisfied that the 2PP swings in Eyre and Frome in December 1993 were considerably less than the State average of 8.9%. The significance of this is that, according to the Liberal Party's argument about a residual imbalance, Eyre and Frome are two of the seats that would fall to the Labor Party in the event of a State-wide swing of 10.5% in the Labor Party's favour at the next election. In our opinion, even allowing for the unpredictable variables, that is unlikely to happen. The Liberal Party's majority in Frome in 1993 was 5.7% and in Eyre 6.5%. If the boundaries of those two districts should remain unaltered, the Labor Party is likely to need a State-wide swing of more than 11% in its favour to win them. As it happens, the decision we have made about Kangaroo Island has had the effect of strengthening the Liberal Party's position in both Eyre (now Stuart) and Frome so that, all other things being equal, the Labor Party's prospect of winning either of those seats on an 11% swing is even more remote."
> (EDBC 1994 Report, p.16)

In my Information Paper "Making Sure that Electoral Boundaries are Fair in South Australia" (EDBC 1998 Exhibit 21) I looked at the swings in country seats over a longer period of time. Table 18 shows the swings at State elections from 1979 until 1997, from which I concluded that

> "..it is fair to expect that at any given election the swing in country areas will be lower than in metropolitan areas, but it should be borne in mind that not all seats will behave as if they are aware of the rule."
> (EDBC 1998 Exhibit 21, p.25)

Looking at the cases in Table 18 of Exhibit 21, it is possible to be more specific. Of the 93 cases of country seats contested at the State elections from 1979 to 1997, in 14 cases country seats swung by as much as, or more than, the swing across the State. In one case (Flinders in 1979) we don't have a figure for the swing, and in the remaining 78 cases (or *85%* of the 92 cases for which we have a swing figure) *country seats swung less than the swing across the State.* These figures confirm the Commission's comments in 1994 that "country seats are usually much less volatile than metropolitan seats", and we can take "usually" to mean about 85% of cases.

In my Research Note "More on Fairness" (EDBC 1998 Exhibit 22) I concentrated on swings in marginal seats, and in this context I made the statement that, having looked at the swings in marginal country electorates over the twenty year period from 1977 to 1997,

> "...it does seem reasonable to conclude that a country marginal seat will swing less than the State-wide average swing, regardless of the direction of the swing."
> (EDBC 1998 Exhibit 22, p.3)

The size of the swing which might be anticipated in a country seat - and in particular a marginal country seat - is relevant to the Commission's deliberations again this time. The ALP requires a swing of 1.6% across the State in order to win 50.1% of the State-wide two party preferred vote, and the 1997 State election results have left Hartley and Stuart below a uniform swing of 1.6% on the pendulum. The median seat, Frome, requires a 3% swing towards the ALP to change hands.

- The ALP has argued that a swing in its favour across the State of 1.6% would not be likely to be felt in Stuart and in Frome with enough force to make these seats fall to the ALP.
- The Liberal Party has argued that if we look at swings in country seats further back in time, it will become apparent that country seats are fundamentally volatile, and swings in country seats do not follow any sort of pattern. It is the Liberal Party's contention that we cannot predict with any confidence how a State-wide swing of 1.6% towards the ALP would be expressed in any given country seat.

In support of the Liberal case Mr Lawson submitted tables derived by Mr Jaeschke from figures published by Jaensch and Blewett (1998 Exhibit 25).

These tables show swings in country electorates going back further in time than my analysis - from 1968 to 1975.

I have not been able to use Mr Lawson's tables to extend my own analysis back in time (from Table 18 of Exhibit 21, or Table 1 of Exhibit 22).

- The first two columns in Mr Lawson's tables for the swings from 1965 to 1968 and 1968 to 1970 show swings in the major parties' share of *first preference votes* rather than two party preferred figures, and so they are not comparable with those I have used.
- The final column shows swings in two party preferred votes but they are based on estimates which have such a wide degree of possible error that they would not be acceptable by today's standards.

There are two main problems in calculating swings before the 1977 election. The first one is that until 1977 voters in safe ALP country seats often did not have the opportunity to vote for a Liberal or LCL candidate because there simply wasn't one, and similarly the ALP did not endorse candidates in many safe LCL country seats. Without an ALP candidate there is no two party preferred result, and without a two party preferred result in one election there is no two party preferred swing figure from that election to the next.

There must have still been a demand for two party preferred figures though, because Jaensch went to a great deal of trouble to make estimates on a two party preferred basis. For example in 1973 in the six country seats where there was no ALP candidate and in the two seats where there was no LCL candidate, Jaensch estimated a two party preferred vote using the results at the *Federal election in the previous year*.

The degree of uncertainty inherent in these estimates would not be acceptable these days. I suspect that nowadays the absence of an ALP candidate - and hence the absence of any votes for the ALP at that election - would mean that a two party preferred vote for that seat would simply not be calculated, and the results for that seat might be omitted from the calculation of the State-wide two party preferred vote.

The second problem in calculating swings before the 1977 election lies in the fact that until 1976, the Electoral Commission was not required to continue the count further than the point at which one of the candidates had received a majority of the formal first preference votes. This means that for many seats where there were candidates representing both the ALP and the LCL, we do not have an official two party preferred result for the seat because the votes of a third (or subsequent) candidate were not distributed. For example, we have *official two party preferred results* for:

- only 3 of the 39 seats in 1965 (Chaffey, Eyre and Torrens);
- 5 of the 39 seats in 1968 (Alexandra, Chaffey, Eyre, Murray and Ridley);
- 1 seat out of 47 in 1970 (Chaffey);
- 2 seats in 1973 (Gouger and Rocky River);
- and 13 seats in 1975 (Fisher, Glenelg, Gouger, Goyder, Hanson, Heysen, Light, Millicent, Mitcham, Mt Gambier, Pirie, Rocky River and Torrens).

Of course, it is possible to *estimate* a two party preferred result for each of these seats by various methods. Probably the least error-prone would be to distribute the votes of the DLP, Country Party or SCL candidates in the same way as they were actually distributed in another electorate at the same election; I believe that estimates derived in this way would be generally acceptable by today's standards. But in some cases even this guide is not available.

If the main task is to make an estimate of the two party preferred result for a few seats so that a reasonably reliable 2PP estimate can be made for the whole State, then the degree of error inherent in any estimate for those few seats would not be a major problem. But when we have to make estimates for almost every seat, and these estimates are used to estimate swings *in those seats* from one election to the next, then the degree of error inherent in each estimate is disconcerting.

I have attached tables which show the best estimates I can make, for the two party preferred results in 1965, 1968, 1970, 1973 and 1975 in each country seat. Summary tables also show the swings which one could deduce from these figures.

These tables support Mr Lawson's argument that over this period - from 1965 to 1975 - results in country seats were volatile. They do not support any contention that country seats swung less than metropolitan seats over this period; neither do they support any contention that the marginal country seats swung less than the State average.

While these tables support Mr Lawson's argument for the period from 1965 to 1975 I believe that the appropriate conclusion to be drawn would be that there have been quite clear differences in the electoral behaviour of country seats before the 1976 redistribution and afterwards. I would assume that the requirement placed on the 1976 Commission to draw country and metropolitan seats of comparable population size has fundamentally changed the nature of country seats.

JENNI NEWTON
RESEARCH DIRECTOR

21 July 1998

TWO PARTY PREFERRED RESULTS AND SWINGS IN COUNTRY SEATS, 1965 TO 1968

ALL COUNTRY SEATS	1965 STATE ELECTION actual 2PP result or my estimate	Marginal?	1968 STATE ELECTION actual 2PP result or my estimate	SWING 1965 TO 1968	Under State average?
Albert	no ALP candidate		actual 76.7% LCL		?
Alexandra	actual 57.7% LCL		estimate 52.4% LCL to 53.3% LCL	estimate between 4.4% and 5.3% to the ALP	No
Angas	no ALP candidate		actual 68.0% LCL		?
Barossa	estimate 53.3% ALP to 53.4% ALP	M	estimate 52.7% ALP to 53.8% ALP	estimate between 0.4% to the ALP and 0.6% to the LCL	?
Burra	actual 62.3% LCL		estimate 63.9% LCL to 66.2% LCL	estimate between 1.6% and 3.9% to the LCL	?
Chaffey	actual 50.7% ALP	M	estimate 54.4% LCL to 54.9% LCL	estimate between 5.1% and 5.6% to the LCL	No
Eyre	actual 60.2% LCL		estimate 78.9% LCL	estimate 18.7% to the LCL	No
Flinders	estimate 54.6% LCL to 55.5% LCL	M	estimate 63.1% LCL to 64.4% LCL	estimate between 7.6% and 9.8% to the LCL	No
Frome	estimate 60.1% ALP to 60.5% ALP		actual 58.8% ALP	estimate between 1.3% and 1.7% to the LCL	Yes
Gawler	estimate 66.8% ALP to 74.2% ALP		estimate 65.0% ALP to 69.3% ALP	estimate between 2.5% to the ALP and 9.2% to the LCL	?
Gouger	actual 63.5% LCL		estimate 58.3% LCL to 63.8% LCL	estimate between 5.2% to the ALP and 0.3% to the LCL	?
Gumeracha	estimate 66.4 LCL% to 67.2% LCL		actual 67.9% LCL	estimate between 0.7% and 1.5% to the LCL	Yes
Light	no ALP candidate		actual 68.9% LCL		?
Millicent	actual 61.8% ALP		actual 50.0% ALP	actual 11.8% to the LCL	No
Mt Gambier	actual 60.6% ALP		actual 58.6% ALP	actual 2.0% to the LCL	Yes
Murray	actual 67.1% ALP		actual 50.2% LCL	actual 17.3% to the LCL	No
Onkaparinga	estimate 57.7% LCL		estimate 63.9% LCL to 64.9% LCL	estimate between 6.2% and 7.2% to the LCL	No
Port Pirie	no LCL candidate		estimate 69.1% ALP to 77.9% ALP		?
Ridley	actual 66.9% LCL		estimate 62.6% ALP to 77.7% LCL	estimate between 29.5% to the ALPand 10.8% to the LCL	?
Rocky River	actual 66.6% LCL		actual 70.1% LCL	actual 3.5% to the LCL	No
Stirling	actual 70.9% LCL		actual 72.0% LCL	actual 1.1% to the LCL	Yes
Stuart	no LCL candidate		actual 73.9% ALP		?
Victoria	estimate 54.3% LCL to 57.5% LCL	M?	estimate 64.3% LCL to 92.4% LCL	estimate between 6.8% and 38.1% to the LCL	No
Wallaroo	actual 59.1% ALP		estimate 52.2% ALP to 52.4% ALP	estimate between 6.7% and 6.9% to the LCL	No
Whyalla	no LCL candidate		actual 75.1% ALP		?
Yorke Peninsula	actual 69.5% LCL		actual 74.8% LCL	actual 5.3% to the LCL	No
STATE-WIDE AVERAGE SWING 1965 TO 1968				2.4% to the LCL (Jaensch est.)	

SOURCE: Tables attached.

TWO PARTY PREFERRED RESULTS AND SWINGS IN COUNTRY SEATS, 1970 TO 1973

ALL COUNTRY SEATS	1970 STATE ELECTION actual 2PP result or my estimate	Marginal?	1973 STATE ELECTION actual 2PP result or my estimate	SWING 1970 TO 1973	Under State average?
Alexandra	estimate 67.0% LCL to 74.1% LCL		no ALP candidate		**?**
Chaffey	actual 50.2% ALP	**M**	actual 53.5% LCL	actual 3.3% to the LCL	**No**
Eyre	estimate 61.4% LCL to 66.8% LCL		actual 72.6% LCL	estimate between 5.8% and 11.2% to the LCL	**No**
Flinders	estimate 63.0% LCL to 66.0% LCL		no ALP candidate		**?**
Frome	estimate 52.8% LCL to 54.8% LCL	**M**	actual 60.9% LCL	estimate between 6.1% and 8.1% to the LCL	**No**
Gouger	estimate 55.5% LCL to 59.5% LCL	**M?**	estimate 59.4% LCL to 68.5% LCL.	estimate between 0.1% to the ALP and 13.0% to the LCL	**?**
Goyder	estimate 66.0% LCL to 70.7% LCL		no ALP candidate		**?**
Heysen	actual 67.6% LCL		no ALP candidate		**?**
Kavel	no ALP candidate		estimate 64.0% LCL to 72.2% LCL		**?**
Light	estimate 53.4% LCL to 55.9% LCL	**M**	estimate 62.1% LCL to 65.1% LCL	estimate between 6.2% and 11.7% to the LCL	**No**
Mallee	estimate 67.0% LCL to 76.0% LCL		no ALP candidate		**?**
Millicent	actual 54.0% ALP	**M**	actual 56.5% ALP	actual 2.5% to ALP	**No**
Mt Gambier	estimate 54.8% ALP to 76.9% ALP	**M?**	estimate 58.6% ALP to 66.7% ALP	estimate between 11.9% to the ALP and 18.3% to the LCL	**No**
Murray	estimate 51.0% LCL to 53.1% LCL	**M**	actual 57.3% LCL	estimate between 4.2% and 6.3% to the ALP	**No**
Pirie	actual 74.5% ALP		no LCL candidate		**?**
Rocky River	estimate 64.1% LCL to 71.9% LCL		estimate 62.4% LCL to 77% LCL	estimate between 9.5% to the ALP and 12.9% to the LCL	**?**
Stuart	actual 76.0% ALP		no LCL candidate		**?**
Victoria	estimate 66.0% LCL to 73.6% LCL		no ALP candidate		**?**
Whyalla	estimate 59.6% ALP to 87.8% ALP		actual 74.7% ALP	estimate between 15.1% to the ALP and 13.1% to the LCL	**No**
STATE-WIDE AVERAGE SWING 1970 TO 1973				**0.1% to the LCL (Jaensch estimate)**	

SOURCE: Tables attached.

TWO PARTY PREFERRED RESULTS AND SWINGS IN COUNTRY SEATS, 1973 TO 1975

ALL COUNTRY SEATS	1973 STATE ELECTION actual 2PP result or my estimate	Marginal?	1975 STATE ELECTION actual 2PP result or my estimate	SWING 1973 TO 1975	Under State average?
Alexandra	no ALP candidate		estimate 74.3% LIB and 76.3% LIB		**?**
Chaffey	actual 53.5% LCL	**M**	estimate 65.8% LIB	estimate 12.3% to LIB	**No**
Eyre	actual 72.6% LCL		estimate 79.2% LIB	estimate 6.6% to LIB	**No**
Flinders	no ALP candidate		estimate 69.6% LIB and 70.1% LIB		**?**
Frome	actual 60.9% LCL		estimate 63.5% LIB	estimate 2.6% to LIB	**No**
Gouger	estimate 59.4% LCL and 68.5% LCL.		estimate 64.8% LIB	estimate between 3.6% to the ALP and 5.4% to LIB	**No**
Goyder	no ALP candidate		estimate 72.3% LIB		**?**
Heysen	no ALP candidate		estimate 70.7% LIB		**?**
Kavel	estimate 64.0% LCL and 72.2% LCL		estimate 75.7% LIB and 78.2%LIB	estimate between 3.5% and 14.2 % to LIB	**No**
Light	estimate 62.1% LCL and 65.1% LCL		actual 62.9% LIB	estimate between 2.2% to the ALP and 0.8% to LIB.	**Yes**
Mallee	no ALP candidate		estimate 79.6% LIB and 81.0% LIB		**?**
Millicent	actual 56.5% ALP		actual 59.9% LIB	actual 3.4% to LIB	**No**
Mt Gambier	estimate 58.6% ALP and 66.7% ALP		actual 51.5% LIB	estimate between 10.1% and 18.2% to LIB	**No**
Murray	actual 57.3% LCL		estimate 60.1% LIB and 62.4% LIB	estimate between 2.8% and 5.1% to LIB	**No**
Pirie	no LCL candidate		estimate 58.2% ALP and 79.8% ALP		**?**
Rocky River	estimate 62.4% LCL and 77.0% LCL		estimate 77.3% LIB	estimate between 0.3% and 14.9% to LIB	**?**
Stuart	no LCL candidate		estimate 70.8% ALP		**?**
Victoria	no ALP candidate		estimate 80.2% LIB and 81.0% LIB		**?**
Whyalla	actual 74.7% ALP		estimate 69.4% ALP	estimate 5.3% to LIB	**No**
STATE-WIDE AVERAGE SWING 1973 TO 1975				**2.1% to LIB (Jaensch estimate)**	

SOURCE: Tables attached.

ACTUAL AND ESTIMATED TWO PARTY PREFERRED RESULTS FOR COUNTRY SEATS AT THE STATE ELECTION OF 1965

	ALP	LCL	DLP	CP	SCL	COM / IND/other	INFORMAL VOTES	TOTAL VOTES	FORMAL VOTES
Albert	LCL candidate elected unopposed								
Alexandra	4068	5557					185	9810	9625
	42.3	57.7							100.0
Angas	LCL candidate elected unopposed								
Barossa	6015	5405	165		104		170	11859	11689
	51.5	46.2	1.4		0.9				100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:								
	Distribute SCL votes as per Torrens.								
	6096	5417	175.4						11689
	52.2	46.3	1.5						100.0
	Estimate 1: Distribute DLP votes as per Chaffey.								
	53.3	46.7							100.0
	Estimate 2: Distribute DLP votes as per Torrens.								
	53.4	46.6							100.0
Burra	2101	3467					78	5646	5568
	37.7	62.3							100.0
Chaffey	3599	3499					189	7287	7098
	50.7	49.3							100.0
Eyre	2725	4130					110	6965	6855
	39.8	60.2							100.0
Flinders	2680	3678	508				97	6963	6866
	39.0	53.6	7.4						100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:								
	Estimate 1: Distribute DLP votes as per Chaffey.								
	44.5	55.5							100.0
	Estimate 2: Distribute DLP votes as per Torrens.								
	45.4	54.6							100.0
Frome	2666	1799	142				68	4675	4607
	57.9	39.0	3.1						100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:								
	Estimate 1: Distribute DLP votes as per Chaffey.								
	60.1	39.9							100.0
	Estimate 2: Distribute DLP votes as per Torrens.								
	60.5	39.5							100.0
Gawler	16413	6441			569	1893	651	25967	25316
	64.8	25.4							90.3
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:								
	Distribute SCL votes as per Torrens, but distribute the SCL votes that would have gone to the DLP, 75% (43 votes) to the ALP and 25% (14 votes) to the LCL.								
	16900	6523			0	1893			25316
	No clues about how to distribute IND votes. The result must lie between all IND votes going to ALP and all IND votes going to LCL.								
	Estimate 1: All IND to ALP								
	74.2	25.8							100.0
	Estimate 2: All IND votes to LCL.								
	66.8	33.2							100.0
Gouger	3094	5384					223	8701	8478
	36.5	63.5							100.0

continues

ACTUAL AND ESTIMATED TWO PARTY PREFERRED RESULTS FOR COUNTRY SEATS AT THE STATE ELECTION OF 1965

	ALP	LCL	DLP	CP	SCL	COM / IND/other	INFORMAL VOTES	TOTAL VOTES	FORMAL VOTES
Gumeracha	1449	4365	420		375	130	143	6882	6739
	21.5	64.8	6.2		5.6	1.9			100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:								
	Distribute all Communist Party votes to ALP.								
	1579	4365	420		375				
	Distribute SCL votes as per Torrens.								
	1872	4410	458						6739
	27.8	65.4	6.8						100.0
	Estimate 1: Distribute DLP votes as per Chaffey.								
	32.8	67.2							100.0
	Estimate 2: Distribute DLP votes as per Torrens.								
	33.6	66.4							100.0
Light	LCL candidate elected unopposed								
Millicent	4160	2569					78	6807	6729
	61.8	38.2							100.0
Mt Gambier	5399	3507					166	9072	8906
	60.6	39.4						96.8	100.0
Murray	5144	2522					152	7818	7666
	67.1	32.9							100.0
Onkaparinga	2608	3836			278		122	6844	6722
	38.8	57.1			4.1				100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:								
	Distribute SCL votes as per Torrens, but distribute the SCL votes that would have gone to the DLP, 75% (21 votes) to the ALP and 25% (7 votes) to the LCL.								
	42.3	57.7							100.0
Port Pirie	5468 no LCL candidate					649	204	6321	6117
Ridley	2215	4483					106	6804	6698
	33.1	66.9							100.0
Rocky River	1832	3652					96	5580	5484
	33.4	66.6							100.0
Stirling	2011	4906					72	6989	6917
	29.1	70.9							100.0
Stuart	6618 no LCL candidate					926	336	7880	7544
Victoria	2713	3511		421		221	59	6925	6866
	39.5	51.1		6.1		3.2			100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:								
	Distribute CP votes as per Eyre								
	42.5	54.3				3.2			100.0
	No clues about how to distribute IND votes. The result must lie between all IND votes going to ALP and all IND votes going to LCL								
	Estimate 1: All IND to ALP								
	45.7	54.3							100.0
	Estimate 2: All IND to LCL								
	42.5	57.5							100.0
Wallaroo	3346	2313					112	5771	5659
	59.1	40.9							100.0
Whyalla	7589	no LCL candidate	1043			332+544	348	9856	9508
Yorke Peninsula	1875	4276					111	6262	6151
	30.5	69.5							100.0

DLP votes were actually distributed in Chaffey: 124 total DLP votes distributed 86 to ALP, 27 to LIB and 11 to IND.

(I split the DLP votes that would have gone to the IND candidate equally between ALP and LCL.)

DLP votes were actually distributed in Torrens: 1167 total DLP votes distributed 1008 to ALP and 159 to LCL

CP votes were actually distributed in Eyre: 1806 CP votes went 924 to LCL and 882 to ALP.

SCL votes were actually distributed in Torrens: 310 total votes went 242 to the ALP, 37 to LCL and 31 to DLP.

SOURCE: my calculations from South Australia, 1965, Periodical and General Elections, 1965, SA Parliamentary Paper No.73 of 1965-66.

ACTUAL AND ESTIMATED TWO PARTY PREFERRED RESULTS FOR COUNTRY SEATS AT THE STATE ELECTION OF 1968

	ALP	LCL	DLP	CP	SCL IND/other	INFORMAL VOTES	TOTAL VOTES	FORMAL VOTES
Albert	1783	5872				125	7780	7655
	23.3	76.7						100.0
Alexandra	6026	6532	493			255	13306	13051
	46.2	50.0	3.8					100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	Estimate 1: Distribute DLP votes as per Chaffey.							
	46.7	53.3						100.0
	Estimate 2: Distribute DLP votes as per Murray.							
	47.6	52.4						100.0
Angas	2045	4351				135	6531	6396
	32.0	68.0						100.0
Barossa	8792	7608	216		138	331	17085	16754
	52.5	45.4	1.3		0.8			100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	SCL votes were not distributed in any seat in 1968. The result must lie between all SCL to ALP and all SCL to LCL.							
	8930	7608	216			331	17085	16754
	8792	7746	216			331	17085	16754
	Estimate 1: Distribute DLP votes as per Chaffey.							
	53.5	46.5 (all SCL to ALP)						100.0
	52.7	47.3 (all SCL to LCL)						100.0
	Estimate 2: Distribute DLP votes as per Murray.							
	53.8	46.2 (all SCL to ALP)						100.0
	52.9	47.1 (all SCL to LCL)						100.0
Burra	1767	3131	602.0			70	5570	5500
	32.1	56.9	10.9					100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	Estimate 1: Distribute DLP votes as per Chaffey.							
	33.8	66.2						100.0
	Estimate 2: Distribute DLP votes as per Murray.							
	36.1	63.9						100.0
Chaffey	3117	3667		377		197	7358	7161
	43.5	51.2		5.3				100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	DLP votes have already been counted out.							
	Estimate 1: Distribute CP votes as per Alexandra.							
	45.6	54.4						100.0
	Estimate 2: Distribute CP votes as per Eyre.							
	45.1	54.9						100.0
Eyre	3987+3269					89	7345	7256
	100.0							100.0
	Two LCL candidates, one ALP and one CP candidate. ALP and CP candidates counted out.							
	At the previous stage, before the ALP votes were distributed:							
	5725	1531						7256
	78.9	21.1						100.0

continues

ACTUAL AND ESTIMATED TWO PARTY PREFERRED RESULTS FOR COUNTRY SEATS AT THE STATE ELECTION OF 1968

	ALP	LCL	DLP	CP	SCL IND/other	INFORMAL VOTES	TOTAL VOTES	FORMAL VOTES
Flinders	2512	4285	451			137	7385	7248
	34.7	59.1	6.2					100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	Estimate 1: Distribute DLP votes as per Chaffey.							
	35.6	64.4						100.0
	Estimate 2: Distribute DLP votes as per Murray.							
	36.9	63.1						100.0
Frome	2672	1874				88	4634	4546
	58.8	41.2						100.0
Gawler	20573	9720			1374	901	32568	31667
	65.0	30.7			4.3			100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	SCL votes not distributed in any seat. The result must lie between all SCL to ALP and all SCL to LCL.							
	Estimate 1: Allocate all SCL votes to ALP.							
	69.3	30.7						100.0
	Estimate 2: Allocate all SCL votes to LCL.							
	65.0	35.0						100.0
Gouger	4139	6557	261		579	305	11841	11536
	35.9	56.8	2.3		5.0			100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	Distribute DLP votes as per Chaffey.							
	36.2	58.8			5.0			100.0
	Distribute DLP votes as per Murray.							
	36.7	58.3			5.0			100.0
	SCL votes not distributed in any seat. The result must lie between all SCL to ALP and all SCL to LCL.							
	Estimate 1: Allocate all SCL votes to ALP.							
	41.2	58.8 (DLP as per Chaffey)						100.0
	41.7	58.3 (DLP as per Murray)						100.0
	Estimate 2: Allocate all SCL votes to LCL.							
	36.2	63.8 (DLP as per Chaffey)						100.0
	36.7	63.3 (DLP as per Murray)						100.0
Gumeracha	2245	4740				115	7100	6985
	32.1	67.9						100.0
Light	1749	3873				100	5722	5622
	31.1	68.9						100.0
Millicent	3635	3634				73	7342	7269
	50.0	50.0						100.0
Mt Gambier	5567	3926				198	9691	9493
	58.6	41.4						100.0
Murray	4116	4157				142	8415	8273
	49.8	50.2						100.0
Onkaparinga	2356	4228		759		145	7488	7343
	32.1	57.6		10.3				100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	Estimate 1: Distribute CP votes as per Alexandra.							
	36.1	63.9						
	Estimate 2: Distribute CP votes as per Eyre.							
	35.1	64.9						

continues

ACTUAL AND ESTIMATED TWO PARTY PREFERRED RESULTS FOR COUNTRY SEATS AT THE STATE ELECTION OF 1968

	ALP	LCL	DLP	CP	SCL	IND/other	INFORMAL VOTES	TOTAL VOTES	FORMAL VOTES
Port Pirie	4301	1378				547	141	6367	6226
	69.1	22.1				8.8			100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:								
	No clues about how to distribute IND votes; the result must lie between all IND to ALP and all IND to LCL.								
	Estimate 1: Allocate all IND votes to ALP.								
	77.9	22.1							
	Estimate 2: Allocate all IND votes to LCL.								
	69.1	30.9							
Ridley		3115				3901	99	7115	7016
	0.0	44.4				55.6			100.0
	At the previous stage, before the ALP votes were distributed:								
	1568	2624				2824	99	7115	7016
	22.3	37.4				40.3			
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:								
	No clues about how to distribute IND votes; the result must lie between all IND to ALP and all IND to LCL.								
	Estimate 1: Allocate all IND votes to ALP.								
	62.6	37.4							
	Estimate 2: Allocate all IND votes to LIB.								
	22.3	77.7							
Rocky	1565	3671					110	5346	5236
River	29.9	70.1							100.0
Stirling	1989	5124					122	7235	7113
	28.0	72.0							100.0
Stuart	6002	2124					169	8295	8126
	73.9	26.1							100.0
Victoria	527	4439				1942	149	7057	6908
	7.6	64.3				28.1			100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:								
	No clues about how to distribute IND votes; the result must lie between all IND to ALP and all IND to LCL.								
	ESTIMATE 1: Allocate all IND votes to ALP.								
	35.7	64.3							
	ESTIMATE 2: Allocate all IND votes to LCL.								
	7.6	92.4							
Wallaroo	2899	2612	67				74	5652	5578
	52.0	46.8	1.2						100.0
	Distribute DLP votes as per Chaffey.								
	52.2	47.8							
	Distribute DLP votes as per Murray.								
	52.4	47.6							
Whyalla	9268	3072					449	12789	12340
	75.1	24.9							100.0
Yorke	1563	4651					99	6313	6214
Peninsula	25.2	74.8							100.0

CP votes were actually distributed in Alexandra: 350 CP votes went 116 (33.1%) to ALP, 183 to LCL and 51 to DLP.

CP votes were actually distributed in Eyre: 775 CP votes went 225 (29.0%) to ALP, 550 to LCL.

Where CP votes need to be distributed and there is no DLP candidate I have worked on 30% CP votes to ALP, 70% to LCL.

DLP votes were actually distributed in Chaffey: 329 total DLP votes went 44 to ALP, 275 to LCL and 10 to CP.

(Where DLP votes need to be distributed and there is no CP candidate I have worked on 49 DLP votes to ALP, 280 to LCL.)

DLP votes were actually distributed in Murray: 178 total DLP votes went 65 (36.5%) to ALP, 113 to LCL.

SOURCE: my calculations from: South Australia, 1968, Periodical and General Elections, 1968, SA Parliamentary Paper No.80 of 1968-69.

ACTUAL AND ESTIMATED TWO PARTY PREFERRED RESULTS FOR COUNTRY SEATS AT THE STATE ELECTION OF 1970

	ALP	LCL	DLP	CP	IND / other	INFORMAL VOTES	TOTAL VOTES	FORMAL VOTES
Alexandra	2520	5830		1373		116	9839	9723
	25.9	60.0		14.1				100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	CP votes were not distributed in any seat in 1970. My guess is that the result would lie between							
	a 50:50 split of CP votes between ALP and LCL, and all CP votes to LCL.							
	Estimate 1: CP votes split 50:50 ALP:LCL							
	33.0	67.0						100.0
	Estimate 2: All CP to LCL.							
	25.9	74.1						100.0
Chaffey	4870	4824				167	9861	9694
	50.2	49.8						100.0
Eyre	2669	4510		864		193	8236	8043
	33.2	56.1		10.7				100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	CP votes were not distributed in any seat in 1970. My guess is that the result would lie between							
	a 50:50 split of CP votes between ALP and LCL, and all CP votes to LCL.							
	Estimate 1: CP votes split 50:50 ALP:LCL							
	38.6	61.4						100.0
	Estimate 2: All CP to LCL.							
	33.2	66.8						100.0
Flinders	3248	5726	586			154	9714	9560
	34.0	59.9	6.1					100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	DLP votes were actually distributed in Chaffey: 154 total DLP votes distributed 16 to ALP, 98 to LCL and							
	40 to Ind Liberal. With no IND Liberal candidate in Flinders, my guess is that the result would lie between							
	a 50:50 split of DLP votes between ALP and LCL, and all DLP votes to LCL.							
	Estimate 1: DLP votes split 50:50 ALP:LCL							
	37.0	63.0						100.0
	Estimate 2: All DLP to LCL.							
	34.0	66.0						100.0
Frome	3451	3881	302			136	7770	7634
	45.2	50.8	4.0					100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	DLP votes were actually distributed in Chaffey: 154 total DLP votes distributed 16 to ALP, 98 to LCL and							
	40 to Ind Liberal. With no IND Liberal candidate in Flinders, my guess is that the result would lie between							
	a 50:50 split of DLP votes between ALP and LCL, and all DLP votes to LCL.							
	Estimate 1: DLP votes split 50:50 ALP:LCL							
	47.2	52.8						100.0
	Estimate 2: All DLP to LCL.							
	45.2	54.8						100.0

continues

ACTUAL AND ESTIMATED TWO PARTY PREFERRED RESULTS FOR COUNTRY SEATS AT THE STATE ELECTION OF 1970

	ALP	LCL	DLP	CP	IND / other	INFORMAL VOTES	TOTAL VOTES	FORMAL VOTES
Gouger	3736	4758		731		102	9327	9225
	40.5	51.6		7.9				100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	CP votes were not distributed in any seat in 1970. My guess is that the result would lie between							
	a 50:50 split of CP votes between ALP and LCL, and all CP votes to LCL.							
	Estimate 1: CP votes split 50:50 ALP:LCL							
	44.5	55.5						100.0
	Estimate 2: All CP to LCL.							
	40.5	59.5						100.0
Goyder	2685	5616		851		110	9261	9151
	29.3	61.4		9.3				100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	CP votes were not distributed in any seat in 1970. My guess is that the result would lie between							
	a 50:50 split of CP votes between ALP and LCL, and all CP votes to LCL.							
	Estimate 1: CP votes split 50:50 ALP:LCL							
	34.0	66.0						100.0
	Estimate 2: All CP to LCL.							
	29.3	70.7						100.0
Heysen	3165	6589				226	9980	9754
	32.4	67.6						100.0
Kavel		5513		2922		810	9245	8435
		65.4		34.6				100.0
	no ALP candidate.							
Light	4101	4963			227	137	9428	9291
	44.1	53.4			2.4			100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	There is no clue as to how the IND votes would have been distributed. The result would have to lie between							
	all IND votes to ALP and all IND votes to LCL.							
	Estimate 1: All IND to ALP							
	46.6	53.4						100.0
	Estimate 2: All IND to LCL.							
	44.1	55.9						100.0
Mallee	2225	5382		1654		123	9384	9261
	24.0	58.1		17.9				100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	CP votes were not distributed in any seat in 1970. My guess is that the result would lie between							
	a 50:50 split of CP votes between ALP and LCL, and all CP votes to LCL.							
	Estimate 1: CP votes split 50:50 ALP:LCL							
	33.0	67.0						100.0
	Estimate 2: All CP to LCL.							
	24.0	76.0						100.0
Millicent	5016	4273				139	9428	9289
	54.0	46.0						100.0

continues

ACTUAL AND ESTIMATED TWO PARTY PREFERRED RESULTS FOR COUNTRY SEATS AT THE STATE ELECTION OF 1970

	ALP	LCL	DLP	CP	IND / other	INFORMAL VOTES	TOTAL VOTES	FORMAL VOTES
Mt Gambier	5253	2210			2117	157	9737	9580
	54.8	23.1			22.1			100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	There is no clue as to how the IND votes would have been distributed. The result would have to lie between							
	all IND votes to ALP and all IND votes to LCL.							
	Estimate 1: All IND to ALP							
	76.9	23.1						100.0
	Estimate 2: All IND to LCL.							
	54.8	45.2						100.0
Murray	4601	4916	174		119	143	9953	9810
	46.9	50.1	1.8		1.2			100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	There is no clue as to how the IND votes would have been distributed. The result would have to lie between							
	all IND votes to ALP and all IND votes to LCL.							
	SET 1: All IND to ALP							
	4720	4916	174			143	9953	9810
	48.1	50.1	1.8					100.0
	DLP votes were actually distributed in Chaffey: 154 total DLP votes distributed 16 to ALP, 98 to LCL and							
	40 to Ind Liberal. With no IND Liberal candidate in Flinders, my guess is that the result would lie between							
	a 50:50 split of DLP votes between ALP and LCL, and all DLP votes to LCL.							
	Estimate 1: DLP votes split 50:50 ALP:LCL							
	49.0	**51.0**						100.0
	Estimate 2: All DLP votes to LCL.							
	48.1	51.9						100.0
	SET 2: All IND to LCL.							
	4601	5035	174			143	9953	9810
	46.9	51.3	1.8					100.0
	Estimate 3: DLP votes split 50:50 ALP :LCL							
	47.8	52.2						100.0
	Estimate 4: All DLP votes to LCL.							
	46.9	**53.1**						100.0
Pirie	7008	2393				198	9599	9401
	74.5	25.5						100.0
Rocky River	2602	5205		1446		120	9373	9253
	28.1	56.3		15.6				100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	CP votes were not distributed in any seat in 1970. My guess is that the result would lie between							
	a 50:50 split of CP votes between ALP and LCL, and all CP votes to LCL.							
	Estimate 1: CP votes split 50:50 ALP:LCL							
	35.9	64.1						100.0
	Estimate 2: All CP to LCL.							
	28.1	71.9						100.0
Stuart	7080	2238				279	9597	9318
	76.0	24.0						100.0

Continues

ACTUAL AND ESTIMATED TWO PARTY PREFERRED RESULTS FOR COUNTRY SEATS AT THE STATE ELECTION OF 1970

	ALP	LCL	DLP	CP	IND / other	INFORMAL VOTES	TOTAL VOTES	FORMAL VOTES
Victoria	2435	5383		1406		121	9345	9224
	26.4	58.4		15.2				100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	CP votes were not distributed in any seat in 1970. My guess is that the result would lie between a 50:50 split of CP votes between ALP and LCL, and all CP votes to LCL.							
	Estimate 1: CP votes split 50:50 ALP:LCL							
	34.0	66.0						100.0
	Estimate 2: All CP to LCL.							
	26.4	73.6						100.0
Whyalla	4798	1032			463+2144	224	8661	8437
	56.9	12.2			30.9			100.0
	IND Labor candidate received 463 votes; IND candidate received 2144 votes.							
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	IND Labor votes were not distributed in any seat in 1970. My guess is that the result would lie between a 50:50 split of IND Labor votes between ALP and LCL, and all IND Labor votes to ALP.							
	SET 1: IND Labor split 50:50 between ALP and LCL.							
	5030	1264			2144	224	8661	8437
	IND votes were not distributed in any seat in 1970. The result must lie between all IND votes to the ALP, and all IND votes to LCL.							
	Estimate 1: All IND votes to ALP							
	85.0	15.0						100.0
	Estimate 2: All IND votes to LCL.							
	59.6	40.4						100.0
	SET 2: All IND Labor to ALP							
	5261	1032			2144	224	8661	8437
	IND votes were not distributed in any seat in 1970. The result must lie between all IND votes to the ALP, and all IND votes to LCL.							
	Estimate 1: All IND votes to ALP							
	87.8	12.2						100.0
	Estimate 2: All IND votes to LCL.							
	62.4	37.6						100.0

DLP votes were actually distributed in Chaffey: 154 total DLP votes distributed 16 to ALP, 98 to LCL and 40 to Ind Liberal.

SOURCE: my calculations from South Australia, 1970, General Elections, 1970, SA Parliamentary Paper No.73 of 1970-71.

ACTUAL AND ESTIMATED TWO PARTY PREFERRED RESULTS FOR COUNTRY SEATS AT THE STATE ELECTION OF 1973

	ALP	LCL	CP	IND / other	INFORMAL VOTES	TOTAL VOTES	FORMAL VOTES
Alexandra		5229	3523	1642	536	10930	10394
		50.3	33.9	15.8			100.0
	no ALP candidate						
Chaffey	4830	5561			233	10624	10391
	46.5	53.5					100.0
Eyre	2202	5848			327	8377	8050
	27.4	72.6					100.0
Flinders		4297	5221		672	10190	9518
		45.1	54.9				100.0
	no ALP candidate						
Frome	2939	4584			224	7747	7523
	39.1	60.9					100.0
Gouger	2939	4692	1691		204	9526	9322
	31.5	50.3	18.1				100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:						
	CP votes were not distributed in any seat in 1973. My guess is that the result would lie between						
	a 50:50 split of CP votes between ALP and LCL, and all CP votes to LCL.						
	Estimate 1: CP votes split 50:50 ALP and LCL.						
	40.6	59.4					100.0
	Estimate 2: All CP votes to LCL						
	31.5	68.5					100.0
Goyder		4678	2811	1597	476	9562	9086
		51.5	30.9	17.6			100.0
	no ALP candidate						
Heysen		7327		2708	694	10729	10035
		73.0		27.0			100.0
	no ALP candidate						
Kavel	2619	5267	1550		221	9657	9436
	27.8	55.8	16.4				100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:						
	CP votes were not distributed in any seat in 1973. My guess is that the result would lie between						
	a 50:50 split of CP votes between ALP and LCL, and all CP votes to LCL.						
	Estimate 1: CP votes split 50:50 ALP and LCL.						
	36.0	64.0					100.0
	Estimate 2: All CP votes to LCL						
	27.8	72.2					100.0
Light	3390	6031		294	305	10020	9715
	34.9	62.1		3.0			100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:						
	Combined Party votes were not distributed in any seat in 1973. The result must lie between						
	all Combined Party votes to ALP and all to LCL.						
	Estimate 1: All Combined Party votes to ALP						
	37.9	62.1					
	Estimate 2: All Combined Party votes to LCL						
	34.9	65.1					
Mallee		4901	4318		525	9744	9219
		53.2	46.8				100.0
	no ALP candidate						

continues

ACTUAL AND ESTIMATED TWO PARTY PREFERRED RESULTS FOR COUNTRY SEATS AT THE STATE ELECTION OF 1973

	ALP	LCL	CP	IND / other	INFORMAL VOTES	TOTAL VOTES	FORMAL VOTES
Millicent	5724	4404			151	10279	10128
	56.5	43.5					100.0
Mt Gambier	5991	2566		1671	247	10475	10228
	58.6	25.1		16.3			100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:						
	IND LIB votes were not distributed in any seat in 1973. My guess is that the result would lie between						
	a 50:50 split of IND LIB votes between ALP and LCL, and all IND LIB votes to LCL.						
	Estimate 1: IND LIB votes split 50:50 ALP and LCL.						
	66.7	33.3					
	Estimate 2: All IND LIB votes to LCL						
	58.6	41.4					
Murray	4421	5929			253	10603	10350
	42.7	57.3					100.0
Pirie	6749			2385	602	9736	9134
	73.9			26.1			100.0
	no LCL candidate						
Rocky River	2147	4454	2716		201	9518	9317
	23.0	47.8	29.2				100.0
	In the actual count, the ALP first preferences were distributed.						
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:						
	CP votes were not distributed in any seat in 1973. My guess is that the result would lie between						
	a 50:50 split of CP votes between ALP and LCL, and all CP votes to LCL.						
	Estimate 1: CP votes split 50:50 ALP and LCL.						
	37.6	62.4					100.0
	Estimate 2: All CP votes to LCL						
	23.0	77.0					
Stuart	8702			2012	822	11536	10714
	81.2			18.8			100.0
	no LCL candidate						
Victoria		5768	3232		598	9598	9000
		64.1	35.9				100.0
	no ALP candidate						
Whyalla	6878	2334			316	9528	9212
	74.7	25.3					100

IND votes were actually distributed in Gouger: 489 total DLP votes distributed 47 to ALP, 190 to LCL and 252 to CP.

ALP votes were actually distributed in Rocky River: 2147 total ALP votes were distributed 226 to LCL and 1921 to CP.

SOURCE: my calculations from South Australia, 1973, Periodical and General Elections, 1973, SA Parliamentary Paper No.80 of 1973.

ACTUAL AND ESTIMATED TWO PARTY PREFERRED RESULTS FOR COUNTRY SEATS AT THE STATE ELECTION OF 1975

	ALP	LIB	LM	CP	COM / IND/other	INFORMAL VOTES	TOTAL VOTES	FORMAL VOTES
Alexandra	2447	6270	2775	435		297	12224	11927
	20.5	52.6	23.3	3.6				100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	First estimate: Distribute CP votes as per Gouger, then LM as per Light.							
	2492	6594	2841					11927
	25.7	74.3						100.0
	Second estimate: Distribute CP votes as per Goyder, then LM as per Light.							
	2473	6547	2906					11927
	25.6	74.4						100.0
	Third estimate: Distribute LM votes as per Millicent, then CP as per Millicent.							
	2761	8149		1017				11927
	24.1	75.9 (as per distribution of LM and CP votes in Millicent)						100.0
	Fourth estimate: Distribute LM votes as per Rocky River, then CP as per Millicent.							
	2684	7939		1304				11927
	23.7	76.3						100.0
Chaffey	3562	6281	1391			418	11652	11234
	31.7	55.9	12.4					100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	Light was the only seat in which LM votes were distributed just to ALP and LIB. Distribute LM as per Light:							
	34.2	65.8						100.0
Eyre	1764	6478		532		230	9004	8774
	20.1	73.8		6.1				100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	Millicent was the only seat in which CP votes were distributed just to ALP and LIB. Distribute CP as per Millicent:							
	20.8	79.2						100.0
Flinders	2475	2398	448	5561		303	11185	10882
	22.7	22.0	4.1	51.1				100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	First estimate: Distribute LM votes as per Millicent, then CP as per Millicent.							
	2526	2701		5655				10882
	29.1	70.9 (as per distribution of LM and CP votes in Millicent)						100.0
	Second estimate: Distribute LM votes as per Rocky River, then CP as per Millicent.							
	2513	2667		5701				10882
	29.0	71.0						100.0
	Third estimate: Distribute CP votes as per Gouger, then LM as per Light.							
	3049	6536	1297					10882
	30.4	69.6						100.0
	Fourth estimate: Distribute CP votes as per Goyder, then LM as per Light.							
	2813	5942	2127					10882
	29.8	70.2						100.0
Frome	2638	4242	785			224	7889	7665
	34.4	55.3	10.2					100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	Light was the only seat in which LM votes were distributed just to ALP and LIB. Distribute LM as per Light:							
	36.5	63.5						100.0

continues

ACTUAL AND ESTIMATED TWO PARTY PREFERRED RESULTS FOR COUNTRY SEATS AT THE STATE ELECTION OF 1975

	ALP	LIB	LM	CP	COM / IND/other	INFORMAL VOTES	TOTAL VOTES	FORMAL VOTES
Gouger	3103	4926	1821			189	10039	9850
	31.5	50.0	18.5					100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	Light was the only seat in which LM votes were distributed just to ALP and LIB. Distribute LM as per Light:							
	35.2	64.8						100.0
Goyder	1842	3491	4717			260	10310	10050
	18.3	34.7	46.9					100.0
	In the actual count the ALP candidate was now excluded.							
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	Light was the only seat in which LM votes were distributed just to ALP and LIB. Distribute LM as per Light:							
	27.7	72.3						100.0
Heysen	2768	5613	3378			333	12092	11759
	23.5	47.7	28.7					100.0
	In the actual count the ALP candidate was now excluded.							
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	Light was the only seat in which LM votes were distributed just to ALP and LIB. Distribute LM as per Light:							
	29.3	70.7						100.0
Kavel	1854	5292	2418	477	50	253	10344	10091
	18.4	52.4	24.0	4.7	0.5			100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	There is no clue as to how the National Centre Party votes would have been distributed. The result must lie							
	between all NCP votes to ALP and all to LIB:							
	SET 1: ALL NCP TO ALP							
	1904	5292	2418	477		253	10344	10091
	First estimate: Distribute LM votes as per Millicent, then CP as per Millicent.							
	2178	6929		984				10091
	22.7	77.3 (as per distribution of LM and CP votes in Millicent)						100.0
	Second estimate: Distribute LM votes as per Rocky River, then CP as per Millicent .							
	2111	6746		1234				10091
	22.3	77.7						100.0
	Third estimate: Distribute CP votes as per Gouger, then LM as per Light.							
	1953	5647	2491					10091
	24.3	**75.7**						100.0
	Fourth estimate: Distribute CP votes as per Goyder, then LM as per Light.							
	1933	5596	2562					10091
	24.2	75.8						100.0
	SET 2: ALL NCP TO LIB.							
	1854	5342	2418	477		253	10344	10091
	Fifth estimate: Distribute LM votes as per Millicent, then CP as per Millicent (all NCP to LIB).							
	2128	6979		984				10091
	22.2	77.8 (as per distribution of LM and CP votes in Millicent)						100.0
	Sixth estimate: Distribute LM votes as per Rocky River, then CP as per Millicent (all NCP to LIB).							
	2061	6796		1234				10091
	21.8	**78.2**						100.0
	Seventh estimate: Distribute CP votes as per Gouger, then LM as per Light (all NCP to LIB).							
	1903	5697	2491					10091
	23.8	76.2						100.0
	Eighth estimate: Distribute CP votes as per Goyder, then LM as per Light (all NCP to LIB).							
	1883	5646	2562					10091
	23.7	76.3						100.0

continues

ACTUAL AND ESTIMATED TWO PARTY PREFERRED RESULTS FOR COUNTRY SEATS AT THE STATE ELECTION OF 1975

	ALP	LIB	LM	CP	COM / IND/other	INFORMAL VOTES	TOTAL VOTES	FORMAL VOTES
Light	4136	7019				364	11519	11155
	37.1	62.9						100.0
Mallee	1509	5040	1046	2443		193	10231	10038
	15.0	50.2	10.4	24.3				100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	First estimate: Distribute LM votes as per Millicent, then CP as per Millicent.							
	1627	5748		2663				10038
	19.2	80.8 (as per distribution of LM and CP votes in Millicent)						100.0
	Second estimate: Distribute LM votes as per Rocky River, then CP as per Millicent.							
	1598	5669		2771				10038
	19.0	81.0						100.0
	Third estimate: Distribute CP votes as per Gouger, then LM as per Light.							
	1761	6858	1419					10038
	20.4	79.6						100.0
	Fourth estimate: Distribute CP votes as per Goyder, then LM as per Light.							
	1657	6597	1784					10038
	20.1	79.9						100.0
Millicent	4333	6482						10815
	40.1	59.9						100.00
Mt Gambier	5530	5883						11413
	48.5	51.5						100.0
Murray	4110	6078	647	137	197	361	11530	11169
	36.8	54.4	5.8	1.2	1.8			100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	There is no clue as to how the IND votes would have been distributed. The result must lie between all IND votes to ALP and all to LIB.							
	SET 1: ALL IND TO ALP							
	4307	6078	647	137		361	11530	11169
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	First estimate: Distribute LM votes as per Millicent, then CP as per Millicent.							
	4380	6516		273				11169
	39.5	60.5 (as per distribution of LM and CP votes in Millicent)						100.0
	Second estimate: Distribute LM votes as per Rocky River, then CP as per Millicent.							
	4362	6467		340				11169
	39.4	60.6						100.0
	Third estimate: Distribute CP votes as per Gouger, then LM as per Light.							
	4321	6180	668					11169
	39.9	**60.1**						100.0
	Fourth estimate: Distribute CP votes as per Goyder, then LM as per Light.							
	4315	6165	688					11169
	39.9	60.1						100.0
	SET 2: ALL IND to LIB							
	4110	6275	647	137		361	11530	11169
	Fifth estimate: Distribute LM votes as per Millicent, then CP as per Millicent.							
	4183	6713		273				11169
	37.7	62.3 (as per distribution of LM and CP votes in Millicent)						100.0
	Sixth estimate: Distribute LM votes as per Rocky River, then CP as per Millicent.							
	4165	6664		340				11169
	37.6	**62.4**						100.0

continues

ACTUAL AND ESTIMATED TWO PARTY PREFERRED RESULTS FOR COUNTRY SEATS AT THE STATE ELECTION OF 1975

	ALP	LIB	LM	CP	COM / IND/other	INFORMAL VOTES	TOTAL VOTES	FORMAL VOTES
Murray	Seventh estimate: Distribute CP votes as per Gouger, then LM as per Light.							
Cont.	4124	6377	668					11169
	38.1	61.9						100.0
	Eighth estimate: Distribute CP votes as per Goyder, then LM as per Light.							
	4118	6362	688					11169
	38.1	61.9						100.0
Pirie	3526	502		1752	4405	352	10537	10185
	34.6	4.9		17.2	43.2			100.0
	In the actual count the LIB candidate was now excluded.							
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	Millicent was the only seat where CP votes were distributed just to ALP and LIB. Distribute CP as per Millicent:							
	36.6	20.2			43.2			100.0
	There is no clue as to how the IND LABOR votes would have been distributed. My guess is that the result							
	would lie between IND Labor going 50:50 to ALP and LIB, and all IND Labor votes to the ALP.							
	Estimate 1: ALL IND TO ALP							
	79.8	20.2						100.0
	Estimate 2: Solit IND Labor 50:50 between ALP and LIB.							
	58.2	41.8						100.0
Rocky River	1860	4679		3293		198	10030	9832
	18.9	47.6		33.5				100.0
	In the actual count the ALP candidate was now excluded.							
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	Millicent was the only seat in which CP votes were distributed just to ALP and LIB. Distribute CP as per Millicent:							
	22.7	77.3						100.0
Stuart	8847	2781	1202			794	13624	12830
	69.0	21.7	9.4					100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	Light was the only seat in which LM votes were distributed just to ALP and LIB. Distribute LM as per Light:							
	70.8	29.2						100.0
Victoria	1698	6500	796	1145		251	10390	10139
	16.7	64.1	7.9	11.3				100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	First estimate: Distribute LM votes as per Millicent, then CP as per Millicent.							
	1788	7039		1312				10139
	19.1	80.9 (as per distribution of LM and CP votes in Millicent)						100.0
	Second estimate: Distribute LM votes as per Rocky River, then CP as per Millicent.							
	1766	6979		1394				10139
	19.0	81.0						100.0
	Third estimate: Distribute CP votes as per Gouger, then LM as per Light.							
	1816	7352	971					10139
	19.8	80.2						100.0
	Fourth estimate: Distribute CP votes as per Goyder, then LM as per Light.							
	1768	7230	1142					10139
	19.7	80.3						100.0
Whyalla	6735	1879	1526			513	10653	10140
	66.4	18.5	15.0					100.0
	TO ESTIMATE THE TWO PARTY PREFERRED VOTE:							
	Light was the only seat in which LM votes were distributed just to ALP and LIB. Distribute LM as per Light:							
	69.4	30.6						100.0

Continue

CP votes were actually distributed in Gouger: 465 total CP votes distributed 48 to ALP, 346 to LIB and 71 to LM.

CP votes were actually distributed in Goyder: 510 total CP votes distributed 31 to ALP, 325 to LIB and 154 to LM.

CP votes were actually distributed in Millicent: 2149 total CP votes distributed 243 to ALP, 1906 to LIB.

CP votes were actually distributed in Mt Gambier: 839 total CP votes distributed 95 to ALP, 635 to LIB, and 109 to IND.

CP votes were actually distributed in Pirie: 2100 total CP votes distributed 144 to ALP and 1956 to Ind Labor.

LM votes were actually distributed in Millicent: 548 total LM votes distributed 62 to ALP, 371 to LIB and 115 to CP.

LM votes were actually distributed in Light: 2260 LM votes distributed 452 to ALP and 1808 to LCL.

LM votes were actually distributed in Mt Gambier: 620 total LM votes distributed 50 to ALP, 409 to LIB, 67 to CP and 94 to IND.

LM votes were actually distributed in Rocky River: 878 total LM votes distributed 75 to ALP, 528 to LIB, and 275 to CP.

SOURCE: my calculations from South Australia, 1975, Periodical and General Elections, 1975, SA Parliamentary Paper No.98 of 1975-76.