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The Australian Class Structure and Australian Politics 1931-40¹

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Abstract:

This paper presents the results of an analysis of the class structure of interwar Australia based largely on the 1933 Commonwealth census. It reviews previous analyses by academics but although contemporary journalists and political strategists. It develops an estimate of the class composition of the electorate as distinct from the general population and attempts to define the class position of voters outside of the paid workforce. It considers the question of to what extent Labor needed non-working-class votes to secure an electoral majority and how the differing social composition of the Australian states impacted on electoral outcomes and Labor strategies. It employs the method of bounds to develop some preliminary conclusions about the electoral behaviour of different social groups and concludes with some observations on the divided nature of the Australian working class and the competing strategies that parties developed in their search for an electoral majority.

¹ The PowerPoint that accompanied this presentation included some additional charts. This presentation is available from <http://geoffrobinson.info>.

1. Introduction:

In recent years there has been a substantial revival of political history in Australia, largely in response to the transformation in Australian political culture since the mid 1980s. Once historians had assumed that 'workers' voted Labor and that a Labor government would pursue class interests, with the later defined in terms of increased government ownership, a larger public sector or measures to reduce the profit share in national income. From this perspective it seemed by the 1960s that the substantive questions of Australian political history had largely been answered. Innovative historians turned to social history. From the 1980s this neglect of political history came under challenge as a result of two related events: Labor's turn towards economic liberalism and the decline in Labor support among workers. In response to these political upheavals a new political history emerged best represented by Judith Brett's work that took the collapse of old certainties to legitimate an epistemological shift, away from a focus on class, economy, institutions and towards political language and culture (Macintyre 1998).

This paper takes a somewhat different approach to both old and new traditions of Australian political historiography. The old history tended to see electoral outcomes as largely a passive reflection of existing social alignments, with short-term variation explained largely by personality and chance. The new political historiography has tended to overemphasise not so much the importance of cultural politics as the fluidity of cultural alignments (Robinson 2008). Popular commentary on Australian politics frequently jumbles elements of both approaches. The contemporary debate about the political consequences of self-employment has oscillated between reductionist assertions about the impact of (quite minor) shifts in occupational structure and sweeping generalisations about cultural transformations (Robinson 2006).

In this paper I analyse the class structure of the Australian electorate during the 1930s and its relation to the outcomes of the 1931, 1934, 1937 and 1940 federal elections. I review past interpretations of the social bases of Australian party support and then undertake very preliminary methods of bounds analysis. I suggest that although interwar Australia was probably marked by a high level of class polarisation in electoral behaviour the conservative parties were able to secure a small but significant level of working-class support. I conclude with an examination of why sections of the working-class might have been more resistant to Labor's appeal.

2. Australian politics in the 1930s:

Australian elections were held in 1931, 1934, 1937 and 1940 for the Senate and House of representatives. In this period Representatives electorates were frequently uncontested by one or other of the major parties. In this paper I employ the Senate vote as a more reliable indicator of party support. It is not a perfect measure due to the high informal vote and the substantial advantage that accrued to the party that secured first position on the Senate ballot paper. I have combined the vote for the Labor splinter parties associated with Jack Lang with those for the mainstream ALP to construct a single Labor vote.

The 1930s were not good years for Labor. Judith Brett has argued that Joseph Lyons, Prime Minister at the 1931, 1934 and 1937 elections had a unique appeal to the middle class, but even in 1940 at Robert Menzies' first election the Coalition polled 50.4% in the Senate to 47% for the combined Labor factions (Brett 2003, 94-115). Rarely has an Australian political party been as fortunate as Labor in 1940.² Labor made only a patchy recovery from its severe

² All electoral statistics are sourced from Hughes & Graham (1968).

defeat in 1931 that followed the unhappy career of the Scullin government. However even in 1931 the shattered and divided Labor factions managed a total Labor Senate vote of 41.4% and if Communists are included the total left vote was 42.3%. This was one of the highest levels of left party support in the world at this time comparable to Austria, Norway and Sweden and far ahead of the United Kingdom (Mackie & Rose 1982). Despite the epidemic division of the ALP in NSW Labor support was actually most stable here, Tasmania and WA were most volatile mainly due to Tasmanian Labor's debacle in 1931 (when it polled only 26.9%) and the heavy swing against Labor in Western Australia in 1940, which was perhaps an expression of the imperialist and conservative patriotism the state had displayed during World War One.

[Table 1]

During the 1930s the Communist Party and Social Credit won significant support, if their vote is combined with Labor to form a total 'left vote' the level of variance is somewhat reduced.

[Table 2]

Although a majority of Australian voters in the 1930s were manual workers (and their dependants), this manual working class was divided between a core working class, mostly male and unionised workers employed in manufacturing, mining and transport and a fringe working class employed in agriculture and services, disproportionately female and nonunionised. The electoral significance of this later stratum has been underestimated by previous scholars who have tended to identify either the petty bourgeoisie or non-manual workers as distinctively volatile in their electoral behaviour.

Australia was the first nation created under global capitalism. The Australian economy was modern before its time, it lacked a peasantry but it also had a large services sector which anticipated future trends in global capitalist development. Australia lacked a peasantry but compared to the core industrial capitalist economies it had a large services sector. The Australian working class was large by international standards and highly mobilised but the Australian right undertook a successful counter mobilisation that detached key sections of Labor's working-class support, Thus Labor found itself stranded on the edge of victory with levels of support in the mid to high 40s.

3. Why labourism?

The first generation of writers on Australian party politics, such as V. G. Childe and W. K. Hancock adopted a class politics interpretation of Australian electoral behaviour. They usually took the categories of employee, manual worker, 'working class', trade union member and committed Labor voter as identical. They contended that Labor's 'working class' base was insufficient to constitute an electoral majority, and that to win government Labor had to woo non-working class groups, in particular the 'little men', such as small farmers and businessmen, who felt victimised by large-scale capital (Childe 1964, 7, 80-2. Hancock 1945, 165-66.). Labor's poor national performance in the 1920s was attributed to the acceptance by the conservatives of state intervention and the trade union domination of the ALP, which repelled low-income earners who were not from the working-class (Anonymous 1929, 557-59). Within this interpretation Australia appeared as the first country where democratic socialists had fully accepted the revisionist conclusion that an electoral majority required support from outside the working class (Michels 1962, 254). The middle

strata were identified as swinging voters whose ambiguous class position meant that they lacked strong party loyalty. Later historians have similarly tended to assume that there existed a distinct population of 'swinging voters'. Analysis of the electoral upheavals of 1928-32 has remained at an impressionistic level, an example of what Morgan Kousser called 'common-sense correlation' based on an consideration of electoral maps that show Labor winning 'middle-class' or 'residential' electorates in 1929-30 which were then regained by the conservatives in 1931-32 (Kousser 1973, 238). Labor is assumed to have advanced out from its working-class core in 1929-30 to attract middle-class voters, concerned to defend industrial arbitration and living standards, but was then driven back to its base as the middle-class rallied en bloc to the conservative parties in 1931-32. So severe were Labor's setbacks in the early 1930s that some suggested many workers did desert Labor then, perhaps particularly the unemployed, but they are still considered insignificant compared to the middle-class flight (Hancock 1945, 184. Denning 1982, 70. Robertson 1974, 164. Head 1978, 14, 24. McCarthy 1974, 113).

The argument that Labor had to pursue the votes of small capitalists and the self-employed was at first challenged by socialists in the early twentieth century. Like contemporary Marxists they identified the 'working-class' with all recipients of wage and salary income, so that clerical and professional employees were identified as 'brain workers'. From this perspective there was a massive working class majority: 85% was popular figure (Fieldes 2005, 56-71. Hughes 1970, 26. Lovell 1997, 263-264, 276). Yet from 1910 it became clear that clerical and professional workers were an electoral bulwark of the Labor's opponents. Pragmatic labourists largely lost interest in white-collar workers, with the exception of public servants. It was only in 1929 that federal Labor explicitly campaigned as an employee's party that appealed all wage-earners on the theme of the defence of industrial arbitration (*SMH*, 10.10.29, 9. 11.10.29, 8). Paradoxically Labor's emergence as serious contender for office was probably associated with it developing a more restricted class basis among manual workers rather than being a populist protest party, the German Social Democrats underwent a similar transformation in the 1920s (Robinson 2003. Harsh 1989). This neglect of the political significance of white-collar workers was mirrored by broader scholarship. Those on the left were disappointed by the failure of white-collar workers to behave as expected. It was not until John Rickard's work that academic historians emphasised the importance of white-collar workers (Turner 1965, 45. Campbell 1944, 14. Fitzpatrick 1968, 176. Rydon 1979. Rickard 1976, 252, 299-304).

Journalists and political strategist during the interwar years proposed competing electoral sociologies. Much commentary tended to focus on electorates rather than overall vote shares. 'Industrial areas' were regarded as Labor strongholds distinct from 'residential areas' which were defined as non-Labor strongholds. Changes in the partisan composition of electorates were often attributed to changes in these social characteristics, such as industrialisation, or in rural areas to Labor's efficacy in getting itinerant workers on the electoral roll (*SMH*, 1.10.29. 5. 4.10.29, 10. 10.29, 17. 14.10.29, 12. 30.9.30, 8. 1.10.30, 12. 8.10.30, 12. 10.10.30, 10. National Association 1929: 22. Abbott 1930). However when analysts and some politicians interpreted short-term electoral change they often qualified the pure class politics model. An ex-Labor Nationalist noted in 1931 that if only capitalists voted Nationalist there would not be much of a Nationalist Party (Farrer 1931, 2013). Many pointed to the ability of non-Labor parties to win support from workers, sometimes by an general appeal to political moderation, respectability and middle-class aspiration and also by specific appeals to groups such as skilled and better-paid workers, or home purchasers, numerous in a prosperous and egalitarian Australia (Hancock 1945, 185. Menzies 1942. *SMH*, 3.10.30, 10. 4.10.30, 12. 15.10.30, 12).

In recent years Judith Brett has called on historians to take the rhetoric of the right seriously. She has emphasised the ability of the conservatives to appeal across traditional class lines and to incorporate many workers into the ‘middle class’ during the Lyons (and Menzies and Howard) years. It is however unclear whether her definition of the ‘middle-class’ is entirely subjective, a ‘projected moral community’ based around values of independence and self-reliance, or whether she is referring to the values of a particular social group based on white-collar workers, small business owners and the affluent manual working-class particularly home owners (Brett 2003, 7-8). Conservatives may have claimed and perhaps even believed that their appeal was a general appeal rather than one directed towards socially specific groups. However the conservative support base among workers was distinct. The ‘cultural turn’ in political history has focused excessively on much on the political rhetoric and beliefs of historical actors. Historical inquiry would be better advised to focus on the consequences, whether unintended or not, of human action and underlying causes of which actors may not be aware (Cain & Hopkins 2002, 59. Evans 1997, 138). Recent scholarship on interwar European electoral history has demonstrated that right-wing or even fascist parties frequently received extensive support from workers. However the evaluation of this fact has been the object of debate. Proponents of a revised class analysis such as Dick Geary have argued that working-class support for the right was not random but was concentrated among particular groups in particular those employed in small industry and who lived outside of the ‘proletarian milieu’ of mining and heavy industry and working-class residential concentration, and also the organisational milieus of socialism and political Catholicism. My analysis takes a similar approach to Geary. In Australia the right’s appeal to workers was in practice highly targeted towards Protestants (Hogan 2001, 248-53. Gregson 2003, 2-4, 12-13, 38-44, 87-88, 109-11, 270-71. Falter 1996. Mann 2004, 14, 53, 164, 171. Geary 2002).

4. Sources and approach:

- Previous attempts to estimate the class composition of the electorate have drawn on census data Turner 1971, 3-6). However they have been deficient in several aspects, which include:
 - The working-class portion of the electorate has been overstated as no allowance has been made for the fact that many workers were not on the electoral roll due to age
 - A large portion of the adult population were dependants, in particular married women, previous scholarship has calculated class as portions of the economically active population rather than allocating dependants to the class position of the breadwinner on which they depended for income
 - A reliance on the classification of breadwinners by the industry of employment rather than their occupation, when a substantial portion of those employed in industries such as manufacturing and transport were white-collar administrative staff. Thus the size of the working class has been overestimated.
 - A small portion of census respondents were not British citizens. This was highest in retail.
 - Not all eligible voters were on the electoral roll
 - Not all voters cast formal votes; in particular it is clear that Labor was disadvantaged by the high informal Senate vote. In NSW during 1928-32 the formal Senate vote was around 80% of the population over 21.

In this paper I attempt to correct previous analyses by addressing the first five problems. My primary source is the 1933 Commonwealth Census (CBCS 1936) but I also make some use of the more detailed analysis of manufacturing employment contained in the *Production Bulletins* of the Commonwealth Bureau of Census & Statistics. I start with the classification

of breadwinners by industry (Part 22 of the Census) identify wage earners by of the Grade of Occupation analysis (Part 24) then identify white-collar workers by a combination of the Occupation analysis (Part 23) and the *Production Bulletins*.

The dependant population as identified in the Industry classification (Part 22) is allocated to breadwinners by reference to Conjugal Condition (Part 18). Those respondents who reported their Industry classification as pensioners have simply been proportionally allocated among the other Industry classifications. Respondents have been divided between Catholics and Protestants (taken as all non-Catholics) on the basis of the national categorisation of different grades of occupation by religion (Part 16) which is then scaled for the different religious composition of the states (Part 16).

The question of the class position of dependents remains controversial. Survey data is not available for electoral behaviour by gender for this period. However there seems no reason to doubt that there was a gender gap in voting behaviours as later survey evidence from Australia and contemporary European data suggest (Tingsten 1937, 36-78. Hart 1989). But it is also clear that female dependants largely voted for the same party of their male spouses. The clearest evidence of this are three extremely high coefficients in ecological regression analysis of the Labor vote during this period (Robinson 2005). For the purposes of this paper I adopt Goldthrope's approach and allocate dependents to the class position of their partners or carers (Erikson & Goldthorpe 1993). Thus the numbers in each class category include both those who in receipt of income from waged employment, profits or self-employment and those who were dependent on them and members of the electorate.

It could be argued that in a class analysis employers and self-employed (described in the census as 'Own Account') should be distinguished. However most individual employers were small farmers or shopkeepers and the social line dividing them between them and the self-employed were ambiguous. Large employers were mostly private corporations and government instrumentalities. The class significance of employers lay not in their numbers as individuals but in the dependence of workers on employers.

[Table 3]

4. Class composition estimates:

My analysis suggests that a majority of the Australian electorate in each state were drawn from the manual working class, but that only a minority of the electorate were in the core working class.

[Table 4]

[Chart 1]

The analysis may be simplified by combining farmers and the non-farming bourgeoisie into a single bourgeoisie category:

[Chart 2]

The most significant social divergences between the states lie in the size of the fringe working-class. The Australian social structure gave Labor a chance in each state but the ability of the party to secure office depended on the effectiveness of political strategies, Labor had to reach beyond its industrial mining base into the fringe working class, which was more female, poorly unionised and often worked for small employers. Labor was probably quite successful in this task, but not quite successful enough to secure an unchallenged grip on power. Their political domination required them to have a stronger hold on their core constituency than Labor had on its own. Survey evidence from the 1940s onward tended to show that Labor voters were more ideologically divided than Coalition supporters (Goot 1979). Political journalist Warren Denning famously argued in 1937 that one reason for the collapse of the Scullin government was the divergence in Labor's caucus between 'the conservatively minded Tasmanian' and the 'red-hot Sydney radical' (Denning 1982: 150). If

Tasmanian Labor was to be a viable political force it had to reach out beyond the core working class to an extent not required in New South Wales. It did so with remarkable success but it was a different party. Not all Labor votes carried the same meaning.

Australia may have been the most working-class nation among the small group of democracies in the early 1930s. The only international comparative data on class structure for the interwar period is that for seven European countries undertaken by Adam Przeworski and John Sprague. Their model takes the working-age population as an accurate reflection of the electorate and excludes domestic servants, communications and lower level commercial employees, such as shop assistants, but includes pensioners according to their previous occupation. The highest European percentage in the interwar period was 35% in Sweden. Jurgen Falter has a broader definition of the working class closer to the one employed in this paper and estimates that about 45% of the Weimar German electorate was working class (Falter 1996). Australia may have lacked the heavy industry of Europe but it also lacked a peasantry, Britain had no peasantry but its levels of left party voting were much lower than Australia (Przeworski & Sprague 1986, 196-98).

These estimates of class composition permit application of the 'method of bounds' (Achen & Shively 1995, 191) to the analysis of electoral behaviour. Those who argued that it was numerically impossible for Labor to secure a majority without the support of non working-class electors proposed an informal version of this approach.

If we compare the average 1931-40 Labor vote with the size of the working class population in each state it is apparent that the extent to which Labor was able to poll more than its working-class core varied from state to state.

[Table 4]

The two states where Labor's average was closest to the total working-class population were NSW and Queensland despite the different images of Labor in each state. However if we focus on the gap between Labor support and the core working class Queensland was Labor's best performing state. The hegemony of the Australian Workers' Union in the Queensland ALP and its ability to extend union coverage deeper into the fringe working class perhaps meant that Queensland Labor was better able to appeal to the fringe working class. Victoria stands as a notably poor state for the ALP despite its highly industrialised economy, it is not so much that Victorian Labor lagged behind other states but that it would have been expected to do better than the national average. Victorian Labor did distinctly poorly in extra-metropolitan electorates; its likely poor performance among the fringe working class may have been responsible for this (Rawson 1967).

Some suggestions as to the extent to which conservatives had to win support from working-class voters are possible if reduce our class categories to two: Bourgeoisie & Employees and Total working-class and if count all non-Left votes as being for the conservatives. We can estimate the If we assume that all Bourgeoisie & Employees voted non-Labor then we can estimate the minimum levels of support that the right must have received from workers and what portion of the right's electorate were derived from the working class:

[Table 5]

Once we take into account the fact that Labor did some support from the Bourgeoisie & Employees category principally on religious grounds it is apparent that the right must have polled better among workers than this analysis suggests.

Adam Przeworski has argued that political parties cannot simply mix and match elements of different political strategies (Przeworski 1985). If a party eschews a class politics appeal in favour of an alternative appeal it risks demobilising its working-class constituency and

rendering them vulnerable to other appeals. In this period we can identify three distinct Labor strategies:

Class politics: an appeal to the interests of manual wage earners through measures such as wage regulation, public expenditure and support of unions. This strategy could be further subdivided into radical (NSW) and moderate (Queensland) versions.

Populism: this appealed to the core working class, whose support was regarded as a given, and to farmers who were identified as fellow producers. At times this approach had some support within Labor. In the 1890s NSW Labor soft-peddled suggestions of wage regulation for agricultural workers in an effort to appeal to farmers (Markey 1988, 185, 238, 305)

Cultural politics: this sought to combine the core working class with Catholic bourgeoisie, fringe workers and employees. Generally Labor avoided this appeal, but sometimes it could find itself forced through political miscalculation onto this terrain. An example was the 1922 NSW state election where sectarian issues were dominant and Labor polled worse than it did at Lang's crushing 1932 defeat (Hogan 2001). Protestant workers outnumbered the Catholic middle class. By the 1930s class politics offered Labor the best prospect for Labor to assemble an electoral majority:

[Table 6]

Labor directed an abundance of rhetoric towards farmers and presumably believed its claim that farmers and workers were natural allies as producers. Labor was the strongest advocate of agricultural market regulation (Harrigan 2002). However by the 1930s Labor's rural policies, if not its rhetoric, usually prioritised moderate trade union concerns in particular the extension of arbitration coverage to rural workers. By this period farmers were a small portion of the electorate even in most rural areas. The major distinction between urban and rural areas was rather than the fringe working class was much better represented there, not only agricultural labourers but shop assistants and domestic servants.

Overall Labor's best prospects in the 1930s lay in an appeal to manual working class voters. The party's shift towards an urban and unionist focus after World War I reflected not only internal party dynamics but also an evaluation of electoral advantage.

5. The fringe working class considered:

Compared to other countries Labor probably had a notably high level of support among the fringe working class but it failed to win a level of support sufficient to ensure a permanent Labor majority. Several factors would have reduced Labor support among the fringe working class:

(i) Gender

The fringe working class was disproportionately female. There were substantial numbers of female wage earners in manufacturing but they were mostly young and without dependents. Across Australia about 20% of the fringe working class were female compared to only 5% for the core manual working class.

(ii) Size of employers:

Those in the fringe working class were much more likely to work for smaller employers. Contemporary research suggests that workers in smaller enterprises are much less likely to be unionised, particularly where the principal owner of the business is present at the workplace (Moorehead et. al. 1997, 299-322). Unfortunately in the 1930s nearly all data on the size of workplaces relates to the manufacturing sector, there is little available for retail, agriculture and almost nothing for domestic service. We know that in 1901 in New South Wales the average number of servants per servant-employing household was 1.3 and 61% of servants

lived in households in which there was only one servant. It is likely that the employment of servants was more concerted by the 1930s but they would still have been highly dispersed, (Higman 2002, 45-49). Across Australia in 1933 there was an average of 2.2 wage earners per employer in Agriculture (CBCS 1936, 22.14-15). The occupation statistics recorded 269,016 farmers of varying descriptions, not all of whom would have been employers and a workforce of 42,529 pastoral industry workers and 180,318 in other forms of agricultural labour (CBCS 1936, 23.1). Retail employment was more concentrated in 1933 there were 8.9 wage earners per retail employer (CBCS 1936, 22.14-15). However union coverage was low. Outside of the large stores the mass of retail employees worked in extremely small workplaces.

Recent evidence has found that unionisation exerts a substantial impact on levels of Labor support (Leigh 2006). Small workplaces implied low levels of unionisation and if this is apparent even if we accept the official returns of union membership provided by unions to state governments which were probably inflated. Organised labour was dominated by the male manual working class. In NSW in 1931 of the total 1931 union membership of 302,318 men and women, only 29,425 were in white-collar areas. A further 6,700 were members of the Shop Assistants. Public sector white-collar unions claimed 18,348 members, or 62.4% of total white-collar union membership (Registrar of Friendly Societies 1931, 30).³ Past analysis of Australia have suggested that unlike the US Australia exemplified the 'big man's frontier'. Australia's geography and climate was less favourable to small scale agriculture with a consequent larger and unionised rural working class (Goodrich 1926). However Australia may have a higher level of unionisation of agricultural workers than elsewhere but union coverage was still low. In December 1931 the NSW AWU claimed only 9791 members, but there were 78779 wage earners in agriculture (CBCS 1936, 23.1. Registrar of Friendly Societies 1931, 30). Earlier research on NSW politics employing a slightly different definition of working class found that although levels of manual working class employment were significant in predicting levels of Labor support at the 1930 and 1932 NSW state election in the urban-mining region they were much less significant in rural areas (Robinson 2005). Later survey evidence has found that rural workers have tended to be less politically aware than their city counterparts and more likely to follow the conservative voting behaviour of their employers (Webb 1968, 337). The lower levels of union membership within the fringe working class influenced debates within the ALP. Labor moderates argued that union officials were often unaware of what many workers actually thought, and that Labor politicians, elected by workers, were better qualified to speak for them (McCallum 1935, 55).

Conclusion:

Early analysts of Australian electoral behaviour were correct to identify a high level of class polarisation in electoral behaviour, but this polarisation was not so high as to deliver Labor an automatic electoral majority. Conservative parties were able to appeal to a small but significant section of the working-class. Yet this was a distinct group of the working class clearly defined on economical and cultural grounds. Future development of the analysis in this paper will focus on the introduction of substantive assumptions to narrow the purely logical limits resulting from the method of bounds and in disaggregating the units of analysis further from state to local government levels.

³ As white-collar unions; Bank Officers, Clerks, Fisher Library, Health Inspectors, Journalists, Local Government Clerks, Local Government Engineers, Police Association, Professional Officers, Teachers' Federation, Sydney Harbour Trust Officers.

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Charts & Tables:

Table 1: Labor Vote 1931-40 (includes splinter groups)

Descriptive Statistics					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
NSW	4	40.83	54.41	47.9450	5.87865
VIC	4	34.43	49.54	41.8525	6.19925
QLD	4	44.07	50.19	45.7850	2.94202
SA	4	34.21	45.22	40.4200	4.74110
WA	4	31.62	49.40	40.5150	7.67132
TAS	4	26.88	53.04	41.3400	10.80603
Valid N (listwise)	4				

Table 2: Left vote 1931-40

Descriptive Statistics					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
NSW	4	46.37	54.41	49.5375	3.77343
VIC	4	35.14	49.54	42.7500	5.92623
QLD	4	44.07	53.98	50.6500	4.46382
SA	4	34.21	46.94	40.8500	5.35926
WA	4	37.48	49.93	45.3375	5.77267
TAS	4	26.88	53.04	41.5300	10.83307
Valid N (listwise)	4				

Table 3: Class definitions and the 1933 Census:

Industry Group	Industry	Male	Female
	1 Fishing & Trapping	FW	FW
	Agricultural, Pastoral &		
	2 Dairying	FW	FW
	3 Forestry	CW	E
	4 Mining & Quarrying	CW	E
	Industrial. Manufacturing	CW (manual), E (non-manual)	(manual), E (non-manual)
5.R-S	Industrial. Construction of Buildings, Roads, Railways	CW	E
5.T	Gas, Water	CW	E
6.A.	Land Transport	CW (manual), E (non-manual)	CW
6.B.	Water Transport	CW (manual), E (non-manual)	CW
6.C.	Air Transport	CW (manual), E (non-manual)	E
			FW (shop assistants
7.A-B.	Property, Finance & Commerce	FW (shop assistants), E (all others)), E (all others)
7.C	Storage	FW	E
8.A-H.	Public Administration & Professional	E	E
	Entertainment, Sport &		
9	Recreation	FW(manual), E (non-manual)	FW
	Personal & Domestic		
10	Service	FW(manual), E (non-manual)	FW

(All Employers and Own Account are Bourgeoisie, apart from those in Agricultural, pastoral & Dairying who are farmers. Wage earners include helpers and 'Grade Not Applicable'. CW = core working class, FW = fringe working class, E = employees).

Table 4: State level class composition

	NSW	Vic	Qld	SA	WA	Tas
Catholic workers	9.4	7.9	7.6	4.6	6.1	4.8
Protestant workers	30.0	28.8	22.8	27.5	23.7	23.7
Catholic fringe	4.4	3.8	6.1	3.1	4.8	4.4
Protestant fringe	13.7	13.8	17.8	17.9	18.4	21.3
Catholic Bourgeoise	3.1	3.0	3.0	1.8	2.8	2.4
Catholic Employees	4.0	3.7	3.8	2.6	3.4	2.4
Catholic Farmers	2.3	2.3	3.7	1.8	2.6	2.2
Protestant Farmers	9.0	10.3	13.5	13.1	12.5	13.1
Protestant Employees	12.7	13.4	11.1	15.1	12.9	11.8
Protestant Bourgeoise	11.6	12.9	10.6	12.6	12.8	13.9

Chart 1: 1933 State level class composition:

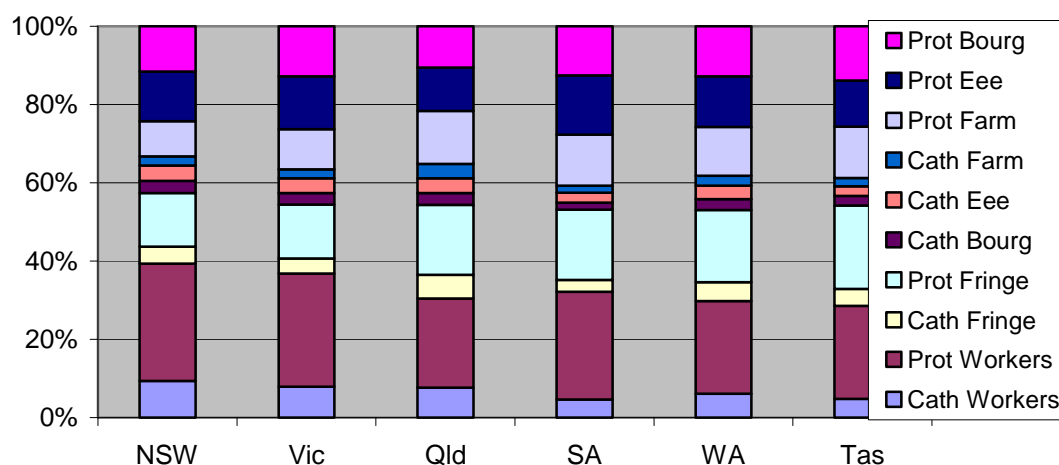


Chart 2: 1933 State level class composition:

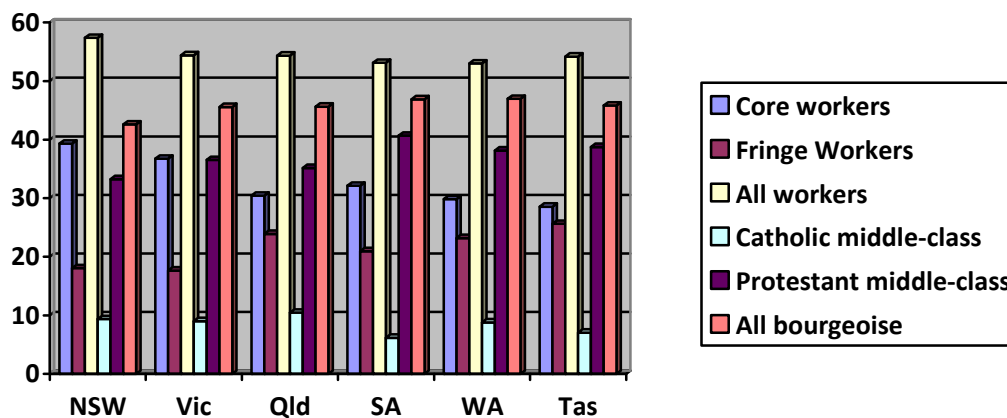


Table 4: 1931-40 Labor and Left Votes and state class composition (%):

	Labor-all workers	Left-all workers	Labor-core workers	Left-core workers
NSW	-9	-8	9	10
Vic	-13	-12	5	6
Qld	-9	-4	15	20
SA	-13	-12	8	9
WA	-13	-8	11	16
Tas	-13	-13	13	13

Table 5: Minimum levels of working-class support for right 1931-40 (%)

	NSW	Vic	Qld	SA	WA	Tas
1931 minimum worker vote for right	19	35	3	36	6	50
1931 workers in right vote	20	30	4	29	6	37
1934 minimum worker vote for right	19	19	4	12	16	21
1934 workers in right vote	21	19	5	12	15	20
1937 minimum workers, vote for right	12	9	1	26	7	2
1937 workers in right vote	14	10	1	22	7	2
1940 minimum workers vote for right	5	22	19	20	29	20
1940 workers in right vote	7	21	18	18	25	19

Table 6: Possible vote shares under different Labor strategies (%)

	Core workers	All workers	Cultural left	Populism	
NSW	39	57	50		51
Vic	37	54	47		49
Qld	30	54	44		48
SA	32	53	40		47
WA	30	53	41		45
Tas	29	54	38		44