



# Suggestion 47

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8 pages

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Summary of suggestions (related only to naming of divisions):

- The name of the Division of Wannon should be retained, and a division elsewhere in Victoria should be named in honour of former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser. (see paragraph 26 below)
- A division should be named in honour of former Prime Minister Julia Gillard. (27)
- A division should be named in honour of former Prime Minister Bob Hawke. (28)
- If a new division in Melbourne's west were to be created (as seems likely), it would be highly appropriate to be named the Division of Gillard. (29)
- If a new division in Melbourne's north were to be created (as seems possible), it would be very appropriate to be named the Division of Hawke. (29)
- If existing division names are to be retired to permit new divisions to be named in honour of Fraser, Hawke, and Gillard, then the divisions of Gellibrand (proclaimed 1949) and Hotham (proclaimed 1968) should be considered as highly suitable. (30)

### Some suggestions on the naming of the Victorian electorates in this redistribution

1. As an interested follower of federal redistributions and long-term resident of Victoria, I have occasionally heard the notion that a future Victorian federal redistribution (such as the one currently open to public submissions) should *swiftly* name a division in honour of the nation's first woman to become Prime Minister, Julia Eileen Gillard. In my experience responses to this sort of proposition usually invoke the guidelines for naming divisions – based on recommendations made by the Parliament's Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters (JSCEM) and its predecessors – which suggest that divisions are usually named after prominent Australians when they are deceased, rather than when they are still living.
2. Certainly if this particular requirement of the guidelines were interpreted with complete rigidity, then the naming of an electorate in honour of Julia Gillard might be postponed many decades into the future. At the present time I am confident other suggestions besides this one will make suggestions proposing that a new Victorian electorate be named Gillard, so I wish to draw the redistribution committee's attention to some of the relevant history behind the creation of the guidelines and naming of electorates which honour former Prime Ministers to suggest why the redistribution committee or augmented electoral commission might wish, on this occasion, to bend this particular guideline.
3. The guidelines for naming federal electoral divisions did not come into being until a comparatively late date. Several reports to the Parliament on electoral matters from 1969 onwards have touched on the question of how divisions had come to be named and suggested recommendations of how divisions should be named going into the future. Many of the guidelines may be found, in close to their current form, in the recommendations made by the 1969 Report from the House of Representatives Select Committee on the Naming of Electoral Divisions. Later reports – such as the 1995 JSCEM report on Electoral Redistributions, or the 1986 report by the Electoral Matters' predecessor, the Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Reform (JSCER) – variously referred to the 1969 Select Committee or its report as the Fox Committee or

the Fox Report in honour of its chair E.M.C. Fox, and have largely adopted the Fox Committee's recommendations with either substantial or slight amendments as they saw fit at the time.

4. As is well known, the first 1900 redistributions were carried out prior to Federation by four of the six founding States, and after the passage of the Commonwealth Electoral Act (CEA) 1902, two redistributions were then carried out for South Australia and Tasmania. The Fox Report points out at paragraph 5 (p. 1) that in respect of these so-called Federation Divisions "neither the reports of the Distribution Commissioners nor the records of the Commonwealth Electoral Office indicate why a particular name was chosen by a State for a Division." The current guideline which recommends that "every effort should be made to retain the names of original federation divisions", for example, would not be easy to defend from a certain charge of arbitrariness, seeing as the Federation division names might be regarded merely as 'names that became stuck'. Some of the 75 original division names were *especially* arbitrary: Northern Melbourne, Southern Melbourne, Melbourne Ports; North Sydney, South Sydney, East Sydney, West Sydney. However, two of the qualifying Melbourne electorates were renamed as early as the 1906 redistribution; and only one of the qualified Sydney names has persisted beyond the 1968 redistribution.

5. The Fox Report goes on to point out that both the legislation of the time as well as past practice provided "no requirement for Parliament to approve the names of the Divisions" (para 7, p. 2), and that "from and including the first re-distribution in 1903, Parliament has by resolution altered names proposed by the Commissioners. Therefore the allotment of names by the Commissioners has always been on a provisional basis and as a matter of convenience." (para 10, p. 2) Up until the 1983 amendments to the CEA 1918, the Parliament retained the power to veto redistributions, so that of eighty-six redistributions carried out prior to 1983, only fifty-two were proclaimed: sixteen proposals lapsed in the Parliament, while another eighteen were rejected outright.

6. Motions to approve redistributions were usually put to the House in a form that refers to division names: "That the House of Representatives approves of the re-distribution and that the names of the Divisions suggested in the Report ... be adopted."

These would occasionally be amended (by the Government, or by private Members) before voting, usually by adding a clause of the form:

'... except that the name ... be substituted for ...'

As Fox concludes (para 16, p. 3) "Parliament has approved the names for proposed Divisions in all cases except 1906 and in relation to New South Wales in 1912." (The report dated 15 May 1906 for the redistribution in Victoria omitted naming *any* of the metropolitan divisions, and instead allocated them numbers.)

7. So much for past practice. The terms of reference for the Fox Committee comprised:

(a) the criteria which should be adopted in naming Electoral Divisions; and

(b) whether the Distribution Commissioners should attach names to Divisions at the time of publishing their proposals or whether some other person or persons should attach the names and, if some other person or persons, when.

The Committee's response to the first of these terms of reference is surprisingly blunt: "Your Committee considers that some existing Divisions are inappropriately named and is of the opinion that there are many distinguished persons who have a greater claim to have Divisions named after them." (para 18, p. 4) In one of the appendices the Report furnishes a list of thirty-two "Divisional names for which the Committee considers more appropriate names could be found" (Appendix E, pp. 17-18), twenty of which are still in use today. Four of these are in Victoria.

8. The Fox Report then considers a variety of naming criteria, many of which are almost identical, word for word, to the current guidelines (while some have an opposite intention to them):

- “The naming of Divisions after former citizens who have rendered outstanding service to their country is strongly favoured” (para 19, p. 4);
- “Locality or place names should generally be avoided [...] in certain areas the naming of a Division after a geographical feature may be appropriate” (para 20);
- “It is appropriate for a proportion of Aboriginal names to be used, and as far as possible, the names of existing Divisions with Aboriginal names should be retained” (para 21);
- “Concern has been expressed at the number of Commonwealth Divisions the names of which duplicate existing State Divisions” (para 22; also cf. Appendix F, p. 19);
- “Qualifying names such as Melbourne Ports and Port Adelaide should be avoided as they confusion both inside and outside the House” (para 23);
- “Divisions which have been abolished at a re-distribution should not be re-allocated at the same re-distribution to new areas quite remote from the old Divisions ... names of Divisions should not be changed or transferred to new areas without very strong reasons” (paras 24–25, p. 5);
- “When two or more Divisions are partially combined at a re-distribution, as far as possible the name of the new Division should be that of the old Division which has the greatest number of electors within the new boundaries” (para 26).

9. In addition to listing these criteria and articulating the reasoning behind their formulation, in summing up its recommendations at paragraph 31, the Fox Committee adds the following criterion in respect of Prime Ministers:

- (b) That, when new Divisions are created, the names of former Prime Ministers be considered provided that the Division is within the State from which the former Prime Minister was a representative.

The Fox Report also recommends generally when naming divisions after persons,

- (d) That a name should not be used until 10 years after a person’s death.

The Committee’s basis for this opinion was that “the suggested period of 10 years would prevent the use of a name for political advantage and would ensure to some extent that the prominence of the citizen had stood the test of time.” (para 19, p. 4)

10. The Fox Committee’s recommendations were never formally adopted by the government of the day, but were nonetheless regarded as a helpful guide for redistribution committees. By 1986, the legislative environment was completely different, as Part IV of the Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918 now provided for redistributions to be conducted by redistribution secretariats of the AEC, and final determinations made by the augmented electoral commission; moreover section 77 of the Act stipulated that final determinations could no longer be ignored or rejected at the whim of Parliament. The consideration of naming of electoral divisions (pages 16–18) occupies a very small portion of a much larger report published by JSCER in December 1986 on the entire range of issues thrown up by the significant amendments to the Electoral Act undertaken in 1983, but it is salient for updating the Fox Committee’s naming guidelines, and mentioning as a point of concern that the guidelines ‘remained the only source of guidance that [previous redistribution committees] had available to them’ (Report No. 2, p. 16).

11. The JSCER did not uncritically accept all of the Fox Committee’s recommendations. The revised guidelines offered by the JSCER report begin as follows (pp. xv–xvi and 17–18):

Recommendation 14

2.57 In the naming of Electoral Divisions the following guidelines should be observed.

Naming after persons

- (a) That, in the main, Divisions be named after former citizens who have rendered outstanding service to

their country and that every effort be made to retain the names of original Federation Divisions.

(b) That, when new Divisions are created, the names of former Prime Ministers be considered. It is noted in particular that the former Australian Prime Minister, John Christian Watson, has not continued to be honoured by having an electoral Division named after him. The Committee did not accept the Fox Committee's requirement that that the Division not be named after a person until that person had been 10 years dead.

Besides rejecting the posthumous 'test of time' relating to former citizens, the JSCER also recommended reversing the criterion on qualifying names such as Melbourne Ports or North Sydney (see sub-paragraph (f)), and deleted two other guidelines (sub-paragraph (h)).

12. The 1995 JSCER report on Electoral Redistributions (subtitled, Report on the Effectiveness and Appropriateness of the Redistribution Provisions of Parts III and IV of the *Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918*), is a more tightly focussed examination and review of the redistribution process, as by this point ten further redistributions had been carried under the new CEA provisions, following the 1984 redistributions of all six states and the ACT that were a consequence of the enlargement of the Parliament under the Representation Act 1983. The naming criteria are almost treated as an afterthought by being relegated to the final chapter "Eight: Other Matters", but the report points out that naming was the subject of some discussion at the public inquiries that were held by the committee (para 8.9, p. 87).

13. The only naming criterion that the JSCER report recommended be altered is sub-paragraph (i) of the JSCER's 1986 recommendation, relating to the socio-demographic nature of a division:

*Recommendation 24:* that the naming convention which applies when two or more divisions are combined (that as far as possible the name of the new division should be that of the old division has the greatest number of electors within the new boundaries) be amended, to provide that where the socio-demographic nature of the division in question has significantly changed, this should override the numerical formula. (p. 89)

Elsewhere, the committee agreed with the submission made by the AEC "that the use of guidelines, rather than binding legal provisions, allows enough flexibility for unanticipated circumstances while providing redistribution bodies with ample assistance in performing their task", and did not support incorporating naming conventions or criteria directly into the Electoral Act (para 8.11, p. 88). The criteria have not been materially altered from that point onward.

14. Turning now specifically to the naming of divisions after former Prime Ministers: of Australia's twenty-nine Prime Ministers to the current date, seven are still living, and two are still serving in Parliament. Twenty-two divisions have been named for former Prime Ministers\*, in all cases following the additional proviso in the Fox Committee's recommendation (b) that the division be proclaimed in the same state that the Prime Minister represented in Parliament. The naming of these divisions have not always followed the death of the former Prime Minister, or after a gap of ten years as seemed an appropriate duration to the Fox Committee.

15. Some other peculiarities of the naming conventions immediately appear in the case of Sir Joseph Cook, as he shares a surname with Captain James Cook. On each of the two occasions when a new NSW Division of Cook has been proclaimed, firstly in 1906 and then in 1968 (after the first had been abolished in 1955), the origin of the name has been attributed to the British explorer, rather than the Australian Prime Minister. The case of the Division of Watson is slightly different; after being proclaimed in 1934 it was abolished in the 1968 re-distribution, and then newly re-created in 1992. The initial boundaries of the 1934 Division of Watson on the coast enclosed parts of the current Division of Wentworth and much of Kingsford Smith; while the 1992 Division was created in western Sydney nestled between Banks, Barton, Blaxland, Lowe, and Grayndler.

\* The divisions of Watson and Scullin have been named twice; the division of Cook is not named for the former Prime Minister.

16. Likewise the Division of Scullin, first proclaimed in the 1955 redistribution, was abolished in 1968, while at the same redistribution the former Division of Darebin was renamed as Scullin. The earlier Division of Scullin had been situated in Melbourne's inner-north between Batman and Wills to the north and Melbourne to the south; after the redistribution the new Division of Scullin had moved to the urban fringe directly to the north of Batman and Wills. This seems to be exactly the type of confusing change that the Fox Committee strongly disapproved of in their report of the following year: "Divisions which have been abolished at a re-distribution should not be re-allocated at the same re-distribution to new areas quite remote from the old Divisions ... names of Divisions should not be changed or transferred to new areas without very strong reasons" (paras 24–25, p. 5).

17. The 1922 redistributions had been the first to name electorates after former members of the Australian Parliament who had recently died. The NSW electorates of Barton and Reid were named for the first and fourth Prime Ministers, and the WA electorate of Coolgardie, having already been renamed Dampier in 1913, was again renamed in honour of Sir John Forrest, who had been the first premier of Western Australia and a contributor to the Constitutional Conventions of the 1890s before being elected to the first federal parliament. (No less than eighteen members of the first parliament have been honoured with divisions named after them, including the first seven Prime Ministers.) At this redistribution NSW had gained a seat while Victoria had lost one, so that the redistribution did not result in the immediate naming of a division for the late Alfred Deakin, who had also passed away.

18. On two occasions, divisions have been named for then-living former Prime Ministers, though neither was still sitting in the Australian Parliament. John Christian Watson was sixty-seven years old and had been retired from Parliament for twenty-four years when the Division of Watson was proclaimed in 1934. He had gradually drifted away from support of the Hughes-led Nationalist Party by 1922 and was no longer politically active. Stanley Melbourne Bruce was seventy-two when the Division of Bruce was proclaimed in 1955, at which time he was a peer of the British House of Lords. His post-parliamentary career after 1933 had been mostly based in the UK, first as High Commissioner to the United Kingdom until 1945, and subsequently in 1947 he had been elevated to the peerage by British prime minister Clement Attlee as Viscount Bruce, the first Australian to sit in the House of Lords.

19. From around the time of the Fox Committee up until the expansion of the Parliament in 1984, three divisions were named in honour of former PMs: the Divisions of Chifley and Holt were both proclaimed in 1968, though Ben Chifley had been dead for seventeen years and Harold Holt less than one. In 1977 the Queensland division of Fadden was named four years after Sir Arthur Fadden's death. The twenty-three additional seats created by the 1984 redistributions allowed five of the remaining former PMs to be honoured with divisional names (barring those still alive, Chris Watson, and Sir Joseph Cook). In the case of Joseph Lyons, this honour was forty-five years after his death, while Francis Forde had died only the previous year.

20. Since 1984 redistribution committees have usually been swift to honour the passing of former PMs at the next opportunity presented (always passing over the unfortunate Sir Joseph Cook) — the one exception, Sir William McMahon, was overlooked by the 1992 and 2006 redistribution committees, perhaps partly due to NSW losing a division at each of these redistributions, while in 2000 the redistribution committee rejected a suggestion that the Division of Berowra be renamed to McMahon. The renaming of the ACT Division of Fraser in 2016 (having been named for James Fraser, who had represented the ACT in the House of Representatives from 1951 to 1970) was an obvious preparatory step to permit a Victorian division to be named for the late Malcolm Fraser in the current redistribution.



21. From the foregoing history, one can strongly conclude that the Fox Committee's recommendation that naming of divisions for persons be delayed ten years after their decease (para 9, above) has *never* been applied when naming divisions for former Prime Ministers. (A further question is whether the ten year guideline was *ever* applied to anyone else, and the answer seems to be probably not, at least as a conscious measure.)

22. In point of fact, three current divisions named within the last fifty years were proclaimed *whilst* the individuals so honoured were still living. The Division of Casey was named in honour of the Rt Hon. Baron Richard Casey in 1968, at which time he was the incumbent Governor-General. Six years later in 1974, the Division of Tangney was named for the former Senator for Western Australia, Dame Dorothy Tangney, who had been defeated in the 1967 half-Senate election, and left the Senate at the expiry of her term in mid-1968 after twenty-four years of service. Finally, the Division of Rankin was named for Dame Annabelle Rankin, who from 1966 to 1971 had been the Minister for Housing throughout Holt's and Gorton's ministries, and resigned from the Senate to be appointed as the High Commissioner to New Zealand.

23. The naming of the divisions of Tangney and Rankin in the 1970s and 80s were significant most notably because they began a process of addressing the grave deficit of public recognition of women's contributions to Australian political life. The long exclusion of women and indigenous Australians from full participation in public life as members of the federal parliament or state legislatures is a historical fact: before 1970, only nine women had been elected or appointed to Federal Parliament; the first indigenous MP, Neville Bonner, was selected to fill a Senate casual vacancy in 1971. This deficit has had the noticeable effect that the vast majority of parliamentarians, governors-general, state governors, premiers, and other individuals recognised for their governmental service at one time or another in the names of electoral divisions are men: twenty Prime Ministers, all men; twenty-seven state governors and premiers, all men; three Governors-General, all men; fourteen more former members of the federal parliament, including eleven men and three women; and eight members of state parliaments, five men and three women. Of these seventy-two persons, only six are women, and the only indigenous parliamentarian honoured by a division named after him remains Neville Bonner.

24. Individuals outside those categories who have had divisions named in their honour show a similar historical disproportion biased against women and indigenous Australians; of the eighty-plus electorates that have been named both in the past and currently for other individuals outside those governmental categories given above (or in some cases, where electorates are named for geographical features or localities which are themselves named after persons), only thirteen have been named in honour of women, and three named for indigenous Australians. It is not the role of redistribution committees to right the wrongs of the past, let alone to rewrite history or to reward tokenism, but the clear trend since the 1970s has been to gradually address this disparity by astute choices when opportunities for creating new Divisions have been available.

25. Such an opportunity is currently before the Victorian redistribution committee owing to the section 48 determination made by the Electoral Commissioner on 31 August this year, which entitles Victoria to an additional member of the House of Representatives at the next general election. Bearing in mind the guideline that "when new divisions are created the names of former Prime Ministers should be considered" and that past divisions so named have to date, been proclaimed in the same state which the PM represented in Parliament, the redistribution committee could take the bold step of naming three such divisions for three former Prime Ministers from Victoria: Fraser, Hawke, and Gillard.

26. The strongest case (based on existing tradition) clearly exists for naming a division in honour of John Malcolm Fraser, who was the Member for Wannon from 1955 to 1983 and Prime Minister from 1975 to 1983; his achievements do not require any further elaboration here. Fraser was strongly associated with the

rural area in which he lived so that there might be considerable sentiment to rename the division that he represented. The divisional name for Wannon is a geographical one, being named after the Wannon River, and according to the parliament's records the name that Major Thomas Mitchell chose in 1836 for the river is an Aboriginal name with an uncertain meaning. Considering this, along with Wannon being a Federation division, I believe makes it doubly unsuitable for being renamed as the Division of Fraser. I would strongly suggest to the redistribution committee that the Division of Wannon should retain its current name, and a different division within Victoria be chosen to be named in honour of Malcolm Fraser.

27. The case for naming a division in honour of Julia Eileen Gillard is of a different nature to the claim for Malcolm Fraser. I have already discussed above the somewhat iniquitous circumstances that have prevented a fuller recognition of women in the naming of our federal divisions. The guidelines prominently suggest considering former Prime Ministers when creating new divisions, and it should be appreciated that Gillard's position is *unique* amongst those who are yet to be honoured, as the first and so far the only woman to have achieved that high office. After representing the electors of Lalor for fifteen years Gillard retired at the 2013 elections and there seems little likelihood she will return to the federal parliament, though she remains active in other aspects of Australian life. There seems to be no harm from considering naming a division for her in the current redistribution and vastly more to gain by continuing to redress the disproportion of women parliamentarians so honoured, similar to how the naming of the divisions of Tangney and Rankin while they were still alive began this process in the 1970s and 80s. I strongly suggest the redistribution committee considers naming a division within Victoria in honour of Julia Gillard.

28. The case for naming a division in honour of Robert James Lee Hawke in the current redistribution is perhaps weaker than either Fraser or Gillard, but I would cite the precedent that the 1955 Victorian redistribution *did* name two divisions for former prime ministers (the late Jim Scullin, and Viscount Bruce, who was still living), while the NSW distribution conducted at the same time named a division for Billy Hughes. Hawke served the electors of Wills for twelve years from 1980 to 1992, eight of them as Prime Minister, and is even less likely than Julia Gillard to return to parliament or some politically active position on account of his advanced age. Barring some unforeseeable accident the naming of a division in his honour will happen at some point in a future Victorian redistribution, and there seems little gain in postponing the inevitable. Lastly, as I pointed out at my paragraph 21, there seems to be no evidence that the Fox Committee's 'ten years deceased, before naming' suggestion was ever considered in relation to Prime Ministers; I also think it is highly arguable the current framing of the guidelines treats the naming of deceased citizens who have rendered outstanding service and Prime Ministers as entirely separate categories, so that being deceased is no necessity when it comes to honouring former Prime Ministers. I therefore strongly suggest the redistribution committee considers naming a division within Victoria in honour of Bob Hawke.

29. The increase in Victoria's entitlement and the demographics of strong population growth in Melbourne's outer northern and western fringes makes it probable that at least one new division will be created to either the north or west of Melbourne, and considering Julia Gillard's residence for many years in Altona within the Division of Gellibrand, her general support of Melbourne's west, and her tenure as the Member for Lalor, I think it more appropriate (than Fraser or Hawke) that a newly created division in Melbourne's western suburbs should be named in her honour. As it is quite possible that the demographic shifts may result in fewer seats in Melbourne's east, and another to be added or shifted toward Melbourne's north, I would consider Hawke's seat having been Wills would make such a seat in Melbourne's north appropriate for naming in Hawke's honour. As before, I have no firm view on naming a particular division in honour of Fraser except that it should not be done by renaming Wannon.



30. Finally, as was noted in paragraph 7, the Fox Report was frank in suggesting that some existing division names were inappropriately named and the committee considered that many distinguished persons had a greater claim to recognition than those division names which it listed in its Appendix E (pp. 17–18). Fox listed six Victorian divisions of which four are still current: Gellibrand, Hotham, Melbourne Ports, and Murray. Melbourne Ports should be ruled out of consideration for renaming by virtue of being a Federation division, and the Fox Committee’s antipathy to qualified names was in any case overturned by the later JSCER recommendations. Gellibrand’s contributions as an explorer and early settler of the Port Phillip region are recognised in the local geography, but any of the three Prime Ministers suggested above are clearly more appropriate individuals to recognise in the federal parliament. Hotham’s contributions to the colony of Victoria as Governor were significant but they are now more than a century and a half distant and have appreciably dwindled in comparison to the achievements of the PMs under discussion above. Neither Gellibrand nor Hotham are Federation divisions, being proclaimed in 1949 and 1968 respectively. I suggest both of these divisional names would serve well by being retired to allow the three Prime Ministers, Fraser, Hawke, and Gillard, to be appropriately honoured in this redistribution.

31. For reference: Australia’s Prime Ministers; their years of office as Prime Minister; their years in Federal parliament; and year(s) of the state redistribution in which an electoral division was named in their honour.

	As Prime Minister;	In Parliament;	Division(s) named
Barton (1849–1920);	1901–03;	1901–03;	NSW 1922
Deakin (1856–1919);	1903–04, 05–08, 09–10;	1901–13;	Vic. 1936
Watson (1867–1941);	1904;	1901–10;	NSW 1934, NSW 1992
Reid (1845–1918);	1904–05;	1901–03, 1903–09;	NSW 1922
Fisher (1862–1928);	1908–09, 10–13, 14–15;	1901–15;	Qld 1948
Cook (1860–1947);	1913–14;	1901–21;	[NSW] —
Hughes (1862–1952);	1915–23;	1901–52;	NSW 1955
Bruce (1883–1967);	1923–29;	1918–29, 1931–33;	Vic. 1955
Scullin (1876–1953);	1929–32;	1910–13, 1922–49;	Vic. 1955, Vic. 1968
Lyons (1879–1939);	1932–39;	1929–39;	Tas. 1984
Page (1880–1961);	1939;	1919–61;	NSW 1984
Menzies (1894–1978);	1939–41, 1949–66;	1934–66;	Vic. 1984
Fadden (1895–1973);	1941;	1936–58;	Qld 1977
Curtin (1885–1945);	1941–45;	1928–31, 1934–45;	WA 1948
Forde (1890–1983);	1945;	1922–46;	Qld 1984
Chifley (1885–1951);	1945–49;	1928–31, 1940–51;	NSW 1968
Holt (1908–67);	1966–67;	1935–67;	Vic. 1968
McEwen (1900–80);	1967–68;	1934–71;	Vic. 1984
Gorton (1911–2002);	1968–71;	1949–68, 1968–75;	Vic. 2003
McMahon (1908–88);	1971–72;	1949–82;	NSW 2009
Whitlam (1916–2014);	1972–75;	1952–78;	NSW 2016
Fraser (1930–2015);	1975–83;	1955–83;	[Vic.] —
Hawke (1929*);	1983–91;	1980–92;	[Vic.] —
Keating (1944*);	1991–96;	1969–96;	[NSW] —
Howard (1939*);	1996–2007;	1974–2007;	[NSW] —
Rudd (1957*);	2007–10, 2013;	1998–2013;	[Qld] —
Gillard (1961*);	2010–13;	1998–2013;	[Vic.] —
Abbott (1957*);	2013–15;	1994—present;	[NSW] —
Turnbull (1954*);	2015—present;	2004—present;	[NSW] —