



ELECTORAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REVIEW COMMISSION

REPORT

ON

QUEENSLAND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTORAL SYSTEM

VOLUME 2 – THE APPENDIXES

NOVEMBER 1990

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ADVERTISEMENT CALLING FOR PUBLIC SUBMISSIONS



QUEENSLAND

**ELECTORAL AND
ADMINISTRATIVE
REVIEW
COMMISSION****NOTICE OF ELECTORAL REVIEW**

The Commission seeks written public submissions on the first stage of its investigation of the Legislative Assembly electoral system. The first stage will culminate in a report to the Parliament and the Premier later this year on the zonal system and the voting system to apply in future Legislative Assembly elections. The report will have attached to it draft legislation for a redistribution based on the principles set out in the report.

An Issues Paper on the first stage is now available. Copies of the Issues Paper can be inspected at Magistrates Courts and Public Libraries throughout the State. Persons wanting a copy of the Issues Paper should contact the Commission on Ph. 237 1998 (Brisbane callers) or 008 17 7154 (Country callers).

The basic issues in the first stage are:

- (1) whether the State should be divided into any and, if so, how many and what zones of representation;
- (2) the rationale for the existing zonal system;
- (3) the number of electoral districts (electorates) into which the State and each zone (if any) should be divided;
- (4) the principles which should apply in future redistributions;
- (5) the voting system (eg. proportional representation, first-past-the-post, compulsory and optional preferential voting systems) which should apply in future Legislative Assembly elections.

Initial written submissions should be sent to the Commission by 11 May 1990. The address for written submissions is:

**ELECTORAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE
REVIEW COMMISSION
PO BOX 349
NORTH QUAY QLD 4002 (REFERENCE 2A)**

All submissions received will be available for public inspection at Magistrates Courts and Public Libraries or in the Commission's office from 21 May 1990. Comments in response to initial submissions should be sent to the Commission by 15 June 1990. Such comments on initial submissions will be available for inspection in the Commission's office from 18 June 1990.

Future stages of the electoral review are described in the Issues Paper and include a redistribution and a review of Queensland's electoral laws and administration. Details of these stages will be announced later in the year.

Commission Address: Level 9, Capital Hill, 85 George St, Brisbane.
Telephone: (07) 237 1185; **Facsimile:** (07) 237 1990.

TOM SHERMAN
Chairman, 7 April 1990.

APPENDIX B

B.1

LIST OF PUBLIC SUBMISSIONS

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
1	Ald D T J Gleeson Mayor	PO Box 86 THURINGOWA CENTRAL QLD 4817	06/10/89
2	L C Webber	EVELYN CENTRAL QLD 4872	15/01/90
3	B O'Keefe	Wallalee, M/S 75 SPRINGSURE QLD 4722	16/10/89
4	J Kirkwood	56 Beddoe Avenue CLAYTON VIC 3168	18/01/90
5	B J Fludder	"Prospect Pacific" 10 Barralong Court BUDERIM QLD 4556	10/11/89
6	S H Cotter	43 Henry Street WYNNUM QLD 4178	12/01/90
7	Y Flynn	12 Oakwood Street Little Mountain CALOUNDRA QLD 4551	11/01/90
8	P C Friis	1/25 Conon Street LUTWYCHE QLD 4030	15/01/90
9	B Dawson	1/45 Chalk Street WOOLOOWIN QLD 4030	19/01/90
10	C Egert	35 Willow Street INALA QLD 4077	18/01/90
11	T Arklay & C Griffith	Citizens for Democracy PO Box 998 TOOWONG QLD 4066	19/01/90
12	T Walters State President	Aust Democrats Sec (Qld Div) PO Box 715 SOUTH BRISBANE QLD 4101	12/01/90
13	C Egert	35 Willow Street INALA QLD 4077	25/01/90
14	J M Gamin	91 Skyline Terrace BURLEIGH HEADS QLD 4220	08/02/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
15	D E Walton	M/S 546 Moroney Road FOREST HILL QLD 4342	13/02/90
16	C Dansby	PALLARA QLD 4110	29/02/90
17	P Burns	6 Kyliee Court MURRAY QLD 4814	12/03/90
18	N Schlaefer	PO Box 295 CLEVELAND QLD 4163	04/04/90
19	Hon B Littleproud MLA	80 Oak Street CHINCHILLA QLD 4413	27/03/90
20	T A Clarke	PO Box 324 COOKTOWN QLD 4871	12/04/90
21	B Shaw	18 Michelle Street CABOOLTURE QLD 4510	04/04/90
22	W L Hardy RFD AAIL JP	9 Grounds Street YERONGA QLD 4104	09/04/90
23	J W Ridge	"Addiscombe" M/S 50 Thorndale Road STANTHORPE QLD 4380	10/04/90
24	J Ahern	5 Shelley Park CALOUNDRA QLD 4551	09/04/90
25	R J Redden	M/S 223 NOBBY QLD 4360	05/04/90
26	M Myerson	5 Rennick Street CHINCHILLA QLD 4413	10/04/90
27	F J Nash	5 Power Street GYMPIE QLD 4570	11/04/90
28	H Duncan	PO Box 735 CHARTERS TOWERS QLD 4820	11/04/90
29	K J Davies	25 Killarney Avenue MANLY WEST QLD 4179	10/04/90
30	R D Barnes	PO Box 2017 CHERMSIDE QLD 4032	11/04/90
31	S E Riethmuller	416 Swann Road ST LUCIA QLD 4067	10/04/90
32	R E Balchin	5 Brampton Court ROBINA QLD 4226	11/04/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
33	K E Schultz	51 Noll Street TOOWOOMBA QLD 4350	11/04/90
34	C Duffy	94 Maryborough Street BUNDABERG QLD 4670	11/04/90
35	T Infield	PO Box 50 TOOWONG QLD 4066	12/04/90
36	W J Stevenson	32 Townsend Road BUDERIM QLD 4556	12/04/90
37	P W Blake	1/56 Nelson Parade INDOOROOPILLY QLD 4068	12/04/90
38	R Austin	7 Leuneah Lane KARANA DOWNS QLD 4306	12/04/90
39	W H Clifford	183 Cypress Street URANGAN QLD 4655	12/04/90
40	M A Walsh	PO Box 139 BUNDABERG QLD 4670	12/04/90
41	C Cross	1/19 Barellan Avenue BUDDINA QLD 4575	17/04/90
42	S Steenstrup	MS 279 GUNALDA QLD 4570	17/04/90
43	K Tietze	Box 5770 RMC ROCKHAMPTON QLD 4702	17/04/90
44	P A Murray	17 Morshead Street BUNDABERG QLD 4670	17/04/90
45	B A Smith	118 Government Road LABRADOR QLD 4215	17/04/90
46	J M Meredith	23 Rossiter Parade HAMILTON QLD 4007	17/04/90
47	B Walker	"Eerwah-Lee" PO Box 45 EUMUNDI QLD 4562	17/04/90
48	M D Passmore	PO Box 162 STANTHORPE QLD 4380	18/04/90
49	S H Cotter	43 Henry Street WYNNUM QLD 4178	18/04/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
50	P Sinclair	7 Tenth Avenue ST LUCIA QLD 4067	19/04/90
51	Ald D T J Gleeson Mayor	City of Thuringowa PO Box 86 THURINGOWA CENTRAL QLD 4817	02/04/90
52	P D D Glover	46 Berrima Street WYNNUM QLD 4178	19/04/90
53	B Smith	12 Karella Street FIG TREE POCKET QLD 4069	19/04/90
54	J A McMinn	8 Ruth Street OXENFORD QLD 4210	19/04/90
55	C B Quartermaine	Merluna Cattle Station PMB CAIRNS QLD 4870	20/04/90
56	Hon B Littleproud MLA Member for Condamine	Condamine Electorate Office 45A Patrick Street DALBY QLD 4405	20/04/90
57	R J Nightingale	30 Ellyn Street NORTHGATE QLD 4013	20/04/90
58	T Merrin	GPO Box 1565 TOWNSVILLE QLD 4810	23/04/90
59	W H Freeman	5/5 Wharf Street MAROOCHYDORE QLD 4558	23/04/90
60	R J Tranter	100 Hardwood Road LANDSBOROUGH QLD 4550	23/04/90
61	J Ridd	PO Box 888 INNISFAIL QLD 4860	23/04/90
62	R B Murphy	Austen MS 1497 WELLCAMP QLD 4350	23/04/90
63	Hon Sir Thomas Hiley	"Illawong" 39 The Esplanade TEWANTIN QLD 4656	26/04/90
64	D J Nilon	226 Dean Street ROCKHAMPTON QLD 4701	26/04/90
65	F G Hobbs	Unit 3 Greenridge Court North Maleny Road MALENY QLD 4552	26/04/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
66	J L Whitty	39 Killarney Avenue MANLY WEST QLD 4179	27/04/90
67	J S Page	117 Stewart Street FRENCHVILLE QLD 4701	27/04/90
68	K J Dutton	48 Anne Street CHARTERS TOWERS QLD 4820	27/04/90
69	J Russell	16 Orchis Drive EAGLE HEIGHTS QLD 4271	30/04/90
70	Dr G T McDonald	Griffith University NATHAN QLD 4111	30/04/90
71	K D Moore	15 Marney Street CHAPEL HILL QLD 4069	30/04/90
72	G Newton	21 William Street WARWICK QLD 4370	01/05/90
73	G Tidbold	5 Warrandyte Court CAMP MOUNTAIN QLD 4520	01/05/90
74	D Moses	Joint Churches Social Justice C/- 11 Wexford Street KENMORE QLD 4069	01/05/90
75	H B Lucas	22 The Lido ISLE OF CAPRI QLD 4217	01/05/90
76	K D Bell	North Branch Road MARYVALE QLD 4370	01/05/90
77	J Coles	Palm Grove Plantation MS 1197 Cooloolabin Road YANDINA VIA NAMBOUR QLD 4560	01/05/90
78	W D Duncan	30 Struan Street CHAPEL HILL QLD 4069	01/05/90
79	J M Carson	6 Hillview Crescent Whitfield CAIRNS QLD 4870	01/05/90
80	A Sandell	Lot 85 Greensward Road TAMBORINE QLD 4270	01/05/90
81	F H C Kelly	11 Bambaroo Close NAMBOUR QLD 4560	01/05/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
82	P Coughlin	20 Glode Avenue CHURCHILL QLD 4305	01/05/90
83	L Madden	21 Kilmorey Street CARINDALE QLD 4152	01/05/90
84	W Lovell	2/27 Imperial Parade LABRADOR QLD 4215	02/05/90
85	M Bryan	79 McManus Street CAIRNS QLD 4870	02/05/90
86	P Walford	PO Box 1255 EDITH CREEK TAS 7330	30/04/90
87	R Maddock	15 Kitson Street MORNINGSIDE QLD 4170	02/05/90
88	B Alexander	C/- 16 Crowther Street WINDSOR QLD 4121	02/05/90
89	W Bowden	44 Oberon Street MORNINGSIDE QLD 4170	02/05/90
90	G Warren	22 Danina Street MANSFIELD QLD 4122	03/05/90
91	P Wyche	6 Pandanus Street BOWEN QLD 4805	03/05/90
92	W Lindsay	42 Jimbour Street WOOLLOOWIN QLD 4030	03/05/90
93	A Brennan	"Huston" Peachester Road PEACHESTER QLD 4519	03/05/90
94	L J Fletcher	66 Parkyn Parade MOOLOOLABA QLD 4557	03/05/90
95	A Ellis Secretary	Citizens Electoral Councils of Qld "Grasslands" WARRA QLD 4411	03/05/90
96	P Lucas	16-24 Britt Court CARBROOK QLD 4130	03/05/90
97	A R Phoebe	1/200 Camooweal Street MT ISA QLD 4825	04/05/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
98	M Purcell	31 Angela Crescent CLEVELAND QLD 4163	04/05/90
99	L G Newton	Blackall Range Road WOOMBYE QLD 4559	04/05/90
100	C J Moore E J Cupitt	2-32 Haven Road CARBROOK QLD 4130 & 188-210 Teviot Road MS 1-1311 CARBROOK QLD 4130	04/05/90
101	A K Rayner	PS 1575 MALANDA QLD 4885	04/05/90
102	T La Punta	Mt Nebo Road MT NEBO QLD 4520	04/05/90
103	R Ferguson State Secretary	Socialist Party of Australia 21 Walsh Street MILTON QLD 4064	08/05/90
104	M F Yonwin	29 Leon Street THORNESIDE QLD 4158	09/05/90
105	D L Ramin	PO Box 178 MALANDA QLD 4885	09/05/90
106	D Bates	85 Palm Beach Avenue PALM BEACH QLD 4221	09/05/90
107	Dr P Hanush	PO Box 46 COOKTOWN QLD 4871	09/05/90
108	P Friis	1/25 Conon Street LUTWYCHE QLD 4030	09/05/90
109	P J Reibelt	756 Rode Road WEST CHERMSIDE QLD 4012	09/05/90
110	A J Fischer	Dept of Economics University of Adelaide ADELAIDE SA 5001	09/05/90
111	D C Cowley	12 Kerr Street TOOWONG QLD 4066	09/05/90
112	G Harrigan	43 Elizabeth Street AITKENVALE QLD 4814	09/05/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
113	A Ward	PO Box 500 BOWEN QLD 4805	09/05/90
114	C Broughton	48 Gollender Street ROCKHAMPTON QLD 4700	09/05/90
115	D Welch	55 Althea Street SALISBURY QLD 4107	09/05/90
116	R B Excell Hon Secretary	The Municipal Reform Group GPO Box 1370P HOBART TAS 7001	10/05/90
117	A Skyring	9 Alkina Street KENMORE QLD 4069	09/05/90
118	H Orr	Kerrs Lane NAMBOUR QLD 4560	09/05/90
119	C W den Ronden	PO Box 231 LUTWYCHE QLD 4030	09/05/90
120	R Moore	PO Box 279 WEST END QLD 4101	09/05/90
121	N D Cameron	C/- R Schrapel PO Box 88 Bethany Road TANUNDA SA 5352	09/05/90
122	E P Weller	9 Blaxland Street EASTERN HEIGHTS QLD 4305	09/05/90
123	A Horsfall	PO Box 455 PIALBA QLD 4655	09/05/90
124	V Englart	11 Cook Street RED HILL QLD 4059	09/05/90
125	D Boothby	63 Alawoona Street REDBANK PLAINS QLD 4301	09/05/90
126	Pastor H Steensma	Assembly of God Church PO Box 1132 SURFERS PARADISE QLD 4217	09/05/90
127	D R Tait Secretary	Chinchilla Branch GASEQ "Cameby Downs" MS 670 MILES QLD 4415	09/05/90
128	J L Marley	301 Carmody Road ST LUCIA QLD 4067	09/05/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
129	Dr N Preston	70 Gray Road HILL END QLD 4101	09/05/90
130	J Kerr	105 Highland Terrace ST LUCIA QLD 4067	09/05/90
131	B Bolton	"The Pocket" GOGANGO QLD 4702	09/05/90
132	Dr P Reynolds	Dept of Government University of Qld ST LUCIA QLD 4067	09/05/90
133	E Raddatz	Matthews Lane THE SUMMIT QLD 4377	10/05/90
134	R M Collins	10 Gagarra Street EIGHT MILE PLAINS QLD 4113	10/05/90
135	A A Pinwill	"Gaylands" Woodmillar GANYDAH QLD 4625	10/05/90
136	B Pares	10 Bryce Street MOFFAT BEACH QLD 4551	10/05/90
137	Cruickshank Family	No address	10/05/90
138	B O'Halloran Executive Officer	Catholic Justice & Peace Commission GPO Box 282 BRISBANE QLD 4001	10/05/90
139	P Lawrence	14 Alexander Avenue BILOELA QLD 4715	09/05/90
140	T Cobb President	Isolated Children's Parents' Assoc 'Pemberley' ISISFORD QLD 4731	10/05/90
141	A H Greenhalgh Member of Executive	Qld Professional Officers Assoc 32 Peel Street BRISBANE QLD 4101	10/05/90
142	E D Butler National Director	Australian League of Rights GPO Box 1052J MELBOURNE VIC 3001	10/05/90
143	D Watts	7/87 Boshammer Street TOOWOOMBA QLD 4350	10/05/90
144	A Ellis	Qld Citizens Electoral Councils 'Grasslands' WARRA QLD 4411	10/05/90
145	A J Day	PO Box 67 MOOROOKA QLD 4105	10/05/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
146	D Hutton	Qld Conservation Council PO Box 238 NORTH QUAY QLD 4002	10/05/90
147	W K Hamill	"Curriba" YELARBON QLD 4388	10/05/90
148	R S Winterbotham	48 Clewley Street CORINDA QLD 4075	10/05/90
149	R G Bulley Shire Clerk	Warroo Shire Council PO Box 63 SURAT QLD 4417	10/05/90
150	D J Broome	8 Whiting Street WOODGATE QLD 4660	10/05/90
151	J W Ridge	"Addiscombe" MS 50 Thorndale Road STANTHORPE QLD 4380	10/05/90
152	V E Lewis	PO Box 439 ZILLMERE QLD 4034	10/05/90
153	R Hammond	12 Cleland Crescent BROADBEACH WATERS QLD 4218	10/05/90
154	K MacDonald Secretary	Bayside Citizens for Democracy PO Box 20 MANLY QLD 4179	10/05/90
155	W R W Roberts	52 Careen Street CURRIMUNDI HEIGHTS QLD 4551	10/05/90
156	G N Butterworth	36 Gresham Street EAST BRISBANE QLD 4169	10/05/90
157	C Newton	Towen Mount Road NAMBOUR QLD 4560	10/05/90
158	W E Mansfield	2 Glen Street COORPAROO QLD 4151	10/05/89
159	W J E Currie Manager	The Tobacco Leaf Marketing Board PO Box 176 MAREEBA Q 4880	10/05/90
160	D Hearn	St Paul's Catholic Parish PO Box 98 WOODRIDGE QLD 4114	10/05/90
161	L Hewitt	26 Janice Street SUNNYBANK QLD 4109	10/05/90
162	T McLennan	17 Davy Street PROSERPINE QLD 4800	10/05/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
163	L G Greenhill	902 Hamilton Road McDOWALL QLD 4053	10/05/90
164	Senator M Macklin	8 Lockhart Street WOOLLONGABBA QLD 4102	10/05/90
165	K R Strothard	28 Besline Street KURABY QLD 4112	10/05/90
166	I T Henderson	31 Dunbar Street MT GRAVATT QLD 4122	10/05/90
167	M Goldstiver Vice Chairman	Australian Recovery Movement PO Box 383 LUTWYCHE QLD 4030	10/05/90
168	N Turner	Campaign Against Racial Exploitation (CARE) - No Address	10/05/90
169	S Rogers	15 Ellen Street WOODY POINT QLD 4019	10/05/90
170	S B Collins	"Daintree" WINTON QLD 4735	10/05/90
171	P Cummins	16 Kingsley Terrace WYNNUM QLD 4178	10/05/90
172	R O'Reilly	239 Welsby Parade BONGAREE QLD 4507	10/05/90
173	J Moesbergen	56 Station View Street MITCHELTON QLD 4053	09/05/90
174	V D Burnett Homestead Officer	Rathburnie Estate LINVILLE QLD 4306	10/05/90
175	B W Ede Shire Clerk	Cambooya Shire Council PO Box 21 GREENMOUNT QLD 4359	09/05/90
176	T J Pailthorpe Shire Clerk	Winton Shire Council PO Box 288 WINTON QLD 4735	04/05/90
177	L B De Munari	652 Grandview Road PULLENVALE QLD 4069	11/05/90
178	A Lindsay	130 Robert Street ATHERTON QLD 4883	11/05/90
179	L Dornan Secretary	Citizens Against Corruption 54 Seventeen Mile Rocks Road OXLEY QLD 4075	11/05/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
180	D J McGill	18th Level 239 George Street BRISBANE QLD 4000	11/05/90
181	C F Johnson	PO Box 37 EDGE HILL QLD 4870	11/05/90
182	G Williams	41 Cooyar Street ASPLEY QLD 4034	11/05/90
183	O Ahnfeldt	PO Box 1216 MT ISA QLD 4825	11/05/90
184	A Innes, MLA	Liberal Party of Australia (Qld) Parliament House George Street BRISBANE QLD 4000	11/05/90
185	R A Jurgensen	154 Bundock Street TOWNSVILLE QLD 4810	11/05/90
186	H S Curtis	69 Miles Street HAWTHORNE Qld 4171	11/05/90
187	E Jarvis Hon. Secretary	The Amity Point Progress Assoc C/- Post Office AMITY POINT QLD 4183	11/05/90
188	W H Alford	'Collopy' MINGELA QLD 4816	11/05/90
189	J Trewern Representative	Womens Electoral Lobby 18 Valmadre Street LAKE PLACID QLD 4878	11/05/90
190	M D Noonan	5 Scheu Street INNISFAIL QLD 4860	11/05/90
191	R F Diamond	Cherryfields Road GRACEMERE QLD 4702	11/05/90
192	D Grigg	New Left Party PO Box 1365 FORTITUDE VALLEY QLD 4006	11/05/90
193	R G Bristow	29 Wilson Street CABOOLTURE QLD 4510	11/05/90
194	P J Smith	18 O'Keefe Street BURANDA QLD 4102	11/05/90
195	J Croaker General Manager	Australian Brahman Breeders' Assoc Ltd PO Box 796 ROCKHAMPTON QLD 4700	11/05/90
196	Prof J Henningham	46 Kathleen Street CORINDA QLD 4075	11/05/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
197	T C St Baker	658 Upper Brookfield Road UPPER BROOKFIELD QLD 4069	11/05/90
198	Dr K G Smith	110 White Street GRACEVILLE QLD 4075	11/05/90
199	T Wood	2/39 Gibb Street KELVIN GROVE QLD 4059	11/05/90
200	Dr R Scott	9/152 River Terrace KANGAROO POINT QLD 4169	11/05/90
201	R Dempsey General Secretary	Trades & Labour Council of Qld Level 5, 16 Peel Street SOUTH BRISBANE QLD 4101	11/05/90
202	P O'Shea	Qld Council for Civil Liberties GPO Box 2281 BRISBANE QLD 4001	11/05/90
203	R Garrad	19 Cromarty Street KENMORE QLD 4069	11/05/90
204	T Ridgewell	25 Laughland Street WILSTON QLD 4051	11/05/90
205	Democratic Socialist Party	No Address	11/05/90
206	K A Gold	50 Euree Street KENMORE QLD 4069	11/05/90
207	H Julius	1 Fernberg Road ROSALIE QLD 4064	11/05/90
208	J Wakely	22 MacDonald Street LOTA QLD 4179	11/05/90
209	D Byrne	INJINOO QLD 4878	11/05/90
210	G Hannah	44 Old Kennedy Highway KURANDA QLD 4872	11/05/90
211	W Barnes	1379 Anzac Avenue KALLANGUR QLD 4503	11/05/90
212	L Nightingale	194 Dowding Street OXLEY QLD 4075	11/05/90
213	B Martin	PO Box 1 CANNON HILL QLD 4170	11/05/90
214	T Arklay Coordinator	Citizens for Democracy PO Box 998 TOOWONG QLD 4066	11/05/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
215	B G Wilson Director-General	Dept of Lands PO Box 168 NORTH QUAY QLD 4002	11/05/90
216	C Caldwell	Lot 4 Brisbane Valley Hwy TOOGOOLAWAH Q 4313	11/05/90
217	I Olsson	BRIDGE (Beautiful Russell Island Deserves Gov Encouragement) 23 Nepeta Street RUNCORN QLD 4113	11/05/90
218	N Ellis	30 Glyndon Road CAMBERWELL VIC 3124	11/05/90
219	J N Sassie	"Palmyra" Radke Road BETHANIA QLD 4205	11/05/90
220	G Cook Secretary	Aust Festival of Light & Community Standards Organisation PO Box 392 ALDERLEY QLD 4051	11/05/90
221	Dr D Cooke	6 Merritt Street FLINDERS VIEW QLD 4305	11/05/90
222	J Swires	31 Doorey Street GROVELY QLD 4054	11/05/90
223	E M Hick	"Argyle" JULIA CREEK QLD 4823	11/05/90
224	R Joyner	Queensland Call to Australia (F Nile) Group Senate Team Cherry Lane NARANGBA QLD 4504	11/05/90
225	S Prasser Senior Lecturer	School of Management University of Southern Queensland Post Office Darling Heights TOOWOOMBA QLD 4350	11/05/90
226	K Robinson	For the Australian Conservation Foundation 340 Gore Street FITZROY VIC 3065	11/05/90
227	D Moore Chief Exec Officer	United Graziers' Association of Queensland Locked Bag 1 NORTH QUAY QLD 4002	11/05/90
228	R A Hibberd	39 Seventeen Mile Rocks Rd OXLEY QLD 4075	11/05/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
229	N Turner	PO Box 525 WEST END QLD 4101	11/05/90
230	G Jamieson	Rainbow Alliance PO Box 33 WEST END QLD 4101	11/05/90
231	Professor P Weller & Dr J Wanna	Griffith University NATHAN QLD 4111	11/05/90
232	Proportional Representation Society of Australia	BRISBANE QLD 4000	11/05/90
233	B & J Lawless-Pyne	5 "Camargue" Alexandra Pde MAROOCHYDORE QLD 4558	11/05/90
234	D Yuille	The Wilderness Society 97 Albert Street BRISBANE QLD 4000	11/05/90
235	M J Ryan	14 Duncan Rd CAPALABA QLD 4157	11/05/90
236	B Peacock	22 Royal Avenue SPRING HILL QLD 4000	11/05/90
237	C Griffith	249 Swann Road ST LUCIA QLD 4067	11/05/90
238	Committee for Social Responsibility	Uniting Church in Queensland GPO BOX 674 BRISBANE QLD 4000	11/05/90
239	P Henman	88 Greenlaw Street INDOOROOPILLY QLD 4068	11/05/90
240	Rev P W Gillies	32 Norbiton Street ZILLMERE QLD 4034	11/05/90
241	National Party of Australia (Qld)	6 St Pauls Tce SPRING HILL QLD 4000	11/05/90
242	Australian Labor Party	TLC Building 16 Peel St SOUTH BRISBANE QLD 4101	11/05/90
243	R F Diamond	Cherryfields Rd GRACEMERE QLD 4702	11/05/90
244	P Soper Project Officer	Wide Bay Burnett Conservation Council Watson's Rd Kelly's Ck BARGARA QLD 4670	11/05/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
245	A Bambrick	253 Elphinstone Ck NORTH ROCKHAMPTON QLD 4701	11/05/90
246	The Zunker Family	MS 299 & MS 541 Sharon BUNDABERG QLD 4670	14/05/90
247	E Elson	C/- 34 Degen Road CAPALABA QLD 4157	14/05/90
248	H B Murray	"Glenlyon" RICHMOND QLD 4822	11/05/90
249	P J Faulkner	"Karinya" MS 342 ROADVALE QLD 4310	14/05/90
250	W H Kingston	316 Bourboug Street BUNDABERG QLD 4670	11/05/90
251	G Stokoe	Gem Air Caravan Park The Willows GEMFIELD QLD 4702	14/05/90
252	K Siemon	18 Plummer Street CHARTERS TOWERS QLD 4820	14/05/90
253	S J Rowlings	9 Illawarra Street TOOWOOMBA QLD 4350	14/05/90
254	C V Griffin & R Fisher	283 Frenchville Road ROCKHAMPTON NORTH QLD 4701	14/05/90
255	R Scott	PO Box 220 KURANDA QLD 4872	14/05/90
256	A V Timms	Greer & Timms Solicitors PO Box 57 PORT DOUGLAS QLD 4871	14/05/90
257	R W Bahnisch	"Cerberus" MARLBOROUGH QLD 4705	14/05/90
258	J W Gillam	218 Brighton Terrace BRIGHTON QLD 4806	14/05/90
259	A Hawkes	15 Grove Street DUTTON PARK QLD 4102	14/05/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
260	K J Cowen	14 Ward Crescent BILOELA QLD 4725	14/05/90
261	M Kelly President	Qld Teachers' Union PO Box 310 SPRING HILL QLD 4004	14/05/90
262	Prof K Wiltshire	Dept of Government University of Qld ST LUCIA QLD 4067	14/05/90
263	J Huxley	Atavo Pty Ltd PO Box 156 MALANDA QLD 4885	14/05/90
264	J Wilkinson	206 Frenchville Road ROCKHAMPTON QLD 4701	14/05/90
265	B C Teerink Executive Officer	Qld Dairyfarmers' Organisation GPO Box 1093 BRISBANE QLD 4001	14/05/90
266	H Day	Fairbairn Village Road EMERALD QLD 4720	14/05/90
267	D Lewis	Lewis & Struik Solicitors PO Box 563 PIALBA QLD 4655	14/05/90
268	J Veraa Secretary	Australian Labor Party (Logan Exec) 110 Forestdale Drive BROWNS PLAINS QLD 4118	14/05/90
269	T Knox	PO Box 357 DALBY QLD 4405	04/05/90
270	P D Day	3/24 Croydon Street TOOWONG QLD 4066	14/05/90
271	Assoc of Labor Lawyers	P O Box 292 NORTH QUAY QLD 4000	15/05/90
272	N A Melbourne	1/46 Longueval Street MOOROOKA QLD 4105	15/05/90
273	P Pechey	21 Gleabar Road The Palms GYMPIE QLD 4570	15/05/90
274	L Mullen	Box 6528 CMC CAIRNS QLD 4870	15/05/90
275	C E Pennell	21 Bratchford Crescent CABOOLTURE QLD 4510	16/05/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
276	J Whistler	Lockyer Valley Peace & Environment Group C/- Post Office MA MA CREEK VIA GRANTHAM QLD 4347	16/05/90
277	E J Thorne Shire Clerk	Miriam Vale Shire Council 36 Roe Street MIRIAM VALE QLD 4677	15/05/90
278	J Thomson	32 The Esplanade Burnett Heads BUNDABERG QLD 4670	15/05/90
279	J Dennis Hon Secretary	Slacks Creek Progress Assoc PO Box 452 SPRINGWOOD QLD 4127	15/05/90
280	Dr J Baker	Aust Institute of Marine Science PMB3 MC TOWNSVILLE QLD 4810	15/05/90
281	Hon D F Lane	45 Toorak Road HAMILTON QLD 4007	15/05/90
282	M O'Neill Secretary	Qld Farmers' Federation GPO Box 2485 BRISBANE QLD 4001	15/05/90
283	M O'Neill Secretary	Council of Agriculture GPO Box 2485 BRISBANE QLD 4001	15/05/90
284	E Jones	76 Sherwood Road TOOWONG QLD 4066	15/05/90
285	H G Simpson	182 Baker Street ROCKHAMPTON QLD 4700	16/05/90
286	A J Willis	45 Solar Street COORPAROO QLD 4151	16/05/90
287	C Dansby	PALLARA QLD 4110	
288	M S Cobb	"Pemberley" ISISFORD QLD 4731	16/05/90
289	R J Nilon	Crane Street LONGREACH QLD 4730	17/05/90
290	C A Caldwell	Lot 4 Brisbane Valley Hwy TOOGOOLAWAH QLD 4313	18/05/90
291	J A, W Z & W W Harris	Dundu Station RICHMOND QLD 4822	18/05/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
292	D Ozanne	PO Box 364 BOWEN QLD 4805	21/05/90
293	M Mackerras	35 Creswell Street CAMPBELL ACT 2601	21/05/90
294	D McKechnie General President	Qld Graingrowers' Assoc PO Box 360 TOOWOOMBA Q LD 4350	22/05/90
295	D Dowling	4 Second Avenue GLENELG SA 5045	22/05/90
296	C B Muir	22 Bally Street KELVIN GROVE QLD 4059	16/05/90
297	R Wear	School of Management University College of Southern Qld Post Office Darling Heights TOOWOOMBA QLD 4350	23/05/90
298	D W Haddon	29 Sugar Road MAROOCHYDORE QLD 4558	23/05/90
299	K Robertson	11 Wiseman Road EDMONTON QLD 4869	23/05/90
300	N S Macdonald	PO Box 1181 CAIRNS QLD 4879	25/05/90
301	J R Blake	20 Portland Street ANNERLEY QLD 4103	20/05/90
302	I R Milton	1 Jarman Street YEPPOON QLD 4703	28/05/90
303	I Bucknell	"Sarre" RICHMOND QLD 4822	28/05/90
304	P Jull	The Australian National University North Australia Research Unit PO Box 41321 CASUARINA NT 0811	28/05/90
305	R E Balchin	5 Brampton Court ROBINA QLD 4226	29/05/90
306	Dr S Rose	4/145 Edgevale Road KEW VIC 3101	29/05/90
307	J Akee Chairman	Torres Strait United Party Box 225 PO THURSDAY ISLAND QLD 4875	16/05/90
308	P E Pechey	MS 115 GYMPIE QLD 4570	30/05/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
309	H H Duncan	PO Box 735 CHARTERS TOWERS QLD 4820	30/05/90
310	Rev A J Bishop Chaplain	Holy Spirit Home PO Box 129 ASPLEY QLD 4034	29/05/90
311	D Jordan	4 Kefford Road WELLINGTON POINT QLD 4160	05/06/90
312	A R Phoebe	1/200 Camooweal Street MOUNT ISA QLD 4825	05/06/90
313	J F Brady	8 Carey Court BOWEN QLD 4805	
314	J B Herman	The Eagle Rests 96 Springfield Avenue COOLUM BEACH QLD 4570	12/06/90
315	A Sandell	Lot 85 Greensward Road TAMBORINE QLD 4270	12/06/90
316	J Martin	"Coondambo" MS 599 JANDOWAE QLD 4410	14/06/90
317	Dr B Brown MHA Denison	Parliament House HOBART TAS 7000	14/06/90
318	S H & M Cotter	43 Henry Street WYNNUM QLD 4178	14/06/90
319	S B Collins	"Daintree" WINTON QLD 4735	14/06/90
320	L Nightingale	194 Dowding Street OXLEY QLD 4075	14/06/90
321	C Egert	35 Willow Street INALA QLD 4077	08/06/90
322	D Kault	18 Stagpole Street WEST END QLD 4810	14/06/90
323	P W Donnelly State Manager	Aboriginal & Torres Strait Island Commission GPO Box 2472 BRISBANE QLD 4001	15/06/90
324	S Doyle	"Forest Hill" BLACKALL QLD 4472	13/06/90
325	H F Rich	"Tilbury" BLACKALL QLD 4472	14/06/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
326	V Englart	11 Cook Street RED HILL QLD 4059	15/06/90
327	J A Schulz	Marie Downs ARAMAC QLD 4728	15/06/90
328	D Griss	New Left Party (Bris Group) PO Box 1365 FORTITUDE VALLEY QLD 4006	15/06/90
329	L B De Munari	652 Grandview Road PULLENVALE QLD 4069	15/06/90
330	B O'Halloran Executive Officer	Catholic Justice & Peace Comm GPO Box 282 BRISBANE QLD 4001	15/06/90
331	W Swan	Australian Labor Party Trades Hall 16 Peel Street SOUTH BRISBANE QLD 4101	15/06/90
332	H Julius	101 Fernberg Road ROSALIE QLD 4064	16/05/90
333	T Wood	2/39 Gibb Street KELVIN GROVE QLD 4059	15/06/90
334	T Arklay, C Griffith & N Turner	Citizens for Democracy PO Box 998 TOOWONG QLD 4066	15/06/90
335	T Round Secretary	Proportional Rep Society (Qld) PO Box 273 BULIMBA QLD 4171	15/06/90
336	B Musidlak	Proportional Rep Society (ACT) 14 Strzelecki Cres NARRABUNDAH ACT 2604	15/06/90
337	K Crooke State Director	National Party of Australia PO Box 403 SPRING HILL QLD 4004	15/06/90
338	N Turner	32 Archibald Street WEST END QLD 4101	15/06/90
339	D Beanland, MLA	Parliament House George Street BRISBANE QLD 4000	15/06/90
340	P O'Shea	Qld Council for Civil Liberties GPO Box 2281 BRISBANE QLD 4001	15/06/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
341	N Ellis	30 Glyndon Road CAMBERWELL VIC 3124	18/06/90
342	G W Moore	78 Blaker Road OXFORD PARK QLD 4053	18/06/90
343	E Infield	133 Clarence Road INDOOROPILLY QLD 4068	19/06/90
344	P G Hennessy	GPO Box 1091 SYDNEY NSW 2001	19/06/90
345	D N Kennedy	2 Kennedy Street MACKAY QLD 4740	28/06/90
346	L Rasmussen	10 Spalla Drive PROSERPINE QLD 4800	20/06/90
347	G Lui Chairman	Island Co-ordinating Council PO Box 264 THURSDAY ISLAND QLD 4875	20/06/90
348	G Warren	22 Danina Street MANSFIELD QLD 4122	25/06/90
349	Professor K Wiltshire	Department of Government University of Queensland ST LUCIA QLD 4072	26/06/90
350	H Slorach	43 Pitt Road BURPENGARY QLD 4505	26/06/90
351	H E Smith	"Westwood" MITCHELL QLD 4465	
352	B Waters	63 Scott Street DEAGON QLD 4017	26/06/90
353	C J Wolfs	183 Denham Street ROCKHAMPTON QLD 4700	02/07/90
354	P Murphy	45 Ross Street ROCKHAMPTON QLD 4700	02/07/90
355	R P Sheard	Mt Glorius Road SAMFORD VALLEY QLD 4520	02/07/90
356	C D O'Keefe	"Watch Hill Plains" MT GARNET QLD 4872	02/07/90
357	The Occupant	9 O'Leary Avenue BURPENGARY QLD 4505	03/07/90
358	H H Duncan	PO Box 735 CHARTERS TOWERS QLD 4820	04/07/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
359	T C Madden	3 Jingarra Court KARANA DOWN QLD 4306	05/07/90
360	The Secretary	Island Co-ordinating Council PO Box 264 THURSDAY ISLAND QLD 4875	06/07/90
361	T Round Secretary	Proportional Representation Society PO Box 273 BULIMBA QLD 4171	05/07/90
362	M Goldstiver Vice Chairman	Australian Recovery Movement PO Box 383 LUTWYCHE QLD 4030	10/07/90
363	A E Blair	201 Esplanade CAIRNS QLD 4870	11/07/90
364	A E Blair	201 Esplanade CAIRNS QLD 4870	11/07/90
365	M Hurworth	1096 Waterworks Road THE GAP QLD 4061	11/07/90
366	L Bevis	PO Box 17 SOUTH MACKAY QLD 4740	09/07/90
367	L Madden	21 Kilmorey Street CARINDALE QLD 4152	12/07/90
368	H E Weare	88 Millchester Road CHARTERS TOWERS QLD 4820	13/07/90
369	A Bartlett Asst State Secretary	Australian Democrats Qld Division PO Box 715 SOUTH BRISBANE QLD 4101	13/07/90
370	W McGeever	PO Box 27 SHERWOOD QLD 4075	17/07/90
371	M B Lincoln	19 Bettong Street WYNNUM WEST QLD 4178	18/07/90
372	P Brigg	PO Box 177 TOLGA QLD 4882	18/07/90
373	J C Singe	3 Baree Street KENMORE QLD 4069	18/07/90
374	L R Biddle Secretary	The Australian Pensioners & Superannuants League PO Box 530 MALANDA QLD 4885	10/07/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
375	Hon B Littleproud, MLA	Member for Condamine Parliament House George Street BRISBANE QLD 4000	19/07/90
376	K Crooke State Director	National Party of Australia, Qld PO Box 403 SPRING HILL QLD 4004	23/07/90
377	K Crooke Director	National Party of Australia, Qld PO Box 403 SPRING HILL QLD 4004	24/07/90
378	L McKenzie	5 Montpelier Street WILSTON QLD 4051	25/07/90
379	M Lincoln	19 Bettong Street WYNNUM WEST QLD 4178	25/07/90
380	I R Smith	PO Box 97 EAST BRISBANE QLD 4169	25/07/90
381	D Brown National Coordinator	Voters' Veto P O Box 5313 TOOWOOMBA QLD 4350	27/07/90
382	M Pigott	12 Raintree Blvd CALOUNDRA QLD 4551	01/08/90
383	Anonymous Voter	No address	16/08/90
384	D Beanland, MLA	Parliament House George Street BRISBANE QLD 4000	20/08/90
385	M C Challoner	11 Marshall Lane WELLINGTON POINT QLD 4160	11/09/90
386	N D Barwick	4 Westridge Street BROOKFIELD QLD 4069	16/07/90
387	Hon G R Milliner MLA Minister for Justice & Corrective Services	P O Box 195 NORTH QUAY QLD 4002	18/09/90
388	G Teekman	6/5 Julius Street NEW FARM QLD 4005	21/09/90
389	H H Duncan	P O Box 735 CHARTERS TOWERS QLD 4820	24/10/90
390	C Heberlein	21 Crown Street MOUNT MORGAN QLD 4714	25/10/90

Submission No.	Name	Organisation (Where Appropriate) & Address	Date Received
391	C McLean	"Tullochard" MITCHELL QLD 4465	11/10/90
392	H H Duncan	P O Box 735 CHARTERS TOWERS QLD 4820	31/10/90

PUBLIC HEARING WITNESSES

Location and Date	Name of Group/Person/ Organisation	Transcript Page No.
Brisbane 18/6/90	Australian Democrats (Senator-elect C Kernot, G Woodrow, B Martin)	5 - 18
	Senator M Macklin	18 - 33
	Queensland Council for Civil Liberties (P O'Shea)	33 - 42
	Professor K Wiltshire	42 - 56
	Citizens for Democracy (Dr M Bridgstock, T Arklay, Prof C Kennard, B Stevens)	57 - 69
	C Griffith	69 - 78
	Queensland Conservation Council (R Crisp)	78 - 83
	Democratic Socialist Party (M Sibelle)	83 - 89
Brisbane 20/6/90	National Party of Australia (D Russell Q.C.)	90 - 120
	United Graziers' Association (D Moore)	120 - 127
	Queensland Dairyfarmers' Organisation (J McAulay, R Charters)	128 - 135
	G Gunn, MHA (Member for Eyre, South Australia)	136 - 150
	Australian Festival of Light (G Cook)	150 - 155
	Dr K G Smith	155 - 161
	P Cumming	162 - 169
Brisbane 21/6/90	Australian Labor Party (W Swan)	170 - 199

Location and Date	Name of Group/Person/ Organisation	Page No.
Brisbane 21/6/90	Dr I Ward	200 - 209
	T Wood	209 - 219
	N Turner	220 - 226
	G N Butterworth	226 - 227
	Call to Australia Movement (R Joyner)	227 - 234
	W Hardy	234 - 239
Brisbane 22/6/90	Liberal Party of Australia (Qld Div.) (D Fraser)	240 - 262
	Dr J Wanna	263 - 274
	Catholic Justice & Peace Commission (B O'Halloran, Father F O'Day)	274 - 281
	Proportional Representation Society of Australia (T Round, E Haber)	281 - 303
	Committee for Social Responsibility Uniting Church in Queensland (M Young)	303 - 308
	C den Ronden	308 - 311
	Socialist Party of Australia (R Ferguson)	312 - 317
Gympie 25/6/90	J J Ahern, Hon V B Sullivan	318 - 331
	L J G Fletcher	331 - 339
	C L Newton	339 - 345
	D J Lewis	346 - 351
	M Walsh	351 - 356
	W H Freeman	356 - 363

Location and Date	Name of Group/Person/ Organisation	Page No.
Rockhampton 27/6/90	A F Bambrick	364 - 369
	D J Nilon	369 - 378
	R F Diamond	378 - 382
	Australian Brahman Breeders' Assoc (J Croaker)	382 - 387
	R W Bahnisch	387 - 396
Mount Isa 3/7/90	N Robertson (ALP Candidate, Flinders)	397 - 406
	O Ahnfeldt	406 - 414
	E Hick	414 - 420
Townsville 10/7/90	H Alford	421 - 431
	K Siemon	431 - 440
	Dr J Baker	441 - 448
	H H Duncan	449 - 460
	A Phoebe	460 - 465
	Torres United Party (J Akee)	466 - 472
	Hon R Katter, MLA (Member for Flinders)	473 - 503
Cairns 12/7/90	J M Carson	504 - 518
	M Bryan	519 - 526
	Womens Electoral Lobby (J Trewern)	527 - 536
	A Timms	537 - 545
	S Bredhauer, MLA (Member for Cook)	546 - 563
	J Ridd	564 - 571

Location and Date	Name of Group/Person/ Organisation	Page No.
Cairns 12/7/90	R Scott	571 - 585
Longreach 16/7/90	Isolated Children's Parents Assoc (T Cobb)	587 - 596
	S B Collins	597 - 604
	M Cobb	604 - 611
	R Nilon (ALP Candidate, Gregory)	611 - 621
	V G Johnson, MLA (Member for Gregory)	621 - 630
Toowoomba 18/7/90	Citizens Electoral Councils of Qld (K Ramsay, A Edwards, R Bensted, A Ellis, M Hetherington)	631 - 644
	S Prasser	644 - 650
	Qld Graingrowers' Association (I Sharp, R Dunn)	650 - 658
	R Wear	659 - 664

APPENDIX D

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTORAL REVIEW

LIST OF EXHIBITS

EXHIBIT NUMBER	DATE RECEIVED	NAME OF WITNESS	EXHIBITS (DOCUMENTS FURNISHED)
1	18.6.90 (Brisbane)	Senator M Macklin (S164)	Amended P.5/Table 2 of Senator Macklin's Submission
2	20.6.90 (Brisbane)	National Party of Australia (Qld) (S241)	"Analysis of Seats by Area" provided by Commissioner Hughes
3	20.6.90 (Brisbane)	Qld Dairy Farmers' Organisation (S265)	2 pages (p38 & 39) from Qld Year Book 1989 - Economic structure and the Qld economy provided by the EARC Chairman (Commissioner Sherman)
4	20.6.90 (Brisbane)	Qld Dairy Farmers' Organisation (S265)	Letter to Chairman (2 pages) dated 20 June 1990 concerning Qld export/trade/production statistics
5	20.6.90 (Brisbane)	G Gunn, MHA Member for Eyre, South Australia (S241, Attach 7)	Copy of submission to the House of Assembly Select Committee on electoral boundaries from the Liberal Party of Australia (S.A. Div.) dated Wed., 30 May 1990 and a map of South Australian House of Assembly districts
6	20.6.90 (Brisbane)	G Gunn, MHA (S242, Attach 7)	Letter from K Mayes, MP Minister of Housing and Construction to Mr G Gunn dated 6 June 1990 regarding supply of computers and facsimile machines
7	20.6.90 (Brisbane)	G Gunn, MHA (S241, Attach 7)	Copy of s.77 of the Constitution Act of South Australia
8	20.6.90 (Brisbane)	G Gunn, MHA (S241, Attach 7)	Summary of electoral allowances provided to G Gunn, MHA as Member for Eyre in South Australia

EXHIBIT NUMBER	DATE RECEIVED	NAME OF WITNESS	EXHIBITS (DOCUMENTS FURNISHED)
E.9	20.6.90 (Brisbane)	G Gunn, MHA (S241, Attach 7)	Itinerary of G Gunn MHA, for period Fri, 15 June to Mon, 18 June 1990
E.10	20.6.90 (Brisbane)	G Gunn, MHA (S241, Attach 7)	Copies of documents provided by G Gunn, MHA concerning electoral reform in South Australia and associated papers
E.11	20.6.90 (Brisbane)	Australian Festival of Light & Community Standards Organisation (QLD) (S220)	Letter from G Cook, Qld Secretary of Aust Festival of Light to EARC dated 19 June 1990
E.12	20.6.90 (Brisbane)	Dr K G Smith (S198)	Expansion of part of submission by Dr KG Smith
E.13	20.6.90 (Brisbane)	Australian Labor Party Qld (S242, 331)	ACT Ballot Paper - 1989 election
E.14	21.6.90 (Brisbane)	Dr I Ward (S132)	Electing members of the Bundestag
E.15	21.6.90 (Brisbane)	N Turner (S229)	Outline, presentation of issues to EARC by N Turner
E.16	21.6.90 (Brisbane)	G N Butterworth (S156)	Letter from G N Butterworth to EARC dated 16 June 1990
E.17	21.6.90 (Brisbane)	W L Hardy (S22)	Letter from W L Hardy to EARC dated 20 June 1990
E.18	22.6.90 (Brisbane)	Proportional Representation Society of Australia (Queensland Branch) (S232,335)	Extract from "Choosing An Electoral System" by A Lijphart and B Grofman provided by EARC Chairman
E.19	22.6.90 (Brisbane)	Proportional Representation Society of Australia (Queensland Branch) (S232,335)	Sample of ballot paper for House of Assembly election - Division of Braddon, Tasmania provided by EARC Chairman
E.20	22.6.90 (Brisbane)	Proportional Representation Society of Australia (Queensland Branch) (S232,335)	Sample of ballot paper for House of Assembly election - Division of Denison, Tasmania provided by EARC Chairman

EXHIBIT NUMBER	DATE RECEIVED	NAME OF WITNESS	EXHIBITS (DOCUMENTS FURNISHED)
E.21	22.6.90 (Brisbane)	Proportional Representation Society of Australia (Queensland Branch) (S232, 335)	Example of "Gerrymander Wheel" Play redistribution roulette with Gerrymander wheel
E.22	22.6.90 (Brisbane)	Proportional Representation Society of Australia (Queensland Branch) (S232, 335)	Two pages from articles relating to women in Parliament:- "Electoral systems and Women in Parliament" by E Lakeman, and "Women in Australian Parliaments" by M Sawer
E.23	22.6.90 (Brisbane)	Proportional Representation Society of Australia (Queensland Branch) (S232, 335)	Schedule of statistics - "Local Government elections for NSW" - showing the number of alderman/councillors and the voting system used.
E.24	22.6.90 (Brisbane)	Proportional Representation Society of Australia (Queensland Branch) (S232, 335)	"Proportional Representation Manual" produced by Proportional Representation Society of Australia
E.25	22.6.90 (Brisbane)	Proportional Representation Society of Australia (Queensland Branch) (S232, 335)	Table and graph prepared by E Haber of Proportional Representation Society concerning percentage of votes required to gain 50% of the seats
E.26	22.6.90 (Brisbane)	C W den Ronden (S119)	Letter from CW den Ronden to EARC and associated papers
E.27	25.6.90 (Gympie)	J Ahern (S24)	Statistical information provided by the EARC Chairman concerning the British House of Commons by constituencies, June 1987
E.28	25.6.90 (Gympie)	J Ahern (S24)	Statistical information provided by the EARC Chairman concerning the Canadian seats of Parliament
E.29	25.6.90 (Gympie)	J Ahern (S24)	Material received from J Ahern

EXHIBIT NUMBER	DATE RECEIVED	NAME OF WITNESS	EXHIBITS (DOCUMENTS FURNISHED)
E.30	25.6.90 (Gympie)	L J Fletcher (S94)	Letter/material received from LJ Fletcher dated 25 June 1990 and answers to questions on notice from EARC
E.31	25.6.90 (Gympie)	W H Freeman (S59)	Supplementary material received from WH Freeman
E.32	27.6.90 (Rockhampton)	R F Diamond (S191)	Expansion of submission by RF Diamond dated 27/06/90
E.33	27.6.90 (Rockhampton)	R W Bahnisch (S257)	Supplementary material provided by R W Bahnisch
E.34	10.7.90 (Townsville)	K Siemon (S252)	Responses to EARC request for expansion on Submission
E.35	10.7.90 (Townsville)	K Siemon (S252)	Observations on the down side of the one vote one value case
E.36	10.7.90 (Townsville)	H H Duncan (S28, 309)	Two large maps (A3 size) illustrating proposed latitudinal zonal alterations
E.37	10.7.90 (Townsville)	Hon R C Katter, MLA (No Submission)	Copy of verbal presentation to the Commission
E.38	11.7.90 (Townsville)	Mayor Ald D Gleeson (S1, 51)	Answers to Questions for Ald D Gleeson dated 5 July 1990
E.39	12.7.90 (Cairns)	A V Timms (S256)	Supplementary material from Timms dated 10 July 1990
E.40	12.7.90 (Cairns)	A V Timms (S256)	Extract from The Bulletin 3 July 1990
E.41	12.7.90 (Cairns)	S D Bredhauer, MLA Member for Cook	Material from S Bredhauer dated 12 July 1990
E.42	16.7.90 (Longreach)	R Nilon (S289)	Answers to Questions on Notice and attached maps
E.43	18.7.90 (Toowoomba)	Hon B Littleproud, MLA (S19, 56)	Submission from Hon B Littleproud, MLA MLA
E.44	18.7.90 (Toowoomba)	Citizens Electoral Councils (S95, 144)	Constitution of the Citizens Electoral Councils August 1988

EXHIBIT NUMBER	DATE RECEIVED	NAME OF WITNESS	EXHIBITS (DOCUMENTS FURNISHED)
E.45	18.7.90 (Toowoomba)	Citizens Electoral Councils (S95, 144)	Written response to questions on Notice by the CEC
E.46	18.7.90 (Toowoomba)	Citizens Electoral Councils (S95, 144)	Submission of the Queensland Government on the Report of the Advisory Committee on Individual and Democratic Rights Under the Constitution (extract)
E.47	18.7.90 (Toowoomba)	Queensland Graingrowers' Assoc (S294)	Letter of 11 July 1990 from the Queensland Graingrowers Association to the Chairman, EARC

APPENDIX E

**A HISTORY OF THE
QUEENSLAND ZONAL ELECTORAL SYSTEM**

**ELECTORAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE
REVIEW COMMISSION**

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATION

ALP	Australian Labor Party
CM	Courier Mail
EARC	Electoral and Administrative Review Commission
Fitzgerald Report	Report of a Commission of Inquiry into Possible Illegal Activities and Associated Police Misconduct, 1989
QPD	Queensland Parliamentary Debates
QPP	Queensland People's Party

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background

1.1 The Electoral and Administrative Review Commission (EARC) prepared this document as part of its overall review of the Queensland Legislative Assembly electoral system to provide a history of the Queensland Zonal Electoral System. The purpose of the document is to provide a context for other components of the review process. The EARC Commissioners may base some of their conclusions and recommendations on the contents of this History.

1.2 An investigation of the history of the operation of the Zonal Electoral System puts into context the need to address problems in the Queensland electoral system. These problems were identified by the Commission of Inquiry into Possible Illegal Activities and Associated Police Misconduct which has become known as the Fitzgerald Inquiry:

"The fairness of the electoral process in Queensland is widely questioned. The concerns which are most often stated focus broadly upon the electoral boundaries, which are seen as distorted in favour of the present Government, so as to allow it to retain power with minority support.

Irrespective of the correctness or otherwise of this view, the dissatisfaction which is expressed is magnified by the system under which electoral boundaries are determined. It has not always been obvious that the Electoral Commissioners were independent of the Government. Submissions and other material upon which the Commissioners have proceeded have been secret. The Commissioners did not report to Parliament, but to the Premier". (Fitzgerald Report 1989, p.127)

1.3 Mr Fitzgerald recommended an examination of the existing electoral boundaries by an open, independent inquiry. The Electoral and Administrative Review Act 1989 has initiated a process of review of the Queensland electoral system.

1.4 Under s.2.11 of the Electoral and Administrative Review Act 1989 EARC is required to investigate the Legislative Assembly electoral system and to report on the following matters:

- (a) whether the State should be divided into any and if so how many and what zones of representation;
- (b) the name or other means of identification of each such zone (if any);
- (c) the number of electoral districts into which the State and each zone (if any) should be divided;

- (d) the name or other means of identification of each such electoral district;
- (e) the distribution of electoral districts throughout the State and each zone (if any);
- (f) the location of the boundaries of each electoral district and each zone (if any);
- (g) the compilation of electoral rolls of the electors of each electoral district;
- (h) the margin of allowance (if any) between the numbers of electors in each electoral district;
- (i) such matters as the Commission considers pertinent to the Legislative Assembly electoral system. (Electoral and Administrative Review Act 1989, s.2.11(1))

1.5 Fitzgerald proposed that the investigation of these matters must be permitted to reconsider the basic assumptions which shape the present electoral boundaries, such as whether there is a genuine justification for a zonal system. (Fitzgerald Report 1989, p.127)

1.6 This document attempts to set out the history of the Zonal Electoral System in Queensland. It includes the rationale and the arguments applied to establish and develop the Zonal Electoral System and the procedures whereby the zonal system operated.

Definitions

1.7 This report uses a number of technical terms and it is important to attribute a consistent meaning to each of them.

- (a) Electoral weightage - geographically based variation in the numerical value of votes whereby some electoral districts have more electors than others. In Queensland, with the exception of the period 1910-1931 there has been weightage for voters in rural areas.
- (b) Electoral zones - a Zonal Electoral System divides an electorate into geographical zones which contain varying numbers of electoral districts. Within a zone the number of electors in each electoral district may vary within a given tolerance of the zonal average (the "quota"). Usually in Australia this is 15 or 20 per cent of the quota. The likely consequence of a Zonal Electoral System is that there may be significant variations among zones in the number of voters per district.
- (c) Malapportionment - the existence of electoral districts which have significant differences in numbers of elector, possibly but not necessarily through the designation of electoral zones. Malapportionment may or may not confer advantage on one party against its rivals.

- (d) Gerrymander - a gerrymander is said to have taken place when electoral district boundaries have been drawn deliberately to enhance the likelihood of election of representatives from a particular party.
- (e) equal suffrage - when one elector's vote is worth as much as another's in securing the election of representatives, irrespective of the electoral district of enrolment. This goal is often referred to as "one vote, one value", and endeavours to ensure, as far as practicable and appropriate, that the number of electors per representative is the same across all electoral districts in a given electorate.

Details of Research Procedures

- 1.8 The sources examined for the purpose of this history were:
- (a) relevant texts and histories (see bibliography);
 - (b) records of events of the day, including newspaper reports and reports of parliamentary proceedings;
 - (c) documents made available to the Commission by political parties, particularly the Liberal Party of Queensland;
 - (d) interviews with persons having some direct knowledge of the zonal system (a list of persons interviewed is set out at Attachment A).
- 1.9 On 17 August 1990 the Commission released a draft version of this History of the Queensland Zonal Electoral System. The draft version was released to enable individuals and organisations with particular knowledge of the issues involved to comment on the accuracy of the document's contents and to provide any further relevant information. 150 copies of the draft history were sent to political parties, current Parliamentary Members, former politicians and journalists, academics and community organisations.
- 1.10 The Commission requested that any comments on the draft history should be furnished by 14 September 1990. Nine individuals and organisations provided comments.

EFF Finger	Director-General, Department of the Premier, Economic and Trade Development
W Swan	Campaign Director, Australian Labor Party (Queensland Branch)
T Walters	State President, Australian Democrats (Queensland Division)
K Crooke	State Director, National Party of Australia - Queensland

Y McComb King	President, Liberal Party of Australia (Queensland)
Sir John Egerton	51 Arcadia Drive, MERMAID WATERS QLD 4218
C Griffith	294 Swann Road, ST LUCIA QLD 4067
Dr J Wanna	Griffith University, NATHAN QLD 4111
A Innes	Former Parliamentary Liberal Leader, 22 Long Street, GRACEVILLE QLD 4075

1.11 A number of other individuals responded and indicated that they had no further information to add to the content of the history. These were:

Hon Sir Llewellyn Edwards A.C.	Executive Consultant Jones Long Wootton (Qld) Pty. Ltd
Hon Tom Burns, MLA	Deputy Premier and Minister for Housing and Local Government
Sir Theodor Bray CBE	64 Macquarie St ST LUCIA Qld 4067
Keith Wright MP	Federal Member for Capricornia
Sir Gordon Chalk, KBE	277 Indooroopilly Rd INDOOROOPILLY Qld 4068
Hon D J Hamill, MLA	Minister for Transport and Minister Assisting the Premier on Economic and Trade Development

1.12 Subsequent to the release of the draft history, two interviews were conducted with:

K Livingstone	Former State Director of the Liberal Party of Australia (Queensland)
C Lamont	Former Liberal Party Member of the Legislative Assembly

All comments and interviews are available for public inspection at the Commission's Reading Room.

1.13 Where appropriate, information from the comments and the two interviews have been incorporated into the draft history to produce this final document. The Commission has not been able to follow up every suggestion made by those making comment on the draft history because of the need to release this History as an attachment to the Report on the Queensland Legislative Assembly Electoral System.

1.14 The major differences from the Draft History occur in paragraphs 1.7, 1.9, 1.10, 1.11, 1.12, 3.22, 3.23, 3.24 (last sentence), 5.30, 5.38, 5.42, 5.43, 5.44, 5.45, 6.35, 6.37 and 6.38.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL SUMMARY OF THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM IN QUEENSLAND

The Period Prior to Separation

- 2.1 Before the separation of Queensland from New South Wales in 1859, the early settlers of Moreton Bay had little experience of electoral processes. In 1843, Moreton Bay was included in a huge electoral district north of Port Macquarie which sent a member to the partly elected Legislative Council of New South Wales. (Premier's Department 1988) Moreton Bay was given a separate parliamentary member in 1851, two in 1853, four in 1855 (when New South Wales received responsible government), and nine in 1858. (ibid.)

At Separation

- 2.2 Separation was effected by Letters Patent of 6 June 1859 and an Order-in-Council of the same date. The Order-in-Council provided for a bicameral legislature in Queensland.
- 2.3 The Legislative Council was to consist of not fewer than five members appointed by the Governor of New South Wales for five years, and such additional members as the Governor of Queensland thought fit, to be appointed for life. (Lack 1959, p.58) Fifteen members were appointed to the Upper House, 11 for five years and four for life.
- 2.4 The Legislative Assembly, the Lower House, was to consist of popularly elected members. Arranging for the elections was entrusted to the Governor of New South Wales. (McPherson 1988, p.157) He established 16 electoral districts, three of which returned three members each, four two members each, and nine one member each. Members were elected for five years. The first election was held in May 1860. The voting method for the election was first-past-the-post. The franchise extended to all adult males, subject to a small property or tenancy qualification which excluded, according to the Registrar-General of the day, "*only new arrivals not six months in the Colony, aliens, and a few hundreds of the most worthless, wandering, and improvident members of the community.*" (Queensland Year Book 1960, p.20) Plural voting was allowed - property owners could vote in more than one district in which they met the property requirements. (Premier's Department 1988)

1860 - 1900

- 2.5 During the first four decades after separation the Legislative Assembly was gradually increased in size to 72 members (see Table 1). Throughout this period (and until 1910) Parliament itself determined the number of electoral districts, the number of members for each district, and the boundaries of the districts. A system of single-member districts operated for the seventh Parliament elected in 1874, but multi-member districts were used at all other elections in this period prior to 1874.

- 2.6 In 1892 first-past-the-post voting was replaced by contingent (i.e. optional preferential) voting (see Table 2). In 1893 three year Parliaments began (as a result of the passage of the Constitution Act Amendment Act 1890).

1900 - 1922

- 2.7 Significant changes were made to the Queensland electoral system in the period 1900 to 1922. These included:

- (a) **Female Suffrage.** In 1905 the franchise was extended to all British-born or naturalised subjects who had resided in the State for 12 months. Women were not eligible to stand for Parliament until the Ryan government amended the Elections Act in 1915. Provision was also made for postal voting for female electors.
- (b) **Abolition of Plural Voting.** The Electoral Districts Act 1905 abolished plural voting and removed property restrictions on the franchise.
- (c) **Electoral Commissioners.** The Electoral Districts Act 1910 divided the State into seventy-two single-member districts. The Act provided, for the first time, for the appointment of Electoral Commissioners to undertake redistributions. This legislation was intended to insulate the drawing of boundaries from party-political influence and to give a degree of public involvement in the process as the Commissioners were required to advertise their proposals and consider any objections that might be lodged with them before making their final recommendation. (Hughes 1980b, p.88)

The Act introduced a considerable degree of equal suffrage. Previously Queensland had one of the highest levels of electoral inequality of the Australian States, as boundaries had been drawn so as to provide significantly smaller enrolments in electoral districts outside Brisbane, and extremely small enrolments in outlying parts of the State. (ibid., pp.88-9)

- (d) **Compulsory Voting.** Queensland was the first Australian State to legislate for compulsory voting. Enrolment and voting were made compulsory by the Elections Acts Amendment Act 1914. The immediate consequence was that voter turn-out increased from 75 percent in 1912 to 88 percent in 1915. (ibid., p.85)
- (e) **Further Liberalisation of the Franchise.** More migratory workers were brought onto the rolls with the passage of the Elections Act 1915 which allowed enrolment (for natural-born British subjects) after six months' residence in Australia, three months' residence in the State, and one month in the electoral district. (ibid., p.84)

- (f) **Abolition of the Legislative Council.** On 27 October 1921, the Legislative Council voted itself out of existence, making Queensland the only Australian State without an Upper House. (Macquarie Library 1983, p.307)

Dissatisfaction with the Legislative Council had grown steadily since separation. The chamber had been criticised for its unrepresentativeness, its undemocratic composition, and its obstructiveness. In 1915 an Act to abolish the Council had been introduced in Parliament, but had failed to pass both houses. In 1917 a referendum to abolish the Council returned a "No" vote of 179,105 to 116,196. (ibid.) Finally, in 1920 the Labor government secured appointment to the Council of enough Labor supporters to give the party a majority there, and the passage of the Abolition Bill followed. Dissatisfaction with the Upper House reached beyond the Labor Party members of the Council as the Bill passed through an Assembly containing only 37 Labor members and was carried 52 to 15. (Morrison 1951, p.1) No formal attempt has been made since abolition to revive the second chamber. It cannot be restored without a referendum of electors (Constitution Act Amendment Act 1934, s.3).

1922 - 1949

- 2.8 The Elections Acts Amendment Act 1930 enfranchised some racial groups which had previously been specifically excluded: natives of British India and naturalised Syrians. The same Act disfranchised Torres Strait Islanders and mixed race Aborigines subject to the control and supervision of the Protector of Aborigines. Residence requirements were increased to six months in the State and three months in the electoral district. (Hughes and Graham 1968, p.501) However, a 1932 Amendment reduced those residency requirements to three months in the State and one month in the electoral district.
- 2.9 Contingent voting was abolished in this period. The Elections Acts Amendment Act 1942 re-introduced first-past-the-post voting in Queensland.
- 2.10 The 1931 Act reduced the number of electorates to 62. A single quota was established, with an allowable variation of one-fifth, but it was provided that no electorate which was entirely urban could fall below the quota and none which included a city could fall below 7,000. (Morrison 1956, p.83) The Country-Progressive National government which introduced the Bill was accused at the time of creating a gerrymander, because of the weighting of rural areas and because the redistribution abolished eight Labor districts and only two Country-National districts (ibid.) A further redistribution under the 1931 Act took place in 1935.

- 2.11 The Electoral Districts Act 1949 passed by the Hanlon Labor Government formalised a system of electoral zoning. It established 75 electoral districts and four zones with different electoral district quotas. The Act was criticised at the time as a gerrymander because it provided electoral advantage for the ruling Labor Party. (QPD March-April 1949)

1949 - the Present

- 2.12 During the last 40 years in Queensland a number of important electoral laws have been passed by the Parliament. The most significant changes resulting from this legislation have been in the following areas:
- (a) **The Voting System.** The Elections Acts Amendment Act 1962 re-introduced preferential voting with a compulsory expression of all preferences. The Act brought Queensland into line with the other mainland States and the Commonwealth in this regard.
 - (b) **The Franchise.** The remaining racial restrictions on the right to vote were gradually removed in this period. British Subjects who were natives of Asia and Africa were enfranchised through the Elections Acts Amendment Act 1959. In 1965 Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders were allowed to enrol voluntarily, and a further amendment to the Elections Act in 1971 made enrolment by these groups compulsory.
 - (c) The Elections Acts Amendment Act 1959 increased the residency requirement in an electoral district to three months again. The Elections Act and the Criminal Code Amendment Act 1973 reduced the minimum age of voters from 21 to 18 years.

Summary of Significant Events in Queensland Electoral History

- 2.13 The history of electoral redistributions in Queensland is shown in summary form in Table 1. Table 2 shows the voting systems which have operated from time to time in the State; the table also shows the extent to which the system has been modified over the years.

TABLE 1:**REDISTRIBUTION HISTORY - QUEENSLAND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY**

LEGISLATION	SIZE OF HOUSE (No. Members)	DISTRIBUTION OF DISTRICTS (No. and Type)
Order-in-Council 6.6.1859	26	Created 16 districts: 3 three-member districts, 4 two-member districts and 9 single-member districts.
Additional Members Act 1864	32	Increased to 22 districts: 3 three-member districts, 4 two-member districts, and 15 single-member districts.
Electoral Districts Act 1867	32	Consolidated past laws. No change from 1864.
Electoral Districts Act 1872	42	Created 42 single-member districts.
Cook District Representation Act 1875	43	Added district of Cook, making total of 43 single-member districts.
Electoral Districts Act 1878	55	Created 42 districts: 13 two-member districts and 29 single-member districts.
Additional Members Act 1885	59	Created 44 districts: 15 two-member districts and 29 single-member districts.
Electoral Districts Act 1887	72	Created 60 districts: 12 two-member districts and 48 single-member districts.
Electoral Districts Act 1892	72	Created 61 districts. No change from 1887 except two-member district of Burke divided into two single-member districts.
Electoral Districts Act 1910	72	Established 72 single-member districts. Under the same Act of 1910, a new redistribution which altered the boundaries of 65 of the districts was proclaimed in 1921.

LEGISLATION	SIZE OF HOUSE (No. Members)	DISTRIBUTION OF DISTRICTS (No. and Type)
Electoral Districts Act 1922	72	Altered names of 17 districts.
Electoral Districts Act 1931	62	Reduced to 62 single-member districts. Under the same Act of 1931, a further redistribution with major boundary changes was proclaimed in 1935.
Electoral Districts Act 1949	75	Increased to 75 single-member districts. Four zones introduced.
Electoral Districts Act 1958	78	Increased to 78 single-member districts. Three zones.
Electoral Districts Act 1971	82	Increased to 82 single-member districts. Four zones.
Electoral Districts Act 1971-1977	82	Retained 82 single-member districts and four zones. Boundary changes.
Electoral Districts Act 1985	89	Increased to 89 single-member districts. Four zones.

- Sources:
- (1) Waterson & Arnold 1982, pp.102-4.
 - (2) Hughes & Graham 1968, pp.497-503.

TABLE 2:
VOTING SYSTEM HISTORY -
QUEENSLAND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

<u>PERIOD</u>	<u>VOTING METHOD</u>
<u>1860-1892</u>	<p><u>First-Past-the-Post</u></p> <p>Under this system, the candidate receiving the greatest number (plurality) of votes is elected.</p>
<u>1892-1942</u>	<p><u>Contingent (i.e. Optional Preferential)</u></p> <p>If more than two candidates are standing for election in a single-member district, and no candidate obtains an absolute majority of primary votes, all candidates, except the two with the greatest number of votes, are considered defeated. The votes cast for the defeated candidates are then distributed (when a preference has been indicated) between the remaining two according to the next preference indicated on the ballot paper. The candidate who, with the addition of those "contingent" votes, receives the greatest total is elected. The same procedure is followed in successive counts in multi-member districts.</p>
<u>1942-1962</u>	<p><u>First-Past-the-Post</u></p>
<u>1962-Present</u>	<p><u>Compulsory Preferential</u></p> <p>If more than two candidates are standing for election in a district, and no candidate receives an absolute majority of first preference votes, then the candidate with the fewest first preferences is eliminated and their votes are redistributed to the remaining candidates on the basis of the electors' second choices. Further candidates are eliminated until one candidate reaches an absolute majority.</p>

The Zonal System

- 2.14 The Queensland Zonal Electoral System has always been the centre of heated debate, fiercely defended by the Government of the day and severely criticised by the opposition parties irrespective of party.
- 2.15 A system of electoral zones first established in 1949 has remained a feature of the Queensland electoral system to the present day. In 1958 the Country Party - Liberal Party Government passed the Electoral Districts Act 1958 which enlarged the Parliament and reduced the number of zones from four to three. Since 1958 there have been three further redistributions. The Electoral Districts Act 1971 increased the number of electoral districts to 82 and redivided Queensland into four electoral zones. The Electoral Districts Act 1971-1977 provided for a redistribution which affected all zones except the Country Zone. Finally, the Electoral Districts Act 1985 retained the essential features of the system drawn up in 1971 but it increased the Parliament to 89 members. These matters are dealt with in more detail in Chapter 3.
- 2.16 The arguments in support of the zonal system in Queensland have been consistent from 1949 to the present day. These arguments have been advanced successively by Labor, Country Party - Liberal Coalitions and National Party governments (the Country Party had changed its name to National Party in 1974).
- 2.17 The main justifying arguments for electoral weightage in the form of zones have usually been given as:
- (a) Rural areas, where both Members and voters are disadvantaged by size and remoteness of their electorates, need proportionally greater political representation as compensation.
 - (b) Rural areas produce a large percentage of Queensland's wealth and export income and therefore deserve greater political representation.
 - (c) Without zoning, the interests of the rural areas would be dominated by the populous south-eastern corner of the State.
 - (d) Zoning gives a better distribution of political power and therefore promotes decentralisation of industry and population as well as balanced development.
 - (e) Queensland is the most decentralised State in Australia. The zonal system has encouraged decentralisation in Queensland and should be maintained.
 - (f) The principle of electoral weightage has been recognised by many democratically elected governments. Examples in Australia are Western Australia, and the Australian Senate electoral system in which each State elects an equal number of Senators irrespective of their population. Many overseas countries including Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom are also cited as allowing considerable variation in the number of electors per electoral district.
 - (g) The zonal system does not prevent changes of government when parties secure a majority of votes. The 1989 election is cited as an example of this argument.

- 2.18 Arguments against the Zonal Electoral System have been developed and refined over the years. The major arguments put forward against the system can be summarised as:
- (a) The zonal system is basically undemocratic and offends against the principle of equal suffrage.
 - (b) The "size and remoteness" argument is inconsistent because:
 - other disadvantaged groups do not receive electoral weightage;
 - serious anomalies exist. For example, votes in the electoral district of Cook, the second largest and most remote area, receive less weighting than those cast in electoral districts such as Barambah and Roma which are smaller and much closer to Brisbane.
 - (c) The problems of size and remoteness are more appropriately addressed by multiple electoral offices, increased staff, extra air and road transport facilities, toll-free telephone numbers and use of other telecommunications rather than by tampering with the value of the vote.
 - (d) The argument for rural versus urban balance ignores the reality that there is a broad spectrum of political opinion needing representation in both rural and urban areas.
 - (e) It is not at all certain that people in rural areas are more productive than people in urban areas.
 - (f) Wealth or ownership of property should not determine the value of one's vote. Social justice supports one-vote, one-value. Democracy allocates votes to people not places of residence. Therefore, electoral representation should be concentrated where people are located.
 - (g) The zonal system is partisan and unfair. The history of the zonal system in Queensland indicates that it has been used as a device to advantage ruling parties - first Labor, then non-Labor Parties.
 - (h) It has been claimed by some critics that the zonal system effectively constitutes a gerrymander.
 - (i) The zonal system, malapportionment through zoning and legislative gerrymander (boundaries drawn to advantage the party in power) have encouraged corruption and abuse of power in Queensland.
- 2.19 These arguments are set out for historical reference only. They have already been canvassed comprehensively in written and oral submissions to the Commission. The arguments are analysed in the Commission's final report.

CHAPTER THREE

THE STRUCTURAL FRAMEWORK OF THE ZONAL ELECTORAL SYSTEM

The Electoral Districts Acts

- 3.1 The key elements in the Zonal Electoral System are found in the various Electoral Districts Acts. The Acts allowed those in power to define closely the zonal framework within which the intra-zonal electoral boundaries were to be drawn by the Electoral Commissioners.
- 3.2 The various Acts have prescribed the total number of members for the Legislative Assembly, the number of zones, and the number of electoral districts for each zone. The Electoral Districts Act 1949 passed by the Hanlon Labor Government established 75 electorates and four zones: Western, Northern, South-Eastern and Brisbane Metropolitan. Each zone was allocated a quota: the first two zones were given much lower quotas than the two in south-eastern areas (see Table 3). A variation or tolerance of one-fifth applied within each zone.
- 3.3 In 1958 the Country Party - liberal Party Government passed the Electoral Districts Act 1958 which enlarged the Parliament to 78 districts and reduced the zones to three: Metropolitan, Provincial Cities and Country. The cities of Ipswich, Rockhampton, Toowoomba and Townsville were each divided into two districts, while the cities of Bundaberg, Mackay and Maryborough each constituted one district. Rural weightage was achieved through the differential quota system (see Table 3).
- 3.4 The Electoral Districts Act 1971 increased the number of electoral districts to 82 and redivided Queensland into four electoral zones: South-Eastern, Provincial Cities, Western and Far Northern, and Country. Once again, each zone had its own quota and a tolerance of one-fifth applied. However, the Act also provided that special treatment could be accorded to any electoral district in the Western and Far Northern Zone where it allowed departure from the quota to a greater extent than one-fifth. The Electoral Districts Act 1971-1977 amended the 1971 legislation to provide for a redistribution which affected all zones except the Country Zone. Finally, the redistribution conducted under the Electoral Districts Act 1985 retained the essential features of the system drawn up in 1971 whilst enlarging the Parliament to 89 members.
- 3.5 Under the various Acts the quota for each electoral district was to be determined by dividing the total number of electors in a zone by the number of electoral districts prescribed by the Act for that zone. There are indications that the necessary research, calculations and cartography to ensure desired zonal quotas were carried out before the Bills were drafted.¹ Table 3 provides a summary of the electoral zones constituted from time to time by the Electoral Districts Acts.

1. Letter to Sir Robert Sparkes and Mr C Holm from J Russell, D F Lane, and B D Austin dated 12 December 1984; Interview with Don Lane, 7 June 1990. This issue is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

TABLE 3:
ZONAL SYSTEM HISTORY
QUEENSLAND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

LEGISLATION	ZONES	DISTRICTS	QUOTAS*
Electoral Districts Act 1949	1 Brisbane Metropolitan	24	10,795
	2 South-Eastern	28	9,373
	3 Northern	13	7,696
	4 Western	10	4,613
Electoral Districts Act 1958	1 Metropolitan	28	11,383
	2 Provincial Cities **	12	12,524
	3 Country	38	8,467
Electoral Districts Act 1971	1 South-Eastern	47	13,212
	2 Provincial Cities **	13	13,171
	3 Western & Far Nthn	7	7,927
	4 Country	15	10,054
Electoral Districts Act 1971-1977	1 South-Eastern	47	15,454
	2 Provincial Cities **	13	14,656
	3 Western & Far Nthn	7	8,176
	4 Country	15	10,929
Electoral Districts Act 1985	1 South-Eastern	51	19,357
	2 Provincial Cities **	13	18,149
	3 Western & Far Nthn	8	9,386
	4 Country	17	13,131

* In addition to the quota, an allowable variation of up to one-fifth more or less applied. However, in the case of the Western and Far Northern Zone, the Acts of 1971, 1971-1977, and 1985 provided that special treatment could be accorded to any electoral district in this zone (and the quota might be departed from to a greater extent than one-fifth).

** Provincial Cities quotas are averages of the separate quotas for the different groups of Provincial Cities districts.

Sources: (1) Waterson and Arnold 1982.

(2) Electoral Districts Act 1985, s.21.

- 3.6 The schedule to each Act sets out the specific details of the boundaries of each of the zones. There have always been suggestions that the governing parties of the day have ensured that quotas and intra-zonal boundaries favourable to them will result from the zonal structure created by the particular Act. (QPD 31 March 1949, pp.2363, 2398; QPD 10 April 1985, pp.5116-7; CM 6 May 1958)
- 3.7 The manner in which the various zones and quotas were established over the years is obscure and relatively few official documents exist which cast any light on who determined these matters and what principles (if any) were applied. Although the various Electoral Districts Acts were debated in the Parliament the processes which preceded the introduction of the legislation are simply not known.
- 3.8 Attachments B - K show the electoral zones as they were when first created in 1949 and subsequently modified in 1958, 1971, 1977 and 1985. The maps were prepared for EARC by Sunmap.

The Appointment of the Electoral Commissioners

- 3.9 The various Acts provide for appointment of three Electoral Commissioners by the Governor in Council. Table 4 contains the names of Queensland Electoral Commissioners for all electoral redistributions since 1949.
- 3.10 Some appointments of Commissioners have attracted criticism. Coaldrake (1989, pp.44-6) has drawn attention to the continuity in the types of individuals as well as to the actual people appointed to make the five redistributions carried out between 1949 and 1985. Labor appointed the late Sir Douglas Fraser to the 1949 group of Commissioners and the coalition selected him as Chairman of the next three groups of Commissioners in 1958, 1971 and 1977. Sir Archibald Archer, a retired grazier and company director, was appointed to both the 1971 and 1977 groups of Commissioners.
- 3.11 Three out of the five groups of Commissioners have included the Principal Electoral Officer of the day and in 1985 one Commissioner, Colin Pearson, was Under Secretary of the Department of Justice to whom the Principal Electoral Officer reported. The last three redistributions have been performed by groups of Commissioners comprised of two public servants and one other person.

TABLE 4:**QUEENSLAND ELECTORAL COMMISSIONERS**
(1949 - 1986)

	Name	Occupation/Background
1949	The Hon Mr Justice Joseph Sheehy (Chairman)	Judge of the Supreme Court of Qld
	Douglas Fraser	Senior Public Service Inspector
	Bernard Maguire	Principal Electoral Officer
1958	Douglas Fraser (Chairman)	Public Service Commissioner,
	John Harvey	Surveyor-General
	Percy Wright	Barrister
1971	Sir Douglas Fraser (Chairman)	Retired Public Service Commissioner
	Henry Radford	Principal Electoral Officer
	Archibald Archer	Retired grazier, company director
1977	Sir Douglas Fraser (Chairman)	Retired Public Service Commissioner
	Keith Redman	Principal Electoral Officer
	Sir Archibald Archer	Retired grazier, company director
1985	John Andrews (Chairman)	Agent-General in London; previously Chairman of the Public Service Board
	Sir Thomas Covacevich	Solicitor
	Colin Pearson	Under Secretary, Department of Justice

Source: Coaldrake 1989, p.121.

- 3.12 In addition to the continuity provided by individual Commissioners, the tradition was that the Commissioners would maintain the status quo as much as possible.² It was argued that to draw up completely new electorates would ignore the existing infrastructure and create enormous upheaval. For example, Sir Archibald Archer is reported to have believed that a redistribution should cause the least possible disruption without favouring any particular political party. He inquired of each political party which of its members were likely to retire so that the Commissioners would know that abolishing and restructuring some districts would be less disruptive than other choices. (see footnote 2.)

The Role of the Commissioners

- 3.13 Since 1949 there has been criticism of the way the legislation limited the role of the Commissioners to determining the intra-zonal electoral boundaries within zonal parameters set by those who had framed the relevant Electoral Districts Act. (QPD 8 March 1949, pp.2018, 2022, 2394; QPD 10 April 1985, p.5103)
- 3.14 The 1949 legislation specified that the following criteria were to be taken into consideration when Commissioners were distributing a zone into the prescribed number of electoral districts: community or diversity of interest; means of communication; physical features; and the boundaries of Petty Sessions Districts and areas of Local Authorities.
- 3.15 In 1958 new criteria to be taken into consideration were "probable future movements of population" with greater emphasis on making boundaries conform with the boundaries of Local Authorities' areas and divisions. In 1971 additional criteria were distance from the seat of government and density of population.
- 3.16 Colin Hughes has commented on the problem of establishing "*community of interest*," but says it is "*fundamental to the representation of interests and communities*". Hughes has amplified his view:

"Farmers have a community of interest which may distinguish them from townspeople, but dairy farmers may have a greater community of interest with the people of their urban centre, the prosperity of which depends on dairying, far greater than their interest shared with wheat farmers a few miles further inland. Voters living in a metropolitan suburb have a different community of interest from those living in provincial towns and in the countryside ... but there will always be mixed divisions on the peri-metropolitan fringe ..." (Hughes 1977b, p.94)

2. Interview with Don Lane, 7 June 1990. Some distributions made continuity of existing electoral boundaries another criteria to be applied.

- 3.17 Compared to the vagueness of the criteria, the absolute certainty of the quota and its permissible variations had an obvious attraction for the Commissioners. (ibid.) The Commissioners regarded the quotas as their first and guiding principle.³ Information on the number of electors was used by political parties to prepare both the legislation and the subsequent submissions in which the numbers would "balance" with the quotas. It was particularly important for numbers of electors given in submissions to the 1971 redistribution to tally with the quotas because the electoral office was not computerised until the mid-1970s and balanced submissions were considered more credible. (Interview with Don Lane, see footnote 2.)

The Secrecy of the Electoral Commissioners' Operations and Working Documents

- 3.18 The secrecy attached to the activities and operations of the Electoral Commissioners has always generated criticism of the system. Under the legislation, the Commissioners were required to exhibit for one month maps and statements of their proposed quotas, the names of electoral districts, approximate numbers of electors in each electorate and description of proposed boundaries.
- 3.19 Objections or suggestions in writing were to be lodged with the Commissioners but there was no requirement for these to be made public and the Commissioners were not required to give reasons for their decisions in their report to the Premier. In 1971 the then Premier, Joh Bjelke-Petersen, opposed a suggestion to make submissions public on the grounds that if electoral boundaries proposed by the Commissioners too closely resembled the submissions of any particular party, they would be accused of bias. (Hughes 1980b, p.94) However, as Hughes has also noted, it has been far easier to allege bias and undue influence when the government's own submission and any subsequent objections it made to proposed boundaries remain secret. (ibid.)
- 3.20 John Andrews, Chairman of the group of Electoral Commissioners in 1985, believed the submissions were the property of the Commissioners and were treated as such. The Commissioners themselves decided not to make the submissions available to the press or the public. He told EARC staff the Premier at no time gave any instructions on the conduct of the Commissioners in regard to submissions or on any other matter. The decision was that of the Commissioners. (Interview with John Andrews, see footnote 3)

3. Interview with John Andrews, 5 June 1990; interview with Don Lane, 7 June 1990.

- 3.21 EARC has not been able to obtain all the relevant documents previously held by the Department of the Premier and therefore has been unable to compare submissions with the final electoral boundaries. Officers of that Department have not been able to locate the filing cabinet which held the working papers of the 1985 Electoral Districts Commissioners. It has been confirmed by the Director-General of the Premier's Department that the cabinet was moved to the Premier's Office before the December 1989 election. The National Party and the previous Premier, Mr Cooper, have, however, indicated that they have no knowledge of the whereabouts of the filing cabinet or its contents. The relevant correspondence between EARC on the one hand and the Premier's Department, the National Party and Mr Cooper is set out in Attachment L.
- 3.22 Further correspondence from Mr Finger, Director-General, Department of the Premier, Economic and Trade Development, states that the files and documents of Mr Cooper were the responsibility of his ministerial staff. No files, documents or correspondence were discovered in the Premier's Offices following the 2 December 1989 election.
- 3.23 In its endeavours to investigate processes adopted for electoral redistribution since 1949 the Commission has found that documentary evidence is very limited for all redistributions, not just the redistribution of 1985. Little has been recorded for posterity. The lack of any requirement in the Electoral Districts Acts that submissions and the working papers of the Electoral Commissioners be made public, together with little archiving of historical information, has contributed to the aura of secrecy which has surrounded the redistribution process.

The Question of Improper Influence on Commissioners

- 3.24 The Queensland Electoral Districts Acts have not included penalties for improperly influencing the Commissioners.⁴ In 1977, fearing that the National Party would attempt to influence the current Electoral Commissioners, the Hon. Eric Robinson expressed concern that two of the Commissioners in 1971 (when he was Liberal Party President) were reappointed to the 1977 group of Commissioners and disclosed that the Commissioners had held "working lunches" with Premier Bjelke-Petersen in the Premier's office during the course of the work of the 1971 Electoral Commissioners. (Miller 1977). However there remains no direct evidence that the lunches took place.
- 3.25 At the time these allegations were not denied but there was no such contact alleged in 1977 or 1985.⁵ Mike Evans, former Executive Director of the National Party, said that in 1977 the Premier was very wary of having anything to do with the Commissioners and he believed that the 1977 Commissioners acted independently.

4. This should be contrasted with Section 78 of the Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918 which provides for a penalty of \$2,000 or imprisonment for 12 months or both for improperly seeking to influence a member of an Electoral Commission in the performance of duties under that Act.

5. Interview with Mike Evans, 20 June 1990.

CHAPTER FOUR

1949: INTRODUCTION OF THE ZONAL ELECTORAL SYSTEM

The Introduction of Zones

- 4.1 With the exception of the period from 1910 to 1931, some form of rural electoral weightage has always existed in Queensland since separation in 1859. However, it was not until the Electoral Districts Act 1949 that weightage was explicitly established in the form of electoral zones.
- 4.2 Labor had held office in Queensland since 1932 but their share of districts had been declining steadily. The Labor Party had won 46 districts of the 62 in 1935 but only 35 at the 1947 election. (Hughes and Graham 1968, pp.522-6) Consequently, Premier Hanlon needed to increase Labor's advantage or the Party would inevitably lose office if its support was reduced further. According to Sir Thomas Hiley, Hanlon was advised to introduce the zonal system by the Principal Electoral Officer, Bernard J Maguire, who recommended the zonal structure and the boundaries.⁶
- 4.3 The Electoral Districts Act 1949 increased the size of the Legislative Assembly to 75 members. It also introduced electoral zones by dividing the State into four electoral zones with weightage (i.e. smaller quotas) for electoral districts in the more sparsely populated and remote areas.

Labor's Justification for Zones in 1949

- 4.4 When Premier Hanlon introduced the 1949 Electoral Districts Bill, he said that Queensland's population distribution demanded variation in the number of people represented by a Member because people in all parts of the State were *"entitled to at least the same services as those in the metropolitan area"*. (QPD 8 March 1949, p.2002) Hanlon highlighted the difficulties of Members in large remote electorates and declared that the *"area alone of electorates in the outback country justifies the lower quota of electors per member than operates in the city"*. (QPD 29 March 1949, p.2276)
- 4.5 On the other hand, he argued the population of Brisbane was growing so rapidly that it was necessary to limit the number of representatives for the metropolitan area so that its representation did not *"overshadow country representation"*. (QPD 8 March 1949, p.2004)
- 4.6 The argument for zones based on the wealth and export production of the rural areas was developed later by the Country Party. However, in 1949 Hanlon pointed out that the *"very life and security of capital cities"* depended on the *"successful development and expansion of country areas"*. (ibid., p.2004)
- 4.7 At the same time Hanlon raised the theme of decentralisation by assuring Members that greater representation in Parliament for the *"far-out places"* of the State would break down the centralised control by the capital city.

6. Interview with Sir Thomas Hiley, 31 May 1990.

- 4.8 The fact that zoning was not unique to Queensland was also stressed. Hanlon informed the Assembly in 1949 that Victoria, New South Wales and Western Australia were using a system of electoral zones with quotas weighted in favour of country zones and might well have included South Australia on his list. (ibid., p.2006-7)
- 4.9 At various times all Australian States except Tasmania have used Zonal Electoral Systems to provide vote weightage for rural areas. Victoria introduced zones in 1926 and abolished them in 1983. New South Wales had electoral zones from 1927 to 1981. South Australia dismantled its zonal system in 1973; zones had been introduced in 1929. Western Australia introduced zones in 1922 and still has a modified version. Tasmania has never had electoral zones.

Opposition to Electoral Zones in 1949

- 4.10 The initial reaction to the introduction of zones focussed on the principles involved. A number of Members objected to the departure from the principle of equal representation. (Hiley, QPD 8 March 1949, p.2011; Paterson, ibid., p.2027) Thomas Hiley, then leader of the Queensland People's Party (QPP) and Member for Logan, stressed this during the First Reading Debate in the Assembly and when he spoke at the citizens' protest meetings held by the QPP in Brisbane and country areas in March 1949. (ibid., p.2011; CM 19 March 1949)
- 4.11 In his speech introducing the legislation Premier Hanlon mentioned the ideal of "*equal representation for all people throughout the State, irrespective of class or calling*" (QPD, ibid., p.2002) and the need to try to "*keep some relationship between the value of the vote of a person in one place and the value of the vote of a person in another*". (ibid., p.2005) But the Courier-Mail noted that in fact the Labor Party had "*dropped one of its oldest principles - equal representation, irrespective of class, creed, or place of residence*". (CM 13 March 1949)
- 4.12 The "stormy" session during the Second Reading of the Bill was reported on the front page of the Courier-Mail. (CM 30 March 1949) Two of the Opposition members were suspended for two weeks after what the editorial of the following day referred to as a "bitter debate".
- 4.13 There was, however, general agreement on the need to modify the existing electoral system. But as Nicklin, Leader of the Opposition, said, there should have been a "*readjustment of the mal-distribution*" rather than zones (QPD, ibid., p.2010) which he claimed would give an unfair advantage to the Labor Party. (ibid., p.2008) "*There will be, as Hon. Members opposite hope, a minority Government governing Queensland for all time*". (QPD 29 March 1949, p.2283)
- 4.14 One member of the Country Party, Joh Bjelke-Petersen, argued that "*the predetermined zones and the numbers set out will mean nothing but that the majority will be ruled by the minority*" and "*the Bill, by the method by which it is to be applied or executed, is a crafty and vicious piece of legislation, if ever there was one*". (ibid., pp.2331-2332)

- 4.15 The Courier-Mail had given detailed accounts of the vigorous parliamentary exchanges on the First Reading debate on 8 and 9 March 1949, and on 13 March 1949 a special correspondent analysed voting figures at the previous State election to argue that the Bill gave Labor a theoretical initial advantage of about seven districts. (CM 13 March 1949) The correspondent expressed a view consistent with that of the Leader of the Opposition and wrote that the factor that was to give Labor a "big initial advantage" and would allow it to govern "in perpetuity" was "the proposed division of the State into zones with vastly different electoral quotas." In common with Country Party politicians, the author of the article indicated that he was not opposed to the principle of zones provided the "political colour" of the zones was neutral. Under these circumstances, it was argued, the zonal system would have no effect on relative party strengths. However, in practice the Western and Northern Zones with the lowest quotas were Labour strongholds: at the 1947 election the West had returned only Labor members. (ibid.)
- 4.16 Even in 1949 Opposition Members argued that "area" was not a problem since air travel and motor travel were available and extra assistance could be provided to country members without violating the principle of one vote, one value. (Maher, QPD 8 March 1949, p.2014; Paterson, ibid., p.2027)
- 4.17 Further, both Country Party and QPP Members objected to the way the task of the Redistribution Commissioners was "moulded" by the conditions set out in the legislation which in effect tied their hands to allocating electorates in favour of the Government. (Evans, QPD 8 March 1949, p.2018; Muller, ibid., p.2022; Nicklin, QPD 31 March 1949, p.2394)
- 4.18 Nicklin, later to be Premier himself, challenged Hanlon's argument of community of interest when the Bill was in Committee on 31 March 1949. He stated that "with the exception of Zone 1 [Brisbane Metropolitan], all the zones, to a greater or lesser extent, have varied interests" and therefore concluded that the reason for creating zones was unsound. (QPD 31 March 1949, p.2394)
- 4.19 Anticipating the Country Party's later modifications to the zonal system in 1958, Nicklin unsuccessfully moved an amendment to eliminate the differentiation in the quotas for various cities because they had a "community of interest" and were "the same wherever they may be situated throughout the State..." He was advocating that Provincial Cities be excised from their surrounding areas and be given the same quota as the City of Brisbane. (QPD 1 April 1949, p.2433-4)
- 4.20 It was left to F W Paterson, the Communist Member for Bowen, to reject zoning as an effective method to encourage decentralisation. He pointed out that if the governing party did not have a policy on decentralisation then the electoral system would not make any difference. (QPD 8 March 1949, p.2027)

- 4.21 E B Maher, the Country Party Member for West Moreton and former Leader of the Opposition, went so far as to call the proposal "*undemocratic*" and the "*Machiavellian product of a bunch of cheats*" during the First Reading debate. (ibid., p.2014)
- 4.22 The Opposition seized on this line of argument after they had time to study the Bill in detail and decide that it would inevitably result in political gains for Labor. (Chalk, QPD 8 March 1949, p.2034; Maher, QPD 31 March 1949, p.2389) In the Committee debates at the end of March Wanstall, QPP Member for Toowong, drew attention to the fact that the Bill was inconsistent in its effects and did not really achieve what Hanlon had claimed for it:

"There will be under this Bill no increase of rural representation... all the new seats will be on the fringe or outskirts or include parts of the large provincial cities of Toowoomba, Mackay, Townsville, Cairns, Bundaberg, and so on... That explodes immediately the hollow sham of the Premier's argument, put forward with such pretentiousness, that it is a measure designed to improve the lot of the country dweller. It is designed for one purpose, and that is to create seats on the fringes of the country cities, seats that Labour knows will keep it in power against the will of the people and on a minority vote". (QPD 31 March 1949, p.2363)

- 4.23 The Courier-Mail editorial expressed concern for the same reason and stated that because the "*traditional safeguards inherent in the bicameral system no longer exist in Queensland ... power for the sake of power seems to be too tempting to resist*". The Opposition parties were reminded that their function was "*not only to oppose and criticise, but to be ready with practical amendments and alternatives to remedy weaknesses in Government proposals*". (CM 31 March 1949)

The Impact of Electoral Zoning in 1949

- 4.24 The electoral system set in place in 1949 advantaged the Labor Party which had strong support from the Australian Workers' Union in the West dominated by the pastoral and mining industries and support from workers in the sugar and mining industries in the North. (Poulter 1959)
- 4.25 In an interview with EARC officers on 31 May 1990 Sir Thomas Hiley said that once Hanlon's zonal system was in operation it was so absolute in effect that he despaired it could be beaten. It was only the split in the Labor Party in 1957 which had allowed the coalition to beat it. (Interview with Sir Thomas Hiley, see footnote 6)
- 4.26 Using the 1950-57 election results, Colin Hughes indicated that initially the zones did not affect an existing State wide measure of electoral inequality. This was because new enrolments in individual electoral districts had been widely spread since the previous redistribution in 1935. However, as enrolments increased within particular zones, by 1957 State wide measures of electoral inequality were as large as they had been in 1910. (Hughes 1980b, p.89)

- 4.27 At the 1950 election Labor won 42 of the 75 electoral districts with 46.9% of the primary vote (see Table 5, p.44) At the ensuing 1953 and 1956 elections Labor won 50 districts and 49 districts respectively out of 75. However, the effects of the split in the Labor Party following Gair's expulsion in April 1957, undermined this position of strength because the two separate Labor Parties competed against each other for votes. At the 1957 election Gair's Queensland Labor Party held 11 districts and the ALP led by Duggan held 20. Of the remaining 18 districts previously held by Labor, eight went to the Country Party and ten to the Liberals. (Hughes and Graham 1968, pp.529-30)
- 4.28 As a result the Country Party had majorities in both the Joint Party Room and the Cabinet. The Country Party was consequently in a position to control any subsequent redistributions enabling retention of rural electoral weightage and such modification of zones as might be advantageous to either the Coalition collectively or to itself. (Hughes in Murphy et al. 1980, pp.69-70)

CHAPTER FIVE

MAINTAINING THE ZONAL SYSTEM

1957 - The Nicklin Government Modifies the System

- 5.1 During the 1957 election campaign the Country-Liberal coalition had promised to give Queensland a democratic electoral system capable of giving full effect to the people's expressed will. Immediately after the Coalition won the election in early August 1957 the Liberal Prime Minister, Robert Menzies, reportedly urged an immediate end to what he described as Queensland's "*curious electoral system*". (CM 8 August 1957; 22 August 1957)
- 5.2 The Courier-Mail reported that the new Premier, Frank Nicklin, had said that a complete review of the State's electoral system would include a revision of State electoral boundaries, introduction of joint State/Commonwealth rolls, and preferential voting (as opposed to the existing first-past-the-post system). (CM 11 August 1957) The last two changes would have brought Queensland into line with other mainland States. It was presumed that such a review would include abolition of the Zonal Electoral System and a redistribution of electorates to correct what was referred to as "*the electoral gerrymander strongly slanted to favour Labor*". (CM 22 August 1957)
- 5.3 However, by the end of August there was already an element of doubt about the abolition of zones in favour of one-vote, one-value. Nicklin altered his position and said that there had to be "*a variation between different parts of the State*" and Members forecast that a change to one-vote, one-value would mean at least seven more city districts and cost seven country districts. The Courier-Mail's political writer thought that this implied that the Country Party knew that it was in the dominant position in the coalition and intended to stay there. (CM 30 August 1957) On the other hand, the Liberal Party Convention in November 1957 decided that the party should adhere to the principle of one-vote, one-value as party policy. (ibid.)
- 5.4 The Government took the first step towards a redistribution of electoral boundaries in March 1958 when it appointed a Country-Liberal Parliamentary Committee to decide whether to retain the zonal system and to determine the policy on which the Electoral Commissioners would readjust the electorates. In the Courier-Mail on 12 March 1958 a political reporter wrote:
- "despite the Liberal policy of one-vote-one-value the Country Party, which has the numbers (Country Party 23, Liberal Party 18), is expected to insist on retaining some loading in favour of the western voter."* (CM 12 March 1958)
- 5.5 Country Party members of the Committee were reported as having argued that if the zonal system went, the resulting increase in the number of city electorates at the expense of country would put the Liberals at the head of the coalition, or it could even put Labor back in power. (Sunday Mail 23 March 1958)

- 5.6 On 6 May 1958 the Courier-Mail anticipated the possible introduction of a modified three-zone system. It said that in practical terms the modified zonal system would replace a system weighted to assist the return of Labor with a system weighted to assist the return of Country Party members and predicted:

"This system would hold great dangers for Queensland. It would cause a system of electorate manipulation favourable to the ruling party to become accepted policy of all parties in Queensland. It would prove a running sore in the Lib-CP coalition as the Liberals will obviously resent such a system after the first flush of participating in Government wore off". (CM 6 May 1958)

- 5.7 In August the Parliamentary Committee handed over the problem to the Premier and Cabinet and it was announced that "community of interest", a criterion which would retain a loading in favour of the country elector over the city elector, was likely to be the underlying principle of the pending Queensland electoral redistribution. (CM 27 August 1958) There were subsequent press reports of "Cabinet clashes" over the Liberal policy of one-vote, one-value which conflicted with the Country Party's intention to keep zones with differing quotas, and on the Liberal proposal to increase the number of districts in Brisbane. However, there was said to be agreement on separating provincial cities from the country areas around them; this last proposal was thought to make community of interest "more distinct". (Sunday Mail 26 October 1958)
- 5.8 So that legislation could be drafted for the redistribution, the job of actually defining the boundary changes for the zones and the total number of electorates was eventually assigned to two of the committee members (later to become Ministers), Harold Richter and Doug Tooth. They were advised by the State Secretary of the Country Party, Colonel Neville Hatton, and the Liberal State Director, Charles Porter. (Sunday Mail 31 August 1958)
- 5.9 Liberal Party documents from that time indicate that by the middle of the year the Liberal Party had been made aware of the "Richter Plan". The Richter Plan was that, in areas where analysis of voting figures supported it, favourable rural territory should be added to provincial cities to make safe Country Party districts even safer by isolating the provincial city vote.
- 5.10 Mr Porter's notes indicate that the Liberals argued that the Richter Plan was unworkable and that their proposals would yield better results. The best they could do, however, was to persuade the Country Party to accept a compromise. The Liberals' analysis of Brisbane districts had led to the recommendation that 28 districts was the optimal number for that area. Eventually the coalition parties agreed to 28 districts in Brisbane with the adoption of the Richter Plan outside of the city. Following a special Executive meeting in October which defined the Liberal position, there was a further agreement that the Country Party would contest the new urban districts of Redcliffe and South Coast and would not oppose sitting members in other areas.

7. C Porter, Confidential Notes on Lib/CP Relationships, 11 August 1959.

- 5.11 A combined meeting of the coalition parties in early November 1958 was told the details of the new legislation. The Zonal Electoral System would be retained but reduced to only three zones and, in what was thought to be a concession to the Liberals for abandoning one-vote, one-value for all of Queensland, the total number of electoral districts would be increased from 75 to 78.
- 5.12 By extracting the provincial cities from their previous zones and merging all rural areas in a single country zone, Nicklin turned the Labor Party's electoral advantage into an advantage for the Coalition. (Hughes 1980a, p.50) In addition to the increase of four districts in the metropolitan area, two new districts were to be created in the Southport and Redcliffe areas. Three districts were taken from zones outside the metropolitan area, thereby making a net increase of three districts. (Sunday Mail 16 November 1958)
- 5.13 Under the 1958 legislation, Zone 1 (the Metropolitan Zone), was to have its quota set at 11,383 and would have 28 districts. Zone 2 (the Provincial Cities Zone) was to have a quota of 12,524 with 12 districts: two districts each for the cities of Ipswich, Toowoomba, Rockhampton and Townsville; and one each for the cities of Maryborough, Bundaberg, Mackay and Cairns. Zone 3 (the Country Zone) with a quota of 8,467 was to have 38 districts.
- 5.14 As a consequence of the considerable prior exposure in the press of the coalition's decisions on the redistribution, the debate on the Electoral Districts Bill 1958 added little. It was introduced by the Premier, Frank Nicklin, on 25 November 1958. He said that the principles of the Bill were "entirely in line with the principles of that introduced in 1949" and the machinery provisions of the Bill were "identical with the Bill introduced in 1949" except that there was the additional matter of the probable future movements of population to be taken into consideration.
- 5.15 The only statements which contained a rationale for reducing the number of zones were:

"We believe that electoral justice and a more rational and balanced framework of representation will be served by reducing the four zones fixed by the 1949 Act...We have provided for logical zones, not political zones. Each has a definite community of interest; in fact community of interest is paramount. We have the city grouped together; we have the provincial cities grouped together; and we have all the country interests grouped together" (QPD 25 November 1958, pp.1616-8).

- 5.16 The Opposition noted the well-aided bargaining over the zonal system between the Country Party and the Liberal Party, but as the Courier-Mail editorial a few days later commented:

"Any censure offered by the Opposition will be blunted by the record of Labor Governments in electoral redistribution. At one time or another all parties play the political skin game according to the good old rule...the simple plan, That they should take who have the power, And they should keep who can". (CM 27 November 1958)

- 5.17 When the proposed electoral maps were made available by the Electoral Commissioners on 28 August 1959, the State Director of the Liberal Party was contacted by a Courier-Mail reporter and asked to comment on an allegation made to the reporter by a senior member of the Country Party to the effect that the districts in Brisbane had been gerrymandered by the Commissioners to give the Liberal Party an advantage. Internal Liberal Party documents state:

"We have acted at all times (including advice whilst the Commission was at work) to protect the Country Party from, in our view, their own mis-judgements on redistribution and preferential voting. We pressed for 28 districts in Brisbane always in the firm conviction that this alone could ensure that the Government's essential margin of districts would be safely held". (C Porter, see footnote 7)

- 5.18 After the Electoral Commissioners had released their proposals, T C Truman, Senior Lecturer in Political Science at the University of Queensland, made a critical analysis of the redistribution using a rule adopted by the United States Congress in 1901 in an attempt to stop gerrymanders by State Governments: *"that electoral districts should be of compact and contiguous territory and as nearly equal in population as possible."* (CM 7 October 1959)

- 5.19 Truman believed that by this standard the Commissioners had not performed very well in the case of Merthyr, Kurilpa, South Brisbane and Greenslopes. The long, thin winding shapes of Merthyr and Kurilpa immediately aroused his suspicion and, although Truman stated that it may have been unintentional by the Commissioners, *"the effect of these queer shapes is to change electorates that were under the old system good Labor districts into good Liberal districts."* His judgement was:

"In the case of these two electorates the Commissioners appear not to have observed the principles of "community of interest" and "communications" laid down for their guidance in the Act". (ibid.)

- 5.20 Another curious feature of the proposed boundaries was that country towns or provincial cities had in most cases a greater number of voters than the metropolitan electorates. However, Truman noted that the Commissioners were not to blame for this because the Government had laid down the details of electorates and quotas for provincial cities in the Electoral Districts Act 1958. (ibid.)

The Zonal System in the 1960s

- 5.21 After the 1966 election objections to the disparity in voting power between city and country electorates strengthened. Both Liberals and Labor wanted an early redistribution. Population growth of over 164,000 in the metropolitan area had resulted in Brisbane electorates with more than 18,000 voters while some country electorates were as low as 7,000. There were 19 districts "over quota" by December 1966. Brisbane electorates and electorates in the Provincial Cities Zone, all of which were held by Liberals, Labor or Independents, had the highest enrolments. However, the Country Party, which had won all its 26 districts from the Country Zone since 1957, with six of those having only approximately 7,000 electors and five others around 8,000, was content with the status quo. (Truth 7 August 1966; CM 10 August 1966; 25 February 1967; 20 March 1968)

- 5.22 The perceived inaction by the Country Party in preparing for a redistribution required by the electoral inequality created by uneven growth in some electoral populations was described by one analyst as a "silent gerrymander". (Jaensch cited in Wood 1984, p.15)
- 5.23 Following the death of Premier Jack Pizzey and his replacement by Joh Bjelke-Petersen in 1968 divisions between the coalition parties were increasingly brought to public attention. During the 1969 election campaign the new Premier conceded the need for a redistribution but criticised the Labor Party for supporting one-vote, one-value because it went against the Country Party policy of balanced development. (CM 8 May 1969; 16 May 1969) As the Courier-Mail editorial on 1 April 1968 noted, the Premier's criticism of the Labor Party on one-vote, one-value, focused attention on the conflicting policies of the Country Party and the Liberal Party on this matter. Charles Porter wrote to the Courier-Mail to state the Liberal Party position and in an attempt to smooth troubled waters during the election campaign, the Deputy Premier, Gordon Chalk, said that Liberal Party policy was one-vote, one-value which he believed must be implemented "*with a degree of tolerance, having regard to the remoteness of many of our outback areas*". (CM 31 March 1969; 1 April 1969)

The Zonal System in the 1970s

- 5.24 The long awaited Electoral Districts Acts Bill 1971 was highly controversial. Introducing it to the Legislative Assembly, the Premier, Mr Joh Bjelke-Petersen, quoted heavily from Hanlon's 1949 Parliamentary speeches to justify maintaining the zonal system. (QPD 25 March 1971, p.3228) Negotiations on the content of the first version of the Bill were held between the Premier, the Deputy Leader of the Country Party, the Deputy Premier and the Deputy Leader of the Liberal Party. (Chalk, QPD 31 March 1971, p.3391)
- 5.25 A number of Liberal Members, known as "the ginger group", complained in the Assembly about the content of the Bill and the lack of consultation on its details. (Porter, QPD 30 March 1971, p.3335; Chinchin, *ibid.*, p.3343) The day after its introduction in the Assembly, the Liberal Party State Executive passed the following motion without dissent:

"That this Executive is of the opinion that the "Electoral Districts Act Bill of 1971" creates electoral injustice to the people of Queensland at Country Party insistence in that:

- (a) *Provincial cities are unequally represented;*
- (b) *Proper recognition of the rapidly increasing population of metropolitan areas has lacked proper consideration; and*
- (c) *The quotas of the rural electorates are grossly disproportionate in relation to other electorates".* (Liberal Party Executive Minutes, 26 March 1971)

- 5.26 Without the approval of Chalk, the Parliamentary Leader of the Liberal Party, Porter moved an amendment to the Bill which eight Liberals and the Labor Party supported. This resulted in the first Bill being withdrawn and a new Bill being introduced four months later.
- 5.27 It should be emphasised that neither Labor nor the Liberal Party were completely opposed to electoral zoning in 1971 and neither proposed one-vote, one-value in anything like a pure form. This was revealed during the debates on the 1971 Electoral District Bill when the Leader of the Labor Opposition, Jack Houston, proposed an amendment to the first version of the Bill which would have replaced the three zones in the Premier's Bill with a two-zone version. (QPD 30 March 1971, p.3383-5)
- 5.28 The Labor Party's alternative two-zone system had been developed by a Party Executive member, Dr Denis Murphy, a University of Queensland historian. It claimed to guarantee *"equal voting rights to all electors in the State"* while protecting the *"special rights of electors in the western areas of the State where population is sparsely spread and distances are great"*. The ALP proposal promoted provision of improved facilities for Members of Parliament to enable them to represent their constituents more efficiently. Labor's two-zone electoral proposal divided Queensland into a coastal zone consisting of 69 districts with an average of 12,600 electors in each electorate and a western zone of nine districts with an average of 8,500 electors in each electorate. (Murphy 1971)
- 5.29 The Liberal Party policy of one-vote, one-value was said to be the guiding principle of *"ginger group"* members, particularly Charles Porter, who criticised the Bill for lacking *"essential electoral equity"*. (QPD, *ibid.*, p.3335) Porter proposed an amendment which he said aimed to improve on the *"imbalance"* of the first Bill. The amendment essentially proposed a three-zone system (western, south-western and eastern zones) with the eastern zone divided into two regions of different quotas. (*ibid.*, pp.3389-90)
- 5.30 The second version of the Electoral Districts Acts Bill 1971 increased the number of electorates by four to a total of 82 based on four zones: Zone 1 (the South-Eastern Zone) with 47 districts; Zone 2 (the Provincial Cities Zone) with 13 districts; Zone 3 (the Western and Far Northern Zone) 7 districts; and Zone 4 (the Country Zone) 15 districts. According to Keith Livingstone, former State Director of the Liberal Party, (interview 24, 28 August 1990) this version was worked out as a compromise between the Country Party and the Liberal Party.
- 5.31 The Opposition noted that the Premier gave no explanation for the changes which had been made to the first Bill and neither did the Leader of the Liberal Party. The Labor Party was understandably curious about the reasons for the change, not least because it was known that the Liberal Party had previously refused to agree to the Country Party's proposal to increase the number of districts. (Houston, QPD 4 August 1972, p.117; Liberal Party Executive Minutes 22 January 1971)

- 5.32 Charles Porter said the second Bill provided for a more equitable redistribution, but called it a product of compromise and refused to support it. He expressed regret at the increase in the number of districts, excessive voting loading on the basis of location, the absence of a minimum quota for some districts, and deficiencies in some of the machinery provisions. (QPD 4 August 1971, p.132)
- 5.33 In an interview with EARC staff on 7 June 1990 Don Lane provided an explanation for the compromise. He became a member of the Liberal Party Executive in 1969 and had been working on preparing the Liberal Party submission for the 1971 redistribution before he entered Parliament at the time of the Second Reading debate on the Electoral Districts Acts Bill 1971 in August 1971. (Interview with Don Lane, see footnote 2)
- 5.34 Lane said he had written to Chalk suggesting that an increase in the number of districts in the south-east corner of the State could be justified. He had researched the effect of increasing the number of districts by four and prepared a paper for Eric Robinson, State President of the Liberal Party, which argued for a compromise with an increase of four or five districts in the South-Eastern Zone. The Liberals' concern was that in their traditional areas of support in central Brisbane the population was declining whilst the outer fringes towards the Gold Coast were increasing in population. (ibid.)
- 5.35 In political terms the "Tory vote" in the affluent Gold Coast was strong for the Country Party and the Liberals had reasonably strong support in Brisbane. It was perceived as important to increase the number of districts in the south-east so that the zonal quota could be kept lower with less disparity between the country and the city districts. (ibid.)
- 5.36 The "ginger group" members believed that principle should have come before political expediency. (QPD 4 August 1971, p.135) However, Lane's view expressed at the interview is that whoever does a redistribution, electoral boundaries are drawn to advantage the party in power. He said *"no matter what people say, the real reasons for boundaries are pragmatic"*. (ibid.)
- 5.37 According to Lane, the compromise on the Electoral Districts Act Bill 1971 was worked out between Robinson, Chalk, Bjelke-Petersen, Delamothe, the Liberal Deputy Leader, and Sir Robert Sparkes. At that time there was a clear understanding between the coalition partners that although the coalition would provide a joint submission to the distribution Commissioners, the Liberal Party and Country Party would concentrate on different areas: the Liberals would concentrate on the Brisbane area and the Gold Coast, and the Country Party would do the submission for the rural areas. The two coalition parties agreed on a joint submission in 1971 except in respect of Townsville where separate submissions were made. (Liberal Party Executive Minutes, 28 March 1971)
- 5.38 Keith Livingstone (interview 24, 28 August 1990) has suggested that the Electoral Commissioners in 1971 were selected because they were *"favourably inclined ... towards the government"*. For example, Livingstone commented:

"The whole process in the objections phase (i.e. the phase after initial Commission proposals were published) was to move Labor votes out of Liberal and C.P. [Country Party] seats and put them into safe Labor seats where all they did was increase the Labor Party's majority in seats it was going to win anyway."

- 5.39 In 1977 the Electoral Districts Act 1971 was amended. Since computerisation had reduced the time taken to produce electoral rolls, it was desirable to replace the provision in the legislation relating to an annual roll print with one allowing rolls to be produced at the direction of the appropriate Minister. There were no major changes to the zonal structure: the zones stayed the same but there were some internal boundary and quota changes.
- 5.40 In Parliament there was virtually no debate on the principles and effect of electoral zoning. However, on the morning of the start of the Second Reading debate on the Bill a Courier-Mail editorial said that the system of distributing electorates based on four zones created in the Electoral Districts Act 1971-1977 was *"totally slanted in favour of the Nationals"*. It called the Act *"grossly unfair, even iniquitous"* but pointed out that *"the planned redistribution seemingly will ignore this"*. (CM 17 March 1977) When the editorial was quoted in the Legislative Assembly by the Leader of the Opposition, the response was that the system had allowed Queensland to become *"the most prosperous and advanced State in the Country"*. (Scott-Young, QPD 17 March 1977, p.2471)
- 5.41 When interviewed for this report, Don Lane indicated that the 1977 redistribution had been opposed by Liberal parliamentary members because it was an election year and they were concerned that they would not have time to become acquainted with their new constituents. The Party's Leader, William Knox, had previously stated that a redistribution was not to be held and when the Premier subsequently announced it, Liberal members were annoyed because they concluded that Knox had sold out to Bjelke-Petersen. (see footnote 2) David Ford, the Liberal Party's Research Officer at the time, has indicated that the failing relationship between the coalition partners was an important consideration. When writing about the 1977 Liberal Party election campaign, he said that the Party believed it would be political folly to embark only months before an election on what was bound to be another *"acrimonious inter-coalition struggle"*. (Ford, in Cribb and Joyce 1977, p.126)
- 5.42 Colin Lamont (interview 4 September 1990) has also indicated that the announcement of the 1977 redistribution came as a surprise to Liberal members after assurances from their leader, Knox, that the Premier had promised that it would not happen. These assurances had resulted in the backbenchers agreeing to support amendments to the Electoral Districts Act 1971 rather than crossing the floor in opposition.
- 5.43 The independence of the 1977 Electoral Commissioners has been called into question by both Colin Lamont and Keith Livingstone in interviews with EARC. They both have cited examples of redistribution decisions which, they claim, were designed to bolster support for National Party MLAs and target Liberal Party MLAs who had criticised the coalition. The absence of the Electoral Commissioners' working papers and submissions to the Commissioners has not allowed EARC to test the veracity of these claims.

- 5.44 As a result of the announcement of the redistribution Liberal members were concentrating on their own electoral survival and the increasing competition between the coalition partners made them fear that a redistribution would disadvantage them. It was suspected that the National Party decision to proceed with the redistribution was a direct result of the 1976 Liberal Party Convention decision to proceed with three-cornered contests against the National Party. (Liberal Party Executive Minutes, 29 April 1977)
- 5.45 A media release by the Liberal State Party Executive on 18 March 1977 called on the National Party to adhere to the agreement on coalition working arrangements which had been reached between the parties after the 1971 election. The Liberal Party Executive argued for significant amendment of the Electoral Districts Act 1971 to "revise" quotas and zones so that the system would more accurately reflect regional growth and to limit the variations from quota to not more than 10 per cent in urban and provincial centre electorates. Throughout March, April and May Liberal Party and National Party representatives met without reaching agreement on redistribution issues. Finally, it was decided to make separate submissions to the Electoral Commissioners because the Nationals refused to accept Liberal proposals and the Liberals refused to accept some National Party proposals. (Liberal Party Executive Minutes, 29 April 1977, 4 May 1977, 27 May 1977)
- 5.46 According to David Ford, the crux of the matter was that the interests of the two parties were diametrically opposed in the zone most affected by the redistribution, the South-Eastern Zone. The Liberal Party was concerned that the redistribution would eliminate several of their marginal inner-city districts and create new districts in the urban fringe areas which the National Party would contest.
- 5.47 Significantly though, the Liberal and Labor parties still agreed that some degree of electoral weightage was needed "*to account for the specific geographic problems*" of Queensland. (McComb 1977, p.10)
- 5.48 As Ford noted, the new boundaries vindicated the Liberal concern. The two Liberal districts of Clayfield and Belmont as well as the marginal district of Baroona were abolished. Of the new districts, Caboolture was totally rural, Broadbeach was south of Surfer's Paradise and Woodridge was on the outskirts of Brisbane. (Ford, op.cit., p.129)
- 5.49 In the November 1977 election, the Coalition won 59 districts to Labor's 23 despite a swing of 6.9 per cent against the Government. The principal losses were suffered by the Liberals whose representation decreased from 30 districts to 24. In the South-Eastern Zone the swing from Liberal to Labor was 8.3 per cent and, for the first time, the Liberal Party gained a lesser share of the primary vote than its coalition partner. (ibid., pp.146-7)

CHAPTER SIX

THE ZONAL SYSTEM IN THE EIGHTIES

1982 - Reaffirming the Philosophy

- 6.1 A detailed explanation of the National Party's philosophy on the Zonal Electoral System was presented by the State President, Sir Robert Sparkes, at a National Party seminar on Queensland's electoral system held in September 1982. He argued that allegations of a National Party gerrymander to preserve its power were motivated by the desire to discredit the zonal system and replace it with one-vote, one-value, not because it was more democratic, but because it would advantage the ALP and the Liberal Party and damage the Nationals. (Sparkes 1982, p.1)
- 6.2 Sparkes stressed the decentralisation theme, saying that an adequate spread of political power was a vital prerequisite for decentralisation of industry and population or "*balanced development*" and called the method of one-vote, one-value through designing electorates of equal population or voting strength "*utterly fallacious*". He promoted instead the principle of "*electoral weightage*" whereby electorates have a variable number of votes in recognition of "*representational disabilities*". (ibid.)
- 6.3 Sparkes differentiated between a gerrymander as "*the deliberate manipulation of electoral boundaries for the specific purpose of advantaging a particular political party*" and electoral weightage "*which merely results in the creation of some electorates with smaller numbers of voters to ensure that the less densely populated areas have a reasonable, but not dominant, political voice*". (ibid., p.2)
- 6.4 By way of justification, he provided examples of electoral weightage used in other democracies, the Australian Senate and in a similar zonal system in Western Australia (ibid., p.3). To support his decentralisation and "area" arguments for zones, Sparkes quoted extensively from the speeches given by the former ALP Premier Hanlon when he introduced the system in 1949. (ibid., pp.1, 4)
- 6.5 According to Sparkes, the practical benefits of the Zonal Electoral System were:
- (a) that all electors enjoyed approximately equal value in terms of the quality and effectiveness of their Parliamentary representation;
 - (b) that the system contributed to the high degree of decentralisation of industry and population in Queensland; and
 - (c) that it had provided sound government to transform Queensland into the boom State of the 1980s. (ibid., p.7)
- 6.6 The Premier and National Party members used the contents of Sparkes' 1982 address to justify the continuation of the zonal system during the debate on the Electoral Districts Bill on 10 April 1985. They also repeated the argument about inheriting the Zonal Electoral System from the Labor Party. (QPD 10 April 1985, pp.5106-11 (Simpson); pp.5143-6 (Neal); p.5151 (Alison); p.5172 (Cooper); pp.5193-4 (Bjelke-Petersen))

The National Party Governs Alone

- 6.7 When the coalition between the Liberal and National Parties ended in 1983, it was over the question of establishing a Public Accounts Committee, not electoral issues. An election was planned for November 1983 and from April of that year the Labor Party promised electoral reform if it won government. (Daily Sun 9 April 1983)
- 6.8 By June 1983 Liberal and Labor electoral reform policies were similar. Both parties wanted the zonal system abolished and a single State wide quota with a 10 per cent tolerance instead of 20 per cent. However, Dr Llew Edwards, the Liberal Parliamentary Leader, rejected Labor's offer of a combined approach to reform legislation because it was then too close to the election. (CM 16 June 1983) During the election campaign both Liberal and Labor parties accused the Government of gerrymandering electoral boundaries and proposed an independent Electoral Commission to avoid the possibility of political interference in future redistributions. (CM 21 October 1983)
- 6.9 The 1983 election reduced Liberal districts from 22 to eight with increased representation for both the Nationals and the Labor Party. The Nationals won 41 districts and subsequently gained Don Lane and Brian Austin from the Liberal Party so that the National Party was able to govern alone for the first time.

Preparation for Redistribution

- 6.10 Don Lane, the MLA for Merthyr, had been Minister for Transport from 1980 and gained considerable expertise preparing Liberal Party submissions to the 1971 and 1977 Electoral Commissioners. In November 1984, the National Party Redistribution Committee which comprised senior National Party officials asked Lane and Austin to work with the Party's Research Officer, Jenny Russell, compiling a proposal for redistribution in relation to the South-Eastern Zone. (Letter to Sparkes and Holm (see footnote 1))
- 6.11 Lane determined that to produce the largest number of anti-Labor districts in the Brisbane area, the quota in the South-Eastern Zone had to be reduced. (Interview with Don Lane, see footnote 2) A letter which the south-east redistribution team sent to Sir Robert Sparkes and Charles Holm in December 1984 reveals that they had already outlined the strategy of a reduction in the South-Eastern Zone quota to about 18,500 electors which required an increase of four districts from 47 to 51 in that Zone. (Letter to Sparkes and Holm, op.cit.) The letter explained that for the sake of accuracy, the preparation of the proposal *"necessitated the counting of the number of electors almost street by street right across the area"* and that the findings were *"as accurate as humanly possible"* because they had used computer print-outs obtained from the State Electoral Office. (ibid.)
- 6.12 The letter to the Redistribution Committee constitutes the first phase of preparation of the National Party submission to the Electoral Commissioners four and a half months before the Electoral Commissioners were appointed on 29 April 1985. Lane has described the approach as corralling the Labor vote into safe Labor districts. (Interview with Don Lane, see footnote 2) The letter provides details of how this was done. For example:

"You will see that the proposal leaves the districts of Mt. Coot-tha and Toowong basically as they are - strong anti-Labor districts; extends the district of Ithaca into the Gap so strengthening its non-Labor vote; consolidates Ashgrove as a Labor district; abolishes the district of Windsor, currently held by Labor; strengthens the district of Merthyr by an extension into the Clayfield area; retains Nundah as a winnable district for its incumbent Sir William Knox; abolishes Brian Austin's district of Wavell and replaces it with one we have called Marchent taking half of Aspley and replaces Aspley with a new district based on the western parts of Aspley, Stafford Heights, and the semi-rural area of Everton. The district of Stafford itself becomes a Labor district, whilst Brisbane Central is a dumping ground for Labor votes in the centre of Brisbane". (Letter to Sparkes and Holm, see footnote 1)

- 6.13 At the time of writing this report EARC has not been able to examine the final National Party submission to the 1985 Electoral Commissioners (see para. 3.21 above). Don Lane informed EARC that there was negative reaction from the country interests regarding the increase in urban districts so, after some negotiation, two districts were added to the Country Zone and one to the Western and Far Northern Zone as compensation. (Interview with Don Lane, see footnote 2) The details of some of the northern areas were determined by other Party members. Then, according to Lane, the amendments made and the zonal boundaries were drawn up to become the basis of the Schedule to the Bill before any discussion had taken place in Cabinet. (ibid.)
- 6.14 Because the final National Party submission was completed some time after the letter quoted above, there were some minor changes in the submission to cater for increased enrolments. However, the principles in the National Party submission remained the same as those expressed in the letter of 12 December 1984.⁸ The Commission has made other attempts to obtain a copy of the National Party submission. For example, on 21 August 1990 Mr A T Fitzgerald, MLA was reported in Hansard as having interjected during a debate in Parliament that he had a copy of the submission. On 25 September 1990, Mr Fitzgerald wrote to the Commission indicating that he had not been reported correctly and did not have the document.

The Electoral Districts Bill 1985

- 6.15 When the Electoral Districts Act Bill 1985 was introduced, the Labor Party took up the arguments against the zonal system with more vigour. Its Leader, Neville Warburton, said that the legislation was a "*flagrant violation*" of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights because it did not provide for genuine elections by universal and equal suffrage. (QPD 10 April 1985, pp.5100-1) He and others insisted that travel allowances and improved communication systems made the case for equal electorates stronger in 1985 than in the past. (ibid., p.5102; Braddy, ibid., pp.5148, 5149)

8. Further discussion with Don Lane on 12 July 1990.

- 6.16 David Hamill, Labor MLA for Ipswich, attacked the Premier's justification of the seven member increase to the Parliament and the continuation of the zonal arrangements. He questioned whether the Premier's notion of balanced representation and the principles of a representative parliamentary democracy were compatible and highlighted the Premier's condemnation of the principle of one vote, one value as a sell-out of the interests of the people of northern and rural Queensland. Hamill argued that democracy is concerned with people whereas the Premier's view of satisfactory parliamentary representation was the attainment of what he had termed the *"right balance of country and city representation in Parliament"* rather than democratic representation of people in Queensland State Parliament. (QPD 10 April 1985, pp.5134-6)
- 6.17 Hamill also noted that most of the electorates with low quotas were not the geographically large or sparsely populated electorates. (ibid., p.5137) He said it was no coincidence that the ALP and the Liberal Party had their political bases in the higher quota electorates of the Provincial City Zone and the South-Eastern Zone whereas the National Party almost monopolised representation from the low-quota electorates of the Country Zone and the Western and Far Northern Zone. (ibid., p.5139)
- 6.18 The Liberal Party opposed the legislation and proposed that the federal electoral system be adopted in Queensland. In Knox's words this was *"a single quota system - not the one vote, one value system - as has been endorsed federally, with a maximum deviation of plus or minus 10 per cent"*. (ibid., p.5118) Knox said that the claim that under-representation of Queensland electors along the eastern seaboard was justified because of their failure to produce wealth did not make sense. He claimed that the argument that the decentralised development of the State depended on rural over-representation was equally misguided. He still supported the principle of giving *"fair representation"* to the western and far northern regions of the State but there was, in his view, little justification for granting even greater representation to the rural south-east. (ibid.)
- 6.19 Given that the existing system favoured the Country Zone - particularly that area within three hours' drive of Brisbane - and that two of the seven new districts would also be within that zone, it was clear that the proposed legislation had little to do with overcoming problems of isolation or of allowing more effective representation. (ibid., pp.5116-7)
- 6.20 Despite the concentrated attack on the Government from both the Liberal and Labor parties and their combined efforts to amend the Bill, the National Party had the numbers to have the legislation passed without amendment.

The 1985 Electoral Commissioners

- 6.21 The Premier announced the appointment of the Electoral Commissioners on 29 April 1985. John Andrews, who was appointed Chairman was an engineer, economist and town planner who had held a number of senior public service positions. The other two Commissioners were Sir Thomas Covacevich, a solicitor and senior partner of the legal firm of MacDonnell, Harris and Co. in Cairns and a company director; and Colin Pearson, Under Secretary of the Department of Justice and Chief Returning Officer.⁹
- 6.22 The Commissioners advertised for submissions on the new electorates with a deadline of 4 June 1985. However, there had been an error in Part I of the Schedule to the Act dealing with the South-Eastern Zone where reference was made to the Shire of Rosalie being in the electoral district of Somerset instead of in Lockyer as effected by the 1977 redistribution. In an interview with Quentin Dempster reported in the Telegraph on 6 June 1985, John Andrews said that when he had discovered the error in the Act he reported it to the Government and sought legal advice. Although he was told the Act was not invalid and the Commissioners could proceed, it was decided that the Act should be amended. (Telegraph 6 June 1985)
- 6.23 However, a note on a Premier's Department file indicates that the error had been identified before the appointment of the Commissioners.¹⁰ The Parliamentary Counsel had advised proceeding with the appointments because the minor amendment to the Schedule of the Act was not likely to delay the process of the redistribution or the final date of the report of the Electoral Commissioners beyond about the end of November or early December 1985. (Premier's Department File, see footnote 10)
- 6.24 When interviewed for this history, Mr Andrews said that the Commissioners were conscious of being constrained by the Act of Parliament and because of the flaw in the legislation the Commissioners did not proceed, apart from preliminary checks on enrolment numbers with the State Electoral Office, for three or four months. (Interview with John Andrews, see footnote 3) He believed that the Commissioners would be judged on how accurately they interpreted the Act. He said that although the details of the zonal boundaries were rigidly prescribed by the Act the Commissioners felt that the intra-zonal boundaries were entirely their responsibility. (ibid.)
- 6.25 Although the Electoral Commissioners had both the initial set of detailed National Party submissions and the Liberal Party submission before the end of May, Andrews insists that the initial boundaries were the Commissioner's own initiative. (ibid.) However, he said that because there were no public hearings it was important to have community response to the proposed electoral boundaries so when there was a glaring anomaly in a submission it was included in their proposed boundaries so that it could be subjected to public comment. The proposed boundaries for Caloundra and Cunnamulla included in the report released for public comment on 1 November 1985 were two such examples. (ibid.)

9. Premier's Media Release, 29 April 1985

10. Electoral Boundaries - State, Premier's Department File No 6463, Note on Electoral Districts Act 1985, 21 May 1985.

- 6.26 Under the provisions of the Act, maps showing the proposed district boundaries were displayed for inspection at Police Stations and Court Houses throughout the State until 11 December 1985 and objections or suggestions could be lodged with the Electoral Commissioners until that date.
- 6.27 The press reported an angry reaction to the proposed boundaries, particularly from the Labor and Liberal Parties. (Telegraph 5 November 1985; CM 6 November 1985; Daily Sun, 7 November 1985; The Australian, 6 November 1985) Ken Wiltshire, Associate Professor of Government at Queensland University, was reported to have said that the National Party would now be able to govern with only about 36 per cent of the vote and that the redistribution was "the worst gerrymander in Queensland history". (Telegraph 5 November 1985)
- 6.28 However, most of the criticism concentrated on the "unfair" aspects of the zonal system defined by the Electoral Districts Act 1985 rather than the intra-zonal boundaries proposed by the Commissioners. The Courier-Mail editorial of 7 November pointed out that "the fault was not with the members of the three-man Electoral Committee who produced the redistribution but with the legislation under which they had to operate". (CM 7 November 1985) Criticism of the intra-zonal boundaries focussed on Cunnamulla, Caloundra and Wujal Wujal (The Weekend Australian 18-19 January 1985) and written submissions focused on the partition of Cloncurry Shire between two electorates, the western boundary of Roma electorate, and in Brisbane Salisbury, Sherwood and Sandgate electorates and the relevance of the Brisbane River as a general electoral boundary. In all cases the Commissioners "recognised the validity of the submissions and adjusted the boundaries".¹¹
- 6.29 In fact the Commissioners had no say in the issue of Wujal Wujal because it was settled by the Electoral Districts Act 1985. This particular aspect of the Act has prompted allegations of legislated gerrymandering. (Coaldrake 1989, p.54) Using the "community of interest" criterion the Wujal Wujal Aboriginal Community had been excised from the surrounding area and placed in an electorate with all the other far northern Aboriginal communities. Peter Coaldrake has asserted that Wujal Wujal was incorporated into the Western and Far Northern Zone district of Cook held by the ALP instead of the Provincial City Zone district of Barron River which surrounded it and which was marginally held by Martin Tenni for the National Party because Wujal Wujal had voted solidly for the ALP candidate at the previous State election. (ibid., p.39)
- 6.30 Malcolm Mackerras has objected to Coaldrake's accusation of gerrymander by saying that although exclusion of Wujal Wujal from the marginal district of Barron River may have been motivated by a desire to help the National Party retain Barron River, it did not in the end make any difference because at the 1986 election Wujal Wujal voted 43 for Labor and 41 for the Nationals. (Mackerras 1989, pp.238-9) At the 1989 election the corresponding figures were 11 for Labor and 73 for the Nationals.

¹¹. Information provided by John Andrews on 17 July 1990 when verifying comments attributed to him in this history.

- 6.31 However, the question of "intent" has been identified as an essential factor when determining whether a gerrymander has been perpetrated (Wood 1984, pp.12-3) so Coaldrake's argument may be more relevant than the actual election result. What is significant about the case of Wujal Wujal is that it demonstrated for the first time the Government's willingness to legislate what were in effect intra-zonal boundaries and thereby place an additional constraint on the Electoral Commissioners.
- 6.32 Certain of the proposed boundaries were modified in response to criticism and the final boundaries were proclaimed on 30 January 1986.

The Submissions

- 6.33 There were over 50 submissions to the 1985 Electoral Commissioners. (Interview with John Andrews, see footnote 3) The Liberal Party's and Labor Party's submissions were released to the media but on examination do not appear to have been significantly incorporated into the final decisions of the Commissioners. The National Party's submissions were reported to have been very detailed but as the submissions have not been disclosed to the public no comparison with the final electoral boundary decisions has been possible.
- 6.34 John Andrews said that the Commissioners started with an independent view and drew up notional boundaries. They passed these to the State Electoral Office to provide the number of electors in each electoral district and then adjusted the boundaries to meet quota requirements. He said that these were not compared with the submissions until the preliminary boundaries were almost finalised and at no time did the Commissioners have any pressure from the National Party or any other political party. Andrews said that he had been surprised by the thoroughness of the National Party submission which was by far the most thoroughly documented submission. However, he said that the Commissioners did not follow the National Party submission but were constrained by the zonal boundaries in the Act. All the National Party figures were checked and some were found to be wrong. Other submissions were not in sufficient overall detail for more than general checking. When eliminating electorates in the metropolitan area, the Commissioners decided to take one electorate from each party because "this was fair", and chose electorates in the Ithaca and Wavell areas which allowed more flexibility in boundary adjustments. (ibid.) It should be noted that the Electoral Districts Act 1985 provided that objections or suggestions should be considered by the Commissioners "*before finally making such distribution*". (s.22)
- 6.35 Don Lane, however, stated in his interview with EARC, that the end product of the Electoral Commissioners was very close to the National Party submission. (Interview with Don Lane, see footnote 2). At the time of publishing and in the absence of a copy of the final National Party submission to the Electoral Commissioners, the Commission is unable to determine whether the assertions of Mr Andrews or Mr Lane are accurate.

The Results of the Electoral Redistribution of 1985

- 6.36 The 1985 redistribution increased the number and proportion of members for the Western and Far Northern Zone although the number of electors and their relative proportion had been reduced. The continuation of the zonal structure with partitioning of provincial city voters from the hinterland reduced the impact of urban votes and maximised the impact of rural votes. (Coaldrake 1987, pp.84-90)
- 6.37 The ALP has drawn attention to the fact that the 1985 electoral redistribution resulted in major changes to zonal boundaries outside of the South-Eastern Zone and electoral district boundaries across the State. It is in the ALP's contention that the changes were motivated by the National Party's desire to disadvantage the Labor Party and ensure that the Liberal Party always remained, at best, a junior partner of a coalition.
- 6.38 The ALP pointed out that approximately one tenth (55,000 of the electors out side of the South-Eastern Zone were transferred to another zone in the 1985 redistribution. The extensive boundary changes in the 1985 redistribution are shown by comparing the maps in Attachments H and J.
- 6.39 Early in 1986 the Australian Democrats Senator from Queensland, Michael Macklin, led a campaign in Canberra to encourage the Federal Government to intervene to replace the State electoral systems used in Queensland and Western Australia with one-vote, one-value systems. (CM 10 February 1986; 19 February 1986; 14 March 1986) When the Federal Government agreed to legislate for a referendum or otherwise on State electoral systems in exchange for support from the Australian Democrats on a Bill of Rights, Premier Bjelke-Petersen reacted by attacking the Prime Minister on the issue of States' rights. (CM 20 February 1986; 14 March 1986)
- 6.40 The question of the Zonal Electoral System was passed on to the Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission for report later in the year but was later dropped as a cost cutting measure. (Daily Sun 29 September 1986) However, the debate in the press had served to create concern over the electoral system in the period before the 1986 election in Queensland. Opinion polls in October indicated that a majority of voters were in favour of reforming the system. (Daily Sun 9 October 1986; The Australian 9 October 1986)
- 6.41 According to Peter Coaldrake, the 1986 election provided an opportunity to confirm a political realignment amongst Queensland's conservative voters. (Coaldrake 1987, pp.84-90) On a State wide basis the National vote increased from 38.9 per cent in 1983 to 39.7 per cent in 1986. The National Party won 49 of the 89 districts, the ALP 30 and the Liberals 10. The Nationals maintained their ascendancy and continued as the Government in their own right. In the South-Eastern Zone, the Nationals held the same number of districts in the Brisbane area but increased their share of districts outside Brisbane from 14 of the 20 in 1983 to 18 of the 26 in 1986. They also improved their support on the Gold and Sunshine Coasts but lost some support in the rest of the State.

The 1989 Election

- 6.42 On December 2 1990 a general election was held for the Queensland Legislative Assembly. The election followed prolonged and heated discussion of the findings and recommendations of the Fitzgerald Report. The result was a win by the Labor Party which obtained 54 of the 89 districts, the Nationals won 26 districts, and the Liberal Party 9 districts.
- 6.43 Table 5 below summarises the outcome of all Queensland General Elections since 1950. With the exception of the figures for 1989 the table has been reproduced with kind permission from Coaldrake's book, Working the System (Coaldrake 1989, p.172).

TABLE 5

TOTAL STATE WIDE PRIMARY VOTES AND DISTRICTS WON BY EACH POLITICAL PARTY
QUEENSLAND STATE ELECTIONS 1950 - 89

Total No of Districts	Country/ National		Liberal		ALP		Others .		
	% of Vote	No of Districts	% of Vote	No of Districts	% of Vote	No of Districts	% of Vote	No of Districts	
1950	75	19.3	20	29.9	11	46.9	42	3.9	2
1953	75	18.8	15	21.3	8	53.2	50	5.5	2
1956	75	19.3	16	25.1	8	51.2	49	3.4	2
1957	75	19.9	24	22.2	18	28.9	20	27.9	13
1960	78	19.5	26	24.0	20	39.9	25	16.6	7
1963	78	20.3	26	23.8	20	43.8	26	12.1	6
1966	78	18.9	27	25.6	20	43.8	26	11.4	5
1969	78	21.0	26	23.7	19	45.0	31	10.3	2
1972	82	19.9	26	22.2	21	46.7	33	11.0	2
1974	82	27.9	39	31.1	30	36.0	11	5.0	2
1977	82	26.9	35	25.4	24	42.8	23	4.8	-
1980	82	27.9	35	26.9	22	41.5	25	3.7	-
1983	82	38.9	43*	15.0	6*	44.0	32	0.9	1
1986	89	39.6	49	16.5	10	41.4	30	2.5	-
1989	89	24.1	26	21.1	9	50.3	54	4.5	-

44

* includes Don Lane and Brian Austin in the National Party 1983 total, even though their electoral districts were actually won by them as Liberals; both changed to the National Party within days of that election.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

- 7.1 This document has drawn on information from a variety of sources to piece together a descriptive history of the Queensland Zonal Electoral System. However, the information detailed is unfortunately sketchy because there is a dearth of publicly available information about the rationale and processes which established, maintained and modified the system.
- 7.2 Documents from the major political parties and other sources, to the extent that these were made available to EARC, are insufficient to allow a detailed investigation of the zonal system, the reasons for it and more importantly, the closed processes which created and sustained it. Even amongst Government records there is little archival information dealing with this important aspect of Queensland political history. EARC's investigation of the system has been adversely affected to a significant extent by the lack of recorded information and the non-availability of the material before previous distribution Commissioners.
- 7.3 This lack of records should be the cause of some concern. As Fitzgerald pointed out:
- "The ultimate check on public maladministration is public opinion, which can only be truly effective if there are structures and systems designed to ensure that it is properly informed. A Government can use its control of Parliament and public administration to manipulate, exploit and misinform the community, or to hide matters from it. Structures and systems designed for the purpose of keeping the public informed must therefore be allowed to operate as intended.*
- Secrecy and propaganda are major impediments to accountability, which is a prerequisite for the proper functioning of the political process. Worse, they are the hallmarks of a diversion of power from the Parliament.*
- Information is the lynch-pin of the political process. Knowledge is, quite literally, power. If the public is not informed, it cannot take part in the political process with any real effect". (Fitzgerald Report 1989, p.126)*
- 7.4 As mentioned at the beginning of the report, this document was prepared by EARC as part of its overall review of the Queensland Legislative Assembly electoral system. The Commissioners may use the information set out here in reaching their conclusions and making recommendations for the future of the Queensland electoral system. EARC wishes to express its thanks to the interviewees and other persons and organisations who provided the information on which the report is based. Particular thanks are due to Ms Marie Nicholson who undertook most of the research.

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 PD File 119 Electoral Districts Bill 1985
 PD File F954 Electoral Distribution
 PD File F954A State Electoral
 PD File F954B
 PD File 6463 Electoral Boundaries - State
- 2 Queensland Parliamentary Debates on Electoral Districts Bills 1949, 1958, 1971, 1977, 1985.
- 3 Premier's Department Batch Files Electoral Boundaries 1949/59, 1971, 1977, 1977-81.
- 4 Acts of Parliament:
Electoral Districts Act 1949
Electoral Districts Act 1958
Electoral Districts Act 1971
Electoral Districts Act 1971-77
Electoral Districts Act 1985
Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918
Electoral and Administrative Review Act 1989
- 5 Relevant newspaper articles, 1949 - 1986
- 6 Denis Murphy's files at John Oxley Library
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ATTACHMENT A**LIST OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED ON ZONAL SYSTEM**

- 1 Hon Sir Thomas Hiley KBE, 31 May 1990**
Member of QLD Parliament 1944-66, Treasurer 1957-65, Minister for Housing 1957-63. Leader Queensland People's Party 1943-49 and Liberal Party 1949-54 and Jan-Dec 1965.
- 2 John Ahern OBE, 31 May 1990**
Member of State Management Committee of the Country Party 1988, State President 1964-67, Member of State Management Committee of the National Party 1952-88.
- 3 Hon Don Lane, 7 June 1990**
MLA for Merthyr 1971-89, Minister for Transport 1980-89.
- 4 John Andrews, 5 June 1990**
Chairman Electoral Districts Commissioners for the 1985 Redistribution.
- 5 Dr Peter Coaldrake, 23 May 1990**
Formerly Queensland University of Technology
- 6 Hon Charles Porter, 25 May 1990**
Liberal MLA 1966-80, Minister for Aboriginal Affairs 1977-80. Leader of the "ginger group" in the 70s. General Secretary, State Campaign Director QPP 1944-49, Liberal Party 1949-50 and 1957-66.
- 7 Jack O'Connor, 29 May 1990**
Previous Parliamentary Counsel.
- 8 Mike Evans, 20 June 1990**
Executive Director of National Party 1970-84
- 9 Keith Livingstone, 24 August 1990, 28 August 1990**
State Director, Liberal Party - Queensland, 1974-75
- 10 Colin Lamont, 4 September 1990**
Former Liberal Party MLA for South Brisbane

ATTACHMENT B

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS ACT 1949

QUEENSLAND

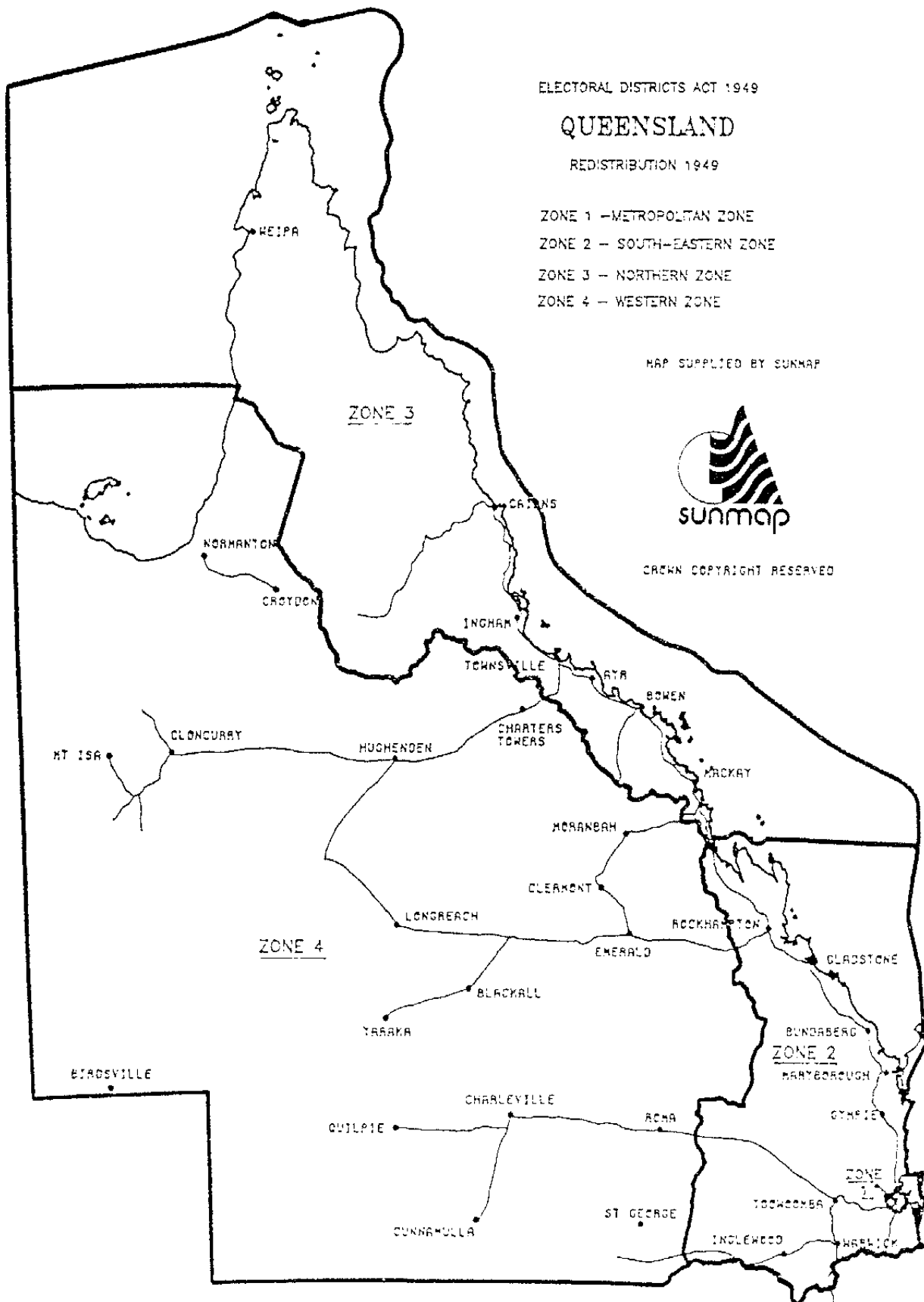
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- ZONE 2 — SOUTH-EASTERN ZONE
- ZONE 3 — NORTHERN ZONE
- ZONE 4 — WESTERN ZONE

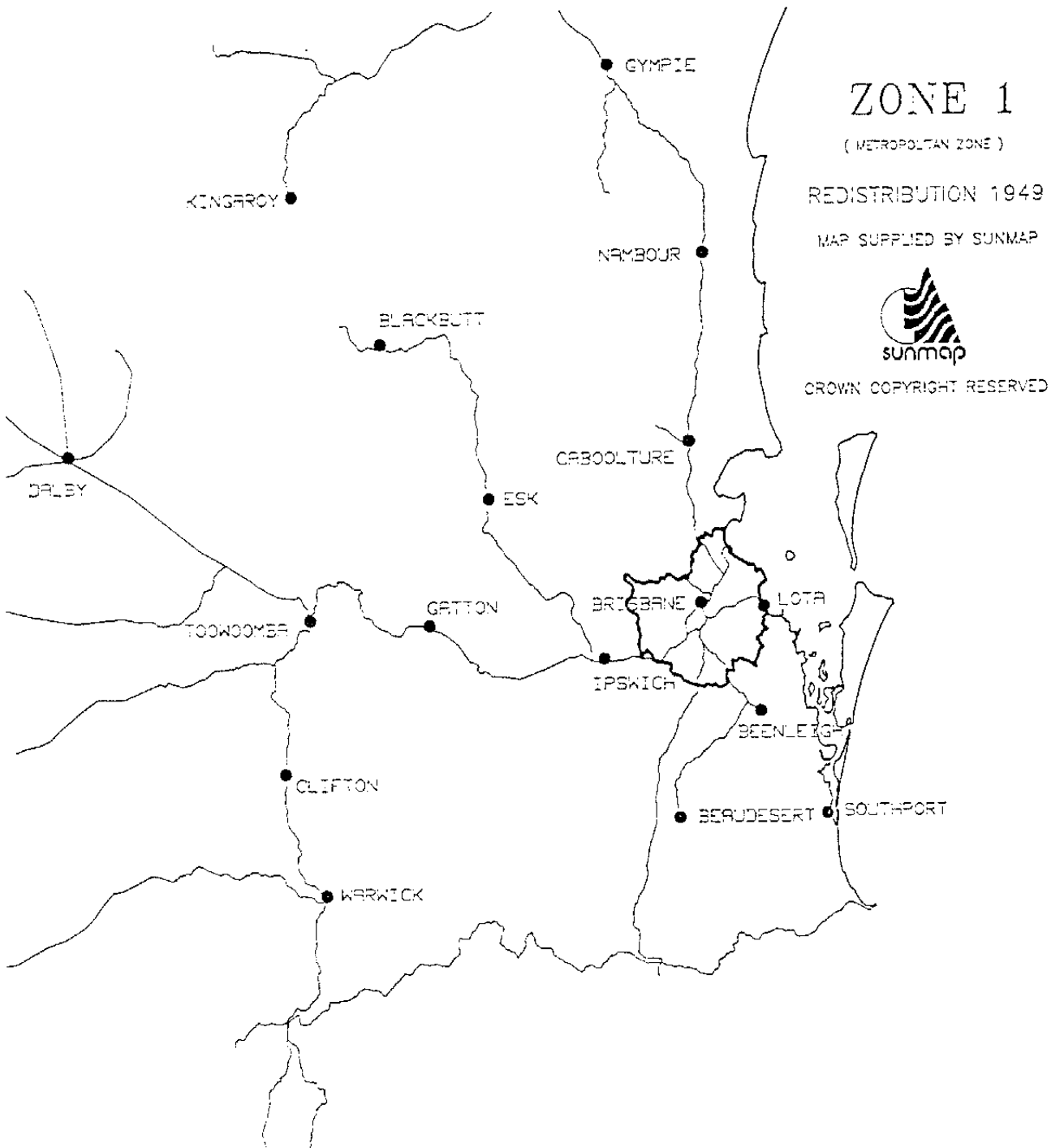
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ATTACHMENT C



ATTACHMENT D

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS ACT 1958

QUEENSLAND

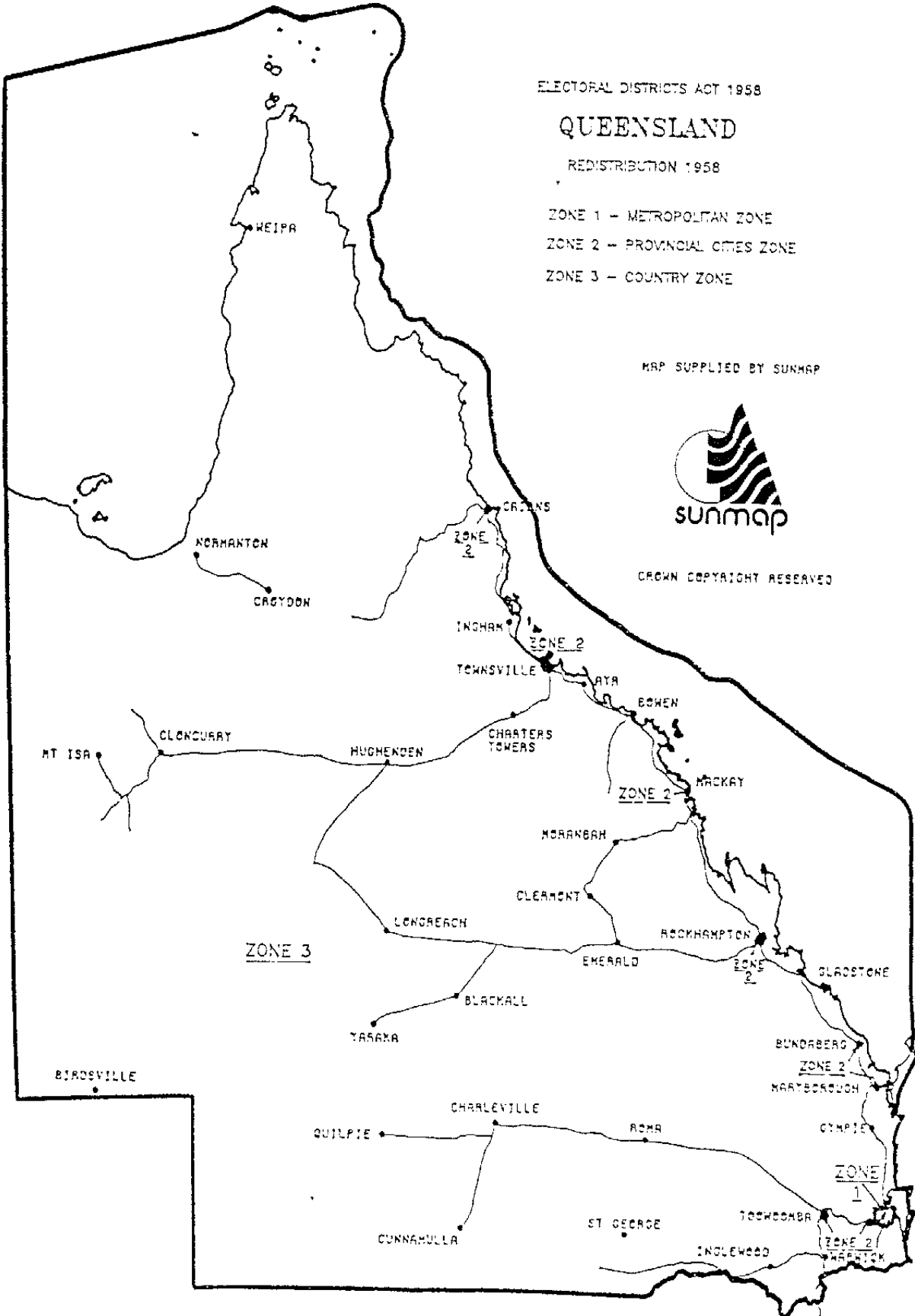
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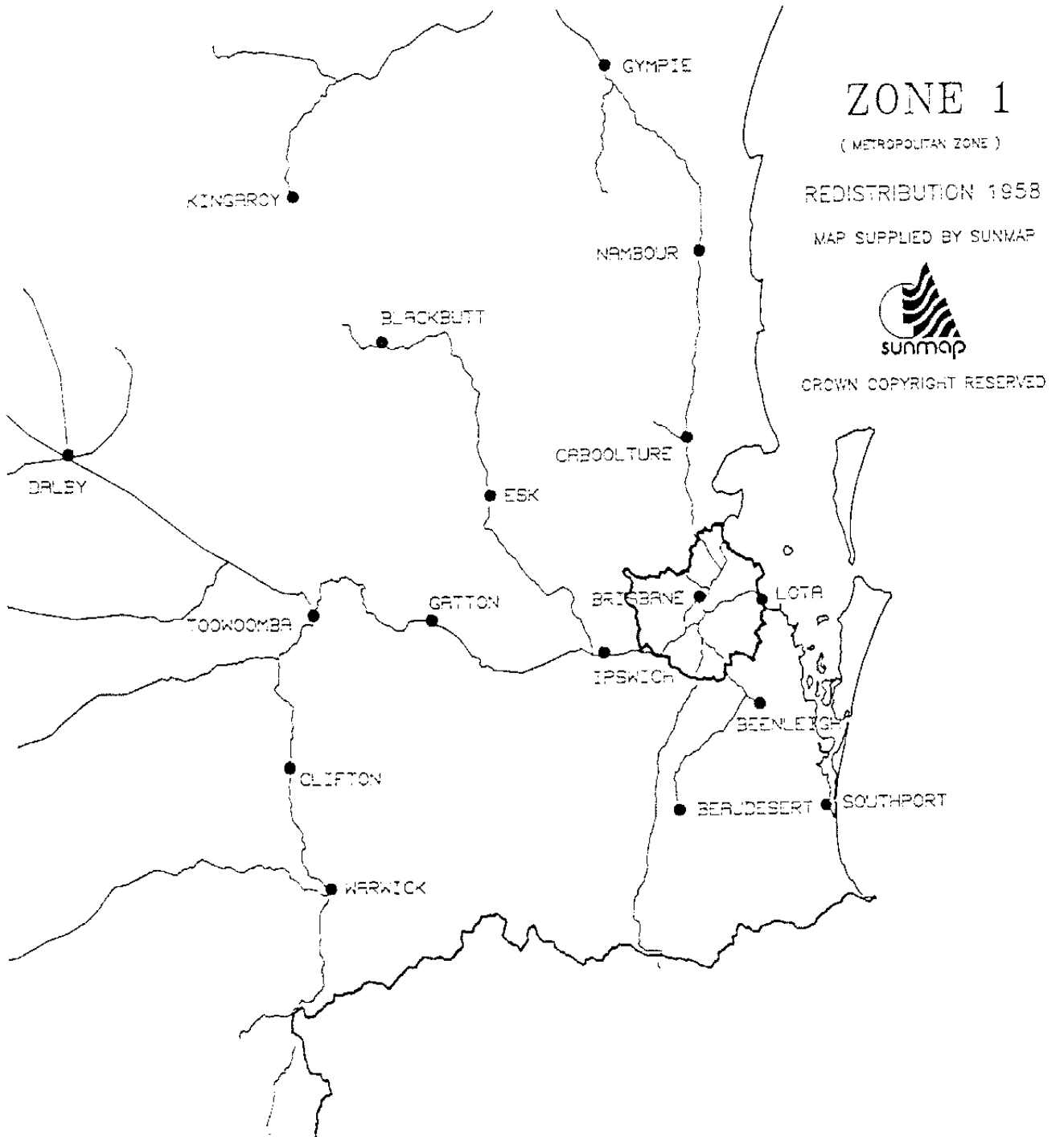
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ATTACHMENT E



ATTACHMENT F

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS ACT 1971

QUEENSLAND

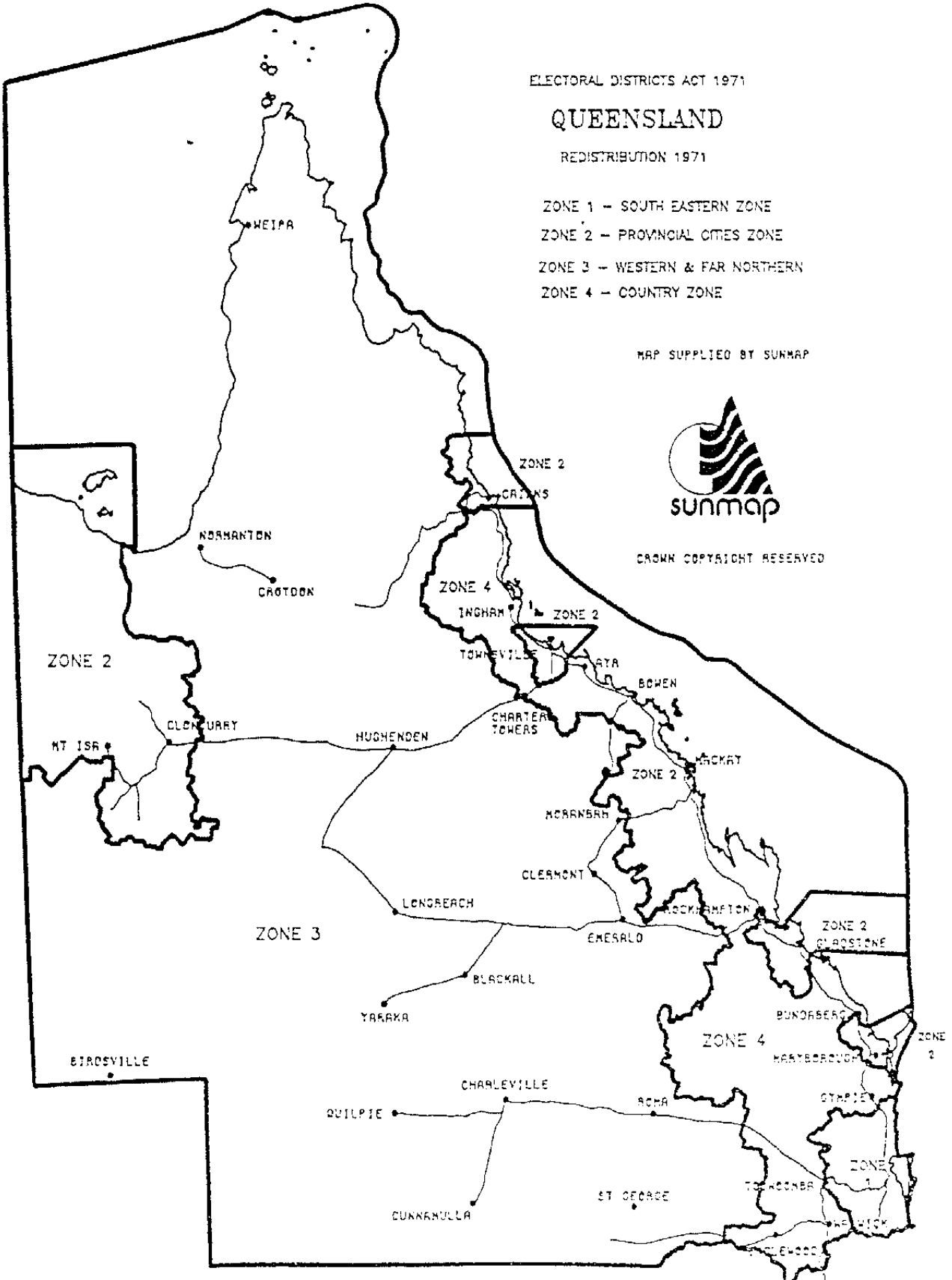
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ATTACHMENT G



ATTACHMENT H

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS ACT 1977

QUEENSLAND

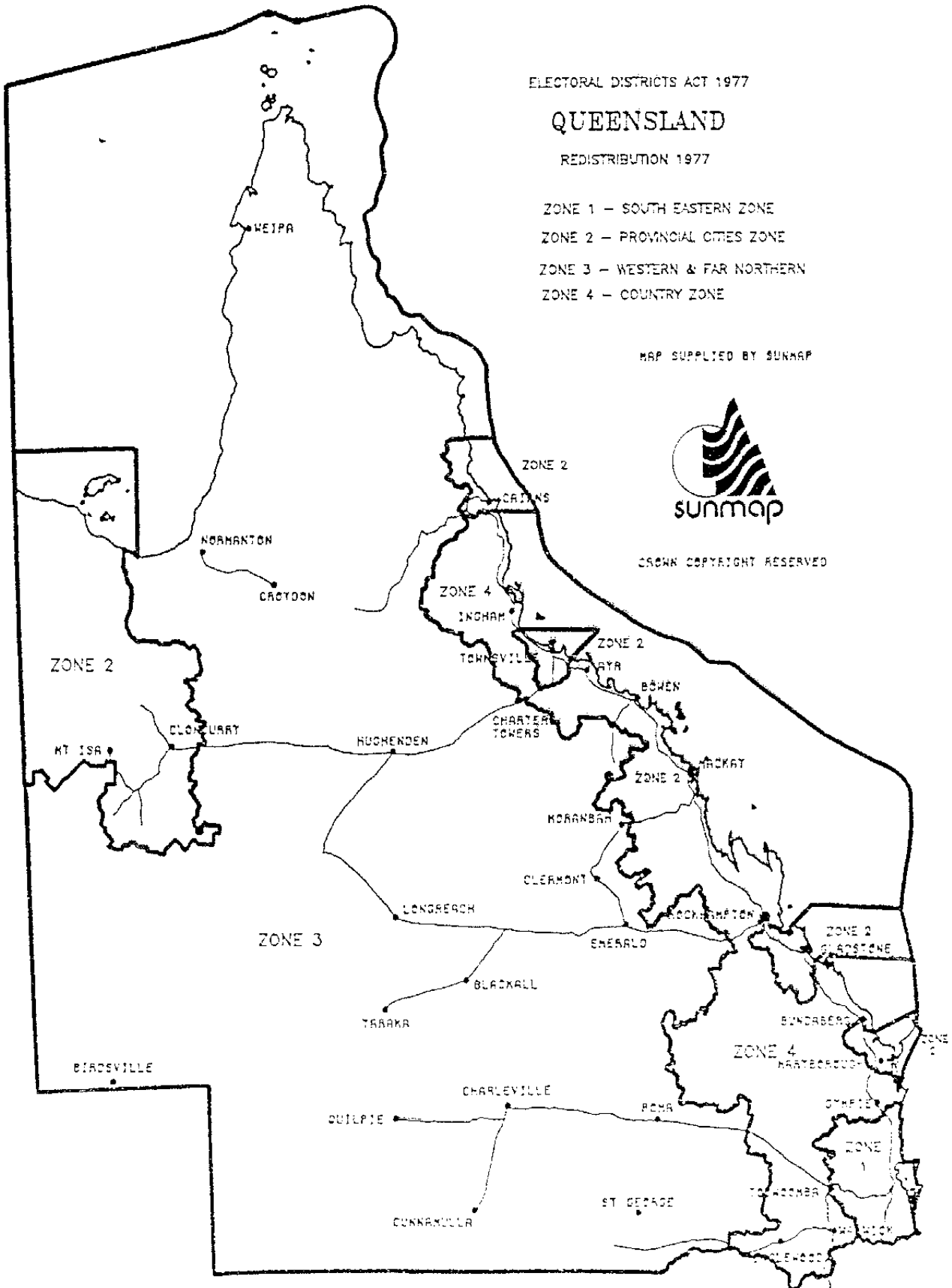
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- ZONE 3 - WESTERN & FAR NORTHERN
- ZONE 4 - COUNTRY ZONE

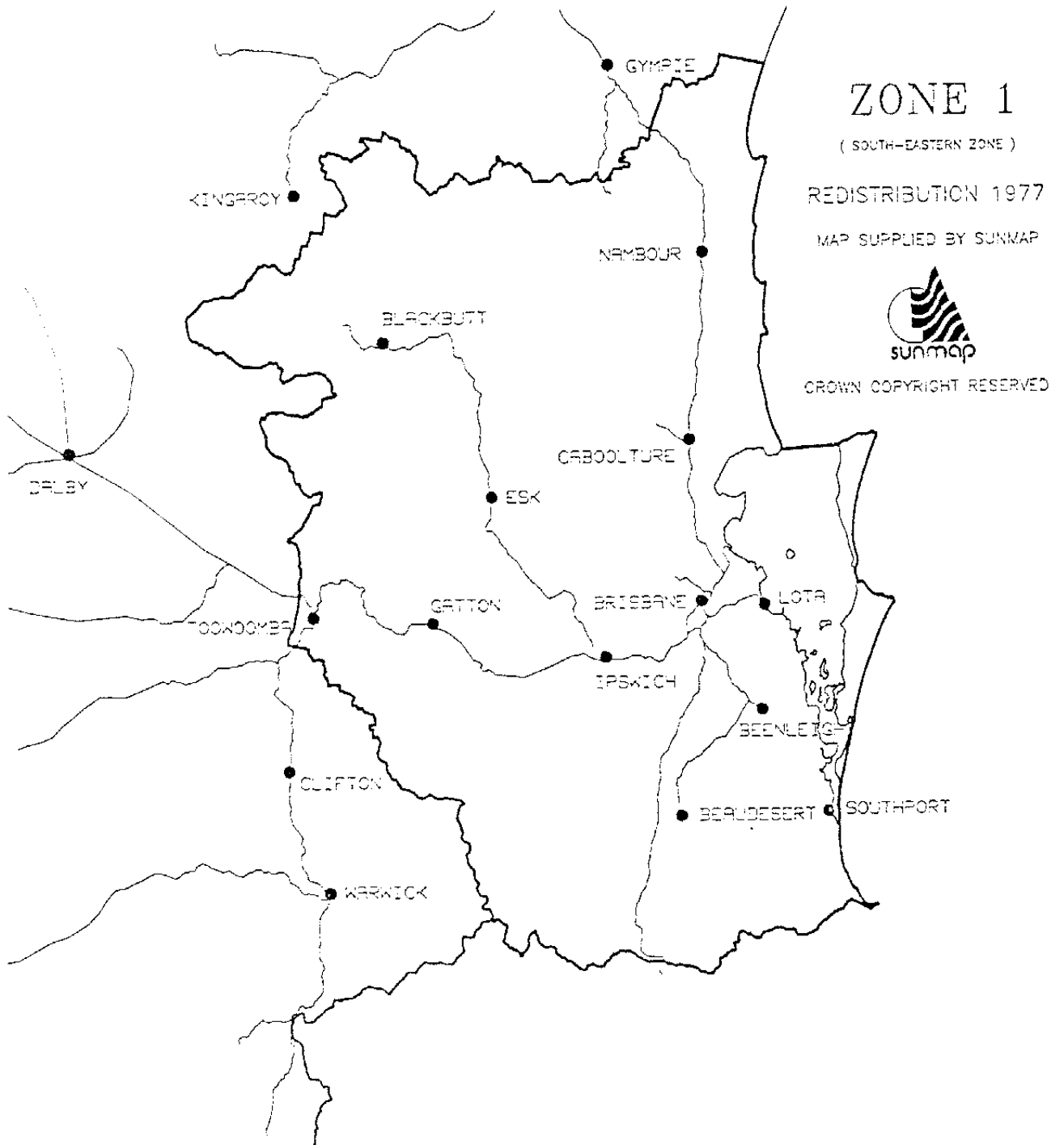
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ATTACHMENT I



ATTACHMENT J

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS ACT 1985

QUEENSLAND

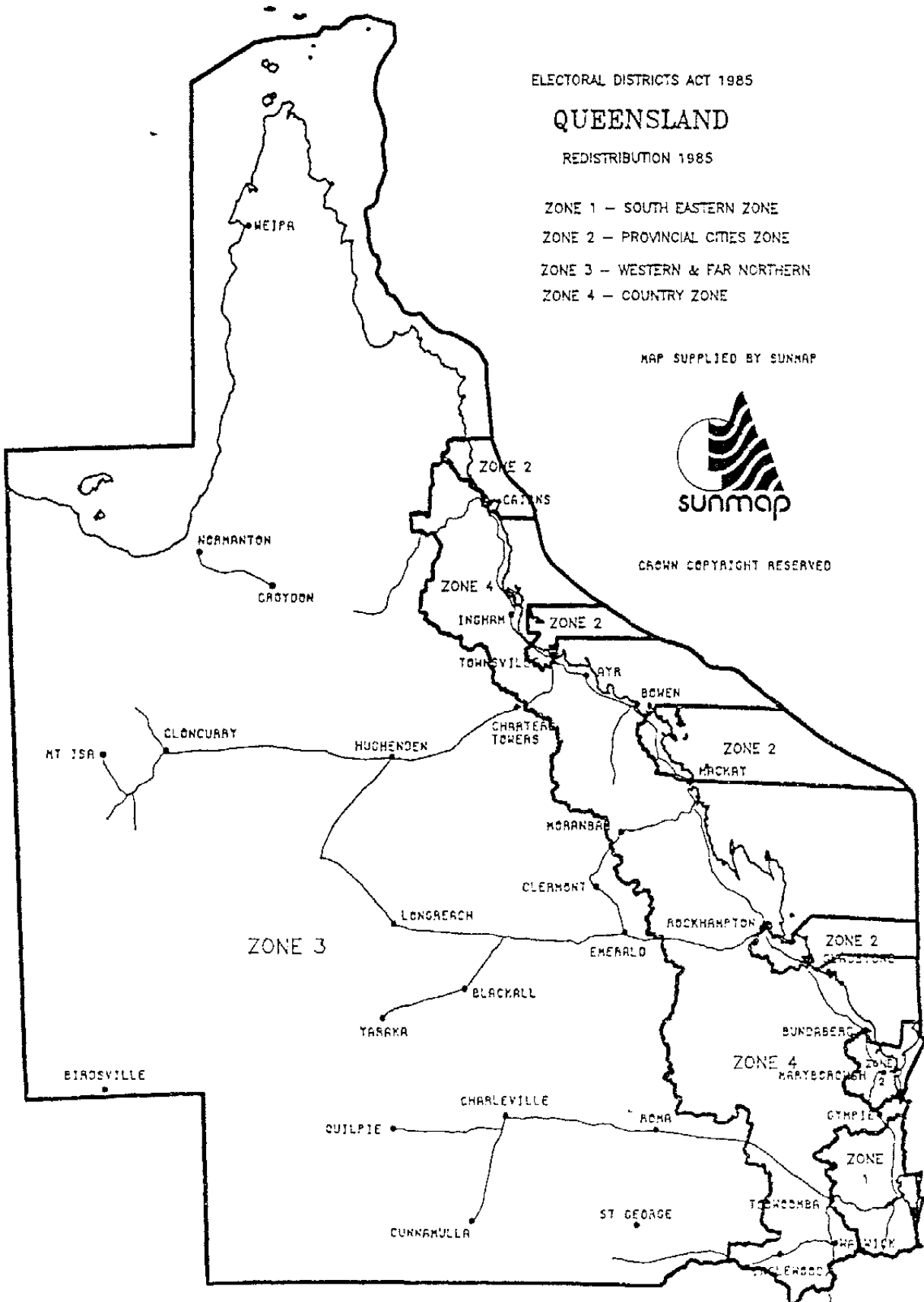
REDISTRIBUTION 1985

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- ZONE 4 - COUNTRY ZONE

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ATTACHMENT K



ATTACHMENT L
1985 ELECTORAL COMMISSIONERS WORKING PAPERS
CORRESPONDENCE



Level 5, Capital
100 George Street
Brisbane

PO Box
North Quay QLD

Telephone 407 237
Facsimile 407 237

Electoral and Administrative Review Commission

20 March 1990

90/2/48

Mr E.F.F. Finger
Director-General
Department of Premier, Economic &
Trade Development
15th Floor
Executive Building
100 George Street
BRISBANE Q 4000

Folio No:	21
File No:	90/2
Officer:	

Dear Mr Finger,

The Electoral and Administrative Review Commission (EARC) proposes to announce shortly a programme for review of the Legislative Assembly electoral system including:

- a) a review of the electoral zone system
- b) an electoral redistribution
- c) a review of the administration and conduct of Queensland State elections.

A project team, headed by Mr John Greenaway, Senior Project Officer (telephone number 237 9634), will be co-ordinating the review.

As part of the review, it will be necessary for EARC to gain a thorough understanding of how the zonal system has operated over the years. For example, the Electoral Districts Act 1985, amongst other things, delineates four zones and allocates a number of Legislative Assembly seats to each zone. However, the processes by which those zones and seat allocations were determined is not clear. Neither is it clear what criteria or principles were adopted in those processes. It would appear that the first zones were established by the Hanlon Government in 1949 and were subsequently varied prior to redistributions in 1958, 1971, 1977 and 1985/6.

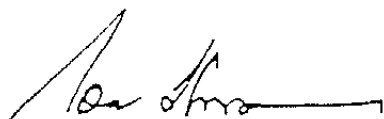
The EARC is anxious to obtain access to any current or historical documents in your Department's possession, power or control which might cast any light on the development of the zonal system. Perhaps as a first step, you might wish to nominate an appropriate officer who could act as a liaison person for EARC on the electoral review and, in particular, assist EARC in locating any such documents of your Department.

I have written in similar terms to Mr Hincks, Director-General, Department of Justice.

Mr E.F.F. Finger
20 March 1990
Page 2

Finally, I should mention that this is an informal request for information and assistance, it does not constitute an exercise of the Commission's compulsive powers under Part II, Division 4 of the Electoral and Administrative Review Act.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Tom Sherman', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

TOM SHERMAN
Chairman



85 George S
Brisbane

P.O. Box
North Quay Qld

Telephone: (07) 237
Facsimile: (07) 237

Electoral and Administrative Review Commission

Folio No:.....	61
.....	PO1/9000
.....	P90/2
.....	

90/2/109
Your Ref: GJK:ST

9 April 1990

Mr E F F Finger
Director-General
Department of the Premier, Economic
and Trade Development
PO Box 185
NORTH QUAY QLD

Dear Mr Finger

Thank you for your letters of 3 April 1990 concerning arrangements for EARC requests for documents and information.

EARC staff will direct informal requests to Mr Kross. Written requests or formal requisitions under Part II, Division 4 will be addressed to you.

Yours sincerely


TOM SHERMAN
CHAIRMAN



Level 9, Capital Hill,
85 George Street,
Brisbane 4000

P.O. Box 349
North Quay Qld 4002

Telephone: (07) 237 1155
Facsimile: (07) 237 1991

Electoral and Administrative Review Commission

18 April 1990
Our Ref 90/2-048

Mr E F F Finger
Director-General
Department of the Premier,
Economic and Trade Development
Floor 15 Executive Building
100 George Street
BRISBANE QLD 4000

Folio No:	43
File No:	90/2
Officer:	

Dear Mr Finger

Thank you for the arrangements made to provide information and documents requested by the Commission. Mr John Greenaway, Senior Project Officer, EARC, has been in contact with Mr Kross of your Department as suggested.

Mr Kross has made available a number of files concerning electoral boundaries, which have been very useful.

Mr Greenaway asked Mr Kross where the papers relating to the 1985 Redistribution were. Mr Kross advised that as far as he knew they had all been sent to the Premier's Office after the Electoral Commission finished its work.

Mr Graham Hartley, Secretary to the 1985 Electoral Commission, confirmed that a filing cabinet full of papers detailing the redistribution process had been given to Mr Brian Pendrigh.

Mr Pendrigh has indicated that he recalls the filing cabinet but is unaware of what had happened to it. He suggested that Wendy Armstrong, currently at the Office of the Leader of the Opposition, may have further information. Ms Armstrong indicated that she remembers the filing cabinet but does not know what became of it. She suggested that the persons who cleaned out Mr Cooper's office after the December election may know where it is.

Mr Greenaway has also been in touch with Mr Peter Anemaat who was previously Principal Private Secretary to Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen. Mr Anemaat has stated that he can recall the filing cabinet having been removed to the third floor of the Executive Building but is unaware of its current whereabouts. He suggested that Mr Eric Bigby, Secretary and Clerk of the Executive Council, may know.

The contents of the filing cabinet detail the conduct of the 1985 Queensland electoral redistribution and as such is essential historical information for the redistribution which EARC is required to carry out under Section 2.11 of the Electoral and Administrative Review Act 1989. I would appreciate your advice on the current whereabouts of the filing cabinet and its contents.

Mr Greenaway has also consulted with Mr Kevin Martin, Parliamentary Counsel. Mr Martin has loaned to EARC the Parliamentary Counsel file on the Electoral Districts Act 1985. Mr Martin was unable to provide a copy of the writing instructions for the Act but believed that Mr Pendrigh may be able to assist the Commission in obtaining a copy.

I would appreciate it if you could arrange for a copy of the document and any other related papers to be made available to EARC.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Tom Sherman', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

TOM SHERMAN
Chairman



Department of the Premier,
Economic and
Trade Development

Folio No.	202
File No.	90/2
Officer.	16/13/6

8th May, 1990

Mr. T. Sherman,
Chairman,
Electoral and Administrative
Review Commission,
Level 9, Capital Hill,
85 George Street,
BRISBANE

Dear Mr. Sherman,

I refer to your letter of 18th April, 1990, (your 90/2-048), concerning the whereabouts of certain material relating to the 1985 Electoral Redistribution.

I have discussed this matter with the officers concerned.

Dealing first with the filing cabinet, Mr. Pendrigh has confirmed the details set out in your letter. At no time did this cabinet and its contents become departmental property. The filing cabinet was retained in the Premier's Office.

The statement by Mr. Anemaat that in December, 1987, when he cleaned out Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen's office, the Cabinet was moved to the 3rd floor, is correct. However, this was only a temporary measure as the Cabinet was moved back almost immediately to the 15th floor following a request by Ms. Wendy Armstrong.

My officers have advised me no departmental officer has seen the cabinet since that time nor I might say has any departmental officer seen the contents of the cabinet.

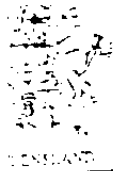
.../2

Insofar as the writing instructions for the Electoral Districts Bill are concerned, all of the departmental papers are contained on our files which were handed over some time ago to the Commission of Inquiry for examination. Those files are with the Criminal Justice Commission and you have been authorised to have access to them.

Yours faithfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'E.F.F. Finger'.

E.F.F. Finger,
Director-General.



QUEENSLAND

Electoral and Administrative Review Commission

Level 11, Central Bank
101 George Street
BRISBANE QLD 4000

Telephone: (07) 257 0100
Facsimile: (07) 257 0101

Telephone: (07) 257 0100
Facsimile: (07) 257 0101

12 June 1990
90/19(b)3

File No:	121
File No:	90/2

Mr Ken Crooke
State Director
National Party of Australia - Queensland
Bjelke-Petersen House
6 St Paul's Terrace
SPRING HILL QLD 4004

Dear Mr Crooke

Thank you for the documents on the zonal electoral system provided to EARC last month.

I believe that examination of documents relating to the various electoral redistributions is essential to an understanding of the operation of the zonal system. The Liberal and Labor Parties have made copies of a number of their previous submissions to Electoral Districts Commissions available to EARC but I have been unable to get copies of National Party submissions. Would the National Party agree to make its submissions similarly available to EARC for research?

In addition, I have had difficulty locating relevant material previously held by the Department of the Premier. In particular, I am interested in examining the contents of the filing cabinet holding the working papers from the 1985 Redistribution Commission.

In response to my letter concerning the whereabouts of the cabinet, the Director General of the Department of the Premier has confirmed for me that it was moved to the third floor of the Department of the Premier in December 1987 and then to the fifteenth floor following a request by Ms Wendy Armstrong. Officers of the Department have not seen it since that time.

I would appreciate any inquiries you could make of relevant members of the National Party to find out whether the contents of the cabinet can be located for EARC research purposes.

Yours sincerely

TOM SHERMAN
Chairman



**National Party
of Australia -
Queensland**

State Secretariat: Bjelke-Petersen House, 6 St. Laurence Terrace, Spring Hill, Q. 4004



12th July, 1990

TO:	139
FROM:	01
SUBJECT:	

Mr Tom Sherman,
Chairman,
Electoral and Administrative
Review Commission,
Level 9,
Capital Hill,
85 George Street,
BRISBANE, QLD. 4000

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter of 12th June regarding working papers from the 1985 Redistribution Commission.

As you appreciate this redistribution was carried out prior to my appointment as State Director and I have no personal knowledge of the material prepared.

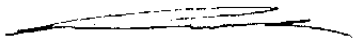
My enquiries have ascertained that no copies of the 1985 material are held at this office.

I understand the material was submitted to the Commission at the time and held by that body.

Similarly, my enquiries have established that copies of other submissions were submitted to the Commission and not held by this office.

I understand that none of the submissions argued for the Zonal System as this principle was already established.

Yours faithfully,


Ken Crooke
State Director

KWC:RMcC



Level 9, Capital Hill,
85 George Street,
Brisbane 4000

P.O. Box 349

Electoral and Administrative Review Commission

Telephone (07) 237 1155
Facsimile (07) 237 1991

Our Ref: 01/G384

13 August 1990

Hon R Cooper, MLA
Leader of the Opposition
and Member for Roma
Parliament House
BRISBANE Q 4000

Dear Mr Cooper

I refer to our conversation on 10 August 1990 concerning the whereabouts of a filing cabinet containing papers relating to the 1985 redistribution. As discussed, I undertook to record the substance of our conversation on this matter in a letter to you. The letter may in due course be subject to public scrutiny.

I explained that the Commission was in the final stages of preparing a history of the zonal system which, hopefully towards the end of next week, will be made available for public comment in draft form. I mentioned that the history covers the development of the zonal system from 1949.

When public comment has been received and taken into account, the final history will be attached to the Commission's report on the Legislative Assembly electoral system. The draft history refers (either by way of summary of the events or by reference to correspondence) to the fact that the filing cabinet cannot be found.

I mentioned that I was raising the matter with you because -

- (a) you may be able to cast some light on the matter; and
- (b) having regard to the principles of procedural fairness, you should have an opportunity to comment on the matter before the draft history is made public.

To assist your consideration of the matter, I furnished to you copies of the following correspondence relating to the missing filing cabinet:

- a letter from myself to Mr. Finger, dated 18 April 1990.
- Mr. Finger's response, dated 3 May 1990.
- a letter from myself to Mr. Ken Crooke, dated 12 June 1990.
- Mr Crooke's response, dated 12 July 1990.

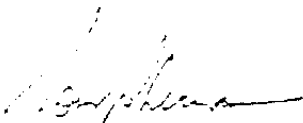
Mr Finger's response indicated that, so far as his Department was aware, the filing cabinet was last seen in the Premier's office in late 1987 when it was moved back to the Premier's office at the request of Ms Wendy Armstrong. Commission staff have discussed the matter with Ms Wendy Armstrong. She said that although she remembers the relevant filing cabinet, she does not know where it may be now.

Wendy Armstrong suggested that the persons who cleared your office immediately following the 1989 elections may know where the filing cabinet has gone. I asked you whether you could cast any further light on the whereabouts of the filing cabinet.

You said that it was your invariable practice on leaving a ministry to simply take a few personal things with you and leave any official documents behind. You continued this practice on vacating the Premier's office in December 1989. You said that, so far as you were concerned, you had never been aware that the filing cabinet was in your office (if it ever was) and you have no knowledge as to where it might now be. You also said that, so far as you were concerned, the responsibility for clearing out your office in December 1989 was left with officials, presumably from the Premier's department.

Please advise me whether this is an accurate summary of our discussion. Finally, thank you for agreeing to see me on such short notice on 10 August 1990.

Yours sincerely



TOM SHERMAN
Chairman



Leader of the Opposition,
Parliament House,
Brisbane, 4000.

13th August, 1990

Mr T. Sherman
Chairman
E.A.R.C.
P.O. Box 349
NORTH QUAY Q 4002

Dear Mr Sherman,

Thank you for your letter of today's date.

I agree that it is an accurate summary of our discussion last Friday, 10th August, 1990.

Kind Regards,

RUSSELL COOPER.



Department of the Premier,
Economic and
Trade Development

Please quote
Ref: PW:ST

10th September, 1990

Mr. T. Sherman,
Chairman,
Electoral and Administrative Review Commission,
Level 9, Capital Hill,
85 George Street,
BRISBANE

Dear Mr Sherman,

RE: HISTORY OF THE QUEENSLAND ZONAL SYSTEM

I refer to your letter of 17th August, 1990, in connection with the above, in which you call for comments on the draft of "A History of the Queensland Zonal Electoral System". There is one matter which I would wish to clarify.

At item 3.21 on Page 18 of the draft document, it is stated that "EARC has not been able to obtain all the relevant documents previously held by the Department of the Premier and therefore has been unable to compare submissions with the final electoral boundaries". It is also stated that "Officers of that Department have not been able to locate the filing cabinet which held the working papers of the 1985 Electoral Districts Commissioners."

The relevant correspondence in this matter is set out in Appendix 'L' of the draft document, which includes copies of:

- . your letter to Mr. Cooper dated 13th August, 1990, confirming certain conversations you have had with him;
- . Mr. Cooper's letter of that same date which confirms your letter to be an accurate summary of the discussions held.

Within your letter of 13th August to Mr. Cooper, it is suggested that the persons who cleared Mr. Cooper's office immediately after the 1989 election may know where the missing

.../2

filing cabinet has gone. Also, it is stated that as far as Mr. Cooper was concerned, responsibility for clearing out his office in December 1989, was left with "officials, presumably from the Premier's Department".

On this last point, it should be noted that the files and documents held in the 15th floor offices of the former Premier were the responsibility of his ministerial staff. The only Premier's Department officials who were involved in clearing files and documents from Mr. Cooper's Office were those who were members of his staff.

After Mr. Cooper and his staff had vacated the 15th floor following the 1989 election, an officer of this Department was required to organise a stocktake of equipment assigned to that area and also to arrange for the offices to be cleaned and prepared in readiness to accommodate Mr. Goss and his staff.

During the inspection of the 15th floor offices which followed, all remaining filing cabinets were checked for contents and keys. No files, documents or correspondence were discovered during this procedure, which was undertaken by the staff of the Administrative Services Section of this Department.

Yours faithfully,



E.F.F. Finger,
Director-General.

APPENDIX F

ESTIMATES OF REGIONAL PRODUCT
QUEENSLAND 1986-87

A Discussion Paper prepared for the
Electoral and Administrative Review Commission

GOVERNMENT STATISTICIAN'S OFFICE
Level 2, Executive Annexe, 102 George Street, Brisbane
Box 30 Post Office, Brisbane North Quay. Q. 4002.
Facsimile: 07/221 9516 Telephone: 07/224 5662

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acknowledgement is made.
Government Statistician's Office
"Estimates of Regional Product Queensland 1986-87"

FOREWORD

A number of public submissions to the Electoral and Administrative Review Commission's (EARC) Review of the Legislative Assembly Electoral System have advanced an argument, in support of a zonal system of electoral distribution, that rural Queensland produces a disproportionately large share of Queensland's economic wealth.

The EARC found that the limited range of statistics available to quantify the contribution of industries based in rural Queensland to the total Queensland economy hampered its ability to assess the arguments advanced in submissions to the Review.

The EARC subsequently approached the Government Statistician's Office (GSO) requesting assistance in the preparation of estimates of the economic contribution of the regions of Queensland to the State economy.

In response to this request the GSO has prepared a set of estimates of regional product for the eleven (11) regions of Queensland and, as requested by EARC, related these regions to the existing Electoral Zones.

The estimates presented in this publication should be interpreted only as broadly indicative of the relative contributions of regions to the overall product of the State. Because some data items are not available at the disaggregated regional level, it has been necessary to rely upon general allocation methods to compile estimates of regional product.

It should be noted that this publication is solely a statistical document prepared in response to a specific request from the EARC. As such, it implies no comment on the validity or relevance of any arguments placed before the EARC.

Enquiries regarding this report may be directed to Mr. J. Hurley, Senior Statistical Officer, Government Statistician's Office on telephone 07/224 5662.

H.R. Smerdon
Government Statistician
for Queensland
August 1990

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1. INTRODUCTION

This paper contains estimates of the value of economic production, often referred to as 'contribution to wealth', for the regions of Queensland for the financial year 1986-87. These estimates have been prepared using data available from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

Production is the process whereby labour, capital, knowledge and other resources are applied to the provision of goods and services. It is not confined to the production of goods by farms, mines, factories, etc. It also includes the provision of services of all kinds which either add to the value of goods (such as transport and retailing services) or are directly bought and sold in the market place in their own right (such as the services of teachers, nurses and entertainers). In addition, some goods and services are produced which do not enter the market. For example, goods and services produced by Government (such as the services provided by policemen and soldiers as distinct from the services provided by the government railways) fall into this category. In practice, the output of Government is valued at the cost of providing the services.

It should be noted that, in measuring economic production, care must be taken to avoid double counting. Many goods and services are bought by firms for use in their own productive activities. If the value of all goods and services produced in a region were added together, there would be considerable double counting of these goods and services as they proceed through successive stages of the productive process. To avoid this duplication, only the value added at each stage of production is measured. The sum of the value added of each industry provides a measure of the value of economic production of a national, state or regional economy.

2. THE CONCEPTS OF GROSS DOMESTIC, STATE AND REGIONAL PRODUCT

At the National level, the value of economic production is termed Gross Domestic Product (GDP). GDP at market prices is defined by the ABS as: "the total market value of goods and services produced in Australia after deducting the costs of goods used up in the process of production (intermediate consumption), but before deducting consumption of fixed capital (depreciation)".

There are three approaches to the measurement of GDP at market prices:

- . Income approach;
- . Expenditure approach;
- . Production approach.

The income approach measures GDP by adding up the income generated to employees, government and firms. That is, wages paid by business to its employees, the indirect tax it pays to government and the balance, gross operating surplus, which can be allocated to the owners of the business, (e.g. to maintain capital equipment (depreciation) and pay interest on loans).

Using the income approach, an alternative valuation is GDP at factor cost. GDP at factor cost is calculated by adding income accruing to employees and firms. Comparisons between industries are generally made using the GDP at factor cost measure. GDP at factor cost is simply GDP at market prices, less indirect taxes, plus subsidies.

The expenditure approach measures final spending in the economy, plus exports, minus imports. Final expenditures are expenditures on private consumption (food, clothing, cars, etc.), public consumption (day to day running costs of Government Departments), investment expenditure by private business and Government and any change in business or Government stocks of goods.

The production approach measures the market value of goods and services produced by industries less the costs of goods and services used by these industries in the productive process (intermediate consumption).

The ABS publishes estimates of GDP, using each of the above approaches, for Australia. Further details on the compilation of GDP can be found in the ABS publication "Australian National Accounts: Concepts, Sources and Methods" (Catalogue No. 5216.0).

2.1 Measurement of Gross State Product

Estimates of Gross State Product (GSP), for Queensland, are published by ABS using the income approach which involves the sum of wages, salaries and supplements, gross operating surplus and indirect taxes, less subsidies. Gross operating surplus is the excess of gross output of firms operating in a State, over the cost incurred in producing that output, but before deducting consumption of fixed capital (depreciation), dividends, interest, royalties and land rent paid and direct tax payable.

2.2 Measurement of Gross Regional Product

As at the State level, gross product has been estimated on the basis of the income approach because of the unavailability of data that would enable either the production or expenditure approaches to be used.

Estimates of Gross Regional Product (GRP) at factor cost are presented in this paper. GRP at factor cost is equivalent to income that accrues to employees and firms and is simply GRP at market prices less indirect taxes plus subsidies. This approach was taken due to the lack of reliable data to allocate indirect taxes less subsidies across the regions of Queensland. Gross State Product at factor cost estimates by industry for Queensland were used as control totals in estimating GRP for the eleven regions of this State. These regions are the Statistical Divisions of Queensland as used by the ABS. A map of the regions is shown as Map 1.

3. CHOICE OF REFERENCE YEAR

Estimates of GRP were compiled for the reference year 1986-87. This year was selected due to the availability of relevant data for that year. The 1986 ABS Census of Population and Housing (subsequently referred to as population census data) was conducted on 30 June 1986. In addition, the ABS conducted an Agricultural Finance Survey and a Manufacturing Census in 1986-87.

In selecting a year to undertake comparison between regions, care must be taken to ensure the year chosen is not atypical, that is, a drought year or a year of above average or below returns for the agricultural sector. In this regard, the agricultural sector is significant in certain regions and its contribution to Gross Regional Product can be volatile. To test whether 1986-87 was an appropriate year for regional comparisons, data on the gross value of agricultural production by region, obtained from the ABS publication "Value of Agricultural Commodities Produced" (Catalogue No. 7501.3), for the three years 1985-86 to 1987-88 together with the three year average is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1: GROSS VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION BY REGION

Region	Year			3 Year Average	1986-87/ Average(a)
	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88		
	\$m	\$m	\$m	\$m	%
Moreton and Brisbane	411	490	487	463	+ 6
Wide Bay/Burnett	371	415	431	406	+ 2
Darling Downs	745	665	763	724	- 8
South West	233	284	363	293	- 3
Fitzroy	328	316	399	348	- 9
Central West	148	205	259	204	0
Mackay	226	304	323	284	+ 7
Northern	251	308	349	303	+ 2
Far North	287	311	376	324	- 4
North West	136	181	186	168	+ 8
Total Queensland	3,135	3,479	3,935	3,517	- 1

(a) Percentage variation of 1986-87 from the 3 year average.

The results, shown in the last column of this table, suggest the value of agricultural production for 1986-87 across all regions is within 10 per cent of the three year average - a range of tolerance which is acceptable in making statistical comparisons. As such, 1986-87 is arguably a suitable year for inter-regional comparisons.

4. COMPILATION METHOD

Estimates of GSP at factor cost by broad industry groups are published by the ABS in "Australian National Accounts: State Accounts, 1988-89" (Catalogue No. 5220.0). These estimates are shown in Table 2 below:

TABLE 2: GROSS STATE PRODUCT AT FACTOR COST BY INDUSTRY AND PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS QUEENSLAND: 1986-87

Industry	Wages, salaries and supplements	Gross operating surplus	Gross state product at factor cost
	\$m	\$m	\$m
Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting	524	1,510	2,034
Mining	920	1,882	2,802
Manufacturing	2,915	1,646	4,561
Electricity, gas and water	438	1,020	1,458
Construction	1,890	1,054	2,944
Wholesale and retail trade	2,893	1,772	4,665
Transport, storage and communication	1,805	1,418	3,223
Finance, property and business services (including Nominal industry)(a)	1,608	430	2,038
Public administration, defence and community services	4,989	256	5,245
Recreation, personal and other services	799	541	1,340
Ownership of dwellings	-	2,778	2,778
General government(b)	-	931	931
All industries	18,781	15,238	34,019

(a) The nominal industry component records the negative operating surplus relating to the imputed service charge on loans to businesses. (See section 4.7 for further details.)

(b) The gross operating surplus of general government represents the value of consumption of fixed capital (depreciation) on general government assets. Wages, salaries and supplements of the general government sector are included in public administration, defence and community services.

Individual estimates of wages, salaries and supplements and gross operating surplus by industry were allocated across the 11 regions of Queensland using a number of techniques. Details of the allocation method for individual industries are discussed below.

4.1 Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting

For agriculture, excluding services to agriculture, regional estimates of wages, salaries and supplements and gross operating surplus were obtained from the ABS Agricultural Finance Survey. These regional estimates were used to allocate the state estimate across the 11 regions.

In the case of services to agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting the Queensland estimate of wages, salaries and supplements was allocated across the regions in line with population census data on the number of wage and salary earners for these industries. To allocate gross operating surplus across regions, census data on total persons employed for each industry was used. Total persons employed include, in addition to wage and salary earners, self employed persons, employers and unpaid helpers. This method of allocating wages, salaries and supplements and gross operating surplus is subsequently referred to as the population census allocation method.

The population census allocation method is an indicative method of allocation used in the absence of other specific regional data. This allocation method assumes that wage rates by industry are the same across regions, and the contribution made by each employed person to gross operating surplus, by broad industry groups, is the same across regions.

4.2 Mining

The Queensland estimate of wages, salaries and supplements was allocated across regions in line with wages and salaries published in the ABS "Census of Mining Establishments: Details of Operations by Industry Subdivision, Queensland, 1986-87" (Catalogue No. S401.3).

In the case of gross operating surplus, the State figure was allocated in line with the mining census item 'value added' less 'wages and salaries'. This published economic census aggregate best approximates the concept of gross operating surplus. In cases where data for individual regions was not available, the population census allocation method was used to provide estimates.

4.3 Manufacturing

Manufacturing census data for wages and salaries by region was obtained from the ABS publication "Manufacturing Establishments: Small Area Statistics 1986-87" (Catalogue No. 8205.3). This data was used to allocate the Queensland estimate of wages, salaries and supplements across regions.

Value added by region was not tabulated by the ABS for the 1986-87 census. Consequently, the most recent data available relates to the 1984-85 census. The aggregate 'value added' less 'wages and salaries' for 1984-85 by region multiplied by the percentage increase in 'turnover' between 1984-85 and 1986-87, was used to produce regional estimates of gross operating surplus for manufacturing industry.

4.4 Ownership of Dwellings

This item comprises both dwellings tenanted through the market place and owner occupied dwellings. The imputation of rent to owner occupied dwellings enables services provided by dwellings to their owner/occupiers to be treated consistently with the services provided by rented dwellings to their tenants.

The Queensland estimate of gross operating surplus of ownership of dwellings was allocated across regions in proportion to the number of occupied private dwellings obtained from the population census.

4.5 General Government

The gross operating surplus of general government represents the value of consumption of fixed capital or depreciation on general government

assets. No separate industry breakdown for Queensland of this component is available. An Australian industry dissection is available in the ABS publication, "Australian National Accounts: National Income and Expenditure 1988-89" (Catalogue No. 5204.0). This Australian industry dissection was applied to the total Queensland estimate and the resulting individual industry estimates were allocated to regions using the indicator for that industry.

4.6 Other Industries

In the absence of ABS economic census data by region for the remaining industries, the population census allocation method referred to in Section 4.1 was used to dissect Queensland estimates of wages, salaries and supplements and gross operating surplus. That is, wages salaries and supplements were allocated in proportion to the number of wage and salary earners, while gross operating surplus was allocated in proportion to total persons employed by their respective industries.

4.7 Finance, Property and Business Services (including Nominal Industry)

The population census allocation method was used for this industry. The nominal industry component of gross operating surplus relates to the imputed service charge on loans to businesses. In principle, the imputed service charge is the excess of interest received on loans to interest paid on deposits by this sector. This service charge on business loans should be treated as intermediate consumption of the industry undertaking the borrowing, and gross operating surplus adjusted accordingly. By statistical convention, the nominal industry is included as part of the finance, property and business services sector.

The allocation method used for this industry would seem appropriate for the nominal industry component if it is assumed that firms borrow from financial institutions located in their regions.

5. REGIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO GROSS STATE PRODUCT

5.1 Contribution by regions

Estimates of Gross Regional Product at factor cost, population and Gross Regional Product per capita by region are set out in Table 3 below. The figures used relate to the Estimated Resident Population at 30 June 1987 as contained in the ABS publication "Estimated Resident Population and Area, Queensland, 1989, Preliminary" (Catalogue No. 3201.3).

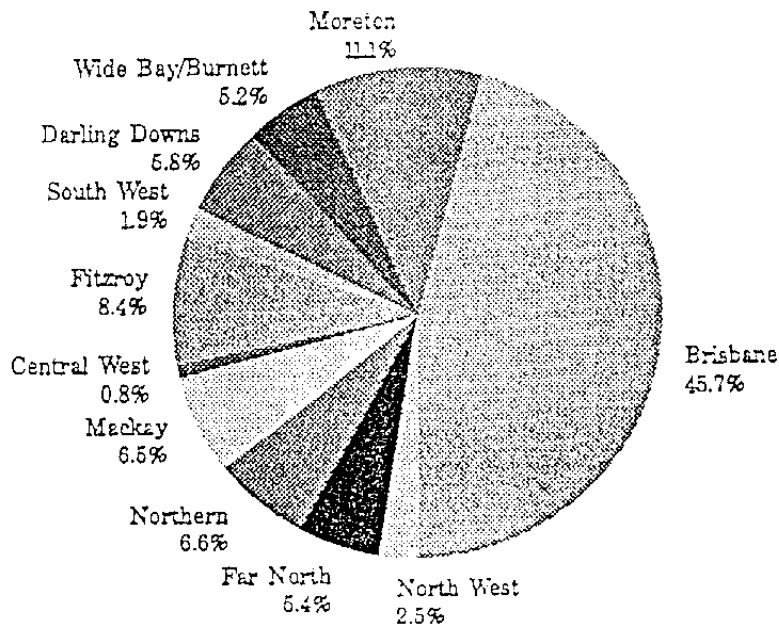
TABLE 3: GROSS REGIONAL PRODUCT, POPULATION, AND GROSS REGIONAL PRODUCT PER CAPITA, QUEENSLAND, 1986-87

Region	Gross regional product	Estimated resident population	Gross regional product per capita
	\$m	Persons	\$
Brisbane	15,550	1,215,341	12,794
Moreton	3,791	420,965	9,005
Wide Bay/Burnett	1,756	171,407	10,245
Darling Downs	1,970	182,837	10,776
South West	653	28,688	22,763
Fitzroy	2,865	160,654	17,836
Central West	276	13,466	20,489
Mackay	2,211	104,687	21,123
Northern	2,252	173,244	13,002
Far North	1,830	166,005	11,022
North West	665	38,451	22,485
Total Queensland	34,019	2,675,745	12,714

Contributions to Gross State Product and population by the regions of Queensland are shown in Chart 1.

Chart 1: Regional Contribution: Gross State Product and Population, Queensland, 1986/87

Gross State Product



Population

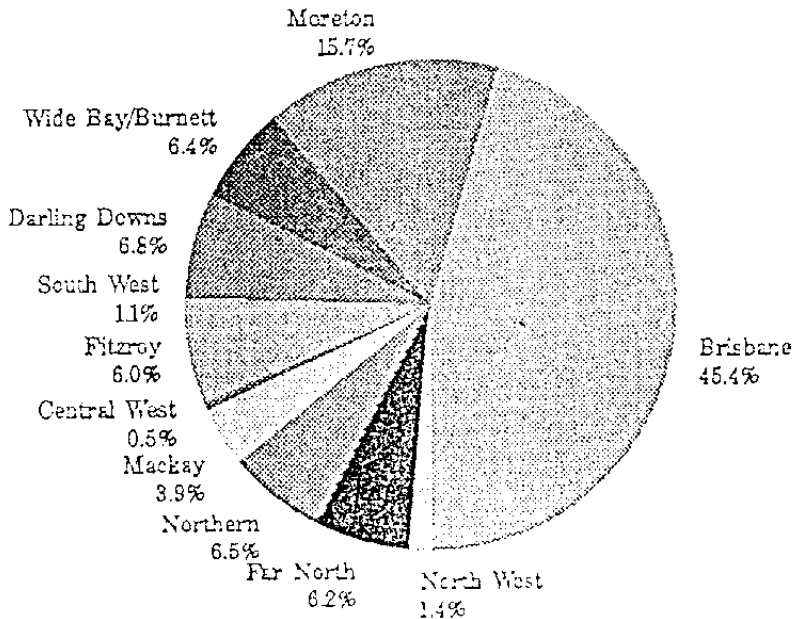


Chart 1 shows that 45.4 per cent of the State's population live in the Brisbane region and contributes 45.7 per cent of Gross State Product. Further, 61.2 per cent of the State's population reside in the Brisbane and Moreton regions and contribute 56.9 per cent of Gross State Product. In contrast, only 0.5 per cent of the State's population live in the Central West region and contributed 0.8 per cent to Queensland's Gross State Product in 1986-87.

Estimates of GRP per capita by region are shown in Chart 2 below.

**Chart 2: Gross Regional Product per Capita
Queensland, 1986/87**

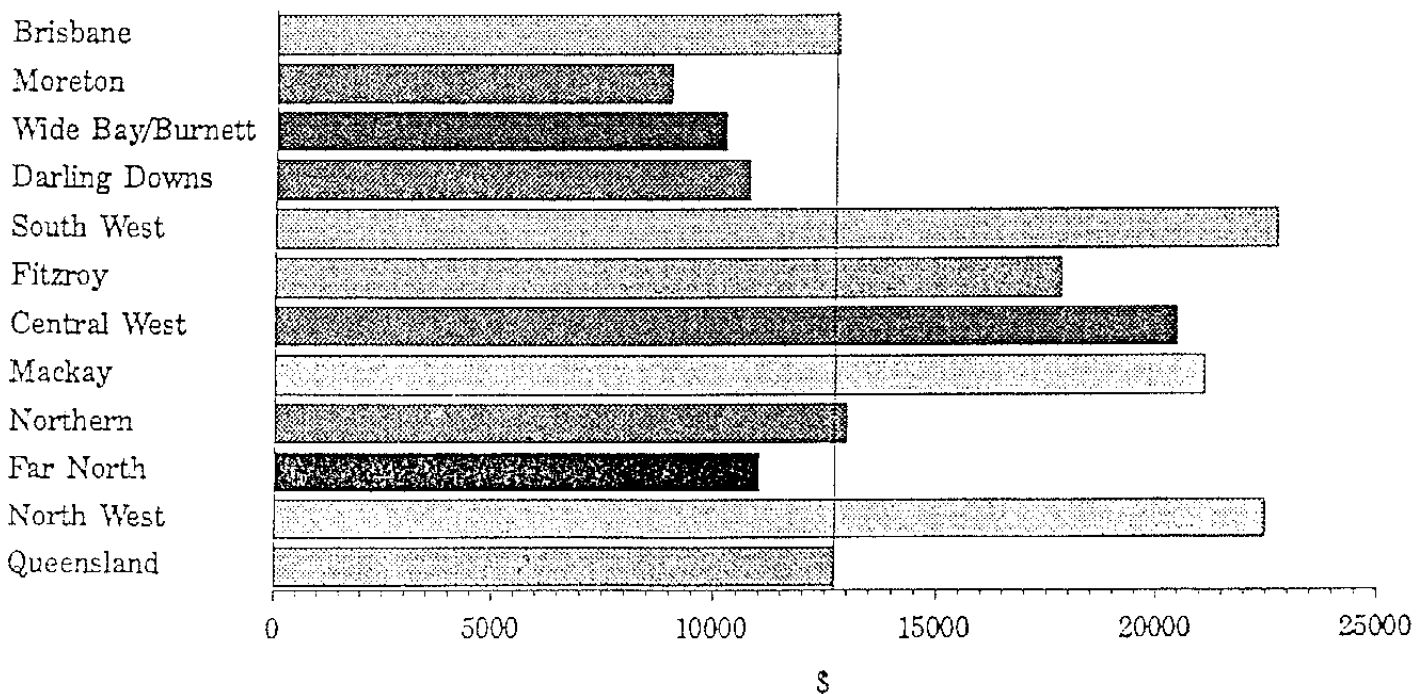


Table 3 and Chart 2 show that there are significant differences in Gross Regional Product per capita for 1986-87 between the regions of Queensland. Contribution to Gross Regional Product per capita ranged from \$9,005 per capita in the Moreton region, to \$22,763 per capita in the South West region. The above estimates show below average regional product per capita was estimated for the Moreton, Wide Bay/Burnett, Darling Downs and Far North regions. In contrast, estimated Gross Regional Product was above average for all other regions.

5.2 Contribution by Industry to Gross Regional Product

Table 4 below shows estimates of contribution by industry to Gross Regional Product for 1986-87.

TABLE 4: CONTRIBUTION BY INDUSTRY TO GROSS REGIONAL PRODUCT, QUEENSLAND, 1986-87

Region	Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting	Mining	Manufacturing	Other industries(a)	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
Brisbane	0.8	1.0	17.6	80.6	100.0
Moreton	4.4	0.9	8.2	86.5	100.0
Wide Bay/ Burnett	14.3	2.5	11.8	71.4	100.0
Darling Downs	15.2	1.2	10.2	73.4	100.0
South West	27.8	34.0	1.9	36.3	100.0
Fitzroy	8.1	22.3	15.3	54.3	100.0
Central West	57.7	0.1	0.5	41.7	100.0
Mackay	7.7	45.9	7.3	39.1	100.0
Northern	6.7	4.2	12.9	76.2	100.0
Far North	9.9	9.4	9.2	71.5	100.0
North West	13.6	47.1	4.4	34.9	100.0
Total Queensland	6.0	8.2	13.4	72.4	100.0

(a) Balance of industries as shown in Table 2.

Table 4 shows agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting industry is predominant in terms of Gross Regional Product only in the Central West

region. Further, other industries are the major contributor to Gross Regional Product in all regions except the South West, Central West, Mackay and North West regions.

5.3 Contribution by Electoral Zone

There are currently four Electoral Zones in Queensland, namely:

- . South-Eastern;
- . Provincial Cities;
- . Western and Far Northern;
- . Country.

These zones are shown on a map of Queensland, Map 2 which can be overlaid on the map of Queensland showing regions, Map 1. It was not possible, in the limited time available and without using substantially greater resources, to compile estimates of Gross Regional Product at factor cost for the four electoral zones, as these zones do not correspond to regions used for statistical purposes. However, broad approximations were compiled to provide an indication of the contribution to Gross State Product by zone. These estimates were produced by grouping regions to match, as closely as possible, electoral zone boundaries. Due to severe data limitations it was not possible to separate the Provincial Cities and Country Zones. Accordingly, a combined estimate has been compiled for these two zones.

Regions were grouped into Electoral Zones as follows:

Electoral Zone	Regions
South-Eastern	Erisbane Moreton
Provincial Cities/Country	Wide Bay/Burnett Darling Downs Fitzroy Mackay Northern Far North
Western and Far Northern	South West Central West North West

The Far North region was included in the Provincial Cities/Country Zone as approximately 90 per cent of the population of this region resides in the Provincial Cities/Country Zone. However, in terms of area, the majority of this region is in the Western and Far Northern Zone. In addition, parts of Darling Downs, Fitzroy, Mackay and Northern regions are located in the Western and Far Northern Zone, but Gross Regional Product of these regions has been included in the Provincial Cities/Country Zone. Therefore estimates of Gross Regional Product by Electoral Zone, in particular, the Provincial Cities/Country and Western and Far Northern estimates, should be used only as broadly illustrative of relative contributions.

Estimates of Gross Regional Product, population and Gross Regional Product per capita for the three electoral zone groupings are presented in Table 5.

TABLE 5: GROSS REGIONAL PRODUCT, POPULATION AND GROSS REGIONAL PRODUCT PER CAPITA BY ELECTORAL ZONE, QUEENSLAND, 1986-87

Electoral Zone	Gross regional Product		Estimated resident population		Gross regional product per capita
	\$m	%	Persons	%	\$
South-Eastern	19,340	56.8	1,636,306	61.2	11,819
Provincial Cities/ Country	12,885	37.9	958,834	35.8	13,439
Western and Far Northern	1,794	5.3	80,605	3.0	22,251
Total Queensland	34,019	100.0	2,675,745	100.0	12,714

The estimate in the above table shows that the South-Eastern Zone contributes 56.8 per cent of Gross State Product and 61.2 per cent of the State population live in this zone. The Provincial Cities/Country Zone contributes 37.9 per cent of Gross State Product (with 35.8 per cent of the population) while the Western and Far Northern Zones contribute 5.3 per cent of Gross State Product (with 3 per cent of the population).

Table 5 shows Gross Regional Product per capita to be higher in the Provincial Cities/Country and Western and Far Northern Zones than the Queensland average. At \$13,439 per capita, the combined Provincial Cities/Country Zone is 5.7 per cent higher than the State average. The corresponding estimate for the Western and Far Northern Zone was 75.0 per cent above the State average. In contrast, the South-Eastern Zone estimate is 7.0 per cent below the State average and 12.1 per cent and 46.9 per cent respectively below the Provincial Cities/Country and Western and Far Northern Zones.

Contribution by industry to Gross Regional Product by Electoral Zones for 1986-87 is shown in Table 6 below.

TABLE 6: CONTRIBUTION BY INDUSTRY TO GROSS REGIONAL PRODUCT, BY ELECTORAL ZONE, QUEENSLAND, 1986-87

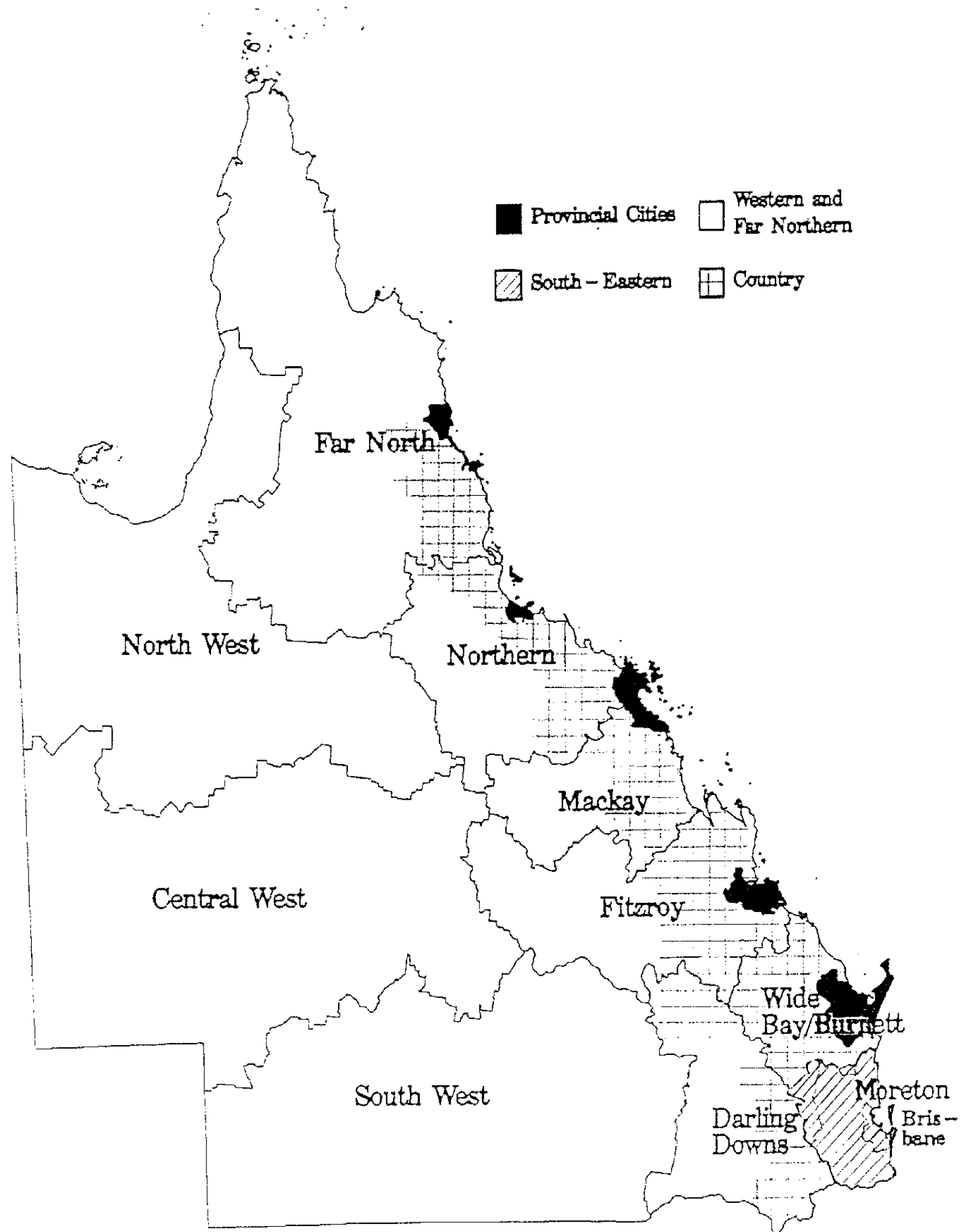
Electoral Zone	Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting	Mining	Manufacturing	Other industries(a)	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
South-Eastern	1.5	1.0	15.7	81.8	100.0
Provincial Cities/ Country	10.0	15.4	11.4	63.2	100.0
Western and Far Northern	25.6	35.1	2.9	36.4	100.0
Total Queensland	6.0	8.2	13.4	72.4	100.0

(a) Balance of industries as shown in Table 2.

As might be expected, agriculture, forestry, fishing, hunting and mining contributed significantly to the regional economy of the Western and Far Northern Electoral Zone. Other industries, however, were the major contributors to the South-Eastern and Provincial Cities/Country Zones.

Map 1: Queensland Regions

Map 2: Electoral Zones



APPENDIX G

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS BILL

1990

A BILL

To make provision for the distribution of the State into electoral districts.

BE IT ENACTED by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of Queensland in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:-

PART 1 - PRELIMINARY

1.1 Short title. This Act may be cited as the Electoral Districts Act 1990.

1.2 Repeals. The following Acts are repealed:-

- . Electoral Districts Act 1985 (No. 37 of 1985);
- . Electoral Districts Act 1985 (No. 50 of 1985).

1.3 Termination of zones. On the commencement of this Act the zones of representation into which the State was divided by the Electoral Districts Act 1985 cease to exist.

1.4 Interpretation. In this Act, except where the contrary appears -
"average district enrolment" means -

- (a) subject to paragraph (b), the number ascertained by dividing the number of electors enrolled for the State by the number of electoral districts into which the State is required by this Act to be distributed for the time being;
- (b) in a case where the number ascertained in accordance with paragraph (a) includes a fraction - the number so ascertained -
 - (i) reduced to the nearest whole number, if the fraction is less than one-half;
 - or;
 - (ii) increased to the nearest whole number if the fraction is one-half or more;

"Commission" means the Electoral and Administrative Review Commission constituted under the Electoral and Administrative Review Act 1989-1990;

"existing Legislative Assembly" means the Legislative Assembly duly constituted before and subsisting at the time of the prescribed event;

"existing roll" means an existing roll within the meaning and for the purposes of the law of the State for the time being relating to elections for the Legislative Assembly;

"Minister" includes a Minister of the Crown for the time being performing the duties of the Minister;

"prescribed event" means the making of a distribution of the State into electoral districts under Part 3;

"quota" means the quota of electors determined in accordance with section 3.2.

1.5 Existing Legislative Assembly not affected by Act. (1) Nothing in, or done under, this Act affects the constitution, power or authority of the existing Legislative Assembly.

(2) Unless it is sooner dissolved by the Governor, the existing Legislative Assembly will continue for the term prescribed by law from the day named for the return of the writs for choosing it.

(3) Every member of the existing Legislative Assembly will continue to hold the seat for the electoral district represented by the member immediately before the prescribed event, unless -

- . the member dies or resigns;
- or
- . the seat is otherwise vacated;
- or
- . the existing Legislative Assembly expires by effluxion of time, or is sooner dissolved.

(4) If a member of the existing Legislative Assembly dies or resigns, or the member's seat is otherwise vacated, before the expiration or sooner dissolution of the existing Legislative Assembly -

(a) any writ issued for the purpose of filling the vacancy so caused is to be issued for the electoral district represented by the member as constituted immediately before the prescribed event;

and

(b) the ensuing by-election is to be held for that electoral district.

(5) The roll of electors for the purposes of a by-election for an electoral district held in accordance with subsection (4) is the existing roll of electors, as it was immediately before the prescribed event, for the electoral district as constituted immediately before the prescribed event together with a roll of persons who, had the electoral district continued to be so constituted, would have been entitled under the law of the State for the time being relating to elections for the Legislative Assembly to be enrolled for the electoral district, subject to all alterations to such existing roll and roll of persons made in accordance with that law.

(6) The making of alterations to any roll referred to in subsection (5) that could have been made pursuant to the law of the State for the time being relating to elections for the Legislative Assembly if the prescribed event had not occurred is hereby authorised.

PART 2 - DISTRIBUTION OF STATE INTO ELECTORAL DISTRICTS

2.1 Composition of Legislative Assembly. (1) The Legislative Assembly consists of 89 members.

(2) The State is to be distributed into 89 electoral districts in accordance with this Act.

(3) Each such electoral district is represented in the Legislative Assembly by one member.

2.2 Distribution. The State is to be distributed in accordance with this Act into the prescribed number of electoral districts before the expiration by effluxion of time, or sooner dissolution, of the existing Legislative Assembly.

2.3 Commission to conduct distribution. It is the duty of the Commission to make the first distribution of the State following the commencement of this Act into the prescribed number of electoral districts, in accordance with this Act.

PART 3 - PROCEDURE FOR DISTRIBUTION

3.1 Suggestions and comments relating to distribution. (1) As soon as practicable after commencement of the distribution of the State, the Commission, by notice published in the Gazette and in two newspapers circulating throughout the State -

(a) is to invite suggestions relating to the distribution of the State to be lodged with it within the period of 30 days following publication of the notice in the Gazette;

and

(b) is to invite written comments relating to suggestions lodged with it pursuant to the notice referred to in paragraph (a), to be lodged with it within the period of 21 days following the expiry of the period referred to in that paragraph.

(2) Forthwith after expiry of the period referred to in subsection (1)(a), the Commission is to cause copies of all suggestions lodged with it pursuant to the notice referred to in that subsection to be made available for public perusal at the office of the Commission during ordinary office hours of the Commission, and copies of all or any of such suggestions to be made available for perusal at such other places in the State as the Commission considers appropriate.

(3) Forthwith after expiry of the period referred to in subsection (1)(b), the Commission is to cause copies of the comments lodged with it pursuant to the notice referred to in that subsection to be made available for public perusal at the office of the Commission during ordinary office hours of the Commission.

(4) The Commission is to consider all suggestions and comments lodged with it under subsection (1).

3.2 Quota. (1) For the purposes of the distribution of the State, the Commission, by notification published in the Gazette, is to determine in accordance with subsection (2) the quota of electors for the State.

(2) The quota of electors is to be determined by dividing the number of electors enrolled for the State at the expiry of the period of 21 days referred to in section 3.1(1)(b), as nearly as can be ascertained, by the prescribed number of members of the Legislative Assembly, and, if the quotient so obtained includes a fraction -

(a) by reducing the quotient to the nearest whole number, if the fraction is less than one-half;

or

(b) by increasing the quotient to the nearest whole number, if the fraction is one-half or more.

(3) For the purpose of determining the quota the roll under and within the meaning of the Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918, as amended and for the time being in force, is to be used for ascertaining the number of electors enrolled for the State.

3.3 Proposed distribution to be prepared. (1) The Commission is to prepare, in accordance with subsection (2), a proposed distribution of the State that gives effect to section 2.1(2).

(2) The quota of electors determined under section 3.2 is to be the basis for the proposed distribution.

The Commission may adopt a margin of allowance, to be used whenever the Commission considers it necessary, but, except as permitted by subsection (3), the quota must not be departed from to an extent greater than one-tenth more or one-tenth less.

(3) If in any case a proposed electoral district is at least 100,000 square kilometres in area, the quota may be departed from in that case to an extent greater than one-tenth less if the number of electors for that proposed electoral district is such that the sum of -

the number of electors;

and

a number that expresses the value of 2 per centum of the area of the proposed electoral district expressed in square kilometres, rounded up or down, in the case of a fraction, in the manner prescribed by section 3.2(2) in relation to the quota;

equals the quota or conforms to the margin of allowance permitted to the Commission by subsection (2).

(4) In preparing a proposed distribution of the State, the Commission, subject to subsection (2) and (3), is to give due consideration, in relation to each proposed electoral district, to -

- (a) community of interests within the proposed electoral district - including economic, social and regional interests;
and
- (b) means of communication and travel within the proposed electoral district;
and
- (c) the physical features of the proposed electoral district;
and
- (d) demographic trends in the State with a view to ensuring, as far as practicable, on the basis of those trends, that the number of electors enrolled for the time being for the electoral district will remain -

- . in the case of an electoral district such as referred to in subsection (3) in respect of which the Commission proposes to act under that subsection, within a margin of one-tenth more or one-tenth less of the number of electors accepted by the Commission for that electoral district in preparing the proposed distribution of the State;
- . in the case of any other electoral district, within a margin of one-tenth more or one-tenth less of the average district enrolment;

until the State is again distributed into electoral districts in accordance with law.

3.4 Reasons for proposed distribution. (1) The Commission is to state, in writing, its reasons for the proposed distribution prepared by it.

(2) A member of the Commission who disagrees with the proposed distribution in any respect is to state, in writing, the reasons for such disagreement.

3.5 Notice of proposed distribution. (1) As soon as practicable after the Commission has prepared the proposed distribution, the Commission is to comply with this section.

(2) The Commission is to cause a map or maps showing the names and boundaries of each proposed electoral district in the State to be exhibited for public perusal at the office of the Commission during ordinary office hours of the Commission.

One such map may be prepared in relation to all, or 2 or more, proposed electoral districts.

(3) The Commission is to cause to be conspicuously exhibited -

- . at some place to which the public has access;
- and
- . at such other places as the Commission considers appropriate;

in each proposed electoral district a copy of a map showing the boundaries of that proposed electoral district.

(4) The Commission is to cause copies of -

- . the descriptions of the boundaries of each proposed electoral district;
- . its reasons for the proposed distribution;
- . reasons for disagreement with the proposed distribution that have been stated in writing by any member of the Commission;

to be made available for public perusal at the office of the Commission during ordinary office hours of the Commission and at such other places in the State as the Commission considers appropriate.

(5) By notice published in -

- . the Gazette;
- and
- . 2 newspapers circulating throughout the State;
- and
- . such regional newspapers circulating in any part of the State as the Commission considers appropriate;

the Commission is to invite public attention to the exhibition of the map or maps referred to in subsection (2) or (3) and the availability for public perusal as prescribed of copies of the descriptions and reasons referred to in subsection (4).

A notice published in the Gazette or in a newspaper circulating throughout the State must be accompanied by a map, or maps, showing the names and boundaries of all proposed electoral districts in the State.

A notice published in a regional newspaper must be accompanied by a map, or maps, showing the names and boundaries of all proposed electoral districts in the part of the State in which the newspaper circulates.

(6) A notice published pursuant to subsection (5) must include a statement to the effect that any person, or association of persons, may -

- . in the case of a notice published in the Gazette - within 30 days following such publication of the notice;

or

- . in the case of a notice published in a newspaper - within 30 days following the date of publication of the notice in the Gazette;

lodge with the Commission a written objection against the proposed distribution.

(7) At any time before publication of a notice pursuant to subsection (5), the Commission may (by issuing a statement to the media or otherwise) make publicly known the outline of its proposed distribution of the State.

3.6 Commission to consider objections. If, within the period of 30 days referred to in section 3.5 there is lodged with the Commission an objection, which raises matter that, in the Commission's opinion, is not the same, or substantially the same, as the matter raised by any suggestion or comment lodged with the Commission pursuant to notice published under section 3.1, the Commission is to consider that objection.

The Commission is authorized to disregard any such objection -

- (a) that is lodged with it after the expiry of the aforesaid period of 30 days;

or

- (b) that it considers to be frivolous or vexatious.

3.7 Making of distribution. (1) As soon as practicable after, and before the expiry of the period of 60 days following, the expiry of the period of 30 days referred to in section 3.5, the Commission is to perform the duty prescribed by section 2.3, by determining, by notification published in the Gazette, the names and boundaries of the electoral districts into which the State is thereby distributed.

The electoral districts so notified are the electoral districts in the State until the State is again distributed into electoral districts in accordance with law.

(2) In making its determination under subsection (1) the Commission is to comply with sections 3.3 and 3.5(2) and (3) as if its determination were the preparation of a proposed distribution.

3.8 Reasons for determination. The Commission is to state, in writing, its reasons for the determination made by it under section 3.7 and a member of the Commission who disagrees with the determination is to state, in writing, the reasons for such disagreement.

3.9 Documents to be given to Minister and tabled. (1) As soon as practicable after its determination under section 3.7 is made, the Commission is to give to the Minister a copy of -

- (a) the suggestions and comments relating to the distribution of the State lodged with the Commission pursuant to notice published under section 3.1;
- (b) the proposed distribution prepared by the Commission and the reasons therefor;
- (c) if a member of the Commission has stated, in writing, reasons for the member's disagreement with the proposed distribution - those reasons;
- (d) the objections against the proposed distribution lodged with the Commission pursuant to invitation published under section 3.5;
- (e) the Commission's determination made under section 3.7 and the reasons therefor;
- (f) if a member of the Commission has stated, in writing, reasons for the member's disagreement with the determination - those reasons.

(2) The Minister is to cause a copy of the material given to the Minister under subsection (1) to be laid before the Legislative Assembly within 5 sitting days after receipt of the material by the Minister.

3.10 Ancillary powers and duties of Commission. (1) In making the distribution of the State into electoral districts the Commission is to be taken as making an investigation for the purposes of the Electoral and Administrative Review Act 1989-1990 and accordingly -

- (a) the Commission may conduct such public hearings as it considers to be appropriate;
- (b) subject to subsection (2), the Commission, and a member of the Commission, may exercise such powers, and is subject to such duties, conferred or imposed on the Commission or a Commissioner by that Act as are capable of application to the making of the distribution;
- (c) subject to subsection (2), such provisions of that Act as are capable of application to the making of the distribution apply with all necessary adaptations.

(2) The making of the distribution of the State into electoral districts is not a matter in relation to which the Commission is required by the Electoral and Administrative Review Act 1989 - 1990 to report, and any or all of the following:-

- . notification of the names and boundaries of electoral districts published under section 3.7(1);
- . material given to the Minister under section 3.9(1);
- . any writing of the Commission, or a Commissioner, relating to the distribution;

taken separately or in conjunction, does not constitute a report of the Commission to which the provisions of section 2.13 or Part V of that Act apply.

PART 4 - GENERAL PROVISIONS

4.1 Duty to assist Commission. The Principal Electoral Officer of the State, on request by the Commission -

- (a) is to supply the Commission with all such information;
- (b) is to provide the Commission with all such assistance;

as the Commission requires for the purposes of this Act.

4.2 Electoral rolls to be compiled. (1) The Principal Electoral Officer of the State is to compile a roll of electors for each electoral district determined under this Act, and to that end may issue such orders and give such directions as that officer considers necessary or expedient for the purpose.

Such orders and directions have the force of law and are to be complied with.

(2) For each electoral district determined under this Act there is to be a roll of electors compiled under and in accordance with the provisions of the law of the State for the time being relating to elections for the Legislative Assembly, which provisions extend and apply to such rolls subject to this section.

(3) The roll of electors for an electoral district determined under this Act first compiled after such determination must contain the names of electors registered as living in that electoral district on the date of notification of such determination in the Gazette.

(5) The roll of electors for an electoral district compiled pursuant to this section, together with the supplemental roll (if any) of electors for that electoral district is the existing roll of electors for that electoral district until a new roll of electors for that electoral district is substituted therefor in accordance with law.

This subsection is subject to section 1.5(5).

4.3 Improper influence an offence. A person is not to influence, or attempt to influence, a member of the Commission in performance of the member's duties under this Act, unless the person does so by means prescribed.

Penalty: 35 penalty units, or imprisonment for 12 months, or both.

4.4 Proceedings for offence. (1) Proceedings for an offence against this Act may be taken in a summary way under the Justice Act 1886-1989 on the complaint of a person authorized for the purpose by the Minister.

(2) The description of the complainant in a complaint of an offence against this Act as authorized by the Minister to lay the complaint is sufficient proof of such authority in the absence of evidence to the contrary.

4.5 Commission's decisions not open to challenge. (1) A decision or determination made, or appearing to have been made by the Commission, or any member of the Commission, under or for the purposes of Part 3 -

- (a) is final and conclusive;
- (b) cannot be challenged, appealed against, reviewed, quashed, set-aside or called in question in any court or tribunal;
- (c) is not subject to mandamus, prohibition, certiorari, injunction or any declaratory or other order of any court.

(2) A reference in subsection (1) to a decision includes reference to a refusal or failure to make a decision.

APPENDIX H

ALLOWANCES FOR QUEENSLAND MEMBERS OF
THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY**Introduction**

- 1.1 In an attempt to provide some background information on the current situation in Queensland concerning Members' allowances the following entitlements have been considered:
- (a) Electorate Allowances
 - (b) Special Car Allowance
 - (c) Car Allowance
 - (d) Air Travel
 - (e) Travel for Members and Spouses
 - (f) Electorate Travel
 - (g) Daily Travelling Allowance
 - (h) Postage Allowance
 - (i) Telephone Allowance
 - (j) Rail Travel
 - (k) Electorate Office and Secretary

ELECTORATE ALLOWANCES

- 1.2 As from 1 July 1990 the rates of Electorate Allowances vary from a minimum of \$22,936 per annum (effectively \$441.08 per week) for the Brisbane and near-Brisbane urban electorates up to a maximum of \$46,760 per annum (effectively \$899.23 per week) for the large remote rural electorates of Cook, Flinders, Gregory and Warrego.
- 1.3 These Electorate Allowances are adjusted quarterly in accordance with variations in the Consumer Price Index for Brisbane.
- 1.4 Table H.1 details the current rates of Electorate Allowances payable to all Members of the Legislative Assembly as at 1 July 1990.

TABLE H.1

**ELECTORATE ALLOWANCES PAYABLE TO QUEENSLAND
MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
AS AT 1 JULY 1990**

Name of Electorate	Allowance Per Annum	Name of Electorate	Allowance Per Annum
Albert	\$ 25,444	Mirani	\$ 34,216
Archerfield	22,936	Moggill	22,936
Ashgrove	22,936	Mount Coot-tha	22,936
Aspley	22,936	Mount Gravatt	22,936
Auburn	39,233	Mount Isa	39,233
Balonne	39,233	Mourilyan	34,216
Barambah	29,190	Mulgrave	26,699
Barron River	29,190	Murrumba	22,936
Bowen	39,233	Nerang	24,180
Brisbane Central	22,936	Nicklin	24,180
Broadsound	39,233	Nudgee	22,936
Bulimba	22,936	Nundah	22,936
Bundaberg	24,180	Peak Downs	39,233
Burdekin	34,216	Pine Rivers	25,444
Burnett	34,216	Port Curtis	29,190
Caboolture	22,936	Redcliffe	22,936
Cairns	24,180	Redlands	25,444
Callide	34,216	Rockhampton	26,699
Carnarvon	34,216	Rockhampton North	24,180
Chatsworth	22,936	Roma	39,233
Condamine	34,216	Salisbury	22,936
Cook	46,760	Sandgate	22,936
Cooroola	26,699	Sherwood	22,936
Cunningham	34,216	Somerset	29,190
Currumbin	24,180	South Brisbane	22,936
Everton	22,936	South Coast	24,180
Fassifern	29,190	Southport	24,180
Flinders	46,760	Springwood	22,936
Glass House	29,190	Stafford	22,936
Greenslopes	22,936	Surfers Paradise	24,180
Gregory	46,760	Tablelands	34,216
Gympie	29,190	Thuringowa	26,699
Hinchinbrook	34,216	Toowong	22,936
Ipswich	22,936	Toowoomba North	24,180
Ipswich West	22,936	Toowoomba South	24,180
Isis	29,190	Townsville	24,180
Landsborough	24,180	Townsville East	24,180
Lockyer	29,190	Warrego	46,760
Logan	22,936	Warwick	29,190
Lytton	22,936	Whitsunday	29,190
Mackay	24,180	Windsor	22,936
Manly	22,936	Wolston	22,936
Mansfield	22,936	Woodridge	22,936
Maryborough	29,190	Yeronga	22,936
Merthyr	22,936		

Source: Members Entitlements Handbook, Department of the Premier, Economic and Trade Development, Brisbane.

CAR ALLOWANCE

- 1.5 Members representing certain electorates are entitled to a car allowance to compensate them for using their cars, to travel to Brisbane to attend Parliament. This car allowance varies from \$515 per annum up to a maximum of \$1041 per annum. Those other Members of the Legislative Assembly who do not receive a car allowance are entitled to an Air Travel Allowance for travel between their electorates and Brisbane.
- 1.6 This Car Allowance is varied with effect from 1 July each year similarly to Members' Daily Travelling Allowance.
- 1.7 Table H.2 lists the various Car Allowances which apply to the relevant electorates.

TABLE H.2

**CAR ALLOWANCE FOR MEMBERS TO
TRAVEL TO AND FROM PARLIAMENT**

Name of Electorate	Amount per year
Albert, Caboolture, Fassifern, Glass House, Ipswich, Ipswich West, Landsborough, Nerang, Pine Rivers, Redcliffe, Somerset, South Coast, Southport, Springwood, Surfers Paradise	\$515
Cooroora, Currumbin, Lockyer, Nicklin, Toowoomba North, Toowoomba South	\$694
Barambah, Carnarvon, Cunningham, Gympie, Warwick	\$869
Condamine	\$1041

Source: Members Entitlements Handbook, Department of the Premier, Economic and Trade Development, Brisbane.

SPECIAL CAR ALLOWANCE

- 1.8 A special car allowance of \$7,370 per annum is payable to all Members of Parliament except Ministers. Ministers have access to their chauffeur - driven ministerial cars and electorate cars.
- 1.9 This allowance is adjusted from 1 July each year in accordance with the variation in the Consumer Price Index for Brisbane for the previous financial year ending 30 June.

AIR TRAVEL

- 1.10 All Members of Parliament are entitled to first-class air travel when involved in parliamentary or electorate business.
- 1.11 Members representing certain Country and Provincial City electorates are allowed 60 single air flights each financial year to travel between their electorates and Brisbane.
- 1.12 The application of this air travel allowance is such that it relates to actual flights taken in a financial year and no carry over provision of any shortfall to a subsequent financial year is permitted.
- 1.13 Instead of using air travel warrants, Members can, subject to approval from the Speaker, travel by car or charter flight from their home in their electorate to Brisbane or return. Where this occurs Members receive reimbursement up to the value of the relevant commercial air fare.

TRAVEL FOR MEMBERS AND SPOUSE

- 1.14 Members of Parliament are entitled to spend up to \$7,883 per year for themselves and their spouse or approved relative on travel within Australia, and to and from New Zealand or Papua New Guinea for the purpose of parliamentary business. This allowance can accumulate during the three year term of the Parliament.
- 1.15 This amount is varied on 1 July each year similarly to that of Members' Daily Travelling Allowance.

ELECTORATE TRAVEL

- 1.16 Members who represent country electorates of 6,476 square kilometres or more in area are entitled to spend from \$809 to \$4,669 per financial year on air travel warrants, where charter and/or scheduled airline services are available, to visit any location within their electorate.
- 1.17 Table H.3 shows the current rates of Electorate Travel allowances.
- 1.18 Those Members representing electorates which are smaller than 6,476 square kilometres in area are not entitled to this allowance.
- 1.19 On 1 July each year this allowance is adjusted similarly to Members' Daily Travelling Allowance.

TABLE H.3

**ELECTORATE TRAVEL ALLOWANCES FOR TRAVEL
WITHIN THE MEMBER'S ELECTORATE
AS AT 1 JULY 1990**

Area of Member's Electorate (in Square Kilometres)	Allowance Per Annum
6,476 - 12,950	\$ 809
12,951 - 25,900	1,576
25,901 - 64,750	2,343
64,751 - 129,500	3,135
129,501 - 259,000	3,899
259,001 and over	4,699

The Member for Warrego has been granted approval to use his private aircraft with reimbursement up to \$3,899 for fuel purchased.

This allowance is varied from 1 July each year similarly to Members' Daily Travelling Allowance.

Source: Members Entitlements Handbook, Department of the Premier, Economic and Trade Development, Brisbane.

DAILY TRAVELLING ALLOWANCE

- 1.20 A Member can claim Daily Travelling Allowance when the travel involves Parliamentary business outside the Member's electorate. However, this allowance is not payable when the Member is residing at the Parliamentary Complex or when complimentary meals and accommodation are provided at Government expense.
- 1.21 This allowance is payable for a maximum period of 28 days per annum, accumulative during the term of the Parliament, irrespective of whether the travel is undertaken interstate, intrastate or overseas.
- 1.22 For overseas travel the allowance is \$195 per day and for travel within Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea it is \$140 per day.

POSTAGE ALLOWANCE

- 1.23 All Members of Parliament receive a postage allowance equal to the value of 1000 ordinary letter rate stamps (@ 43 cents each) per month - currently equivalent to \$430 a month. Parliamentary office-holders receive more than this basic threshold amount.

TELEPHONE ALLOWANCE

1.24 The following telephone facilities are provided for Members:

(a) Parliament House

The cost of all telephone calls at Parliament House.

(b) Private Residence

Telephone rental and 85% of the cost of all telephone calls for one telephone only in a Member's private residence.

(c) Electorate Office

The cost of telephone rental and all calls is met.

RAIL TRAVEL

1.25 All Members of Parliament have a Gold Pass entitling them to unlimited first-class rail travel anywhere in Australia, with the exception of Commonwealth owned railways.

1.26 Members' spouses, or, in the case of a single Member of Parliament, their nominated relative, are entitled to unlimited rail travel in Queensland and four interstate trips a year.

ELECTORATE OFFICE AND SECRETARY

1.27 The Member's electorate office is provided together with an electorate secretary.

1.28 The cost of establishment and any lease or rental charges are met.

1.29 The office is furnished and basic office equipment like a computer and facsimile machine are supplied.

1.30 Subject to the approval of the Speaker, a second telephone can also be installed.

1.31 Each Member is currently entitled to one electorate office and one electorate secretary.

APPENDIX I

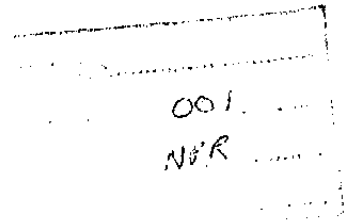
**LEGAL OPINION ON ARTICLE 25 OF THE INTERNATIONAL
COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS**

The Australian National University



Centre for International and Public Law

Professor Philip Alston
Director



30 October, 1990

FAX: (07) 237 1991 (13 pages in total)

Mr Tom Sherman,
Commissioner,
Electoral and Administrative
Review Commission,
BRISBANE

Dear Tom,

I am sending herewith the opinion that you requested on the ramifications of article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in the context of the review of the Queensland electoral system that your Commission is presently undertaking.

I fear that the result may be unduly academic in style but that is difficult to avoid in the human rights field. If there is any important issue that I have omitted I would be happy to return to it and give you a response within a matter of hours. I should add that, for reasons of time, the opinion has not been thoroughly proofread. I shall send a clean copy of the opinion by post later today.

The background research and the writing of the opinion took me three days.

Yours sincerely,

Philip Alston

ONE VOTE, ONE VALUE:
THE RELEVANCE OF INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW
IN THE AUSTRALIAN CONTEXT

An opinion provided to the Queensland
Electoral and Administrative Review Commission
by Philip Alston, Professor of Law and Director
of the Centre for International and Public Law
at the Australian National University

1. The Issue

Australia has ratified or acceded to a variety of international human rights treaties including, in particular, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The principal questions with respect to which advice is sought are: (a) whether any of the specific provisions of these treaties are of direct relevance to consideration of the principle of "one vote, one value"; and (b) if so, in what respects.

2. The Relevant Standards

The most directly relevant standard is contained in article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (hereinafter referred to as "the ICCPR") which provides as follows:

"Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions:

- (a) to take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives;
- (b) to vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors;
- (c) to have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country.

This formulation gives rise to several questions which are of particular significance in the present context. They are: (a) how broadly can the "right ... to take part in the conduct of public affairs" be construed?; (b) what is meant by universal and equal suffrage?; and (c) what type of restrictions upon the one vote, one value principle might be considered 'reasonable' for the purposes of article 25.

In seeking answers to these questions resort might also be had to several other international human

rights treaties to which Australia is also a party. These include, in particular, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, article 5 (c) of which obligates the Government "to guarantee the right of everyone ... to equality before the law" in the enjoyment of, inter alia, "political rights, in particular the rights to participate in elections - to vote and to stand for election - on the basis of universal and equal suffrage, to take part in the Government as well as in the conduct of public affairs at any level and to have equal access to public service".

Similarly, article 7 of the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women obligates the Government, inter alia, to "ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right: (a) to vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies; (b) to participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government; ...".

The concepts reflected in each of these treaty provisions are almost identical although the wording varies slightly from one instrument to the other.

3. Domestic Law Status of Australia's Treaty Obligations

Before examining their implications, it is appropriate to note the status of such standards in terms of the Australian legal order. Although Australia has formally undertaken to be bound by the relevant obligations under international law they are not, per se, part of the domestic legal order. Nevertheless, the Government is obliged to ensure that domestic legislation is not contrary to the spirit or the letter of the treaty provisions and is, more specifically, committed to taking "the necessary steps, in accordance with its constitutional processes..., to adopt such legislative or other measures as may be necessary to give effect" to each of the relevant rights (art. 2 (2) of the ICCPR).

But even apart from these reasonably specific legal obligations, the relevant standards are assuming increasing importance as guides to constitutional and statutory construction and in the development of common law principles. As Mr Justice Kirby has recently noted, the development of an increasingly large and sophisticated body of jurisprudence relating to such treaties "may have special significance for the judiciary and lawyers of Australia" in view of the absence of any comprehensive constitutional statement of human rights (*Kirby* p. 516). This is entirely in accord with the practice of other common law jurisdictions including, in particular, Canada. Thus in a recent Canadian Supreme

Court case, Dickson C.J.C. observed that international norms "provide a relevant and persuasive source for interpreting the provisions of the [Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms], especially when they arise out of Canada's international obligations under human rights conventions" (Reference re Public Service Employee Relations Act [1987] 1 S.C.R. 313 at 349. See generally McDonald, pp.50-56; and Gibson, chap. II.)

Despite the relevance of international standards, it may be noted in passing that Australian authorities have not in the past been especially conscientious in consulting them. Thus, for example, the 1988 Report of the Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters, entitled *One Vote, One Value*, makes only passing reference to the ICCPR (e.g. para 4.107) except in connection with the proposition that it provides a basis for Commonwealth legislation in the area of State electoral reform (paras. 5.24 - 5.31). Similarly, the 1987 Report of the Advisory Committee to the Constitutional Commission, entitled *Individual and Democratic Rights*, makes no reference whatsoever to relevant treaty obligations in its chapter on voting issues (chap.11, pp. 79-93).

4. Aids to Interpretation of the Treaty Provisions

A variety of sources has been consulted for the purposes of the present opinion. The travaux préparatoires or drafting history of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as of the ICCPR are of particular relevance since they provide the basic formula which is reflected in virtually all of the relevant documents.

Similarly, the work of the Human Rights Committee, established to monitor States parties compliance with their obligations under the ICCPR, is of direct relevance in any endeavour to interpret the provisions of art. 25. That work consists of both the consideration of communications (complaints) submitted under the first Optional Protocol to the ICCPR as well as the examination of States parties initial and periodic reports by the Committee.

Another important aid to interpretation is the jurisprudence of the European Commission and Court of Human Rights in interpreting article 3 of Protocol 1 to the European Convention on Human Rights. Although the latter is somewhat more limited in scope than art. 25 of the ICCPR, it is generally agreed that the two provisions are based on similar assumptions and that it is therefore appropriate to have reference to one in interpreting the other (see for example Merrills p. 134, n. 4; and de Mestral, chaps. 22-27). The same applies to the provisions of the American Convention on Human Rights of

1969, although there is, as yet, very little jurisprudence surrounding the interpretation of art. 23 (which is cast in terms that are strikingly similar to those of art. 25 of the ICCPR).

Finally, reference may also be had to the jurisprudence of national courts in cases where the provisions under consideration are close or even identical to those contained in the relevant international instruments. For that reason it seems particularly apposite in respect of the present issue to take account of United States' precedents.

5. The right "to take part in the conduct of public affairs"

This provision of the ICCPR (art. 25 (a)) is widely acknowledged to have been intended as a 'chapeau' or umbrella clause which embraces the issues dealt with subsequently in article 25 (b) and (c) and goes beyond them. Thus the travaux note that paragraph (a) is the general rule and paragraph (b) can be considered to be an application thereof (UN doc. A/2929, para. 173). It has been said that this provision "does not guarantee direct democracy, as by referendum, but accepts the principle of representation" (Partsch, p. 239).

The term "public affairs" is intentionally broad and was originally proposed when the Universal Declaration was being drafted. It was said at the time to be intended to cover both governmental and administrative functions (Verdoodt, p. 205). But despite the comprehensiveness of this approach, a specific proposal made when the ICCPR was being drafted, to the effect that "all organs of authority" should be directly elected, was rejected (UN doc. E/CN.4/221).

In the evolving jurisprudence surrounding article 3 of Protocol 1 to the European Convention on Human Rights a similar approach has been adopted. That article commits the High Contracting Parties "to hold free elections at reasonable intervals by secret ballot, under conditions which will ensure the free expression of the people in the choice of the legislature". The European Court has held on the one hand that the word 'legislature' does not necessarily refer only to the national parliament but on the other hand has limited the potential scope of this expansive approach by observing that the term "has to be interpreted in the light of the constitutional structure of the State in question" (*Case of Mathieu-Mohin and Clerfayt*, para 53).

In the proceedings of the Human Rights Committee very little light has been shed on the full extent of the meaning of this relatively open-ended provision. States parties reports have tended to be

rather formalistic and to consist of little more than a recitation of the relevant legal texts. The questions posed by members of the Committee have rarely been very probing. This may be illustrated by the case of New Zealand's presentation of its report to the Committee in 1989. The Committee's summary of the proceedings states that "members of the Committee wished to receive further information on current trends regarding the participation of Maoris in public affairs ..." (UN doc. A/44/40, para. 398). The response, which noted the principle of merit in public service appointments and the existence of equal opportunity programmes, was apparently considered by the Committee to be satisfactory (*id.*, paras. 399 and 402). Even when the Committee has posed fairly tough questions, such as that concerning the status of 'political dynasties' in the Philippines, State's representatives have been permitted to overlook the issue in their responses without incurring the Committee's wrath (*id.*, paras. 333 and 361).

Under the complaints procedure of the first Optional Protocol to the ICCPR the Committee has received relatively few complaints dealing with article 25. In one case it found a violation of the right in the case of some Zairean Members of Parliament who had been stripped of their offices and forbidden to hold public office for five years for sending an 'open letter' to President Mobutu (*Selected Decisions*, p.164). While there have also been a few other cases they have shed no additional light on the meaning of this provision.

In sum, article 25 (a) is an important and potentially far-reaching provision but one whose scope has yet to be the beneficiary of any detailed or sophisticated analysis at the international level. This is in part at least because there is no direct counterpart to it in the European Convention on Human Rights, which is by far the most jurisprudentially well-developed of the international human rights treaty regimes. That the provision has not been interpreted with any great strictness is shown by the fact that it is not considered to be incompatible with indirect elections either of a chamber of a parliament or of a President (*Partsch*, p. 239).

One commentator has concluded that "[o]ne cannot identify broadly shared and stable views of its import, or even crystallized disputes about appropriate forms of institutionalization or about the types of governmental duties that it imposes" (*Steiner*, p.132). By the same token he characterizes it as a right "to be realized progressively over time in different ways in different contexts through invention and planning that will often have a programmatic character" (*id.*, p. 130).

This view is reinforced from a political theory perspective by the proposition that 'effective participation', as broadly defined, is an essential criterion of a democratic process. According to this commentator: "throughout the process of making binding decisions, citizens ought to have an adequate opportunity, and an equal opportunity, for expressing their preferences as to the final outcome. They must have adequate and equal opportunities for placing questions on the agenda and for expressing reasons for endorsing one outcome rather than another" (Dahl, p. 109). It would not seem inappropriate for article 25 (a) to be interpreted in equally expansive terms, in which case a more sophisticated and ambitious approach in the determination of its content might be warranted in the future.

6. The meaning of "universal and equal suffrage".

Article 25 (b) of the ICCPR requires inter alia that elections shall be "by universal and equal suffrage" and shall guarantee "the free expression of the will of the electors". This is as close as any of the human rights treaties to which Australia is a party comes to mandating one vote, one value. The vagueness and generality of the language used was apparently intentional, as most observers have concluded. Steiner, in noting the Cold War tensions that pervaded much of the debate over the drafting, concludes that "[i]t cannot have been by chance that [the] language was sufficiently confined ... and sufficiently abstract and porous ... to permit democratic and nondemocratic states to assert that they satisfied the norm's demands" (Steiner, pp. 85-86).

An examination of the travaux confirms this conclusion. Indeed, it was some of the Western states that were as anxious as any others to keep the provisions at a level of great generality. When the Universal Declaration was being drafted France noted that its provisions should not be interpreted as imposing any particular electoral systems upon states (Verdoodt, p. 202). In the ICCPR context the French representative also rejected the principle that all votes should have the same weight, on the politically unsurprising grounds that such a principle would condemn territorial constituencies and point towards a system of proportional representation (UN doc. E/CN.4/SR.364). In broader terms such sentiments were echoed by the representative of the United Kingdom who emphasized "how hard it would be to devise a general text on the right of suffrage which would take into account all the variations in national practice and would not require changes in existing institutions" (E/CN.4/SR.365).

Overall, however, the travaux shed very little light on the issues that are of concern in the Queensland

context. Indeed the official United Nations version notes that "[t]he various requirements of the article that elections must be 'genuine', 'periodic', 'by universal and equal suffrage' and 'by secret ballot' did not give rise to much discussion, except for the words 'universal and equal suffrage'" (UN doc. A/2929, para. 174). But even the discussion on the latter is of little relevance to the implications of the phrase for the principle one vote, one value. Thus, the U.N. account specifically observes that the formulation adopted was thought to "leave States parties to the covenant free to regulate their own electoral systems, provided each vote carried equal weight" (*id.*). But even the concept of equal weight was qualified by understandings generally accepted during the drafting phase. In particular, the United Kingdom noted that the word equal "did not imply that each vote should be guaranteed identical weight by means of some kind of proportional representation in the electoral system" (UN doc A/C.3/SR.1096). Thus, as one commentator has noted, for the purposes of the Covenant "'suffrage' indicates the individual right of the voter and says nothing about the electoral system. Nor does it require equal effect, only that each vote be given the same weight" (Partsch, p.240).

The only thing that is clear from the travaux, therefore, is that while "universal and equal suffrage" must be observed by States parties to the Covenant, including Australia, the precise meaning of that term was not spelled out. Moreover, it is clear from various statements that were made, that the phrase was not intended to require that electoral systems must take any particular form. As Steiner concludes, "the international norms leave to the states decisions which carry important consequences for the quality of participation and the distribution of political power". ... [H]uman rights law offers no guidelines for the selection of an electoral system in a given political and socio-economic context, no theory of broad or fair electoral participation or access which might influence the contextual choice by a state among the many possibilities. By its terms and in view of the debates during its drafting period, the 'elections' clause remains neutral about these choices" (Steiner, pp. 106 and 108).

(i) European Case-Law

Given the lack of guidance provided by the Covenant in terms of the one vote, one value issue it is appropriate to consider whether other relevant sources might provide some insights. In this respect, the jurisprudence that has evolved under the European Convention on Human Rights is of relevance. As noted above, article 3 of Protocol 1 to the Convention is rather limited in scope. Nevertheless, it has been

interpreted and applied by the Strasbourg organs in such a way that it now resembles article 25 of the ICCPR in many respects. The Court has described this evolution in the following terms: "From the idea of an 'institutional' right to the holding of free elections ... the Commission has moved to the concept of 'universal suffrage' ... and then, as a consequence, to the concept of subjective rights of participation - the 'right to vote' and the 'right to stand for election to the legislature'..." (*Mathieu-Mohin and Clerfayt Case*, para. 51). But the Court has also gone further than any of the United Nations organs in spelling out the implications of the right to political participation (to use a generic term). In the first place, the Court has observed that the right is not absolute and may thus be subject to certain limitations, provided that they have a legitimate aim and that the means employed are proportionate. As we shall see below, these requirements come very close to those that can reasonably be inferred to apply with respect to article 25 of the ICCPR. In this case the Court recognized a "margin of appreciation" for the state to introduce variations suited to national conditions, provided that "the conditions do not curtail the rights in question to such an extent as to impair their very essence and deprive them of their effectiveness" (*id.*, para. 52. In this regard, the Court also noted that "any electoral system must be assessed in the light of the political evolution of the country concerned" (*id.*, para. 54). This use of the margin of appreciation doctrine by the Court has been strongly criticized, but more in terms of the outcome in this particular case than in principle (see *Cohen-Jonathon*, pp. 515-20).

In commenting on the relationship between the provisions of article 25 of the ICCPR and the approach of the Strasbourg organs, one leading text observes that in its application article 25 will not differ greatly from the European approach "to the effect that suffrage has been granted in principle, but that in individual cases restrictions may be imposed on these rights, provided that the free expression of the people as such is not interfered with by it and there is no question of discrimination" (*Van Dijk and Van Hoof*, p.362).

(ii) American Case-Law

The approach adopted by the American courts is also largely consistent, at least in result, with this approach. While much of the litigation on voting rights is based on article 1, section 2 of the U.S. Constitution, the discussion of apportionment has tended to draw more upon the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The classic formulation of US law is that in *Wesberry v. Sanders*: "No right is more precious in a free country than that of having a choice in the election of those who make the laws under which,

as good citizens, they must live. Other rights, even the most basic, are illusory if the right to vote is undermined" (376 U.S. 1 at 17 (1964)). In that case the Supreme Court stated unequivocally that "one man's vote ... is to worth as much as another's" (*id.*, p. 8).

In *Reynolds v. Sims* the Court applied the same principle to state arrangements. While exact numerical equality of voting districts was not required it was said that "the Equal Protection Clause requires that a State make an honest and good faith effort to construe districts ... as nearly of equal population as is practicable" (377 U.S. 533 at 577 (1964)). Initially, this formula was applied in a rather rigid fashion but since 1973 (*Mahan v. Howell* (410 U.S. 315)) the Court has distinguished between Federal and State apportionment cases and applied less rigid standards to the latter.

In practice, *de minimis* deviations of up to 10 per cent have been consistently approved (see *Tribe*, pp.1070-71). The US courts have thus applied a very similar standard to that mandated in the majority of Australian electoral laws. In addition to the *de minimis* approach the U.S. Supreme Court has sanctioned avoidable deviations from the one person, one vote standard where such deviations are designed to effectuate a rational state policy deemed to be legitimate. In *Reynolds* the Court indicated that "[a] State may legitimately desire to maintain the integrity of various political subdivisions, insofar as possible, and provide for compact districts of contiguous territory in designing a legislative apportionment scheme" (377 U.S. at 578). But it also rejected various grounds, including keeping districts a manageable size and balancing urban and rural interests.

While the relationship between these two tests is not entirely clear (*Tribe*, p. 1073) in general it may be concluded that US doctrine readily sanctions disparities of up to 10 per cent, especially if a legitimate goal of public policy is cited by way of justification. Conversely, greater disparities will not readily be approved.

7. The meaning of "access ... to public service".

Article 25 (c) of the ICCPR recognizes the right "to have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country". The question has been raised as to whether this provision might be relevant in electoral apportionment situations, in the sense that, for example, a citizen's right of reasonable access to his or her Member of Parliament might justify smaller, but more manageable, districts in certain circumstances.

There is, however, nothing in the travaux to support such an application of this principle. Indeed, the travaux record that "the provisions ... did not give rise to much debate.." (UN doc. A/2929, para. 175). The Human Rights Committee has applied a very narrow interpretation of the provision in its questioning of States parties representatives and the only cases in which the provision has been invoked have involved relatively straight-forward personnel issues (*Selected Decisions*, pp. 71 and 221).

Virtually all of the commentators agree with this approach. *Partsch*, for example, clearly assumes that the phrase "public service" may be equated with "the public service" (pp. 240-41). Indeed the equivalent provision of the American Convention on Human Rights (art. 23) actually uses the latter term. Similarly, *Steiner* interprets the clause as barring "discriminatory exclusion from the civil service or other types of governmental administration" (p. 86).

8. The meaning of the phrase "without unreasonable restrictions"

The "chapeau" of article 25 of the ICCPR guarantees that all of the rights subsequently listed shall be enjoyed "without unreasonable restrictions". According to the travaux, the clause "was adopted to qualify the exercise of all the rights defined in the article" (UN doc. A/2929, para. 177). Unlike a significant number of other provisions of the ICCPR, this article contains no explicit limitations clause. The reasonableness test prescribed in the chapeau, however, comes close to playing such a role.

It has been widely interpreted as justifying the application of various restrictions on the rights recognized, provided that they are not "unreasonable", "invidious" (*Partsch*, p. 238), or "arbitrary". The result brings the Covenant provision very much in line with both the European and American case-law by underlining the fact that provisions such as "universal and equal suffrage" can be subject to certain, carefully confined and prescribed, limitations.

9. Conclusion

Article 25 of the ICCPR, and its counterpart provisions in the other principal human rights treaties to which Australia is a party, does not prescribe any particular approach in terms of electoral systems. While the principle of one vote, one value is endorsed by reference to a requirement that elections be "by universal and equal suffrage", the permissibility of certain restrictions upon that right is clearly envisaged. Such restrictions should be carefully

confined and prescribed, should be designed to further the overall goals contained in article 25 (a), and should not be inconsistent with other provisions of the Covenant (such as those mandating non-discrimination). That conclusion, however, would seem to leave considerable space for approaches to the one vote, one value principle which fall significantly short of requiring absolute numerical equality.

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