



Queensland Parliamentary Service

THE CLERK OF THE PARLIAMENT

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Your Ref: Our Ref: 11.1

14 August 2015

Ms Bernice Watson
 Research Director
 Legal Affairs and Community Safety Committee
 Parliament House
 George Street
 BRISBANE QLD 4000

Dear Ms Watson

Thank you for your request on 3 August 2015 to provide a submission on the committee's consideration of the *Electoral (Redistribution Commission) and Another Act Amendment Bill 2015*.

Background – previous papers/submissions

By way of background, I advise that I have written publically on issues relating to parliamentary reform and issues relating to the Bill on at least four occasions in the last decade and a half, including:

- “Enhancing scrutiny: Police corruption allegations lead to parliamentary reform”¹(2001)
- “Size matters - the problem of proportionally shrinking parliaments”² (2008)
- “Responsible Government without an Upper House”³ (2009)
- Submission to the State Government Integrity and Accountability Review⁴ (2009)

Basic themes or arguments – 1989 to 2009

The basic themes or arguments in those papers and submissions included:

- There was significant reform to the Queensland Parliament post the Fitzgerald Inquiry (from 1989 to 2001) including:
 - The introduction of parliamentary committees, largely absent since the abolition of an Upper House in 1922
 - The introduction of estimates committees to review budget appropriations
 - Various procedural reforms to Standing Orders including reforms to question time, opportunities for private members' bills to be introduced and debated and opportunities for private members motions to be debated.

¹ With A Timperley in *The Parliamentarian* 2001/Issue 3, page 59-64

² A paper presented to the 39th Presiding Officers and Clerks Conference, Adelaide South Australia July 2008

³ A paper presented at the Q150 Constitutional Conference 2009 – the 150th Anniversary of establishment of the Colony of Queensland 'Queensland Constitution at 150: Origins and Evolution'

⁴ <http://www.premiers.qld.gov.au/publications/categories/reviews/integrity-and-accountability-reform/submissions/submissions-81-100/clerk-of-parliament.aspx> [Accessed 14 August 2015]

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However, reform was still required.

- The reform of parliament ran out of steam in the mid-1990s. In the years following this period, there was a wind back of some reforms and the failure to follow through on others (EARCs recommendations regarding parliamentary committees being one).
- A key to improving and ensuring ethics and integrity in Queensland is improving the institution of Parliament. Many of the improvements implemented post-Fitzgerald, had proven to be faux improvements and it was urged that they must be revisited.
- Parliament must seek to strike some very difficult balances, between competing forces, such as the ability of government to govern (that is, pass legislation and finance government) and the ability of parliament to keep government accountable. One balance is stability and accountability, another is representativeness versus uncompromising factionalism.
- One result of unicameralism, coupled with single-member constituencies in its only House, is that the Queensland Parliament is less representative than other Australian Parliaments. This has been compounded by the absence of any growth in the number of members, despite the growth in the population of the State, the complexity of regulation by government and the increasing size of the public service. The required 'critical mass' of members of Parliament to keep the Parliament functioning in the way intended and required is also absent.
- The growing number of 'executive positions' in Parliament, especially since 1996, dramatically worsened the situation by increasing government control of the Parliament. As the "backbench" shrinks, so does scrutiny and accountability. Effectively, the 'balance' required between an active backbench and the executive became distorted.
- The growth of the modern political party, whilst greatly improving the stability of government, has negatively affected the ability of Parliaments around the world in making governments accountable. Strict party discipline has weakened responsible government in Australia and made the problem more acute in Queensland where the lack of a 'representative' Upper House has affected the scrutiny function of the Queensland Parliament – and its role and function as the 'Grand Inquest' – by hampering the creation of a committee system that is truly able to scrutinise government action.
- A unicameral parliament should have a committee system that encompasses and scrutinises the array of functions/portfolios of government.
- A Parliament (as opposed to a legislature) has a number of purposes or functions. Firstly, Parliaments should be representative of the people it serves. Secondly, it must, in a system of responsible government, be able to provide the government. Thirdly, it is an essential function to scrutinise the actions and policies of government and keep ministers and the government accountable (and perhaps as part of this function be able to provide an alternative government). Fourthly, it must be able to make laws for the State. Fifthly, it must be able to provide the finances for government. Sixthly, it should provide a forum for grievance and debate. Whilst there can always be criticisms at the margins, the Queensland Parliament does provide a forum for debate and grievance and performs as well as any other Parliament the law-making and financial role. Even when numbers in the House have been finely balanced, it has provided stable government since 1922. However, the Queensland Parliament is less representative than many of its peers. Further, there are serious structural and cultural impediments that prevent the Queensland Parliament from keeping government accountable.
- Observations of other jurisdictions with bicameral Parliaments, suggest that there is, by virtue of necessity, more of a culture of compromise than exists in Queensland, more tolerance of other views, no

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matter who sits on the Treasury Benches. The same culture of compromise can also be said of other unicameral Parliaments both in Australia and abroad (such as New Zealand and Canada), but those unicameral Parliaments are more likely to have narrower government majorities, or no government majority at all.

- The Parliament as an institution was in the 1990s a very different creature to that which exists in the 21st century. It is far more partisan, less collegiate and less tolerant now than in the 1990s. The reasons for this lay in a combination of:
 - periodic large government majorities (2001, 2004 and 2012) and the resulting lack of non-government members
 - the explosion in ‘offices of profit’ or executive positions (especially Parliamentary Secretaries or Assistant Ministers) and the resulting weakening of the backbench;
 - the increasing workload of members generally, with population growth but no growth in the numbers of members; and
 - the neglect of the committee system as a result of the explosion of ‘offices of profit’ or executive positions (especially Parliamentary Secretaries or Assistant Ministers) and a lack of non-government members.
- The electoral system, which is at the very heart of any parliamentary democracy, is defective in Queensland because it is largely not representative of the voting intentions of Queenslanders in that it does not often result in a Parliament that reflects the popular vote. Queensland has, at least for the last century, embraced single member constituencies. Queensland is, of course, not alone in adopting this form of representation. However, as distinct from every other State and the Commonwealth, the absence of an Upper House means that single member representation in the Lower House is the only form of electoral representation. The Upper Houses of other States, except Tasmania, and the Commonwealth Senate either adopt multi-member constituency models or some form of proportional representation. In Tasmania, a multi-member system is used in the Lower House.
- One clear advantage of an Upper House is the likelihood of wider representation, bought about by proportional representation and/or multi-member electorates. Of course, unicameral Parliaments need not be unrepresentative. Other unicameral Parliaments in Australasia, except the Northern Territory, use either multi-member constituency models (such as the ACT) or mixed models (such as New Zealand). The result is that minority views are represented in their Parliaments.
- It is of course an obvious, but not necessarily an overly simplistic, observation that Parliaments become less representative the smaller they are proportionately to the population they represent. Furthermore, the fewer members, the less likely that minority groups or views will be represented in the Parliament.

Updated tables

With the assistance of the Parliamentary Library⁵, I have attached to this submission updated and additional Tables to those contained in my previous papers and submissions.

- TABLE A: MPs to population for each Australian jurisdiction
- TABLE B: MPs to population for the Lower House of all Queensland Parliaments 1860-2015
- TABLE C: Number of Members of the Queensland Parliament and the population of Queensland for each election year from 1860 to 2015
- TABLE D: Precis of Results of Queensland State Elections 1932 to 2015
- TABLE E: Comparison of party performances in Queensland State Elections 1956 - 2015 showing seats contested and won, and valid first-preference votes cast

⁵ I thank in particular, Mr Dave Anning, Research Officer, Parliamentary Library.

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- TABLE F: Selected Parliaments, current representation

Reforms since 2009

Since the above papers and submissions there have been some positive reforms which I would like to acknowledge:

- The principal reform to the Queensland Parliament has been the introduction of the Portfolio Committee system in 2011, which followed then Premier Bligh's Integrity Review in 2009 and the Committee System Review Committee's Inquiry and report in 2010 – 2011. In my view this has been the most significant reform to the Queensland Parliament since the abolition of the Legislative Council in 1922.

The introduction of the portfolio committee system has seen a significant increase in the levels of meaningful activity of parliamentary committees. There has also been a significant increase in community and stakeholder participation in parliamentary activities, especially as regards the scrutiny of legislation.⁶

The portfolio committee system has no doubt contributed to a much more thorough examination of legislation and engagement with stakeholders and the public generally and there is evidence that debate in the House is much more efficient⁷ and observationally more informative.

Whether the portfolio committees actually make government more accountable for their actions, as opposed to their legislation is open to debate.

It must be remembered that any government that controls the numbers in the House can:

- change the legislative requirement for such committees; or
- simply reduce the number by resolution to an unworkable number; or
- changing arrangements by resolution for important processes (such as the estimates trial in 2014); or
- dismiss committees that are causing distress to government (such as in 2013).

Committees are not entrenched in the Constitution and nor are their activities constitutionally protected by any special requirement.

- In the 55th Parliament the size of both the Ministry (from 19 to 14) and the number of Assistant Ministers (from 11 to 1) have been reduced. This addresses the issue raised above about the number of 'executive positions' in Parliament since 1996. However, whether this is sustainable in either a workload sense (in the case of Ministers) or a political sense (in the case of Assistant Ministers)

⁶ A total of 3,324 people appeared at portfolio committee hearings during the 54th Parliament, comprised of: 1,727 public servants, 661 representatives of peak organisations, 580 members of other groups and 356 individual members of the public. During the 54th Parliament (May 2012 to January 2015), the only full parliament in which the portfolio committee have been in place, portfolio committees: reported on 161 Bills; reported on 704 pieces of subordinate legislation; made 308 recommendations for legislative amendment - of which 162 (53%) were accepted by government; and made 242 other recommendations - of which 202 (or 83%) were accepted by government.

⁷ There are various factors that impact on total sitting hours. It is realistically too early to draw any firm conclusions, nonetheless, in the non-election years, total hours have reduced from 556 and 518 hours in the years before the shift to portfolio committees to 474 and 443 hours in the years afterwards. This may be an indication that the portfolio committee system is resulting in a reduction in total sitting hours. In the non-election years, total whole hours spent debating Bills were 279 hours and 238 hours in the years before the shift to portfolio committees, and 237 hours and 218 hours in the years afterwards. This may be an indication that the portfolio committee system is resulting in a reduction in debate on bills in the House.

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remains to be seen. Recommendations to legislatively cap the number of Assistant Ministers were rejected by past governments.⁸

The core issue – Queensland’s electoral system

The first function of a modern Parliament is to be representative of the people it serves. Unfortunately our predecessor Parliament that we are modelled on – the Westminster Parliament – was never representative before the founding of Queensland. It was a Parliament at the time with limited franchise and riddled with electoral anomalies such as rotten or pocket boroughs.

I do not wish to be overly repetitive of the arguments or themes in my past papers and submissions but it is clear that twenty-six years after the Fitzgerald Inquiry the Queensland Parliament remains the least representative Parliament in Australia.

The electoral system in Queensland remains defective because it is largely not representative of the voting intentions of Queenslanders in that it does not often result in a Parliament that reflects the popular vote.

Some updated examples of the obvious distortions from the current electoral system where there are large or comfortable majorities without a corresponding primary vote or where parties have come close to annihilation in the House despite winning a significant portion of the vote from both pre-Fitzgerald and post-Fitzgerald electoral reforms include⁹:

- In 1986 the National Party won 56% of the seats in the House, with 39.64% of the primary vote. The ALP with 41.35% of the vote won about 29% of the seats.
- In 1989 the ALP won about 60% of the seats with 50.32% of the primary vote. The Liberal Party, with 21.05% of the primary vote, won just 9% of the seats.
- In 2001 the ALP won 66 of 89 seats, or 74% of the seats in the House, with 48.93% of the primary vote. This situation was virtually repeated in 2004 when the ALP won 63 of 89 seats with 47.01% of the primary vote.
- In 2001 the Liberal Party held only 3 seats with 14.32% of the vote.
- In 2012 the LNP won a massive 78 of 89 seats, or 87.6% of the seats with 49.65% of the primary vote, whilst the ALP with 26.66% of the vote won only 7 seats. (But for only a few thousand votes in a few seats, the ALP could have held virtually no seats in the House with over a quarter of the primary vote.)

Unicameralism, an unbending embrace of single member constituencies and a refusal to countenance enlargement of the Assembly means that the Queensland Parliament is becoming more unrepresentative.

Queensland is, of course, not alone in adopting single member constituencies. However, as distinct from every other State and the Commonwealth, the absence of an Upper House means that single member representation in the Lower House is the only form of electoral representation. The Upper Houses of other States, except Tasmania, and the Commonwealth Senate either adopt multi-member constituency models or some form of proportional representation. As noted above, in Tasmania a multi-member system is used in the Lower House.

⁸ <http://www.parliament.qld.gov.au/documents/committees/LJSC/2000/qld-cont-specific-content-issues/gr-rpi36final.pdf> [Extract from tabled paper 381 tabled 28 April 2004]

⁹ See Tables D and E

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The Northern Territory is both unicameral and adopts a single member constituency electoral system, but its Member to Population ration is 1:9 771.

Again it is emphasised that one clear advantage of an Upper House is the likelihood of wider representation, bought about by proportional representation and/or multi-member electorates. Of course, unicameral Parliaments need not be unrepresentative. Other unicameral Parliaments in Australasia, except the Northern Territory, use either multi-member constituency models (such as the ACT) or mixed models (such as New Zealand). The result is that (a) minority views are represented in their Parliaments; and (b) parties are virtually not wiped out in being represented in the House at elections (as almost happened to the Liberal Party in 2001 and the ALP in 2012).

Issues in the Bill

I shall now address the three major objectives of the Bill in turn.

Broader representation in the Redistribution Commission by increasing the membership of the Commission from 3 to 5 members. In the interests of transparency, the appointments of all Commissioners, with the exception of the Electoral Commissioner who has already undergone a separate appointment process, be subject to the approval of the leaders of all recognised parties represented in the Legislative Assembly

I can see no valid objection to this objective. In particular, given that the heart of any parliamentary democracy lays with its electoral system, it is an anomaly that no matter what the number of Commissioners, they are not all subject to some bipartisan approval process and that such process be more rigorous than simply a requirement to “consult”.

I would prefer the appointment process have the bipartisan support of a committee representative of all parties.

Implement a recommendation by the Electoral and Administrative Review Commission by providing that the independent Redistribution Commission has the ability to determine the number of electoral districts in the Legislative Assembly, subject to a maximum increase of up to 5 additional electoral districts, i.e. the total seats in the assembly would at the commissions discretion be between 89 and 94

Given my writings on this topic for at least the last decade, it is unsurprising that I would support any legislative mechanism to increase the membership of the House. It is noted that this is an example of previous governments not adopting EARC’s recommendations that are not palatable for party political reasons.

I ask all members to resist the automatic temptation to reject such legislation on the basis that “the public does not want more members of parliament” as such a position runs the risk of being simply an example of demagoguery.

It is inevitable that if the number of members is not increased there will be pressure for more resources to assist members who will increasingly struggle to service their electorates and perform their other duties.

Extra resources for existing members are likely to cost much more than extra members.

For example, in 2001 the Beattie government approved an additional staff member (AEO) to each office. At that time the cost was \$2.5m (a \$10,000 per annum casual allowance for each member was already in existence so total cost inclusive of the allowance was about \$3.5m).¹⁰ I estimate that these extra resources in

¹⁰ It was stated in the budget papers in 2001-02, that the additional funding of \$2.5 million was provided following a reorganisation of the resources allocated to Members of Parliament. As part of this reorganisation, each Member

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today's money would be equivalent to between \$5.7 to \$6.5 million per year – for salaries and salary related on-costs (long-service, super and workcover) only. This would roughly be equivalent to about 10 to 12 new members plus resources.

Provide that Queenslanders have more equitable access to representation in the Parliament by legislating for the Redistribution Commission to have the capacity, at its discretion, to amend the additional large district number, currently set at 2%, up to 4%

This alteration to the large electorate formula only becomes necessary if the current numbers of members is "frozen".

It needs to be made clear, however, that the status quo (ie. no extra seats) will mean that each redistribution will result in less country and regional seats. This will result in less representation in the Queensland Parliament of country and regional people.

Yours sincerely



Neil Laurie
The Clerk of the Parliament



Enc

of the Legislative Assembly is to be provided with an additional, full-time staff member to be employed in the Member's Electorate Office.

The Assistant Electorate Officer will provide Members with a valuable resource to support Members fulfilling Legislative and Constituency responsibilities.

<http://www.parliament.qld.gov.au/documents/tableOffice/TabledPapers/2001/5001T691.pdf>

TABLE A: MPs to population for each Australian jurisdiction

JURISDICTION	ESTIMATED RESIDENT POPULATION	MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT			RATIO MP: POPULATION		
		UPPER	LOWER	TOTAL	UPPER	LOWER	TOTAL
FEDERAL	23 625 561	76	150	226	1:310 863	1 : 157 504	1 : 104 538
QLD	4 750 513	-	89	89	-	1 : 53 377	1 : 53 377
NSW	7 565 497	42	93	135	1 : 180 131	1 : 81 349	1 : 56 041
VIC	5 886 436	40	88	128	1 : 147 161	1 : 66 891	1 : 45 988
TAS	515 235	15	25	40	1 : 34 349	1 : 20 609	1 : 12 881
SA	1 691 503	22	47	69	1 : 76 887	1 : 35 989	1 : 24 515
WA	2 581 250	36*	59*	95	1 : 71 701	1 : 43 750	1 : 27 171
ACT	387 640	-	17	17	-	1 : 22 802	1 : 22 802
NT	244 265	-	25	25	-	1 : 9 771	1 : 9 771

*The number of

Estimated Resident Population is at December Quarter 2014.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, *'Australian Demographic Statistics, December 2014'*, Cat no. 3101.0, ABS, 2015.

Calculations by Queensland Parliamentary Library.

TABLE B: MPs to population for the Lower House of all Queensland Parliaments 1860-2015

QUEENSLAND			
GENERAL ELECTION	POPULATION	LOWER HOUSE MPs	POPULATION PER MP
1860	28 056	26	1 079
1863	61 467	26	2 364
1867	98 722	32	3 085
1868	106 101	32	3 316
1870	115 272	32	3 602
1871	121 743	32	3 804
1873	139 928	42	3 332
1878	200 479	55	3 645
1883	280 615	55	5 102
1888	367 166	72	5 100
1893	418 993	72	5 819
1896	452 705	72	6 287
1899	486 315	72	6 754
1902	512 240	72	7 114
1904	524 935	72	7 291
1907	545 805	72	7 581
1908	557 099	72	7 737
1909	577 845	72	8 026
1912	638 753	72	8 872
1915	685 067	72	9 518
1918	704 251	72	9 781
1920	750 624	72	10 425
1923	801 844	72	11 137
1926	862 486	72	11 979
1929	902 136	72	12 530
1932	939 097	62	15 147
1935	971 297	62	15 666
1938	1 005 523	62	16 218
1941	1 038 471	62	16 750
1944	1 068 255	62	17 230
1947	1 112 818	62	17 949
1950	1 205 418	75	16 072
1953	1 298 420	75	17 312
1956	1 392 573	75	18 567

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QUEENSLAND			
GENERAL ELECTION	POPULATION	LOWER HOUSE MPs	POPULATION PER MP
1957	1 420 501	75	18 940
1960	1 502 286	78	19 260
1963	1 595 446	78	20 454
1966	1 687 062	78	21 629
1969	1 779 690	78	22 817
1972	1 924 658	82	23 417
1974	2 032 973	82	24 792
1977	2 151 026	82	26 232
1980	2 301 702	82	28 070
1983	2 503 285	82	30 528
1986	2 648 778	89	29 762
1989	2 864 007	89	32 180
1992	3 057 138	89	34 350
1995	3 271 743	89	36 761
1998	3 427 505	89	38 511
2001	3 611 203	89	40 575
2004	3 872 351	89	43 510
2006	4 055 845	89	45 571
2009	4 367 454	89	49 073
2012	4 608 886	89	51 785
2015	4 750 513	89	53 377

ERP for each year is at December 31. Calculations by Queensland Parliamentary Library.

For the period 1860-1980, figures are sourced from:

Australian Bureau of Statistics, *'Australian Historical Population Statistics, 2014'*, Cat no. 3105.0.65.001, ABS 2015

This document includes the following notations:

- a) *Includes estimates of the Indigenous population from 1961 onwards. For more information, see Explanatory Note 28.*
- b) *Prior to 1971, estimates of the population were based on the number of people actually present in Australia. From 1971 onwards the concept of estimated resident population (ERP) was introduced. See Explanatory Note 18.*
- c) *Population data from 1991 to 2005 are recast estimates following the rebasing of the 2011 Census. For more information, see Explanatory Note 21.*
- d) *Includes Jervis Bay Territory from 1915 to 1993. For more information, see Explanatory Note 13.*
- e) *Includes Other Territories from 1993 onwards, hence the sum of the population in the states and territories does not equal the Australian population. For more information, see Explanatory Note 13.*

Explanatory notes referred to in the notations are [available online](#).

For the period 1981-2014, figures are sourced from:

- Australian Bureau of Statistics, *'Australian Demographic Statistics, December 2014'*, Cat no. 3101.0, ABS, 2015.

Explanatory notes for the data are provided [online](#).

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TABLE C: Number of Members of the Queensland Parliament and the population of Queensland for each election year from 1860 to 2015

Year	No. of MLAs	No. of MLCs	Total Members	Qld. Population
1860	26	11	37	28 056
1863	26	22	48	61 467
1867	32	19	51	98 722
1868	32	20	52	106 101
1870	32	22	54	115 272
1871	32	21	53	121 743
1873	42	20	62	139 928
1878	55	31	81	200 479
1883	55	33	88	280 615
1888	72	36	108	367 166
1893	72	39	111	418 993
1896	72	39	111	452 705
1899	72	42	114	486 315
1902	72	40	112	512 240
1904	72	42	114	524 935
1907	72	46	118	545 805
1908	72	44	116	557 099
1909	72	44	116	577 845
1912	72	45	117	638 753
1915	72	41	113	685 067
1918	72	55	127	704 251
1920	72	66	139	750 624
1923	72	-	72	801 844
1926	72	-	72	862 486
1929	72	-	72	902 136
1932	62	-	62	939 097
1935	62	-	62	971 297
1938	62	-	62	1 005 523
1941	62	-	62	1 038 471
1944	62	-	62	1 068 255
1947	62	-	62	1 112 818
1950	75	-	75	1 205 418
1953	75	-	75	1 298 420
1956	75	-	75	1 392 573
1957	75	-	75	1 420 501
1960	78	-	78	1 502 286

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Years	No. of MLAs	No. of MLCs	Total Members	Qid Population
1963	78	-	78	1 595 446
1966	78	-	78	1 687 062
1969	78	-	78	1 779 690
1972	82	-	82	1 924 658
1974	82	-	82	2 032 973
1977	82	-	82	2 151 026
1980	82	-	82	2 301 702
1983	82	-	82	2 503 285
1986	89	-	89	2 648 778
1989	89	-	89	2 864 007
1992	89	-	89	3 057 138
1995	89	-	89	3 271 743
1998	89	-	89	3 427 505
2001	89	-	89	3 611 203
2004	89	-	89	3 872 351
2006	89	-	89	4 055 845
2009	89	-	89	4 367 454
2012	89	-	89	4 608 886
2015	89	-	89	4 750 513

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TABLE D. PRECIS OF RESULTS OF QUEENSLAND STATE ELECTIONS 1932 TO 2015 (a)

(on basis of valid first-preference votes)

Governing Party(ies)					Principal Opposition Parties and Independents					
Election Date	Electoralates	Party	Seats Won	% Votes	Party	Seats Won	% Votes	Party	Seats Won	% Votes
11.06.1932	62	ALP	33	49.89	Country National	28	45.21	IND	1	-
11.05.1935	62	ALP	46	53.43	Country National	16	33.79			
02.04.1938	62	ALP	44	47.17	Country	13	22.64	UAP	4	13.97
29.03.1941	62	ALP	41	51.41	Country	14	20.89	UAP	4	15.61
15.04.1944	62	ALP	37	44.67	Country	12	17.60	QLD People's	7	24.72
03.05.1947	62	ALP	35	43.58	Country	14	19.49	QLD People's	9	25.73
29.04.1950	75	ALP	42	46.87	Country	20	19.25	Liberal	11	29.91
07.03.1953	75	ALP	50	53.21	Country	15	18.75	Liberal	8	21.29
19.05.1956	75	ALP	49	50.69	Country	16	19.73	Liberal	8	26.10
03.08.1957	75	Country-Liberal	42	43.22	ALP	20	28.95	QLP	11	23.39
28.05.1960	78	Country-Liberal	46	43.53	ALP	25	39.89	QLP	4	12.28
01.06.1963	78	Country-Liberal	46	44.06	ALP	26	43.83	QLP	1	7.23
28.05.1966	78	Country-Liberal	47	44.78	ALP	26	43.84	QLP	1	6.38
17.05.1969	78	Country-Liberal	45	44.70	ALP	31	44.49	DLP	1	7.24
27.05.1972	82	Country-Liberal	47	42.23	ALP	33	46.75	DLP	-	7.62
07.12.1974	82	National-Liberal	69	58.97	ALP	11	36.03	DLP	-	1.91
12.11.1977	82	National-Liberal	59	52.37	ALP	23	42.83	DEM	-	1.62
29.11.1980	82	National-Liberal	57	54.86	ALP	25	41.49	DEM	-	1.38
22.10.1983	82	National	41	38.93	ALP	32	43.98	Liberal	8 ^(a)	14.88
01.11.1986	89	National	49	39.64	ALP	30	41.35	Liberal	10	16.50

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Election Date	Electoralates	Governing Party(ies)			Principal Opposition Parties and Independents								
		Party	Seats Won	% Votes	Party	Seats Won	% Votes	Party	Seats Won	% Votes	Party	Seats Won	% Votes
02.12.1989	89	ALP	54	50.32	National	27	24.09	Liberal	8	21.05			
19.09.1992	89	ALP	54	48.73	National	26	23.71	Liberal	9	20.44			
15.07.1995 ^(a)	89	ALP	45	42.89	National	29	26.25	Liberal	14	22.74			
13.06.1998 ^(b)	89	ALP	44	38.86	National	23	15.17	Liberal	9	16.09	PHON	11	22.68
17.02.2001 ^(c)	89	ALP	66	48.93	National	12	14.16	Liberal	3	14.32	PHON	3	8.69
07.02.2004 ^(d)	89	ALP	63	47.01	National	15	16.96	Liberal	5	18.50		6 ^(e)	17.51
09.09.2006 ^(f)	89	ALP	59	46.92	National	17	17.82	Liberal	8	20.20		5 ^(g)	15.16
21.03.2009 ^(d)	89	ALP	51	42.25	Liberal-National	34	41.60				IND	4	5.65
24.03.2012 ^(d)	89	LNP	78	49.65	ALP	7	26.66	KAP	2	7.53	IND	2	3.16
31.01.2015 ^(d)	89	ALP	44	37.47	Liberal-National	42	41.32	KAP	2	1.93	IND	1	3.63

(a) For data prior to the 1932 election, see previous Handbooks.

(b) Includes B. Austin and D. Lane who were elected as Liberal candidates in 1983 but subsequently resigned and joined the National Party.

(c) Number of seats won and percentage of votes cast are as recorded at the election on 15.07.1995. One Independent candidate was also elected. The Court of Disputed Returns ordered a new election in the seat of Mundingburr. The seat, previously won by the ALP, was won by the Liberal Party at the new election held on 03.02.1996. The ALP Government resigned on 19.02.1996 and a National/Liberal Government was sworn in.

(d) Number of seats won and percentage of votes cast are as recorded at the election on 13.06.1998. Two Independent candidates were elected. A by-election on 05.12.1998 in Mulgrave electorate previously held by Pauline Hanson's One Nation (PHON) resulted in a win by the ALP. The PHON party was deregistered on 19.06.1999 and the City Country Alliance Queensland (CCAQ) was established on 22.12.1999. Four former PHON Members became independents and six joined the CCAQ. On 05.02.2000, two by-elections in Woodridge and Bundamba electorates once again returned ALP Members.

(e) Number of seats won and percentage of votes cast are as recorded at the election on 17.02.2001. On 05.05.2001, the Surfers Paradise electorate, formerly held by the Queensland Nationals, returned an Independent. In December 2001 Independent Member Mr Ray Hopper MP joined the National Party. On 18.04.2002 Ms Elisa Roberts MP, elected as a member of Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party, became an Independent. On 23.01.2001, the PHON party was re-registered, on 21.06.2002, its name was changed to One Nation Queensland Division. On 26 April 2003, a by-election for the seat of Maryborough resulted in its Independent Member being replaced with another Independent.

(f) Number of seats won and percentage of votes cast are as recorded at the election on 07.02.2004. On 20.08.2005, the Chatsworth and Redcliffe electorates, formerly held by the Australian Labor Party, returned two Liberal Party members. On 01.04.2006, a by-election was held for the seat of Gaven following the resignation of the Labor member. The by-election was won by the National Party candidate.

(g) Includes five Independent candidates and one One Nation Party Queensland (ONP) candidate.

Number of seats won and percentage of votes cast are as recorded at the election on 09.09.2006. On 09.09.2008, the Liberal Party and National Party amalgamated and formed the Liberal National Party (LNP). On 05.10.2008, Mr Ronan Lee MP (ALP) became a member of Queensland Greens. On 24.02.2009, Mr Stuart Copeland MP (LNP) became an Independent.

Includes four Independent candidates and one One Nation Party Queensland (ONP) candidate.

Number of seats won and percentage of votes cast are as recorded at the election on 21.03.2009.

- Number of seats won and percentage of votes cast are as recorded at the election on 24.03.2012. Mr Aidan McLindon became an Independent on 04.05.2010 - and became a Member of The Queensland Party (TQP) on 04.10.2010, and became a Member of Katter's Australian Party (KAP) on 11.10.2011. Mr Rob Messenger became an Independent on 05.05.2010. Mr Shane Knuth became a member of Katter's Australian Party on 02.11.2011.

Number of seats won and percentage of votes cast are as recorded at the election on 31.01.2015. Ms Anna Bligh (ALP) resigned from Parliament on 02.04.2012. A by-election was held in South Brisbane on 28.04.2012, resulting in the resigning ALP member being replaced with another ALP member. Mr Ray Hopper (LNP) became a member of Katter's Australian Party on 28.11.2012. Mr Carl Judge (LNP) became an Independent on 30.11.2012, a member of the Palmer United Party on 07.06.2013, and an Independent on 08.10.2014. Dr Alex Douglas (LNP) became an Independent on 01.12.2012, a member of the Palmer United Party on 07.06.2013, and an Independent on 18.08.2014. Mr Scott Driscoll (LNP) became an Independent on 19.04.2013, and then resigned from Parliament on 19.11.2013. A by-election was held in Redcliffe on 22.02.2014, and the resigning LNP member was replaced by an ALP candidate. Dr Chris Davis (LNP) resigned from Parliament 23.05.2014. A by-election was held in Stafford on 19.07.2014, and the resigning LNP member was replaced by an ALP candidate.

**TABLE E. COMPARISON OF PARTY PERFORMANCES IN QUEENSLAND STATE ELECTIONS 1956 - 2015
SHOWING SEATS CONTESTED AND WON, AND VALID FIRST-PREFERENCE VOTES CAST (a)**

Party		1956	1957	1960	1963	1966	1969	1972	1974
Australian Labor Party	Seats Contested	70	64	74	77	76	77	82	82(83)
	Seats Won	48	20	25	25	25	31	33	11
	Votes Polled	331,836	202,367	296,430	337,928	350,254	383,388	424,002	376,187
	Percentage of total votes	50.69%	28.95%	39.89%	43.83%	43.84%	44.99%	46.75%	36.03%
National (Country) Party	Seats Contested	29	33	34	32	35	39	44	48(52)
	Seats Won	13	21	24	26	26	26	26	39
	Votes Polled	129,143	141,825	144,865	146,689	150,973	179,125	181,404	291,088
	Percentage of total votes	19.73%	20.29%	19.50%	19.03%	18.90%	21.02%	20.00%	27.88%
Liberal Party	Seats Contested	37	36	38	40	46	44	53	53
	Seats Won	6	17	20	20	20	19	21	30
	Votes Polled	170,897	162,934	178,567	193,117	206,756	201,765	201,596	324,682
	Percentage of total votes	26.10%	23.31%	24.03%	25.05%	25.88%	23.68%	22.23%	31.09%
Democratic Labor Party	Seats Contested	-	62	58	61	59	61	72	43
	Seats Won	-	11	4	1	1	1	-	-
	Votes Polled	-	163,534	91,212	55,711	50,962	61,661	69,105	19,952
	Percentage of total votes	-	23.39%	12.28%	7.23%	6.38%	7.24%	7.62%	1.91
Communist	Seats Contested	8	-	6	3	5	2	-	-
	Seats Won	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Votes Polled	1,336	-	1,059	500	1,080	476	-	-
	Percentage of total votes	0.2%	-	0.14%	0.06%	0.13%	0.05%	-	-
Other Parties ^(b)	Seats Contested	12(13)	17(20)	14(18)	26(27)	20(22)	18(23)	24(28)	20(24)
	Seats Won	2	2	3	5	4	1	2	2
	Votes Polled	21,462	28,215	30,897	37,053	38,948	25,762	30,831	32,259
	Percentage of total votes	3.27%	4.03%	4.16%	4.81%	4.88%	3.02%	3.40%	3.09%
Total All Parties	Electoralates	75	75	78	78	78	78	82	82
	Seats Contested	69	71	76	77	76	78	82	82
	Candidates	155	215	228	240	243	246	279	255
	Total Valid Votes Cast	654,674	698,876	743,030	770,998	798,973	852,177	906,938	1,044,168
	Informal Votes Cast	8,006	8,033	9,897	12,036	13,352	15,566	14,817	16,742
	Informal Votes as Percentage of total votes cast	1.21%	1.14%	1.31%	1.54%	1.64%	1.79%	1.61%	1.57%

Party		1977	1980	1983	1986	1989	1992	1995 ^(a)	1998
Australian Labor Party	Seats Contested	82(84)	82(83)	82(83)	89	89	87	89	89
	Seats Won	23	25	32	30	54	54	45	44
	Votes Polled	466,021	487,493	597,363	577,062	792,466	850,480	773,585	752,374
	Percentage of total votes	42.83%	41.49%	43.98%	41.35%	50.32%	48.73%	42.89%	38.86%
National (Country) Party	Seats Contested	54(56)	56(58)	73(74)	88(89)	85	71	44	44
	Seats Won	35	35	41	49	27	26	29	23
	Votes Polled	295,355	328,262	512,890	553,197	379,364	413,772	473,497	293,839
	Percentage of total votes	27.15%	27.94%	38.93%	39.64%	24.09%	23.71%	26.25%	15.17%
Liberal Party	Seats Contested	51	64(66)	53	63	76(77)	79	46	47
	Seats Won	24	22	8	10	8	9	14	9
	Votes Polled	274,398	316,272	196,072	230,310	331,562	356,640	410,083	311,514
	Percentage of total votes	25.22%	26.92%	14.88%	16.50%	21.05%	20.44%	22.74%	16.09%
Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party ^(d)	Seats Contested	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	79
	Seats Won	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
	Votes Polled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	439,121
	Percentage of total votes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22.68%
Australian Democrats	Seats Contested	12	15 (16)	7	16	7	4 ^(e)	21	41
	Seats Won	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Votes Polled	17,571	16,222	10,926	8,747	4,542	5,413	22,598	31,119
	Percentage of total votes	1.61%	1.38%	0.83%	0.63%	0.29%	0.31%	1.25%	1.61%
The Greens	Seats Contested	-	-	-	-	-	-	28	46
	Seats Won	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Votes Polled	-	-	-	-	-	-	51,748	45,709
	Percentage of total votes	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.87%	2.36%
Other Parties ^(b)	Seats Contested	40(44)	30(46)	25(28)	27(35)	52(76)	58(82)	45(62)	57(91)
	Seats Won	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2
	Votes Polled	34,666	25,612	18,143	26,259	66,939	118,856	71,969	62,664
	Percentage of total votes	3.19%	2.18%	1.38%	1.88%	4.25%	6.81%	3.99%	3.24%
Total All Parties	Electorates	82	82	82	89	89	89	89	89
	Seats Contested	82	82	82	89	89	89	89	89
	Candidates	249	271	244	292	334	323	290	438
	Total Valid Votes Cast	1,088,011	1,174,885	1,317,394	1,395,575	1,574,834	1,745,161	1,803,480	1,936,340
	Informal Votes Cast	16,887	18,008	19,591	30,903	48,802	40,242	32,061	28,438
	Informal Votes as Percentage	1.53%	1.53%	1.47%	2.17%	3.01%	2.25%	1.75%	1.45%

		2001 ^(a)	2004 ^(a)	2006	2009	2012	2015
Australian Labor Party	Seats Contested	89	89	89	89	89	89
	Seats Won	66	63	59	51	7	44
	Votes Polled	1,007,737	1,011,630	1,032,617	1,002,415	652,092	983,054
	Percentage of total votes	48.93%	47.01%	45.92%	42.25%	26.66%	37.47%
Liberal National Party ^(b)	Seats Contested	-	-	-	88	89	89
	Seats Won	-	-	-	34	78	42
	Votes Polled	-	-	-	987,018	1,214,553	1,084,060
	Percentage of total votes	-	-	-	41.60%	49.66%	41.32%
National Party	Seats Contested	45	41	40	-	-	-
	Seats Won	12	15	17	-	-	-
	Votes Polled	291,605	365,005	392,124	-	-	-
	Percentage of total votes	14.16%	16.96%	17.82%	-	-	-
Liberal Party	Seats Contested	50	47	49	-	-	-
	Seats Won	3	5	8	-	-	-
	Votes Polled	294,968	398,147	442,453	-	-	-
	Percentage of total votes	14.32%	18.50%	20.10%	-	-	-
One Nation	Seats Contested	39	51	4	2	6	11
	Seats Won	3	1	1	-	-	-
	Votes Polled	179,076	104,980	13,207	9,038	2,525	24,111
	Percentage of total votes	8.69%	4.88%	0.60%	0.38%	0.1%	0.92%
The Australian Democrats	Seats Contested	6	1	-	-	-	-
	Seats Won	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Votes Polled	7,029	943	-	-	-	-
	Percentage of total votes	0.34%	0.04%	-	-	-	-
The Greens	Seats Contested	31	72	75	25	89	89
	Seats Won	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Votes Polled	51,630	145,552	175,798	19,379	184,147	221,157
	Percentage of total votes	2.51%	6.76%	7.99%	0.82%	7.53%	8.43%
Family First Party	Seats Contested	-	-	26	32	38	28
	Seats Won	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Votes Polled	-	-	41,659	22,170	33,269	31,231
	Percentage of total votes	-	-	1.89%	0.93%	1.36%	1.19%
Katter's Australian Party ^(b)	Seats Contested	-	-	-	-	76	11
	Seats Won	-	-	-	-	2	2
	Votes Polled	-	-	-	-	282,098	50,588
	Percentage of total votes	-	-	-	-	11.53%	1.93%
Palmer United Party ^(b)	Seats Contested	-	-	-	-	-	50
	Seats Won	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Votes Polled	-	-	-	-	-	133,929
	Percentage of total votes	-	-	-	-	-	5.11%
Other Parties ^(b)	Seats Contested	50 (80)	52	46	72	43	66
	Seats Won	5	5	4	4	2	1
	Votes Polled	178,253	125,516	103,022	134,156	77,282	95,313
	Percentage of total votes	8.65%	5.83%	4.68%	5.63%	3.16%	3.63%
Total All Parties	Electoralates	-	89	89	89	89	89
	Seats Contested	-	89	89	89	89	89
	Candidates	-	353	329	397	430	433
	Total Valid Votes Cast	-	2,151,743	2,200,880	2,372,651	2,445,594	2,623,443
	Informal Votes Cast	-	43,657	46,848	46,908	53,791	56,431
	Informal votes as percentage of total votes	-	1.99%	2.08%	1.94%	2.15%	2.11%

Table 2 Footnotes

- (a) Figures in brackets following the number of seats contested indicate the total number of candidates.
- (b) Includes Independents.
- (c) Results at the time of the election. At the subsequent new election in the seat of Mundingburra, ordered by the Court of Disputed Returns, the seat was won by the Liberal Party from the ALP.
- (d) See (F) for One Nation name changes.
- (e) Non-official figures. The Australian Democrats were not a registered political party for the 1992 election.
- (f) Results at the time of the election. As a result of the subsequent by-election for the Seat of Surfers Paradise held on 05.05.2001, the National Party lost that seat to an Independent candidate. In December 2001 Independent Member Mr Ray Hopper MP joined the National Party. On 18.04.2002 Ms Elisa Roberts MP, elected as a member of Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party, became an Independent. On 23.01.2001 the PHON party, which had been de-registered on 19.08.1999, was re-registered on 23.01.2001 as Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party Queensland Division. On 21.05.2002, the party's name was changed to One Nation Queensland Division. On 26.04.2003, a by-election for the seat of Maryborough resulted in its Independent Member being replaced with another Independent.
- (g) Results at the time of the election. Subsequently, three Labor members retired. At by-elections for the seats of Chatsworth and Redcliffe on 20.08.2005, both seats were won by the Liberal Party. The National Party won the by-election for the seat of Gaven held on 01.04.2006.
- (h) On 09.09.2008, the National Party and the Liberal Party amalgamated to form one party, the Liberal National Party (LNP).
- (i) On 22.09.2011, Katter's Australian Party (Qld Division) was registered with the Electoral Commission of Queensland.
- (j) The Palmer United Party (PUP) was registered with the Electoral Commission of Queensland on 05.06.2013.

TABLE F – SELECTED PARLIAMENTS, CURRENT REPRESENTATION

Tasmania	Multi-Member Seats	<u>House of Assembly</u>		% of Primary Vote
		ALP	7	27.33%
		LIB	15	51.22%
		GRN	3	13.83%
		PUP	0	4.97%
		Total	25	
	Single-Member Seats	<u>Legislative Council</u>		
		ALP	1	n/a
		LIB	2	n/a
		GRN	0	n/a
		IND	12	n/a
		Total	15	
Victoria	Single-Member Seats	<u>Legislative Assembly</u>		
		ALP	47	38.10%
		LIB	30	36.47%
		NAT	8	5.53%
		GRN	2	11.48%
		Others	1	3.35%
		Total	88	
	Multi-Member Seats (Regions)	<u>Legislative Council</u>		
		ALP	14	33.46%
		LIB	10	20.82%
		NATS	6	15.31%
		GRN	5	10.75%
		Shooters and Fishers	2	1.65%
		DLP	1	2.32%
		Others	2	2.84%
		Total	40	

South Australia	Single-Member Seats	<i>House of Assembly</i>		
		ALP	23	35.80%
		LIB	22	44.80%
		NATS	0	0.10%
		FFP	0	6.20%
		GRN	0	8.70%
		IND	2	3.70%
		Total	47	
	Multi-Member Seats	<i>Legislative Council</i>		
		ALP	7	4 in 2014 with 31.0%
		LIB	8	4 in 2014 with 36.0%
		IND	2	1 in 2014 with 12.9%
		FFP	2	1 in 2014 with 4.4%
		GRN	2	1 in 2014 with 6.5%
		Dignity for Disability	1	n.a. in 2014
		Total	22	
New Zealand	<i>Legislative Assembly</i>			
	Mixed Electoral System - 64 general electorate members, 7 members representing Māori electorates, and 50 members selected from party lists = Total 121 seats (61 for majority)			
		National	41 electorate seats	47.04%
			19 list seats	
			60 total	

	Labour Party	27 electorate seats	25.13%
		5 list seats	
		32 total	
	Green	0 electorate seats	10.70%
		14 list seats	
		14 total	
	ACT party	1 electorate seats	0.69%
		0 list seats	
		1 total	
	Maori party	1 electorate seats	1.32%
		1 list seats	
		2 total	
	New Zealand First Party	0 electorate seats	8.66%
		11 list seats	
		11 total	
	United Future	1 electorate seats	0.22%
		0 list seats	
		1 total	
	Total	121	

Source: Compiled by Queensland Parliamentary Library from data provided by the electoral commissions of the relevant jurisdictions.