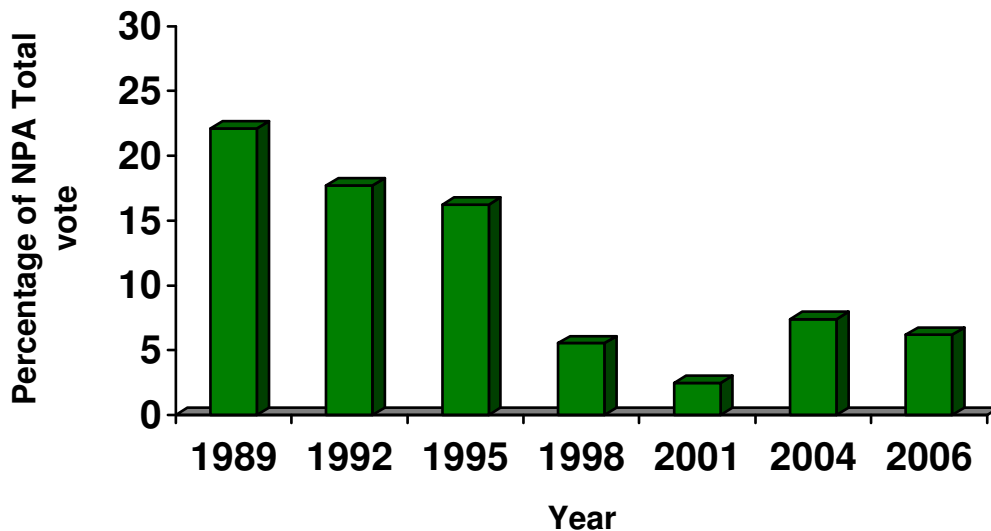


Appendix: Independent Seats Summarised

Gladstone – Liz Cunningham (1995 -)

National Party Decline in Gladstone (and in 1989 in the former seat of Port Curtis)	
1989	22.1
1992	17.7
1995	16.23
1998	5.53
2001	2.47
2004	7.4
2006	6.19

NPA Decline in Gladstone



Undoubtedly, the most well known Independent in the Queensland Parliament is Liz Cunningham, Member for Gladstone since 1995. The seat was first proclaimed in 1991 and has been held by the Independent member for five consecutive elections. On September 9 2006, Cunningham contested the seat for the sixth time (after doing so unsuccessfully in 1992). Her re-election has made her the second longest serving Independent member after Tom Aikens who served twelve terms from 1944 until he was defeated in 1977.

1992 – First ran for the seat although lost to Bennett (ALP) by less than 1000 votes

	1992 Cunningham		Opponent	
	Votes	%	Votes	%
FPV	6531	31.58%	10114	48.90%
TOTAL	9668	48.01%	10469	51.99%
Preference Flow	2944 preferences from Elliot (NPA) to Cunningham			

1995 – First elected to Queensland Parliament. For a first time Independent, Cunningham played a major role in shaping the government of 1996 holding the balance of power and finally supporting a Coalition Government lead by Robert Borbidge and Joan Sheldon.

According to ECQ the seat status has changed from a marginal ALP (1992) to a marginal Independent (1995).

	1995	Cunningham		Opponent	
		Votes	%	Votes	%
FPV		8598	40.06%	9361	43.62%
TOTAL		11138	53.07%	9851	46.93%
Preference Flow		91.50% (2272 votes) from NPA			

1998 – Three candidates contested the seat in this, much closer, election. Labor ran a prominent local businessman Leo Zussino though could not break Cunningham's marginal hold on the seat. Again, NPA preferences put her over the line. Gladstone was reduced to a Two-Party contest with NPA achieving only 1271 (5.53%) votes.

	1998	Cunningham		Opponent	
		Votes	%	Votes	%
FPV		10812	47.05%	10897	47.42%
TOTAL		11691	51.36%	11071	48.64%
Preference Flow		83.48% (879 votes) from NPA			

2001 – Cunningham increased her majority although the seat maintained its marginal status. Once again significant preference flows from NPA and 57% of preferences from the Greens increased her total vote slightly.

	2001	Cunningham		Opponent	
		Votes	%	Votes	%
FPV		12336	50.66%	10992	45.14%
TOTAL		12772	53.50%	11103	46.50%
Preference Flow		57.08% (121 votes) from Greens, 87.50% (315 votes) from NPA.			

2004 – Cunningham cemented her position after her fourth consecutive election, securing 61.25% of the total vote. Although this was the second election she won without the assistance of NPA (or other's) preferences, it was the first where her margin was greater than 3.50%.

	2004	Cunningham		Opponent	
		Votes	%	Votes	%
FPV		14057	55.32%	9471	37.27%
TOTAL		15248	61.25%	9648	38.75%
Preference Flow		87.06% (1191 votes) from NPA			

2006 – The buffer of 11.25% Cunningham enjoyed in 2004 was reduced by almost ten per cent at this election. The introduction of the questionable Federal Government IR laws had a significant impact on voting behaviour as is indicated in the table below. Labor once again ran a prominent local candidate in Chris Trevor. This tactic, employed by Labor to run a candidate with connectional networks, especially during a period of electoral volatility for this electorate, almost compromised Cunningham’s seat in parliament. Her prominence and incumbency in the seat are true testaments of her strength as an Independent Member. Her networks, formed over eleven years in the parliament, and rooted much more deeply in the local community for a longer period, placed her in greater stead than Trevor.

	2006 Cunningham		Opponent	
	Votes	%	Votes	%
FPV	12215	47.41%	11956	46.40%
TOTAL	13112	51.99%	12108	48.01%
Preference Flow	85.51% (897 votes) from NPA			

Cunningham’s success was largely dependent in 1995, 1998 and 2006, on preference flows from the NPA even though this party’s vote was severely reduced in 1998 and 2006 and decimated in 2001. As Reynolds has suggested, “while the Nationals nominate in Gladstone, they ‘run dead’ as Cunningham is perceived (on all sides) to be the authentic anti-Labor candidate” (2002: 11). As indicated above the decline of the NPA continues in Gladstone. Nevertheless, the few votes this party receives (that are preferenced to the Independent) have been instrumental in Cunningham’s electoral success on more than one occasion.

Nicklin – Peter Wellington (1998 -)

In 1998, Peter Wellington was elected to the seat of Nicklin. Wellington’s victory transferred the seat to a marginal Independent seat from the once safe National Party seat. This trend was indicative of the swing against the NPA of 11.08% at the 1998 General Election. In this seat however, the swing was far greater at 30.88% (based on FPV)¹ against the incumbent Neil Turner who had been the sitting member and Coalition Speaker, since the 1986 election, and who had held the set of Warrego from 1974-1986 (see <http://www.parliament.qld.gov.au/view/historical/>). Wellington has successfully retained the seat at the 2001, 2004, and 2006 elections.

1998 - Interestingly, the three federal divisions of Fairfax, Fisher and Longman (that cross boundaries with this state seat), returned all Liberal MP’s at the October Federal Election, namely Alex Somlyay, Peter Slipper and Mal Brough. For the voters of Nicklin, the Liberal Party was not an alternative for them at the state election four months prior. Moreover, the seat was contested by a rainbow of political parties including, Labor, the Democrats, One Nation, Nationals and Wellington as an Independent. Not only was this an increase of two candidates, it meant that the seat was more widely contested.

¹ This figure inflates the true swing as there were five candidates in 1998 and three in 1995.

	1998	Wellington		Opponent	
		Votes	%	Votes	%
FPV		6562	25.63%	6878	26.87%
TOTAL		12159	55.73%	9657	44.27%
Preference					
Flow		84.53% (3590 votes) from ALP			

The above table demonstrates Wellington's need to rely on preferences (with only one quarter of the FPV), much like Liz Cunningham did in 1995, 1998 and again in 2006.

	1998	Total Votes	%
Wellington		12159	55.73%
Turner (NPA)		9657	44.27%
Ferraro (ONP)		6451	26.89%
Giles (ALP)		5706	22.42%
Armstrong (DEM)		695	2.71%

The second table demonstrates the strength of One Nation at the 1998 election and also shows the widespread voting patterns.

2001 – After the 1999 redistribution, the booming Queensland population saw Nicklin reduced by almost half its previous geographical size from 1665km² to 871km². The great majority of the southern section of the seat was absorbed by the new seat of Glass House.

The choice of candidate increased to six for the electors of this seat. The conservatives ran a three cornered contest, while One Nation, Labor, and this time the Greens, tried their hand in Nicklin. It was not surprising that the conservative vote was decimated, as was the case across the state. Furthermore, the once strong National vote was reduced to 7.96% with the Liberal vote at 14.69%. While neither conservative party nor Labor came second in the seat, it was One Nation that ran strongly against Wellington securing 26.57% of the total vote.

Most notably however, and more relevant, is Wellington's increased FPV and total vote, which increased by 20.68% and 17.70% respectively. In 2001, Nicklin saw the widespread vote (i.e. between the candidates) reduced with an increase of just over twenty per cent in his FPV and also the addition of one more candidate than the previous election

	2001	Wellington		Opponent	
		Votes	%	Votes	%
FPV		11554	46.31%	3992	16.00%
TOTAL		15114	73.43%	5469	26.57%
Preference					
Flow		88.31% (1708 votes) from ALP			

2004 – Saw Wellington safely secure his seat for the third consecutive election. By this stage, the power of incumbency proved the vital key to electoral success as was seen throughout much of the state in both the 2004 and 2006 elections. While the

electorate grew by a further 6.60% or almost 1800 electors, Wellington's vote increased by about the same rate.

Wellington secured 79.55% of the total vote, making Nicklin the second safest seat in the Queensland Parliament behind Inala. Wellington's FPV had more than doubled since 1998 was 13.21% greater than 2001, while his total vote had increased by nearly 25% on his first successful election.

	2004 Wellington		Opponent	
	Votes	%	Votes	%
FPV	15617	59.52%	4131	15.74%
TOTAL	18447	79.55%	4741	20.45%
Preference Flow	87.49% (1909 votes) from NPA			

The above table demonstrates the preference flow in 2004 from the Nationals rather than Labor to Wellington. Although he did not require any preferences to secure the seat, it is important to examine the factors behind the flow and whether the seat had become more conservative.

There are a number of variables that influenced this changing preference flow. Firstly, the alternation from the Nationals as the second major party in 1998 to One Nation in 2001 and Labor in 2004. Secondly, the Liberals ran in 2001 with almost 80.11% of National preferences going to the former. Finally, it would be unlikely that the National Party would recommend second preferencing Labor, the Greens or One Nation and therefore second preferred Wellington.

2006 – Wellington's percentage of the FPV remained static while his total vote was reduced by four percent. The majority of preferences he received were from the Greens and Labor. The table below demonstrates these trends.

	2006 Wellington		Opponent	
	Votes	%	Votes	%
FPV	16067	59.69%	5585	20.75%
TOTAL	18097	75.08%	6007	24.92%
Preference Flow	65.33% (752 votes) from Greens, 82.08% (1278 votes) from ALP			

Unlike Gladstone, Nicklin has proved to be a more interesting and dynamic seat in terms of its unpredictability. At all three elections, a large number and wide variety of parties contested the seat. The role of One Nation in 1998, and again in 2001, as the runner up in the seat highlighted its conservative and rural composition. Like Cunningham in 1996, who provided the one necessary seat to give the coalition government, Wellington similarly provided Labor with the 45th seat in the 50th Queensland Parliament.

Darling Downs – Ray Hopper (2001)

After the 1999 redistribution, Darling Downs was reinstated on the electoral map. With the eastward mobilisation of the population, the redistribution saw the

elimination of Western Downs, Crows Nest and Warwick. The name of the seat was revived after an absence of 113 years. For two decades in the 1870s and 1880s the seat belonged, naturally, to Independents in the Colonial Parliament. With the federal divisions of Groom and Maranoa (whose borders overlap the state seat) going to the Liberal and National parties, conservatism at the state level came in the form of Independent Ray Hopper.

In 2004, Hopper was re-elected, however as a National Party member. His entrance into politics as an Independent was truly ephemeral.

	2001	Hopper		Opponent	
		Votes	%	Votes	%
FPV		9069	40.00%	8855	39.06%
TOTAL		9651	51.13%	9226	48.87%
Preference					
Flow			61.07% (582 votes)	from ALP	

The table shows that two thirds of Labor's preferences went to Hopper. As was found in the 2001 Ballot Paper Survey, Labor voters were more likely to opt for OPV, with three quarters doing so (ECQ 2002: 13). Almost 80% of Labor voters in this seat in 2001 only exercised one vote, which is not surprising given the alternative of an Independent or a National candidate.

Surfers Paradise – Lex Bell (2001 by-election)

After the Court of Disputed returns ordered a by-election in Mundingburra in 1995, the Liberal-National coalition returned to government in 1996, for the first time in seven years. As aforementioned, Liz Cunningham played a crucial role in the formation of this government.

For twenty-one years, Robert Borbidge (NPA) held this seat, and “became the thirty-fifth premier of Queensland on 19 February 1996 at a time of great electoral volatility” (Wear in Cribb et al 2003: 387). With the abandonment of the National Party's former populist rhetoric, One Nation was quick to capitalise on the marginalised rural voter. With Borbidge in a gridlocked position between his federal colleagues and state counterparts, any attempt to return to populist rhetoric would, and ultimately did, prove costly to the state coalition. At the 1998 election, the coalition lost twelve seats however, Borbidge held Surfers Paradise. He did so again in 2001 but it was at this election that the conservatives were annihilated with Labor securing almost 75% of the seats in the House. It became axiomatic to Borbidge that the next National Party government was a distant reality in Queensland. Nevertheless, the nature of politics is such that future majorities are not bound. Conversely, the likelihood of a return to National Party government in the near future was remote. Not wanting to spend a fourth term in opposition, Borbidge retired from politics after successfully gaining re-election in 2001 and hence created a vacancy in his seat.

Constituents of any electorate find it difficult to absorb a by-election, not least of all when it is conducted within months of a general election. No fewer than twelve candidates contested this election with interesting and varied results. Obviously, the election of an Independent to a traditional National Party seat was the most surprising

outcome. For 29 years since the seat's inception, the conservative parties had held Surfers Paradise. For most of this time, it was held by the Nationals with a brief Liberal interregnum from 1977-1980. Secondly, the decimation of the Nationals reduced that party's vote to just over 8%, gaining 730 more votes than One Nation.

Liberal Party	4708	21.22%
Australian Labor Party	4441	20.02%
The Nationals	1784	8.04%
One Nation	1055	4.76%
The Greens	946	4.26%
Other Candidates (Lex Bell)	9249	41.69%

This table shows the total vote excluding the remaining six candidates whose preferences have been allocated to these candidates. Lex Bell's term in the Queensland parliament was brief with the seat returning to the conservative fold in 2004 and 2006, except on these occasions to the Liberal Party. Bell's stint on the political field reflects a protest vote in the Surfers Paradise electorate.

Elisa Roberts – Gympie (2004)

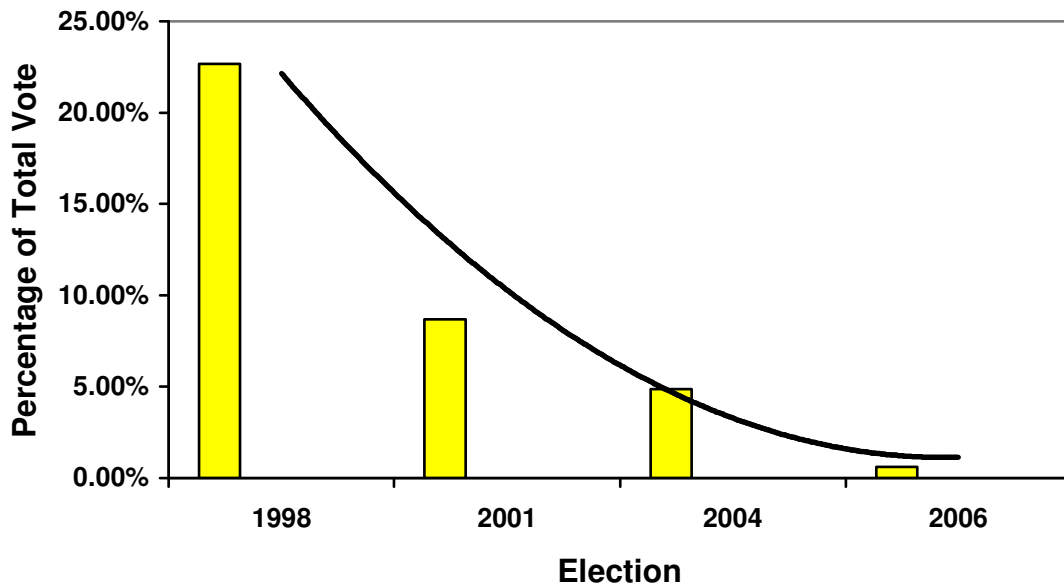
Since 1912, the National Party, in some form, has held the seat of Gympie for 50 years, Labor 29, One Nation three and Independent three. After the 2006 election the Nationals reclaimed the seat.

Elisa Roberts was successfully elected to the seat of Gympie for two terms firstly as a member of One Nation then as an Independent. Like most rural Independents, she was after a 'better deal' for her constituents. The demographics of Gympie and the provincial city's surrounds, were the exact type of area One Nation targeted and claimed in 1998. However, One Nation was defeated in this seat in 1998, and, unusually Roberts won the seat as a One Nation member in 2001, one of only three members to do so. As is the nature of an ephemeral, right wing, minor conservative party, its demise began as quickly as it was established. In 2004, Roberts successfully contested the seat as an Independent. A number of embarrassing events marred Roberts' political career and she was subsequently defeated in 2006.

2001 – This election saw One Nation reduced by eight seats in the Queensland Parliament. With only two parliamentary colleagues, in Rosa Lee-Long (Tablelands) and Bill Flynn (Lockyer), Roberts realised there was no future in One Nation.

Election	Votes	Percentage
1998	439121	22.68%
2001	179076	8.69%
2004	104980	4.88%
2006	13207	0.60%

Demise of One Nation Statewide



2004 – Labor returned as the second major party in this seat in 2004, gaining 39.95% of the total vote. Furthermore, Roberts improved her success as an Independent gaining 60.05% of the total vote. One Nation were reduced to political insignificance with only 500 more votes than the Green candidate. Interestingly, two-thirds of National votes were exhausted after first preference. This is in line with the findings of the 2004 Ballot Paper Survey, which found that conservative voters had become more willing to accept and adopt the OPV introduced in Queensland in 1991 for the 1992 election. for example, 70% of Liberal voters opted to use OPV, and increase of 100% on 2001 (ECQ 2005: 9).

	2004 Roberts		Opponent	
	Votes	%	Votes	%
FPV	9031	33.44%	6946	25.72%
TOTAL	12285	60.05%	8172	39.95%
Preference Flow	78.41% (2216 votes) from NPA			

Nanango – Dorothy (Dolly) Pratt (2001 -)

This is conceivably the most famous seat in the state, given that onetime Premier Sir Johannes Bjelke-Petersen (Barambah) held it for forty years. The original seat of Barambah was established in 1949 and was held by the National Party from 1950-1998.

After the 1999 redistribution, the former name of Barambah was dropped and the new, smaller seat was created. The name existed previously from 1911-1950 and was reinstated in 1999.

1998 – Dolly Pratt contested her first election in the former seat of Barambah for the newly formed One Nation Party. She was successful in gaining both the highest FPV and total vote.

	1998	Pratt		Opponent	
		Votes	%	Votes	%
FPV		9464	43.54%	6731	30.96%
TOTAL		11025	55.85%	8715	44.15%

2001 – As an Independent in the newly formed seat, Dolly Pratt did convincingly well. It must be noted however, that she had half the number of opponents as she did in 1998. Securing 67.07% of the total vote, Pratt converted traditional National party territory into a safe Independent seat after her short stint with One Nation.

	2001	Pratt		Opponent	
		Votes	%	Votes	%
FPV		9680	46.18%	5882	28.06%
TOTAL		12796	67.07%	6282	32.93%
Preference Flow		88.62% (3116 votes) from NPA			

The above table demonstrates, that like her other conservative colleagues viz: Liz Cunningham, Ray Hopper, Lex Bell and Elisa Roberts (with the notable exception of Peter Wellington) the majority of National party preferences go to the Independent.

2004 – At this election Pratt’s total vote was reduced mainly due to a further two contenders. Labor lost its status as the second major party in the seat with its vote reduced by almost 15%. The National party gained almost 12% on the previous election, while the One Nation and Green candidates gained just over 10% of the vote between them. The combination of these competing factors saw Pratt’s vote reduced, but in no way challenged her incumbency, the thread that seems to be emerging.

	2004	Pratt		Opponent	
		Votes	%	Votes	%
FPV		9989	45.68%	6017	27.51%
TOTAL		11553	62.73%	6864	37.27%
Preference Flow		73.15% (1038 votes) from ALP			

2006 – This election saw Pratt’s total vote reduced by 8.5%, a trend that was evident in three of the four Independent seats. This election represented her fourth contest and her lowest total vote overall.

	2006	Pratt		Opponent	
		Votes	%	Votes	%
FPV		9721	43.46%	8895	39.77%
TOTAL		11051	54.24%	9323	45.76%
Preference Flow		78.13% (1186 votes) from ALP			

Maryborough – John Kingston (2001-2003), Chris Foley (2003-)

The seat was first proclaimed in 1864 and was held by the Ministerialist party from 1909-1915. For 68 years since 1915, Labor had held the seat with an uninterrupted period of incumbency of almost forty years from 1932-1971. Reynolds writes that “this provincial city electorate has a history of connectional politics based on local candidate networks” (2002: 13). This was personified in Gilbert Alison who held the seat as a Liberal from 1971 to 1977 and then as a National from 1983 to 1989. The seat returned to the Labor Party in 1989 with a similar candidate to Alison except from the opposite side of the political spectrum (2002: 13). The experience in Maryborough is mirrored in the experience of Gympie where one party traditional holds the seat although it changes hands for brief periods. This all ended in 1998 when One Nation claimed the provincial city seat. The ephemeral nature of One Nation saw the party crumble after one term and both seats being contested by former One Nation members as Independents.

In 1998, John Kingston claimed the seat with a margin of 8.32% as a One Nation candidate. As an Independent at the 2001 election, this margin was severely reduced.

2001 – This election was won on the narrowest of margins, with Kingston receiving 212 more votes than his opponent Alan Holmes (ALP). This result is reflective of that of Liz Cunningham’s in 1995, 1998 and 2006 where she won the seat on preferences. Kingston’s battle was successful because he gained 2644 preferences, almost seven times the number his opponent received. Understandably, almost 91% of National preferences flowed to Kingston. The following table depicts the strong preference flow to Kingston.

	Preference Flow (%) based of TPP	
	Holmes (ALP)	Kingston (IND)
IND	13.82%	46.54%
CCA	19.13%	53.16%
NPA	9.19%	90.81%

This seat was one of 25 contested by the newly formed, breakaway party from One Nation the City Country Alliance. While the party gained almost fifty thousand votes statewide, slightly less than the Greens and seven times more than the Democrats, its impact in Queensland was minimal with most votes coming from ex-One Nation voters.

2003 (by election) – At the age of 68, John Kingston resigned the seat of Maryborough causing the subsequent by-election. This seat is the only example in the history of Queensland politics in which more than one Independent has been elected to the seat. Furthermore, this occurred after consecutive elections, with the successful candidate going on to be re-elected at two general elections in 2004 and 2006. Typical of by-elections are the number of candidates that nominate, with no fewer than eight nominating in this seat. Chris Foley, the successful Independent, gained just over one third of the FPV and 2865 preferences to secure a further twenty per cent of votes. His total vote was 53.59%. This voting behaviour is shown below.

	2003	Foley		Opponent	
		Votes	%	Votes	%
FPV		7619	33.32%	8465	37.02%
TOTAL		10484	53.59%	9079	46.41%

2004 – Saw Chris Foley regain election in the following calendar year at the general election following the by-election. Securing 64.89% of the FPV in a three-way contest, Foley confirmed this seat’s safe Independent status after returning an Independent three elections in a row. After the allocation of preferences, Foley secured almost 68% of the total vote. After the general election in 2006, Maryborough under Foley became the safest seat in Queensland, safer than Inala probably due to the resignation of Henry Palaszczuk with 82.73%, of the total vote decimating both Labor and the Nationals.

	2004	Foley		Opponent	
		Votes	%	Votes	%
FPV		16314	64.89%	7556	30.05%
TOTAL		16664	67.98%	7849	32.02%
Preference Flow		54.43% (350 votes) from Greens			

2006 – In contrast to the three other Independents re-elected in 2006, Foley was the only one to increase his total vote. While his support continued along its path of exponential growth, voting for the remaining three declined. The re-election of Foley in Maryborough saw this seat become the safest in the state. He secured almost 70% of the FPV and almost 83% of the total vote as shown by the table below.

	2006	Foley		Opponent	
		Votes	%	Votes	%
FPV		17888	69.62%	3839	14.84%
TOTAL		20044	82.73%	4184	17.27%
Preference Flow		64.16% (537 votes) from Greens, 91.16% (1619 votes) from NPA			

The preference flows (shown above) demonstrate Foley’s strong position of incumbency and his ability to draw preferences from both the Greens and the Nationals.