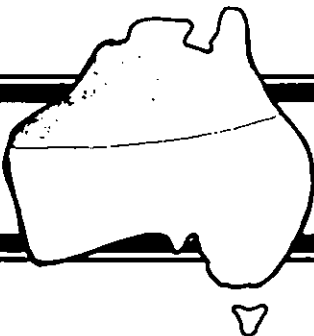


Edited by
Dean Jaensch and
Peter Loveday

**Challenge from the
Nationals: The Territory
Election 1987**



Australian National University North Australia Research Unit
Monograph
Darwin 1987

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	iv
List of tables	v
List of figures	ix
Illustrations	x
Maps	
1 NT Electorates 1987	xii
2 Darwin urban electorates 1987	xiii
3 and 4 Darwin area electorates and Alice Springs electorates	xiv
5 NT Towns and electorates 1985	xv
1 Political Parties 1983-87 Dean Jaensch	1
2 The Election and the Economy Ciaran O'Faircheallaigh and Kate Hadden	19
3 The Campaign: Policies and Issues Peter Loveday	47
4 The Campaign: Parties and Candidates Peter Loveday	75
5 The Campaign: the Centre, Barkly and other non-Darwin Electorates Will Sanders	107
6 The Poll and the Aboriginal Vote Peter Loveday	137
7 Electoral Behaviour in the Urban Electorate Dean Jaensch	169
8 Results and the Reasons Dean Jaensch	195
Appendix 1 The Survey Method	213
Appendix 2 Election Statistics	215
Bibliography	225

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LIST OF TABLES

2.1	Proportion of employed persons in the state sector, States, Territories and Australia, 1981	21
2.2	Proportion of total employment in major commodity-producing sectors, Australia, States and Territories, 1981	22
2.3	Gross Domestic Product at Factor Cost by Industry, NT and Australia, 1983-84	23
2.4	Selected Indicators of Economic Activity, Northern Territory, 1978-79 and 1984-85	24
2.5	Principal Revenue Sources, NT, Queensland and WA, 1985-86	25
2.6	Commonwealth Payments to the NT 1979/80-1986/87, current and 1980-81 dollars	26
2.7	Employed wage and salary earners, NT	32
2.8	Consumer Price Index: Financial Year	33
2.9	Territory Revenue and Other Receipts	34
2.10	Contribution of selected State and Local Government Charges to the Consumer Price Index	35
2.11	Recurrent Payments from the Commonwealth to NTEC 1982/83-1986/87	36
2.12	Quarterly Cost of Domestic Usage, assuming Consumption of 1,600 Units, 30/12/1984-31/12/1986	37
2.13	Tourism: NT government's guarantees and contingent liabilities	38
4.1	Number of candidates in different age groups	42
4.2	Levels of education of candidates	95
4.3	Occupations of candidates	96
4.4	Length of residence of candidates in NT	97
4.5	Length of membership of party	97

4.6	Candidates' membership of organisations	98
4.7	Election methods in the Northern Territory	99
4.8	Adequate financial support from your party?	105
4.9	Claimed personal spending amounts	105
6.1	Estimate of number of Aboriginal voters - rural electorates	138
6.2	Assisted voters and informal votes, selected polling places	145
6.3	Usual places of residence of respondents	146
6.4	Selfidentification by Aboriginal respondents	147
6.5	Respondents who identified tribe or language or both by name	147
6.6	Proportions of men and women among respondents	147
6.7	Age profile of respondents	148
6.8	Levels of education of respondents, 1984, 1987	149
6.9	Occupations of respondents	149
6.10	Know names of parties contesting the election, by place of residence	150
6.11	Knowledge of parties of political leaders	151
6.12	Knowledge of name of federal leaders and their parties	152
6.13	Preferences indicated for the NT leaders	152
6.14	Sources of information about the election	154
6.15	Problems government should do something about, 1983, 1984, 1987	155
6.16	Should the NT become a state?	156
6.17	Which government should control parks, uranium mining and Aboriginal land rights	156
6.18	Perceptions of differences on Aboriginal policy between parties	158

6.19	Perceptions of difference, for Aborigines, between Nationals and CLP	159
6.20	The Aboriginal vote in selected polling places	159
6.21	Voting in Selected Communities, 1980-87	166
7.1	Recalled Votes, 1983, 1987: Three Party	171
7.2	Recalled Votes, 1984 Federal and 1987 NT	173
7.3	Party Identification: Intensity and Direction	173
7.4	Party Identification and Party Vote	174
7.5	Federal and NT Party Identification	175
7.6	Reasons for Vote, by Party Choice 1987	176
7.7	A 'Profile' of the 1987 Urban Voters	179
7.8	Major Problems: Frequency of Mention	183
7.9	Party Policy Differences on Aborigines by Vote	185
7.10	Agreement with Party Policy by Vote	186
7.11	Attitudes to Statehood by Vote	188
7.12	NT Government should Control Policy Areas by Vote	193
8.1	1987 Election Result: Northern Territory	196
8.2	Election Results, Darwin, 1983, 1987	199
8.3	Shift in Two-Party Votes, 1983-87 Darwin Region: Labor Party	199
8.4	Election Results, Alice Springs 1974-87	200
8.5	1987 Election Result in Barkly	202
8.6	Election Results, Rural Electorates, 1983, 1987	203
8.7	Election Results in Three Electorates, 1983, 1987	204
8.8	Election Results in Two Electorates, 1983, 1987	205

8.9	National Party Preferences in Seven Electorates	209
8.10	Election Results in Three Electorates	210
Appendix table	1 Territory-wide comparisons, 1974-87	215
	2 Regional Comparisons 1983, 1987, Enrolment and Voting	215
	3 Regional Comparisons 1983, 1987	216
	4 1987 Results by Electorate	217

LIST OF FIGURES

2.1	Commencements: New residential building	30
2.2	Domestic Electricity Charges	38
2.3	Commercial Electricity Charges	39

ILLUSTRATIONS

- CLP Advertisement stressing that the CLP, unlike the other parties, was an independent Territory party
- ALP bumper sticker
- Labor's 'Declaration to Youth' published in Millner Info.
- NLC Land Rights Poster
- NLC Land Rights Poster at Kalano Office Notice Board, Katherine
- A comment on campaign 'issues'. NT News 7 March 1987
- Cartoon comment on setting the election date. NT News 14 February 1987
- Ludmilla Electorate. Typical party posters adjacent to major road.
- Advertisement by Nationals stressing party beliefs 8 January 1987
- First page of a four page Nationals' 'Meet the Team' advertisement
- Nationals' advertisement for Sir Joh's visit and cartoon comment. NT News 26 February and 7 March 1987
- Leaflet in form of letter to Electors from National candidate for Jingili
- Country Liberal Party campaign material in standard format, poster for Dale and leaflet for Reed
- Independents relied heavily on leaflets to identify themselves to voters
- Two party How-to-vote cards
- Personal canvassing
- Posters at Casuarina Polling Booth on 7 March
- More candidate materials produced by the parties
- Candidate advertisements in Alice Springs

The election in Alice Springs

The CLP's candidate, Shane Stone, identifies himself to the electorate

The outback electorate of Stuart

The campaign in Barkly

Cartoon disparages Ian Tuxworth (National) as puppet of Sir Joh. NT News 14 February 1987

Two versions of Maggie Hickey's How-to-vote card

Independents' campaign material

Notice of mobile polling dates, on notice board, store, Barunga

The polling place at Barunga

An Electoral Office leaflet of the kind used to announce the place and date of the visit of a mobile polling team

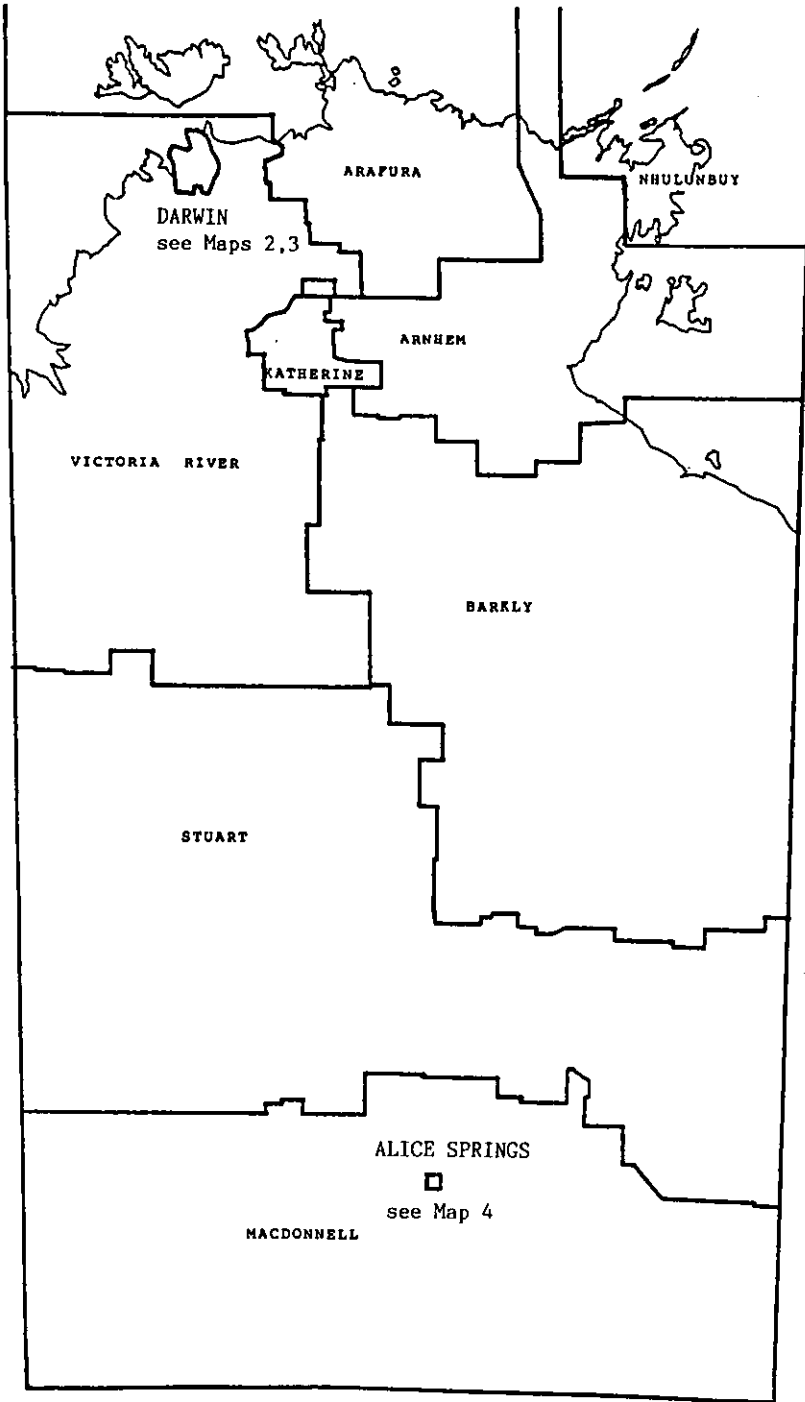
Independent candidate, Bruce Foley, had a strong personal following at Angurugu, but not elsewhere in the electorate

Nationals' candidate Brian Dalliston

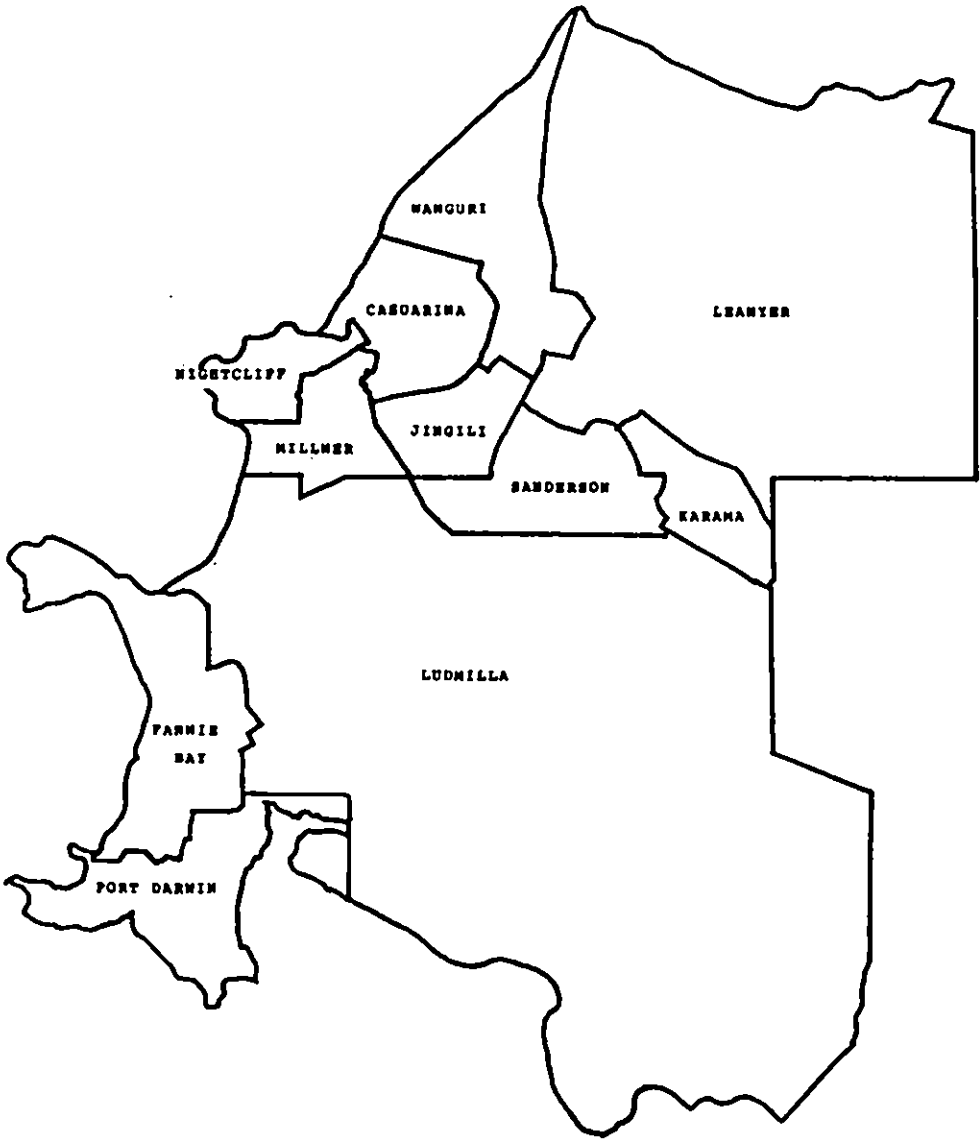
One of a number of different full page Labor advertisements

The bar of the Performing Arts Centre was open on the night of the count in the Tally Room at the Centre. NT News 7 March 1987

Labor's preference list, as advertised in the press



Map 1
NT Electorates 1987

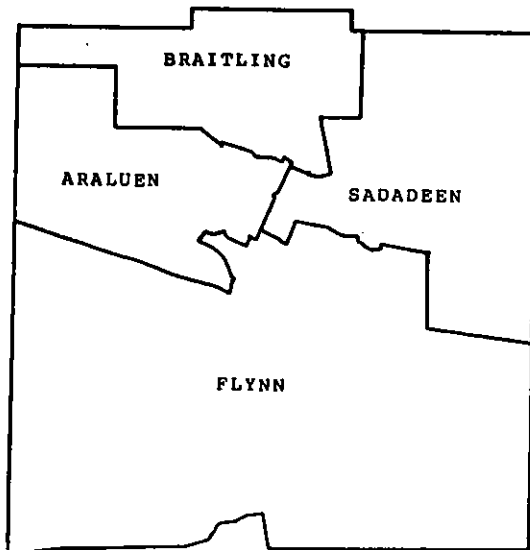


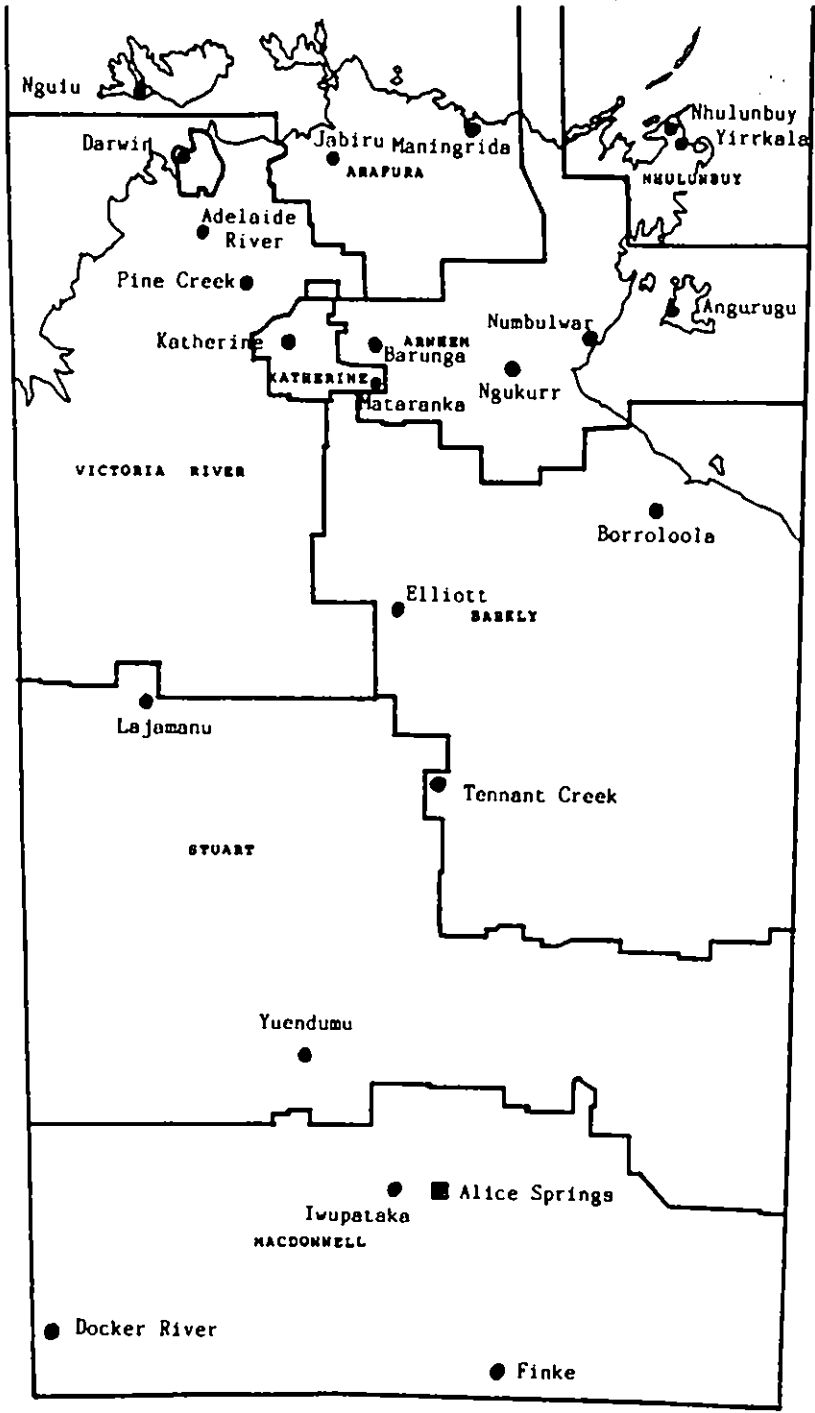
Map 2
Darwin Urban Electorates 1987



Map 3
Darwin Area Electorates 1987

Map 4
Alice Springs Electorates 1987





Map 5
 NT Towns and Electorates 1987

Chapter 1

POLITICAL PARTIES 1983-1987Introduction

The 1987 election was most notable for the formation of a third party, the Nationals, in the Territory and for strife within the established Country Liberal Party. The party system in the Territory is both recent and on the evidence of the 1987 election, it is also a system which is less settled and less stable than the party systems in the remainder of Australia.

A Labor party has existed in the Territory at least since 1922 when representation in the House of Representatives was granted. During the period of the part-elective Legislative Council (1947-74), Labor candidates faced contests from independents and from the North Australian Workers Union. Until the 1970s, the party did not have an organisation worth the name. MHRs Harold Nelson and N N (Jock) Nelson were elected as Labor representatives, but they created their own electoral organisations, and faced no party opposition. Labor then was a classic 'cadre' party, depending on personal networks and personal support rather than party activity and party organisation.

The federal election of 1966 was the beginning of a party system. The Country party of Australia formed a Northern Territory branch, and won the seat in the House of Representatives. By the early 1970s, an embryonic Liberal party had also emerged in Darwin. Both non-Labor parties were concerned that the inauguration of full representative government could mean a divided non-Labor vote, which may have favoured the Labor party which, by 1973, had become a fully-fledged branch of the ALP. After considerable negotiation, the two parties agreed to merge and form the Country Liberal Party (CLP). One unique feature was that the Country component withdrew from formal affiliation with the federal Country party. Hence, from its inception, the CLP has been a separate political identity, only informally associated with both National and Liberal federal parties. CLP members elected to Canberra could opt to sit with either National or Liberal parties, or even take their seats as CLP and remain separate. For a decade, the CLP Senator sat with the Liberal party, and the House of Representatives member sat with the National party.

A party system was in existence in 1974, at the first election for the new Legislative Assembly. But it was far from dominating the electorate. In that election, 29 independent candidates in the 19 electorates won 20.5 per

cent of the votes and two seats. In 1977, 28 independent and minor party candidates won 21.7 per cent of the votes and one seat. In the two following elections, 1980 and 1983, the number of independent and minor party candidates fell to 23 and 14 and only one was successful - in 1980 - while the percentage of the total vote they won dropped sharply to 10.6 per cent and then to 6.2 per cent in 1983.

At the 1983 election, the party system in the Northern Territory had apparently settled into a two-party mould. The support for minor party and independent candidates which had characterised the elections of the 1970s had waned, and in the 1983 election the last independent member of the Assembly was defeated. For the first time, the House was divided between the Country Liberal Party (with 19 seats) and the Labor party (six).

The CLP had completed a decade of relative unity and cohesion, bolstered by a run of electoral successes. The Labor party, on the other hand, was seemingly in a position of permanent minority, and was riddled with personality, issue and policy factions. While Labor, then, had the potential for internal division, even fission, the CLP was secure in government, with an electoral hegemony which showed little sign of erosion in the future, and gave no indication of any trend other than stability and cohesion.

However, in just over two years, by the end of 1986, the CLP developed severe internal tension while Labor appeared to have resolved its differences. Although factional strains remained, the Labor party had peacefully changed its leader, it gave the appearance of relative cohesion, and, more important, it appeared to be re-directing its electoral appeal. The CLP, on the other hand, was in crisis. The parliamentary wing had deposed its leader in extraordinary circumstances, and he was subsequently expelled from the party. The organisational wing was embroiled in a bitter power struggle, deeply divided over a range of issues, and senior members had resigned. Finally, the once-united CLP faced a challenge from a new National party, with problems of defections, and a threat to CLP electoral hegemony. The calling of the early election was clearly an attempt by the CLP to obtain a further 'mandate' before the fledgling National party could fully organise and prepare.

The Country Liberal Party

The 1983 election saw the return of the CLP government and of Paul Everingham as Chief Minister. In 1984 Everingham resigned from the parliament to successfully contest the election for the NT House of Representatives

seat. The parliamentary party selected as its new leader the person who had been demoted by Everingham in a ministerial reshuffle in December 1982. Ian Tuxworth, member for Barkly, and resident of Tennant Creek, became the new Chief Minister.

Two years later, after an extraordinary series of events, Tuxworth resigned as CLP leader and was later expelled from the party. His problems had started almost immediately on his assuming the leadership, and many were a result of his personal style of decision-making, and his apparent unwillingness, or inability, to recognise the realities of having to work with the complexities of the CLP (ministerial changes and administrative developments are described, to the end of 1985, in the administrative chronicle, Australian Journal of Public Administration, 44, 2, June 1985, 184-193; 45, 2, June, 1986, 166-170).

By a combination of electoral success, political skill, and personal style, Paul Everingham had carved himself out a dominant position within his party, the electorate and the Territory. Ian Tuxworth was unable to secure the same power in any of the three arenas, especially when he fell out with the former Chief Minister, still a powerful influence in the CLP. He also antagonised the public service in 1985, he did not always appear to have the total and committed support of his Cabinet, and, probably most damaging in the long run, his relations with the wider components of the CLP deteriorated rapidly.

The catalyst for Tuxworth's demise came on 20 March 1986, when Labor leader Bob Collins used parliamentary question time to demand an explanation why Tuxworth had claimed over \$9000 in travelling allowances. Tuxworth argued that he had advised the parliament that his home base was Tennant Creek for travel allowance entitlement. In 1981, when he had moved his family to Darwin because of his wife's ill-health, he argued that he was still legally entitled to continue to claim on his home base. His parliamentary colleagues argued that his continuing claims, while legal, were unreasonable. The matter dominated reports and discussion in the media in the following weeks, and the affair exposed the tensions in the CLP. Dispute between the parliamentary wing and the organisational wing of the party became public, focussed on Tuxworth and the party president, Graeme Lewis, who had been one of the most important members of the CLP organisation during the Everingham years.

As the conflict in the party became increasingly public, there was growing evidence that it was much more complex than it had originally appeared to be. Allegations and public comments were made daily, by most of the leading

players, and the tenor of these comments left no doubt that the divisions were diverse and deep.

To analyse the internal conflicts in 1986, it is necessary to observe that the Country Liberal party, like any major party, is a coalition of people with different interests and ideologies. Tension between the elements of a coalition is to be expected in any party, but the CLP, by the 1980s, embraced potentially more divisive tensions than most.

Some tensions dated back to its formation. The CLP contained 'country' and 'urban', 'conservative' and 'liberal' components, strains between which have always taxed the coalitions of separate non-Labor parties in state and federal politics. The CLP had attempted an amalgamation of these components by incorporating them within the one organisation with the result that the organisation itself was subjected to strain.

The party also contained regional elements. It attempted to combine and unite the urban component of Darwin with the pastoral interests south of the 'Berrimah line'. This provided a potential urban-rural division. There was also a regional strain which flowed from the distance between and the isolation of the main centres of the population - Darwin, Katherine, Tennant Creek, Alice Springs, Nhulunbuy and Jabiru, which were separated by thousands of kilometres and had developed their own regional interests, needs and demands. The party attempted to moderate these by holding its regular Central Council meetings in centres other than Darwin but the strains remained.

The formal separation of the parliamentary and organisational wings of the party was another source of tension, just as it was in National and Liberal parties elsewhere in Australia. There was also a tendency, increasing during the 1980s for ideological conflicts to develop within the party in both parliamentary and organisational wings. This crossed regional lines and can be loosely defined as the division between the 'wets' and the 'dries', between those who favour some government intervention in a more-or-less regulated economy, and those who seek as much 'free enterprise' as possible. Increasing ideological tension provoked a reaction from those who maintained a pragmatic approach, who sought electoral success above all, against those who wanted government to base policy on a philosophy or an ideology.

As the Territory developed, further strains emerged in the party's membership, organisation and caucus. The interests of small business, especially in Darwin, were the

foundation on which the 1970s Liberal party had been erected. These were not always reconcilable with the interests of the pastoralists who were an important basis of the original Country party. But a further strain was added, after the formation of the CLP, as big business intervened more in the rapidly growing Territory economy.

Finally, there was the potential for tension between those who had been the leaders at the formation of the party in 1974, and the increasing number of young, middle-class, professional, managerial and business people in Darwin, who sought a party more attuned to their interests and to their style.

In summary, the CLP by the mid-1980s was subject to growing internal tension. What increased the potential for intra-party division was its apparently secure hold on government. By 1983, after four elections, the CLP seemed beyond challenge. Hence not only would faction fighting probably not lead to electoral defeat, but whichever interest within the CLP coalition managed to dominate the party would also be able to control the government and policy-making.

The resignation of Everingham as Chief Minister, and his election as a member of the federal parliament, provided the opportunity for many of these competing interests within the CLP to attempt to expand their power. During the Everingham leadership, 1977-83, a triumvirate had developed within the party. Everingham as parliamentary leader, Graeme Lewis as party President, and Barry Wyatt as party Secretary, had produced a combination of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary wings which ruled all but supreme within the party and within the government.

On his election as CLP leader and Chief Minister, Tuxworth gave the clear impression that he intended to stamp his authority on the party with the same power as his predecessor. To do so, he needed to weaken, if not destroy, the influence of the Everingham-Lewis-Wyatt triumvirate. It was not surprising that this attempt brought more internal strain to the increasingly divided coalition. For two years, these strains built up, and became more obvious and more widespread in the CLP: the triumvirate versus Tuxworth; the parliamentary wing versus the organisation; the organisation questioning the domination of the triumvirate; the continuing influence of Everingham, despite his distant Canberra position; the authority and power of Lewis; and, throughout all levels of the party, the emerging ideological, policy, regional and personality cleavages. By early 1986, these tensions reached a climax, and were focussed on the leadership of Ian Tuxworth.

The first two weeks of May 1986 could only be called extraordinary. On 4 May, back-bench CLP member Fred Finch gave his parliamentary colleagues notice of a motion of no-confidence in Tuxworth. On the following day, the CLP Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Roger Steele, stated that if Tuxworth was not sacked as leader by the CLP caucus then he would resign as Speaker. Steele, one of Tuxworth's most strident critics, was sure that there would be unanimous support for the dumping of the Chief Minister. Steele argued that 'it was time certain party members accepted their responsibilities and challenged Mr Tuxworth for the leadership', and advised that, in his view, 'a priority of a new leadership was likely to be an investigation of alleged abuses of power and privileges by members of the Tuxworth government' (NT News 6 May 1986). Steele was emphatic that he would resign as Speaker if Tuxworth remained leader of the party. These were extraordinary public statements from a person who held the office of Speaker of the Assembly, an office which demands dissociation from party affairs, at least in public (NT News 6 May 1986). On the same day, the NT News reported a CLP survey which revealed that 89 per cent of CLP supporters in Darwin's northern suburbs were opposed to Tuxworth continuing as Chief Minister.

On 8 May, the caucus met to resolve the no-confidence motion, and emerged from the party room announcing a unanimous vote for Tuxworth to remain as leader. It appeared that Tuxworth had won. But the affair continued. Despite his earlier assertions, Steele remained as Speaker. Everingham then entered the public arena. He described Steele as 'a humbug' who had 'lost all credibility', and described the caucus meeting as a 'pantomime which solved nothing' (NT News 8 May 1986).

CLP President Lewis emerged as a key figure, according to Steele who deprecated the 'totally destructive range war' between Lewis and Tuxworth (NT News 5 May 1986), and to Everingham who threatened to leave the party if Lewis was forced to resign at a coming Central Council meeting (NT News 8 May 1986). On 10 May, Lewis survived threats of a no-confidence motion at the party's Council meeting, following strong support from Everingham who had referred to the 'Dr Strangeloves and members of the lunatic fringe' behind expulsion moves (NT News 10 May 1986). Senator Bernie Kilgariff attacked his parliamentary colleague Everingham, and in a written statement to the Central Council called for the sacking of Lewis. By then, words were not being minced. Kilgariff's were particularly strong.

Mr Lewis's continual public utterances, which indicate absolute disloyalty to the party and

unsuitability for the position of chairman, surely mean he must go now;

and he warned that

those who wish to pursue their personal vendettas and continue to undermine and white-ant the CLP must be disposed of (NT News 13 May 1986).

A statement which must have been of real concern to the CLP leaders was that by Bob Liddle, Aboriginal party vice-president, who threatened to resign in support of Everingham. The situation was approaching a political farce, but was resolved on 13 May when, after intense pressure from the CLP organisation, Tuxworth resigned as leader.

On the following day, the caucus elected Steve Hatton as its new leader. Hatton had been first elected to the Assembly only three years previously, and had been a minister only since 1984. On 21 May, Steele resigned as Speaker 'as a matter of honour', recognising that his public involvement in the crisis 'reflected badly on the office of Speaker' (NT News 21 May 1986).

But the intra-party warfare continued. From the back-bench, Tuxworth turned the public's attention back to Lewis and Everingham, demanding the former's resignation, and warning that Lewis

had created a scenario where he felt he could manipulate to remove any Chief Minister he thought should not be in office,

and accusing both of a subtle campaign to get rid of him (NT News 14 May 1986). The Tennant Creek branch, loyal to their local member, attempted and failed, 31 votes to seven, to carry a no-confidence vote in Lewis at the party's June Council meeting, and also maintained the attack of the Tuxworth forces on Everingham (NT News 1 June 1986). Lewis's own report to the CLP annual conference on 8 August stressed the need for unity, especially after the recent history of threats of 'splits, new parties, walk-outs, boycotts and bans' which were 'so accurately reported in the media' (NT News 9 August 1986, emphasis added). Lewis was re-elected president of the party for a four year term.

This August reconciliation was only the quiet before the storm. The three months, October-December 1986, produced further extraordinary developments, and added one more component to the problems of the CLP. In early December, there were three shock announcements. Graeme Lewis announced his resignation, only four months after his

re-election as President, and on the same day that Kilgariff released another severe criticism of the CLP's 'disunity and lack of direction' (NT News 4 December 1986). The CLP came under the charge of its two vice-Presidents, Bill Forwood in Darwin and Shane Stone in Alice Springs.

The second shock was the announcement by Everingham that he would resign at the end of his term as MHR for the Northern Territory, and would resume his law career in Queensland. On 5 December, a third surprise: party Secretary Barry Wyatt announced his resignation from the party. The triumvirate, and Ian Tuxworth, had all left the party, and it appeared that the worst of the CLP's troubles were over.

But, as early as October, the media carried the first suggestions of the possible formation of a separate National party. One report noted that the push for the new party was coming from Queensland, and that there were suggestions of CLP figures as being 'National party fellow travellers' (NT News 4 October 1986). On 29 November, the National party announced its birth.

Party leader Hatton moved immediately to shore up at least the parliamentary wing of the party. On 1 December, he asked for, and received, a pledge from all members of the caucus that they would not join the National party, and he publicly warned 'any CLP dissidents to leave the party's ranks immediately, or be kicked out' (NT News 2 December 1986).

Less than a week later, the CLP carried out the final step to end the Tuxworth affair. Following allegations that Tuxworth had been in contact with the National party, Hatton declared: 'It's either Ian Tuxworth or me' (NT News 8 December 1986), and he gave notice of a formal motion to expel Tuxworth. On 5 December, Hatton explained to the media,

I phoned Mr Tuxworth and asked him for his resignation. He refused, and challenged me to kick him out (NT News 6 December 1986).

Tuxworth, in reply, was reported as 'shocked by the allegations'. He was emphatic that 'I don't have any intention of joining the Nationals' (NT News 6 December 1986). The caucus, and then the party's Management Committee met on 8 December, and expelled Tuxworth from the party. On 22 December, Tuxworth announced that he had decided to join the Nationals 'sooner than he had planned' (NT News 22 December 1986).

The CLP had one more step to go. In August, the then President Lewis admitted that there had been numerous events within the party, back to 1985, involving intimidation, and that 'this had to be prevented, particularly as far as pre-selection was concerned' (NT News 9 August 1986). In its January Council meeting, the party showed a new approach to the question.

All political parties assess the nature and quality of prospective candidates very carefully indeed. But most sitting members can normally assume that without some major reason, they will retain preselection. It is not often that a party purges sitting members. Hence when the CLP Central Council refused to renew preselection for three of its 18 members of parliament, it made headlines. The party rejected Mrs Noel Padgham-Purich (a member since 1977), Dennis Collins (1980), and Roger Steele (1974). Media reactions were supportive. To the NT News (1 February 1987), 'it was a matter of deadwood chopped from the CLP tree', and one commentator (NT News 4 February 1987) suggested that 'in the opinion of some observers [it] should have encompassed at least three more Assembly members'.

Each of the three electorates concerned was safe for the CLP. The loss of the advantage of incumbency did not threaten the non-Labor majority. Hence the pruning was not just for electoral advantage, but also because the CLP wanted to improve the quality of its caucus. But reactions of those involved were as would be expected. Mrs Padgham-Purich opined that part of the reason might be that she had 'not toed the party line first, last, and foremost' (Litchfield Times 5 May 1987). In the final event, the elections, the idiosyncratic nature of the Territory electorate was re-affirmed when Collins and Padgham-Purich were returned to the Assembly as independents.

The State of the Party in 1987

1986 had been a year of internal turmoil, and the formation of the National party had been clear indication that the dissatisfaction of some components of the CLP coalition was extreme. By the end of February 1987, however, the CLP appeared to have survived and restored at least a public image of cohesion. The parliamentary wing was united behind new leader Hatton, whose popularity in the electorate was certainly higher than had been Tuxworth's, although he had not achieved the dominance of Everingham.

The organisational wing was 'under new management', by a team of young, urban, managerial and professional people, who had introduced both professionalism and a sense of unity with the CLP caucus and with the party's rank and file

membership. The new men at the top included Vice-President Shane Stone from Alice Springs, Vice-President Bill Forwood, and Campaign Director John Hare from Darwin, all of whom were determined to bring a more efficient and effective management style to the CLP's organisation. Pastoralist Grant Heaslip became President. They also set out to change the relationship of the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary wings of the party. Under Tuxworth, the leader of the parliamentary wing had attempted to dominate the organisation; under Everingham, the triumvirate had run the party. The new leaders sought to produce a partnership within the party, and with considerable success at the calling of the election. Whatever damage the past year's troubles may have produced in the support from the electorate at the time, there was little doubt that the changes had not damaged the potential electorate vote by March 1987.

National Party

The Country Liberal party, from its inception, carried the potential for a division between the interests and demands of urban Liberals and rural Nationals. After all, the CLP was constructed in 1974 by the amalgamation of the then Country party (which had existed in the Territory since 1966) and the newly formed Liberal party. The reason for this amalgamation was electoral pragmatism - facing the first election for the Assembly, both parties were concerned that a divided non-Labor vote could let Labor win government. In the event, the Labor party won none of the then 19 seats.

United parties had been tried before in Australia: for a brief time in Western Australia, and in the record term of the Playford government in South Australia. But even in the latter, the strains of trying to satisfy both rural and urban interests in one party proved impossible, and the Country party re-emerged. There was no reason to expect any other result in the Territory. The organisation of the CLP, through the nature of settlement and communications, was dominated by the urban areas, and by 'Liberals'. The outback sections not only resented this, but also had different desires and demands from the policy-makers.

It was still possible in early 1986 that the CLP may have remained as the united non-Labor party - after all, election success is a great palliative. But there were two events which acted as the spur for the formation of a separate National party in the Territory, events which were closely linked. The first was the imbroglio which resulted in the removal of Tuxworth from the leadership, and his expulsion from the party. He had always been in the

'Country' camp of the CLP, and his forced resignation provided sufficient incentive for him to attempt to find a way back to the parliament.

The second event was the decision by Sir Johannes Bjelke-Petersen to begin his self-proclaimed trek to the leadership of Australia. His original scheme was to use the Queensland model: to separate the various National parties of Australia from their coalition partners and turn them into majority parties. The Northern Territory was a promising place to begin, not only because it was more like Queensland than other states in Australia, but the CLP's problems provided a natural vehicle.

The first news of a budding National party came with press reports of actions of the Townsville branch of the Joh-National party towards establishing a Territory party (NT News 29 November 1986). Reactions to these reports were swift. The local CLP set out to identify those who from the CLP may have been involved, although CLP Secretary Barry Wyatt recommended that people who were disenchanted with the CLP should join the Nationals, as it would be a case of 'good riddance' (NT News 29 November 1986). The federal National party was far from pleased at the reports, and leader Sinclair made it clear that the National party's affiliate in the Territory was the CLP.

But the party was off and running well before the public announcement of its existence on 29 November. The party's convenor, Jim Petrich, identified the two bases of the new party when he claimed that it was formed because the CLP 'has become a factionalised party with the Berrimah line drawn tightly across the Territory map' - the standard Country party cry of 'urban domination'; and when he expounded the philosophy of the party - placing it firmly within the rhetoric of the Bjelke-Petersen brand of new right politics (NT News 29 November 1986). The 'Country party' reason did not seem to sit comfortably with the position of the convenor: Jim Petrich was a senior marketing executive in Darwin, which suggests that the new party was intended more as a Joh-type party than a traditional rural-country party.

Petrich personally inaugurated the party. After only months of membership of the CLP he resigned in protest at the removal of Tuxworth as CLP leader, approached the Queensland Nationals, and began the processes which resulted in the National party. The impetus for the party was essentially his, although there was strong moral and organisational support from the Queensland party. Petrich was emphatic that no funds were received from Queensland - approximately half of the funding to set up the party was internal to the Territory, and the other half was received

from the states, especially from Victoria. On 19 January, Petrich became the party's full-time convenor when he resigned as Thiess Toyota marketing manager, 'following a lengthy telephone consultation with Bjelke-Petersen' (NT News 9 January 1987).

The federal National party reaction continued to be more than cool. The federal president of the party was emphatic that her organisation did not support the new party (NT News 10 December 1986) and Ian Sinclair ignored the Territory Nationals on his visit to the Territory in mid-December. The CLP, however, recognised from the beginning that the party needed to be dealt with, or at least its potential for damage minimised. Only days after the National party's official formation, CLP leader Hatton was on the road attempting to prevent any damage. Defections from the CLP in the Tuxworth Tennant Creek branch were bad enough, and a public brawl with Bjelke-Petersen over his role in the new party (NT News 18 December 1986) did not help. But defections of senior CLP members caused serious worries.

The CLP was especially concerned about the defection of Bob Liddle who had been chosen as the CLP's second Senate candidate in October 1986. The second position had annoyed Liddle (NT News 5 January 1987), especially as the top place on the ticket was given to Grant Tambling, the CLP member of the House of Representatives who had lost to the Labor party in 1980. But there were other reasons for the CLP's concern. Liddle had been a 'showpiece' for the CLP - an Aborigine from Alice Springs where most Aborigines are hardly CLP supporters, let alone prominent members. His defection was a major win for the new National party. Liddle's own reasons mirrored the rhetoric of party convenor Petrich:

the CLP was moving towards an overdose of liberalism ... not suitable for Central Australians who did not want small liberals involved with their politics ... the National party had the correct land rights policy.

CLP vice-president Shane Stone attempted to dismiss the defection:

here you have a man who has been an ALP member, then a CLP member, and now an NT Nationals member. What party is he going to join next?

By January 1987, the federal National party had apparently re-assessed the situation in the Territory. Leader Sinclair, who had been adamant in late 1986 that the new National party was not wanted, that the coalition was

imperative, had started to bring pressure on the CLP. Sinclair advised Hatton that he expected all future CLP members elected from the Territory to join the federal National party (NT News 28 January 1987).

One possible reason for the apparent change of heart was the Pendarvis affair. Jay Pendarvis, who came to national prominence in the Mudginberri meatworks dispute, had become a key player in the CLP-National brawl. As owner of the Mudginberri abattoir, he had successfully resisted a strike and picket by the Meatworkers Union, with substantial help from the NT government, in what was widely seen as a major test of national industrial legislation and as a major embarrassment to the federal Labor government in Canberra. His position and the ideas of those offering him vocal support were on the 'far right' of Australian conservative politics. His name, reputation and title as Australian of the Year in 1986 would add much to any party he decided to join. In November 1986, Pendarvis, hitherto a CLP member, had indicated that he would 'seriously consider' an approach by the National party (NT News 3 November 1986). This was a shock to the CLP, especially as the CLP government had been a strong moral and monetary supporter of Pendarvis during the Mudginberri dispute. But Pendarvis had fallen out with the CLP, and especially with some leading players in the intra-party warfare. To Hatton, 'it is the dirtiest political double-cross I've heard of' (Sunday Territorian 25 January 1987), and he pondered whether the government should withdraw guarantees on loans to Pendarvis. The defection was clearly seen as damaging to the Liberal party as well, and Opposition leader John Howard flew across Australia in an attempt to reverse the decision. The Queensland National party added further fuel by offering to take up the financial backing for Pendarvis (NT News 27 January 1987), Pendarvis let it be known that he no longer needed NT government help (NT News 29 January 1987) and next day met with Hatton, Minister for Primary Production, Terry McCarthy, and officials from the National Farmers Federation and the NT Cattlemens Association (NT News 30 January 1987). The meeting resulted in Pendarvis not proceeding with National party membership - he said he would phone Sir Joh to explain - and in the renewal of the NT government's underwriting of the \$2 million Westpac loan to Pendarvis's abattoir (NT News 3 February 1987). This thwarted the National party's hopes of securing Pendarvis as a possible leader with a national identity. The outcome was a major tactical victory for Hatton and the CLP.

The CLP also had an asset in the media's attitude to the new National party. An editorial in the NT News (19 December 1986) best explains the general tone: 'No room for the Nationals'. And the News was far from supportive of the intervention of the Queensland Premier. In February 1987,

Sir Joh conducted a barnstorming tour of the Territory, at which the News responded: 'Sir Joh is not the man', and continued:

For all of his popular appeal, the Queensland Premier's record is one of government interference, over-regulation, high taxes and charges, and continuous accusations of cronyism and corruption ... Opportunism, not far-sighted policies, is the name of the game for the Queensland Premier ... It is essential that common sense and realism should triumph over irrationality and expediency (NT News 9 February 1987).

The National party grew rapidly. By the opening of the election campaign in mid-February, the party claimed 540 members, of whom 140 had joined at Tennant Creek to support Tuxworth. The party had six branches, three in the Darwin area and three outside, at Tennant Creek, Katherine and Alice Springs. The party admitted that the outback was a problem - its only media communication outside of the towns was by the ABC, whose rules prevented the National party from claiming any free time as it had not existed at the last election. But, as a party spokesman admitted, the Nationals realised that its land rights policies would not please Aboriginal communities, and they had not sought to organise there.

The NT National party, from its beginning, was different from National parties elsewhere. The state National parties had been born as Country parties, rural-based in every sense of the word, and with the sectional purpose of protecting rural interests. They were regional and sectional from the beginning, playing hard on an urban-rural cleavage. Only in the last decade have the state National parties attempted to break out of their rural origins.

The NT National party emerged as something entirely different. First, the NT is not as clearly regionalised into rural-urban, except in the sense of Darwin versus the rest and, although urban in character, Alice Springs, Tennant Creek and Katherine are essentially service towns, inextricably linked with rural/outback interests. Second, the party emerged as an urban party, and its electoral focus and appeal was almost exclusively urban. Third, the National party of the Territory was based on a combination of small and large business interests and business people. Fourth, it propounded the 'new economics' of 'free enterprise' - hardly attractive to the outback dweller, whether pastoralist or Aborigine. Finally, it emerged as a party disgruntled with the CLP, seeking to cross existing

party lines. It was, then, a Joh-type party rather than a Country-type National party.

This brought a problem of identity. If the party sought to win support across the NT, and across existing party lines, it needed a commitment, an ideology and a leader, especially in the very short time-frame. It certainly had the first. The party, the members, and the candidates appeared almost messianic. It had an ideology. But there was a problem over leadership. Tuxworth's removal by the CLP was the spark for the formation of the party, and Tuxworth remained a focus of attention as the only National MLA. But Petrich as convenor was the constant focus of media attention and he was the unquestioned organisational leader. But the party constantly referred to Bjelke-Petersen, and implied that it was, at base, a Joh-party. This created a problem of identity. The NT electorate is very chauvinistic, and all parties, groups and voters make clear that they do not approve of 'outside interference'. Linking the NT National party so closely with the Joh leadership in Queensland was likely to provoke negative reactions and play into the hands of the CLP's campaign media people.

The Labor Party

The Labor party was the first political party to be involved in Territory politics, and for many years the only party. The non-Labor party (first called National then Country) did not emerge until 1966, and the CLP was formed in 1974. But the Labor party, since the formation of the Territory Legislative Assembly, has been notably unsuccessful. It had won no seats at all in the first, 1974, election, and by the 1983 election it had managed to win only six of the 25 seats, and only one of the 13 seats in the Darwin area. The explanations for this lack of success are found in the different nature of the Territory polity and society.

First, the Territory's unique social composition in terms of population size, demographic sociology and political culture has significant implications for the organisation, policies and electoral potential of a Labor party. The population and the rural workforce in the pastoral and mining industries beyond Darwin and Alice Springs are small and dispersed, providing no basis for a 'mass' party which depends on membership and organisation. The two major towns lack the industrial base and blue-collar workforce which, elsewhere in Australia, provide Labor with its core electoral support. The urban centres of the Territory, and especially Darwin and Alice Springs which, in 1987, comprised 16 of the 25 electorates, are thoroughly

mixed in socio-economic terms and do not offer Labor any safe seats.

Parallel with the lack of industrial development is a comparatively weak industrial trade union movement. Trade unionism is numerically dominated by white-collar government employee unions which are not affiliated with the Labor party, and which are by no means committed to the party.

The most obvious factor is the Territory's Aboriginal component, comprising just under a quarter of the population. Five of the 25 electorates are more than 50 per cent Aboriginal, and at the 1983 election, Labor won four. Over the elections since 1974, the Labor party built up strong support among Aborigines. This was by no means a bloc vote, and in 1983 the CLP won Victoria River where Aboriginal voters are in a majority. But the strong support from Aborigines, and the Labor party's commitment to Aboriginal development, and especially to land rights, had the potential to cause strains within the caucus and the wider party. Four of the six Labor members elected in 1983 were from Aboriginal-dominated electorates, and Dan Leo from Nhulunbuy was from the 'outback', and depended on strong Aboriginal support from the Yirrkala people. Only Terry Smith in the electorate of Millner represented an urban electorate. The party leader, Bob Collins, was member for the essentially Aboriginal electorate of Arafura. To hope to win government, the party had to retain its outback seats and win seats in Darwin.

The 'political culture' of the north, compared to the rest of Australia, put Labor at a disadvantage in projecting its image among white voters. A survey in 1982 established not only that the commitment to party by Territory voters as a whole was somewhat weaker than in other states, but that this was especially so among those who had identified with Labor before migrating to the Territory.

The party has a formal, Territory existence as a branch of the Australian Labor party. And, like the ALP elsewhere, it is composed of competing factions. What characterises the Territory party is the intensity of conflict between these factions. The party is divided by political geography, by ideology, by specific policies, and by major questions of electoral strategy. It contains left, centre, and right factions - as elsewhere. But it is further divided: over uranium mining; by disagreements between regions and local branches separated by up to 2,000 km; between the 'traditional' trade union members and the more recent middle-class professionals; and on an increasingly significant intra-party cleavage in the 1980s: white, middle-class, urban, versus outback Aboriginal. To the former, the more the party concentrated on Aboriginal

issues, especially land rights, the less was its electoral chance in the essentially conservative white urban areas. But on the other hand, in the rural areas, the party was committed to Aboriginal people, and had depended on Aboriginal voters for five of its six seats. In these, Aboriginal electoral support for the Labor party, although often taken for granted, was by no means guaranteed. It was based on a combination of personality, policy and party, with components of tribal and family influences, affected by candidate and community networks and links, both formal and informal. It could, then, be lost by any decrease in effort in the Aboriginal communities.

Bob Collins won the leadership of the parliamentary Labor party in 1981, and immediately stamped his style on the position. Further, he made successful efforts to revitalise a party which was in internal disarray and electoral disfavour. He was a very able parliamentary performer, one of the few members of the Assembly, on either side of the House, who could mix it with that other performer, Paul Everingham, and emerge more often than not with a victory. The NT News, not noted for its support for Labor, commented that:

For the past four years Mr Collins has been the Opposition. He has outshone and outgunned everyone not only in his own party but in the government (NT News 19 August 1986).

On 19 August 1986, Collins announced that he would resign from the leadership, so that he could stand for party preselection for the Senate. This raised an immediate storm, as the incumbent Labor Senator, Ted Robertson, had given no impression that he intended to resign. Collins ultimately won the preselection. But there were other reasons for Collins's decision to resign from the leadership. As the political analyst for the NT News (23 August 1986) put it, Collins was the 'ham in the Labor parliamentary wing's sandwich ... a political gun had been placed at his head'. Collins led a party that was fragmented, and any leader in that situation would face constant pressures. By the mid-1980s, the party had become deeply divided over uranium mining, but along lines different from the Labor party elsewhere. As elsewhere, the main proponents of uranium mining were the right wing, especially the mining unions. In the NT, however, they were now allied with some pro-Aboriginal components of the party, a phenomenon not generally known elsewhere. Collins, a moderate, representing an electorate with a majority of Aborigines, supported uranium mining. This put him at odds with the urban left wing of the party which, as elsewhere, was against uranium mining and, at least in principle, in favour of land rights. However, in the Territory, the urban

left wing, along with the urban right wing, often saw the need for the party to distance itself a little further from Aboriginal issues, especially land rights, in order to broaden its urban basis of support. This cleavage was exposed when Collins forcefully told the ALP's 1986 National Conference in Hobart that Aborigines in the NT supported uranium mining because it had given them an independence from government (NT News 9 July 1986).

Electoral considerations brought the matter to a head. Collins was a representative of an outback electorate, committed to the Aboriginal cause and strongly in favour of land rights. Each of these factors was seen by the white, urban, middle-class components of the party, by both the left and the right, as an electoral liability. Their argument was that to improve its electoral chances, to win more seats, the party had to win in the urban areas, and especially in the northern suburbs of Darwin. If the urban voters were not supporting the party under Collins's leadership, policies and style, then Collins would have to be replaced. In essence, the urban component was convinced that Collins stood between the party and government. The opposition to Collins had combined normally antagonistic factions: the left disliked his moderate ideology and his pro-uranium stance; the more pragmatic urban middle-class considered his Aboriginal links and policy emphases were an electoral liability in Darwin. Labor politics are tough anywhere - they are especially so in the Territory. Collins resigned from the leadership.

The party caucus elected Terry Smith as the new Leader of the Opposition. Smith, a former school teacher and white-collar union official, held the party's only Darwin seat - in fact, the only urban seat, and the theory of the anti-Collins combination was clearly to be put to the test at the coming election.

Other parties

Given the unique features of Territory politics, the fluid nature of the party system, and the miniscule electorate populations, independents and minor parties could view any election as offering a chance of success. The 1974 election included 29 independents in the 19 electorates, two of whom won seats. In 1977, the Progress party nominated in 18 electorates and the Communist party nominated one candidate. In 1980, the contests included Progress party, Marijuana party, Australian Democrats, Christian Democrats, as well as independents. The 1983 election saw five Australian Democrats and nine independents.

The run-up to the 1987 election had the potential for further minor party involvement. In December 1986 a letter to the Editor (NT News 11 December 1986) promoted a Territory Party as

middle-of-the-road in politics, and we will fight to have some members elected at the next election

specifically in opposition to the CLP and the new National party. In early February, Mr Bill Hartley travelled to Darwin, announced that he was convenor of the Industrial Labor party, and promised candidates at the federal election.

In the event, the 1987 election was the most party-focussed of all of the Territory elections held since 1974. The CLP, Labor and National parties contested all electorates, and only 10 independents nominated. But the results of the election provided more evidence that the Territory electorate still has less stable patterns of party voting than the electorate elsewhere in Australia, and that the party system is still far from being as dominant as in the state and federal arenas.

Chapter 2

THE ELECTION AND THE ECONOMY

To relate election issues and party policies to developments in the NT economy, it is important first to outline the Territory's basic economic structure. A key point to note is the heavy dependence of the economy on public sector spending and associated construction and service activities. The most obvious indication of the public sector's importance is the high proportion of employment it accounts for. Table 2.1 summarises 1981 Census data on the proportion of total employment provided by the government sector in Australia, the States and Territories. Only the ACT has a higher proportion than the NT - the Territory figure of 33.2 per cent compares to the Australian average of 24.3 per cent and a range for the states of between 22.8 and 28.4. The Census data certainly underestimate the extent of public sector employment in the NT; other Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) figures indicate that 39 per cent of total employment was accounted for by the public sector in June 1986 and 40 per cent in December 1986; figures for Australia were 32 per cent and 30 per cent (ABS, No. 6248.0).

The extent of public service employment does not fully reflect the economic significance of government expenditures. A substantial proportion of activity in the retail, construction and personal services sectors, which together

Table 2.1
Proportion of employed persons in the state sector,
States, Territories and Australia, 1981

	Commonwealth	State	Local	Total
NSW	6.7	15.0	1.6	23.3
ACT	56.1	0.8	0.1	57.0
Vic.	6.6	14.4	1.8	22.8
Tas.	6.2	20.4	1.8	28.4
SA	7.4	17.5	1.2	26.1
Qld	6.4	15.1	2.4	23.9
WA	4.9	18.0	1.5	24.4
NT	9.8	22.4	1.0	33.2
Australia	7.3	15.3	1.7	24.3

Source: ABS, Census of Population and Housing 30 June 1981, Summary Characteristics of Persons and Dwellings, Australia, States and Territories.

accounted for 27 per cent of total employment in 1981, is dependent on expenditure of public servants' wages and on government capital works projects. It is not possible to document this dependence in detail, but some indication of its extent is provided by two figures. First, wages and salaries paid to employees of NT government departments and agencies funded through the budget amounted to some \$275 million in 1982-83, equivalent to 58 per cent of total sales by retail establishments during that year (Northern Territory of Australia [NTA] Budget Paper No. 3, 1983-84; ABS, No. 1306.7, 1984). Second, in 1984-85, the public sector accounted for 48 per cent of the value of work done by the building and construction industries (O'Faircheallaigh 1987, Table 6, 24).

The dominance of public sector activity is also reflected in the relative insignificance of those economic sectors engaged in commodity production, a point illustrated by Table 2.2, which indicates the proportion of total employment accounted for by manufacturing, mining, agriculture, forestry and fishing in Australia, the States and Territories. The total figure of 13.2 per cent for the NT compares with 25.1 per cent for Australia and a range of between 23.1 and 27.9 for the states. The most significant difference is in the share of manufacturing employment, which in the NT is considerably less than half that in the state with the lowest proportion of employment in this sector, Western Australia (4.6 versus 12.5 per cent).

Table 2.2
Proportion of total employment
in major commodity-producing sectors,
Australia, States and Territories, 1981 (per cent)

	Manufacturing	Mining	Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing	Total
NSW	18.5	1.4	4.9	24.8
ACT	3.6	0.2	0.7	4.5
Vic	22.2	0.3	5.4	27.9
Tas	15.3	2.5	7.6	25.4
SA	19.0	0.8	7.7	27.5
Qld	13.0	2.0	8.1	23.1
WA	12.5	4.0	7.9	24.4
NT	4.6	4.6	4.0	13.2
Australia	17.7	1.4	6.0	25.1

Source: ABS, Census of Population and Housing, 30 June 1981, Summary Characteristics of Persons and Dwellings, Australia, States and Territories.

Another key feature of the NT economy is the heavy reliance of its commodity producing sector on a few primary industries serving export markets which display a high degree of instability, particularly mining but also pastoral production and fishing. This is illustrated by Tables 2.3 and 2.4. Table 2.3 provides figures on the composition of Gross Domestic Product in the NT and Australia. In the NT, agriculture, fishing and mining account for 21.6 per cent of the total, compared to 10.1 per cent for Australia. The figures again illustrate the relative importance for the NT of the public sector and of the construction industry which it helps support; another point to note is the relative insignificance in the Territory of the Finance and Business Services sector.

While substantial economic growth has occurred since self-government in 1978, this has not resulted in significant diversification of the economy, a point illustrated by Table 2.4, which provides indicators of economic activity in the NT for 1978-79 and 1984-85. (The figures for percentage change should be regarded only as indicating general trends, since they are highly sensitive to the choice of base year as a result of short-term fluctuations in output and prices). In particular it emphasises the continued dominance of mining, especially when it is

Table 2.3
Gross Domestic Product at Factor Cost by
Industry, NT and Australia, 1983-84

	NT		AUSTRALIA	
	\$million	%	\$million	%
Agriculture, Fishing, etc	67	3.6	8,989	5.5
Mining	334	18.0	7,575	4.6
Manufacturing	114	6.1	30,584	18.5
Electricity, Gas, Water	6	3.6	6,635	4.0
Construction	177	9.5	10,926	6.6
Wholesale, Retail Trade	210	11.3	21,805	13.2
Transport, Storage, Communications	146	7.8	14,631	8.9
Finance, Property, Business Services	71	3.8	11,423	6.9
Public Admin., Defence, Community Services	439	23.6	28,981	17.6
Recreation, Personal Services	86	4.6	6,261	3.8
Ownership of Dwellings	150	8.1	17,186	10.4
Total	1,860	100.0	164,993	100.0

Source: ABS, No. 5220.0, 1985-86

remembered that a substantial proportion of value added in manufacturing arises from bauxite refining. It also illustrates the fact that production in each sector of primary industry is still heavily dependent on a single commodity, i.e. uranium, beef and prawns, which increases their vulnerability to market fluctuations. The spectacular increase in tourist earnings is of course from a very low base.

Table 2.4
Selected Indicators of Economic Activity,
Northern Territory, 1978-79 and 1984-85,
\$ million

	1978-79	1984-85	% Change
Gross Value of Production			
Agriculture	74.3	108.4	45.9
- Beef	(68.4)	(90.8)	
Fishing	19.6	17.2	-12.2
- Prawns	(17.1)	(13.8)	
Mining*	204.8	697.4	240.5
- Most Valuable Mineral	(103.4)	(427.8)	
Value Added in Manufacturing Industry	77.1	125.3	62.5
Takings for Accommodation**	0.5	34.3	6760.0

Notes: * Calendar years 1978 and 1984. Most valuable mineral was bauxite in 1978 and uranium in 1984

** Calendar years 1978 and 1984

Source: O'Faircheallaigh 1987, Table 11, 35

It is part of the Country Liberal Party's ideology that the underdeveloped state of the Territory economy reflects Canberra's neglect and ineptitude rather than any 'objective' economic or physical realities. Without denying the significance of politics and policy, it is important to stress that the Territory's geography has been a crucial constraint on development of industry. In particular, geographical isolation has meant an absence of large, easily-accessible markets, and high transport and labour costs, all of which precluded the establishment of efficient manufacturing industry. Secondly, in general, neither climate nor soils were suitable for intensive agriculture, which has been attempted only sporadically, over small areas, and with very limited commercial success.

An important consequence of the Territory's economic structure is that the NT government's 'domestic' revenue

base is very narrow. This is particularly so since the Territory's major industry, mining, generates little royalty revenue. Indeed during recent years mineral royalties as a proportion of the value of mineral production have been lower in the NT than in any of the states, and with the exception of Tasmania the difference has been substantial. In 1983-84, for example, the NT figure was 0.7 per cent, compared to 6.9 per cent in Western Australia, and 4.1 per cent in Queensland (which also imposes 'de facto' royalties through rail freight charges). The low level of royalties in the NT reflects the fact that uranium, which now accounts for about half of output by value, remains under Commonwealth control, and that the Territory government inherited mining legislation and agreements which provided for low royalty rates. The Mineral Royalty Act 1982 is designed to increase royalty collections through a profit-based tax, but it applies only to mines developed after that date and to existing mines whose leases expire. Thus it will not substantially increase royalty collections in the short term.

Table 2.5 illustrates the narrowness of the NT revenue base by comparison to the two major 'primary producing' states, Western Australia and Queensland. It indicates the proportion of total revenue provided by some major taxes levied on economic activity within the state or territory, and also the proportion of total revenue raised internally, which is 19 per cent in the Territory compared to 54 per cent in both Queensland and Western Australia.

Table 2.5
Principal Revenue Sources,
NT, Queensland and WA, per cent, 1985-86

Revenue Source	NT	Queensland	WA
Payroll Tax	3.9	9.3	9.9
Stamp Duty	1.4	7.5	7.1
Mining	0.7	3.9	6.2
Other Internal	13.0	33.3	30.8
Total State Revenue	19.0	54.0	54.0
Commonwealth Payments	81.0	46.0	46.0

Source: NTA, Budget Paper No. 2, 1986-87; Queensland, Summary Tables Relating to the Public Accounts, 1986-87; Western Australia, Consolidated Revenue Fund, Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure for the Year Ending 30 June 1987.

The high degree of dependence on funds from Canberra means, of course, that trends in Commonwealth funding have enormous significance for the Territory's economy. The basis

for Commonwealth payments have been analysed in detail elsewhere (Mathews 1985) and need not concern us here. The major point to note is that Commonwealth funding grew substantially in real terms between self-government and 1984-85 (see Table 2.6), but fell by 9.1 per cent between 1984-85 and 1986-87. Indeed Table 2.6 underestimates the decline since the 1986-87 figures are based on budget estimates prepared before the full impact of cuts in Commonwealth funding had become apparent.

Table 2.6
Commonwealth Payments to the NT
1979/80-1986/87, current and 1980-81 dollars*

	Current \$ (million)	1980-81 \$ (million)
1979-80	441.0	n.a.
1980-81	553.8	553.8
1981-82	623.0	560.7
1982-83	850.4	690.8
1983-84	826.5	634.8
1984-85	912.5	675.4
1985-86	945.1	646.4
1986-87**	978.9	614.1

* Indexed to the Darwin cpi with 1980-81 as the base year
** Estimate

Source: NTA, Budget Paper No.2, various years; ABS, 6401.0, various issues.

Given this background, it is apparent that three economic issues are likely to be of lasting relevance in Territory politics. (1) The removal of barriers to the full exploitation of those resources which the Territory possesses and can exploit efficiently, particularly minerals and tourist attractions. (2) The appropriate role for government in attempting to promote economic development and particularly in diversifying the economy. (3) The financing of government expenditures aimed at promoting development directly and at providing basic social and physical infrastructure, given the narrow revenue base, the undesirability of further adding to already high cost levels in the Territory, and the real decline in Commonwealth funding. The first issue has played a key role in previous Territory elections, but it was less significant in 1987. The second and third issues were of central importance, and we analyse them in detail below. Before doing so, it might be useful to briefly outline the performance of the Territory economy in recent years, and particularly since the previous election in 1983.

Developments in the Economy, 1983-87

Sectoral performance As noted above, the mining industry plays a key role in the NT economy, and its fortunes have a substantial impact on economic performance. Mineral output grew strongly in the years after self-government, increasing in value by 170 per cent between 1978 and 1983. Expansion continued in 1984, with the value of output 27 per cent higher than in the previous year. However this growth was largely due to the establishment of uranium mining at Ranger and Nabarlek, and the sensitivity of industry output to production changes by a few large mines was evident in 1985 when a fall in uranium production at Ranger led to a 13 per cent decline in industry output, despite substantial increases in the value of manganese and oil. Recently, the industry has diversified to some extent, with the establishment of a lead/zinc mine, a large number of small and medium-sized gold mines, exploitation of oil and gas resources in the Centre, and the development of the Territory's first offshore oil field. (A second field is currently being assessed). However, the total value of output from these various ventures is relatively modest, and the industry remains heavily dependent on the fortunes of a few commodities, especially uranium.

Tourism has become the second most important industry in the NT and is regarded by the CLP government as having the greatest potential for growth. Its attempts to encourage the industry have included support for individual projects such as the Yulara Tourist Resort, the Sheraton Hotels in Darwin and Alice Springs, and the Darwin and Alice Springs casinos (discussed in detail below), and increased funding for the NT Tourist Commission (\$5.5 million in 1983-84, \$11.2 million in 1986-87, an average annual growth rate of 50 per cent (NTA, Budget Paper No. 3, 1983-84, 1984-85, 1985-86, 1986-87).

As mentioned above, takings from tourist accommodation showed dramatic growth after self-government. This growth has continued in recent years; takings rose from \$23 million in 1983-84 to \$37 million in 1985-86. The number of establishments increased from 88 in 1983-84 to 95 in 1985-86, and the number of guest rooms, sites and cabins by 3 per cent in 1985 and a further 29 per cent in 1986 (ABS, No. 1305.7).

Surveys by the NT Tourist Commission indicate continued growth in tourist trips and direct expenditure. The number of trips increased by 15.8 per cent in 1984-85 and 9.4 per cent in 1985-86. Direct expenditure rose from an estimated \$172 million in 1983-84 to \$289 million in 1985-86, or by 68 per cent. In general the industry has been dominated by interstate visitors, but during 1985-86 the number of trips

and expenditure by overseas travellers grew more rapidly (Northern Territory Travel Monitor, 1983-84, 1984-85, 1985-86). The development of areas such as Litchfield Park near Darwin and Mt John Valley near Alice Springs, and the upgrading of existing facilities at locations such as Kings Canyon, will increase the attractions available to tourists, while the sealing of the Stuart Highway should lead to further increases in numbers of interstate visitors.

Pastoral activity in the NT is dominated by cattle production. The beef cattle industry has been characterised by slow growth rates mainly because of poor pastures, high temperatures and poor genetic adaption (Northern Territory Development Corporation [NTDC] 1984, 24). The industry's reliance on unstable US beef prices means that the value of output fluctuates substantially. In 1982-83 the gross value of production from cattle was \$65.1 million; it rose to \$94.6 million in 1983-84, fell to \$90.8 million in 1984-85, and increased again to \$98.9 million in 1985-86. Live exports rose over the last three years, as did slaughterings at non-export abattoirs, while slaughterings at export abattoirs declined (NT Primary Production Statistics, 1983-84, 1984-85; Department of Primary Production, Annual Report, 1985-86).

The performance of the beef cattle industry since 1983-84 has also been influenced by the national Brucellosis and Tuberculosis Eradication Campaign (BTEC). This has resulted in the need for cattle operations to become more controlled and so more capital intensive, as opposed to the previous general practice of free range grazing and annual musters. Thus the industry's performance since 1983-84 has been influenced by the transition between two management regimes. This generates conflicting influences on industry output, as some producers develop a sounder base and hopefully increase production while others are likely to find the capital cost too great and withdraw from the industry.

Since 1978, the NT government has made concerted efforts to develop agriculture, but with very limited success. The industry has been dominated by sorghum and maize production, and poor yields from these crops have resulted in low production overall. So, for example, the total value of field crop production increased from \$2.0 million in 1983-84 to \$2.6 million in 1984-85, but in 1985-86 the Adelaide River and Katherine regions were severely affected by drought, resulting in low harvests of sorghum and maize. This caused an overall decline in the value of field crop production, despite the fact that the value of some other crops (e.g. soybeans) increased significantly.

The horticultural industry, on the other hand, has exhibited strong growth since 1983-84, though from a very

low base. The value of fruit and vegetable production more than doubled in the last three years, rising from \$2.8 million in 1983-84 to \$5.7 million in 1985-86. Output has been dominated by mangoes, bananas and melons, though new crops are continually emerging. Expansion of the industry has been facilitated by the opening up of export markets in Singapore and Hong Kong, and the NT's ability to produce crops for sale out of season in southern markets.

The NT fishing industry has traditionally been dominated by prawning. During the period 1983-84 to 1985-86, prawns accounted for 80 per cent of the total value of marine product landed in the NT. Barramundi is second in importance, but though accounting for more than half the value of fish landings, contributed only 7.2 per cent of industry output over this period. Consequently, the size of the prawn catch has determined overall performance by the industry. Low landings and reduced prices in 1984-85 resulted in a decline in total marine product value from \$23.3 million to \$17.2 million. With improved catches and prices in 1985-86, the total increased to \$29.0 million (NT Primary Production Statistics, 1983-84; Department of Ports and Fisheries, Annual Report, 1984-85, 1985-86). The prawn and barramundi fisheries are being exploited close to their limit, and strict management regimes have been enforced since 1977. With no scope for increased landings in these areas, the industry has attempted to diversify into joint venture pelagic and demersal fishing and into aquaculture. Landings of fin and demersal fish have increased markedly since 1985, but still represented only nine per cent of total marine product value in 1985-86. Pilot aquaculture projects have been initiated, and experimental prawn crops harvested, but their commercial viability has yet to be determined (NT Marine and Fisheries Magazine, December 1985, March 1987).

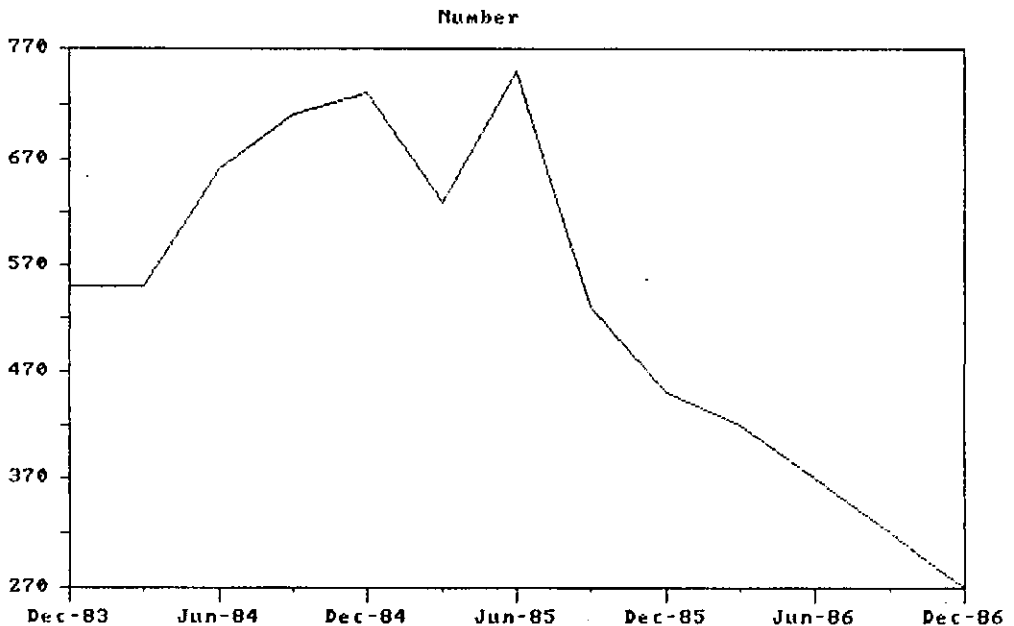
The NT's small manufacturing industry consists of a few large mineral and meat processing establishments, and a large number of small construction and service oriented establishments. It exhibited modest growth during the period 1982-83 to 1984-85, with the number of establishments increasing from 117 to 137, employment from around 2,400 to 2,600 and value added from \$91 million to \$129 million (ABS, No. 8206.7). The NT government has recently taken a number of initiatives to promote growth in this area, the most important being the establishment of the Trade Development Zone (discussed below).

The building and construction industries represent an important component in the NT economy. The value of work done on construction other than building was favourably affected during 1985 and 1986 by a few large projects undertaken both by the private and public sector, including

the Tindal RAAF Base near Katherine, the Palm Valley-Darwin gas pipeline, and the Channel Island power station. The value of work carried out increased from \$109.3 million in 1983-84 to \$117.8 million in 1984-85 and \$257.2 million in 1985-86 (ABS, No. 8761.0).

Despite this, the sector as a whole has declined during the last few years. The number of private sector dwelling units approved during 1985 was 14.5 per cent lower than in the previous year, and in 1986 there was a further decline of 46.8 per cent. In addition, the value of non-residential buildings approved decreased by 32.3 per cent in the private sector and 43 per cent in the public sector during 1985. An upturn occurred in 1986, but largely consisted of a \$91.8 million increase in the public sector, a substantial portion of which resulted from contracts for the Tindal RAAF Base (ABS, No. 8731.7). The number of new residential buildings commenced has also declined sharply, particularly since March 1985. Quarterly figures are presented in Figure 2.1. The high demand for housing experienced in previous years has clearly fallen; this is also reflected in NT housing prices and sales. The number of private houses sold during 1985-86 was three per cent lower than for 1984-85, and the average value of houses sold also decreased in real

Figure 2.1
Commencements: New residential building: Total:
Total Sectors: NT



Source: ABS, No. 8752.7, various issues.

terms (NTA, Budget Paper No. 6, 1986-87, 7). The lower housing demand has also been reflected in NT Housing Commission (NTHC) activity. The number of houses committed to contract fell from 1,066 in 1983-84 to 657 in 1985-86, while the number estimated for 1986-87 was 633 (NTHC, Annual Report, 1983-84, 1985-86; NTA, Budget Paper No. 4, 1986-87, 48-49). Similarly, the number of loans granted by banks, permanent building societies and other lenders for owner-occupied housing has declined, those for new dwellings falling from 1,204 in 1984-85 to 580 in 1985-86 or by 51.8 per cent. The value of loans fell from \$56.0 million to \$29.7 million or by 47 per cent (NTA, Budget Paper No. 6, 1986-87, 28).

The overall decline in building and construction activity is also reflected in employment in the industry, which fell from 5,500 in February 1985 to 4,900 in September 1985 and 4,000 in February 1986 (see Table 2.7 below). It should also be noted that the large construction projects which prevented a sharper decline were 'once off' ventures whose effects would be temporary.

Employment, Incomes and Prices According to the ABS, the unemployment rate for the NT has fluctuated between seven and eight per cent since 1984. For the year ended December 1984, the average monthly unemployment rate was 7.7 per cent; during 1985 and 1986 it was seven per cent and 7.1 per cent respectively (ABS, No. 6203.0; Time Series Data). The number of people receiving unemployment benefits, on the other hand, increased steadily during 1984 and more rapidly during 1985 and 1986. The average number of recipients in the 12 months ending September 1984 was 7,700, compared with 8,500 in 1985 (an increase of 10.4 per cent), and 9,800 in 1986 (a further increase of 15.3 per cent) (ABS, No. 1305.7).

Table 2.7 shows the number of employed wage and salary earners by industry for selected months since September 1984. It should be noted that these figures exclude working proprietors, and account only for persons who received wages or salaries in respect of a given pay period. However, they do illustrate some general trends. The total number of employees increased during the period 1984 to 1986, but the growth was not evenly spread between sectors. Employment in the construction industry declined around seasonal fluctuations, reflecting the downturn in building activity. More recently, employment also decreased in manufacturing, recreation, personal and other services and, to a lesser extent, wholesale and retail trade. In contrast, finance, property and business services, and community services exhibited quite substantial employment increases. An interesting point to note is that employment in the NT

Public Service increased from a monthly average of 15,400 in 1984 to 16,200 in 1986 (ABS, No. 6248.0).

Table 2.7
Employed wage and salary earners, NT ('000)

	Sept 84	Feb 85	Sept 85	Feb 86	Sept 86
Mining	2.0	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.8
Manufacturing	2.8	2.1	2.8	2.3	2.3
Elect., Gas and Water	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.0
Construction	4.5	5.5	4.9	4.0	4.2
Wholesale and Retail Trade	8.3	8.2	9.4	11.2	10.0
Transport and Storage	2.1	1.8	2.2	2.3	2.1
Communication	1.1	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.5
Finance, Property, Business Services	4.0	4.2	5.2	6.1	7.0
Public Admin. and Defence	6.0	6.2	6.5	6.6	6.2
Community Services	11.8	12.7	14.9	15.2	17.1
- Health	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.6	3.6
- Education, Libraries	4.9	4.8	5.0	5.1	5.0
- Welfare and other	3.7	4.6	6.5	6.6	8.4
Recreation, personal and other services	3.6	4.2	4.8	3.4	3.8
Total	47.4	49.0	54.9	55.4	57.0

Source: ABS, No. 6248.0, various issues

Average weekly earnings of all employees in the NT have historically been higher than for the rest of Australia. This is partly because of incentives offered to attract employees, but also to the structure of the economy. For example, the NT has a much higher proportion of the workforce in the mining industry and the public sector, which would tend to push up average earnings. Wages and salaries have also accounted for about 10 per cent more of total household income in the NT than in Australia as a whole. However the gap between average Australian and average NT earnings is apparently narrowing. In 1984-85, the NT average was 16.2 per cent above the Australian; the equivalent figure in 1985-86 was 15.8 per cent. The increase in average earnings in 1985-86 was 6.5 per cent for Australia and 6.2 per cent for the NT (ABS, 5220.0, Time Series Data).

The Consumer Price Index for Darwin has recently been lower than the weighted average for the eight capital cities (see Table 2.8). For the December quarter 1986, the Darwin c.p.i. was 9.5 per cent above December 1985, while in Australia it was 9.8 per cent.

Table 2.8
Consumer Price Index: Financial Year (%)

	Darwin	Weighted Average of 8 capital cities
1983-84	5.8	6.9
1984-85	3.8	4.2
1985-86	8.2	8.4

Source: ABS, No. 6401.0, various issues

As with earnings, however, the gap between the NT and Australia has narrowed. In 1983-84 the Darwin c.p.i. was 1.1 percentage points below Australia. In 1984-85 and 1985-86 the equivalent figures were 0.4 and 0.2. The more rapid increase in prices during 1985-86 can partly be explained by increases in government charges introduced in an attempt to bring the NT more in line with the other states (see below).

In real terms, average earnings in the NT rose in 1983-84 and 1984-85, but in 1985-86 average earnings increased by 6.2 per cent which was two percentage points below the increase in consumer prices.

The pace of economic growth in the NT has continued to reflect levels of government expenditure and the fortunes of a few raw material commodities. Attempts have been made at diversification, but the only significant success has been the continued growth of tourism. While the upward trend in the value of commodity production was generally maintained over the period 1983/84-1985/86, some very large short-term fluctuations occurred. In addition, building and construction closely reflected the decline in the Australian economy and the reduction in Commonwealth government funding to the NT.

Two indicators of the general buoyancy of the economy are new vehicle registrations and bankruptcies. The number of new motor vehicle registrations decreased by 28 per cent during 1985-86, after previous annual increases of around 15 per cent (ABS, No. 9303.0). The number of bankruptcy orders issued by the NT Registrar increased from 23 in 1984-85 to 49 in 1985-86 (Department of Law, Annual Report, 1985-86, 87).

Election issues: Government Charges and the Budget

The decline in real Commonwealth funding mentioned above has placed the NT government under considerable pressure to increase its revenue raising efforts. Table 2.9 shows the total revenue raised since 1983-84, and the percentage increases each year. Total revenue is made up of Territory taxation (stamp duty, gambling revenue, payroll tax, tobacco, liquor and fuel charges), public undertakings (water and sewerage), Territorial revenue (land and mining), other revenue, and recovery of debt charges and trust fund repayments. During the period 1983-84 to 1986-87, Territory taxation almost doubled, increasing from \$46.2 million to an estimated \$87.2 million. Major contributors were increases

Table 2.9
Territory Revenue and Other Receipts (\$)

		% increase
1983-84	146,249,020	
1984-85	163,041,138	11.6
1985-86	219,348,711	34.4
1986-87*	263,283,000	20.1

*Estimate

Source: NTA, Budget Paper No. 2, 1984-85, 1985-86; NTA, Government Gazette, No..S62, 11 September 1986

in payroll tax (the largest single revenue item in 1985-86), tobacco licence fees, liquor licences and fees, and stamp duty. Revenue from public undertakings also rose substantially, from \$8.9 million in 1983-84 to \$20 million in 1986-87. In particular, revenue from sewerage charges grew from \$3.5 million in 1983-84 to an estimated \$10.5 million in 1986-87. Territorial revenue also contributed significantly to the overall increase in revenue. With limited scope for increasing revenue from mining (see above), land sales, leases and rents have provided the bulk of the increase. Revenue from these sources increased from \$9.1 million in 1984-85 to \$21.3 million in 1985-86 and an estimated \$27.6 million in 1986-87.

One result of this greater revenue-raising effort was a substantial increase in government charges which, with the exception of electricity, have traditionally been lower than in the states. These increases have been well above the consumer price index for Darwin, and have quickly brought the NT more in line with the rest of Australia. Domestic garbage collection fees rose by 18.6 per cent between 1983

and 1986, and third party insurance by 27.9 per cent, from \$136 to \$174 per annum. A change in the charging structure for water rates meant that an average consumption of 620 kilolitres cost \$120 in July 1985 and \$155 in July 1986, an increase of 29.6 per cent. Basic sewerage rates rose by 50 per cent in 1985 and 33 per cent in 1986 (information provided by Department of Transport and Works and Darwin City Council).

Table 2.10 shows the contribution of selected state and local government charges to the consumer price index since 1984. Each year the NT government has added more to the Darwin consumer price index than the corresponding Australian figure. Most notably, the government added 1.20 index points in the September quarter 1985, compared to 0.21 points for Australia. The major factors were increased charges for tobacco and alcohol, household equipment and operation (which includes electricity charges), and housing. These reflected the mini budget brought down on 4 June 1985, which also included increased charges for water, sewerage, motor vehicle registrations, transport services and payroll tax (ABS, No. 6401.0, various issues; No. 6440.0; NT News, 4 June 1985).

Table 2.10
Contribution of selected State and Local Government
Charges to the Consumer Price Index (Index points)

Year Ending December	Darwin	Australia
1984	0.23	-0.01
1985	1.87	0.63
1986	1.55	0.92

The general question of rising government charges was a major election issue, but of particular importance were increases in electricity costs. The background to these increases is quite complex.

Under the Memorandum of Understanding 1978, the Commonwealth government agreed to subsidise 50 per cent of the operating costs of the Northern Territory Electricity Commission (NTEC), due to the high cost of providing electricity in the NT (Memorandum of Understanding 1978, 25-26). With this subsidy, the NT government could keep tariffs at a reasonable level while continuing its expenditure on general development programmes. In 1985-86, however, the subsidy was reduced from \$72.9 million to \$39.6 million (Table 2.11), due to the NT government's decision to convert from oil to a natural gas fired power station rather than to a more expensive coal fired one. The subsidy was to remain at \$40 million annually (in 1985-86 prices) until

termination in 1988-89 (Commonwealth of Australia Budget Paper No. 7, 1985-86). However, in 1986-87 the fall in world oil prices and the tight economic circumstances led the Commonwealth to further reduce its subsidy to \$21.8 million.

Table 2.11
Recurrent Payments from the Commonwealth to NTEC
1982/83-1986/87 (\$'000)

1982-83	57,813
1983-84	63,122
1984-85	72,862
1985-86	39,568
1986-87*	21,846

*Estimate

Source: Commonwealth of Australia, Budget Paper No. 7, 1986-87

At the lower level of subsidy, NTEC's income would fall short of its costs by \$32.5 million in 1985-86 and \$79.3 million in 1986-87. The NT government was therefore left with three options:

1. increase tariffs to cover costs in full, which would require an initial 50 per cent increase in NTEC's revenue;
2. subsidise NTEC to the tune of \$40 million per annum for 10 years; or
3. borrow in excess of \$1,000 million over 10 years.

Its final decision was to combine a lower level of borrowing with increased tariffs and internal cost cutting measures (NT Legislative Assembly [NTLA], Parliamentary Record, Part 1, 5 June 1985, 863-73).

From 1 February 1985, tariffs were to increase by two per cent each quarter until at least the end of the 1985-86 financial year. The increase was applied for the June quarter 1985, but news of the Commonwealth funding cuts led to a further tariff review. On 1 July 1985 they were increased by about 15 per cent, followed by 2.25 per cent quarterly increases to 30 June 1986. The charging structure also changed from July 1985, with the introduction of a minimum fixed charge regardless of whether electricity was used or not and a flat rate for each unit of domestic use. The scheduled 2.25 per cent increase for April 1986 was cancelled but domestic charges increased by 2.6 per cent on

1 July, 5.0 per cent on 1 September and 2.5 per cent on 1 October. The quarterly costs for an average household using 1,600 units per quarter are shown in Table 2.12.

Table 2.12 shows a total cost increase of 48.1 per cent between December 1984 and December 1986, a period of just over two years. In the 18 months from 30 June 1985 to 31 December 1986, the overall cost increase was 31.9 per cent.

In keeping with the NT government's commitment to encourage economic development, lower total cost increases were imposed on commercial electricity users. Although subject to similar quarterly rises (14.9 per cent in July

Table 2.12
Quarterly Cost of Domestic Usage,
assuming Consumption of 1,600 Units, 30/12/1984-31/12/1986

Quarter ending	Cost	% increase
31/12/1984	\$133.51	
31/3/1985	\$141.04	5.64
30/6/1985	\$149.83	6.23
30/9/1985	\$171.16	14.24
31/12/1985	\$175.09	2.30
31/3/1986	\$179.02	2.25
30/6/1986	\$179.02	0
30/9/1986	\$186.78	4.33
31/12/1986	\$197.68	5.84

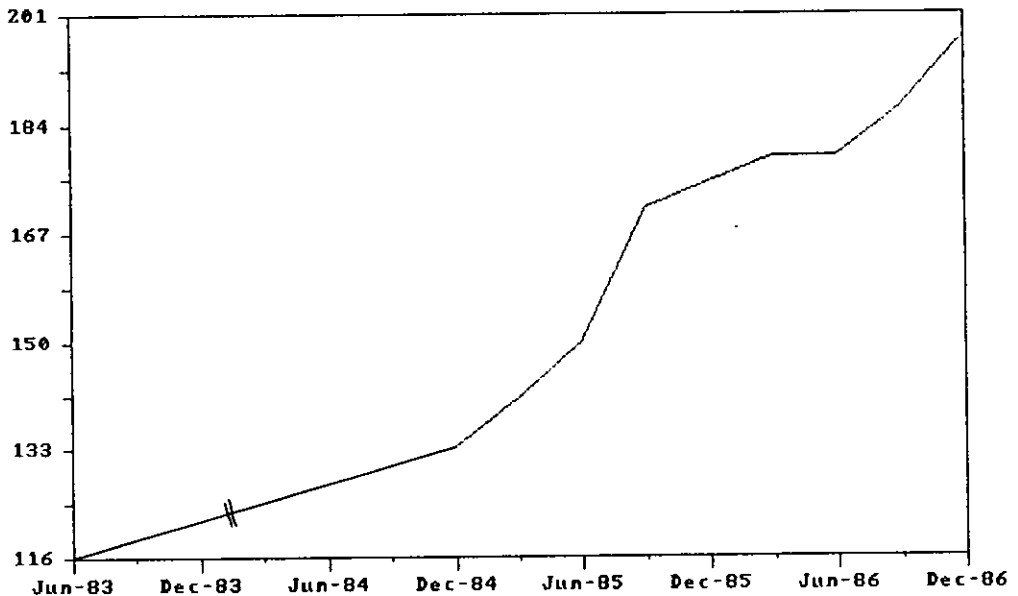
Calculated from NTA, Government Gazette, S12, 11 June 1982; S42, 23 December 1983; S2, 1 February 1985; S30, 1 July 1985; S12, 1 April 1986; S36, 1 July 1986; S59, 28 August 1986.

1985, 2.27 per cent in October 1985 and 2.23 per cent in January 1986), a change in the basis for the minimum fixed charge in July 1986 actually led to a 14 per cent decrease on a monthly usage of 10,000 units. However, this was followed by increases of 5 per cent in September 1986 and 2.5 per cent in October 1986. The overall increase between December 1984 and December 1986 was 11.3 per cent, while the increase between June 1985 and December 1986 was 11.2 per cent (again assuming a monthly usage of 10,000 units).

Despite these increases in revenue raising activity, there was evidence to suggest that government revenue receipts were below target at the end of 1986. By 31 December, only 29.7 per cent of the total estimated Territory Revenue had been received. The equivalent figure was 42.4 per cent in 1983-84, 38.4 per cent in 1984-85, and 42.3 per cent in 1985-86. Under Territory Taxation there were shortfalls in revenue from lotteries, casino taxes and

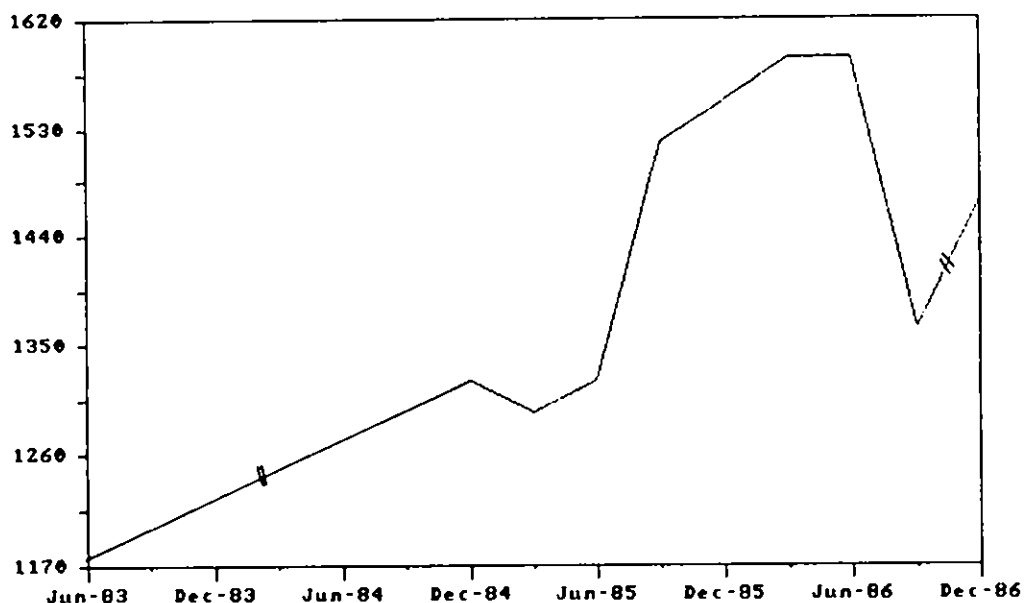
fees, and liquor licences and fees. These items, however, made up a very small part of total revenue, and to some extent payments received in the ensuing three months reduced the shortfall. Trust fund repayments and recovery of principal and interest were expected to generate 28 per cent of total revenue in 1986-87. Revenue receipts in this area tend to be concentrated within short time periods, and it could be expected that any shortfalls would be recovered by the end of the financial year. In other areas, however, the original estimates were apparently inflated. These included water charges, revenue from land, motor vehicle charges, Registrar General's fees, and interest on cash balances. In all, they were expected to account for 22 per cent of total 1986-87 revenue. By 31 December 1986, 32.8 per cent of these revenues had been collected, compared with 53.8 per cent in the 1985-86 financial year (NTA, Budget Paper No. 2, 1983-84, 1984-85, 1985-86, 1986-87; NTA, Government Gazette, S3, 2 February 1984; S4, 8 February 1985; S5, 5 February 1986; S62, 11 September 1986; S12, 20 February 1987; S34, 1 May 1987).

Figure 2.2
Domestic Electricity Charges: NT (\$)



Note: Assuming usage of 1600 units/quarter

Figure 2.3
Commercial Electricity Charges: NT (\$)



Note: Assuming usage of 10,000 units/month

Election Issues: Government Involvement in the Economy

While CLP governments have espoused a strongly 'private enterprise' ideology, they have also worked on the assumption that government must become extensively involved in economic activity if private enterprise is to invest in the Northern Territory's development, and this is particularly so as regards tourism. In Paul Everingham's words:

Northern development cannot just happen; it must be allowed and assisted to happen ... The Territory's experience is that government must urge and encourage; it is government that must initiate ... Developing the tourist industry has reinforced the fact that government must make things happen if there is to be development ... investors and entrepreneurs [are] reluctant to commit themselves without government support or encouragement (Everingham, 1982, 137, 139-40).

Considerable controversy has surrounded the issue of just how much 'support or encouragement' the NT government should provide.

Tourist facilities: In 1982 the CLP government, headed by Paul Everingham, initiated the development of the Yulara Tourist Village near Ayers Rock. The Village was to comprise two resort hotels, camping grounds, visitor's centre, shopping and community areas, residential areas, school and service areas and other facilities. Total development costs were estimated at \$110.34 million (NTLA, Parliamentary Record, Part 1, 26 May 1982, 2240-42). The project was unable to attract private risk capital, which led the NTDC to offer guarantees to potential developers for up to \$120 million (NTDC, Annual Report, 1982-83). These guarantees were supported by letters of comfort from the NT government. On completion of the resort, the developer was to negotiate the sale or lease to operators, while the government would lease back components such as the school and police station, and would provide payments to keep service costs down to general NT tariff levels. In sum, these payments were estimated at \$5.9 million per year (NTLA, Parliamentary Record, 13 June 1984, 643-53).

However, in 1985 it became known that the required government contributions to the project were in the vicinity of \$14 million per annum and rising, mainly because of a poorer than anticipated performance by the hotels, and the need to capitalise extra interest, management, and other expenses (NTLA, Parliamentary Record, 28 August 1985, 1368-1400). In order to keep the annual contributions at around \$7 million, the government purchased public housing, water and sewerage assets for \$19.7 million (NTA, Budget Paper No. 1, 1985-86). It would still lease the school, police station and Conservation Commission offices. In addition, under the Contracts Act the Territory guaranteed to 'provide adequate funds ... to enable the agent to meet all its financial obligations such as loan repayments (including interest) and operating expenses should it be unable to do so from its operating revenues'. The loan principal outstanding at 30 June 1986 was \$152.64 million (Report of the Auditor General, 1985, 1986). In the 1986-87 appropriations, payments to Yulara were 'unchanged at \$7.5 million' (NTA, Budget Paper No. 4, 1986-87).

The government also negotiated deals to develop Sheraton Hotels in Alice Springs and Darwin. The Alice Springs Sheraton was to be developed by a group of private companies. Construction finance and overheads were estimated at \$34 million and would be guaranteed by the NTDC. On completion in 1985, the hotel was to be purchased by the Australian Industries Development Corporation (AIDC), with a guarantee by NTDC to make up the difference between cash returns and commitments as to the commercial returns for owners and lenders. This arrangement was to continue until the sale of the hotel in its eighth year (NTLA, Parliamentary Record, 13 June 1984, 643-53). In 1984-85,

the NTDC provided an indemnity to the hotel owners under the Territory Development Act for a minimum profit of \$0.5 million per year after completion (Report of the Auditor General, 1984-85). As with Yulara, however, the agreements had to be renegotiated in 1985 because of poorer than anticipated performance. In fact

without a tax effective structure, the hotel will never be able to compete with other hotels ... and unless the cost of capital is reduced, the prospect of the government recovering its support is slim. Neither the AIDC nor potential lenders wish to insist on the continuation of what has become an uncommercial arrangement.

The government was at that stage investigating the possibility of providing \$35 million from its cash balances to enable a newly formed company to buy the property (NTLA, Parliamentary Record, 28 August 1985, 1368-1400). It was eventually purchased by a government-owned company, Investnorth Management Pty Ltd.; the NT government agreed, under the Contracts Act, to meet its financial obligations as they fell due (Report of the Auditor General, 1986). In a press release on 20 August 1986 the Treasurer, Barry Coulter, announced that the government had invested \$10 million in shares in Investnorth so that the annual appropriation to the Alice Springs Sheraton could be reduced. In fact the 1986-87 appropriation was reduced by \$1.7 million, but was still estimated to amount to some \$3.3 million by the Opposition Leader, Terry Smith (NTA, Budget Paper No. 4, 1986-87; NTLA, Parliamentary Record, 28 August 1986, 683-707).

The Darwin Sheraton Hotel was also to be built under guarantees of financing by NTDC; in addition, 'to the extent that lease and other minor overhead expenses be met in any year from the surplus cash from Sheraton's operations, the NTDC will make up the difference'. The hotel would be sold after the tenth year and, in the event that the price offered was too low to cover costs and expenses, the NTDC would guarantee loans raised by a potential buyer to permit an acceptable sale (NTLA, Parliamentary Record, 13 June 1984, 643-53). Appropriations for support payments in 1986-87 increased by \$5.9 million (NTA, Budget Paper No. 4, 1986-87).

But perhaps the most controversial aspect of the government's direct involvement in tourist development concerns the Darwin and Alice Springs Casinos. These were bought by the NT government in late 1984 for \$49.5 million, amid speculation regarding the owners' willingness to sell and the possibility of compulsory acquisition by the government (Sunday Territorian 11 November 1984). The

properties were subsequently sold to the Territory Property Trust for \$47 million. The government agreed to pay interest on \$2 million of the trust's borrowings, and supplied a short term loan of \$21 million through NTDC (NTLA, Parliamentary Record, 28 August 1985, 1368-1400; Chief Minister, Press Statement, 25 January 1985). In 1984-85 NTDC agreed, under the Territory Development Act, to guarantee returns to unit holders in the trust of 10 per cent per year (Report of the Auditor General, 1985). Profits would be taxed at a rate of eight per cent, but this was to be waived if insufficient funds would remain to pay lease rentals. If funds were still insufficient after the tax waiver, the operators would receive loan support through NTDC (NTLA, Parliamentary Record, 28 August 1985, 1368-1400).

The commitments incurred by the NT government through its support of tourist projects are indicated by the guarantees issued under Section 19A of the Territory Development Act, and the respective contingent liabilities, summarised below.

Table 2.13
Tourism: NT government's guarantees and contingent liabilities

	Principal Amount Guaranteed	Contingent Liability
30/6/1982	\$10,000,000 -Yulara	\$4,300,000 -Yulara
30/6/1983	\$58,000,000 -\$55m Yulara	\$44,040,648
30/6/1984	\$82,520,000 -\$76.52m Yulara -\$6m A/S Sheraton	\$51,130,985
30/6/1985	\$132,302,000 -\$26.52m Yulara -\$32.2m A/S Sheraton -\$30.35m Casinos -\$43.232m Darwin Sheraton	\$53,500,000 -\$23.375m A/S Sheraton -\$20.25m Casinos -\$9.875m Darwin Sheraton
30/6/1986	\$103,183,193 -\$26.52m Yulara -\$30.35m Casinos -\$45.933m Darwin Sheraton	\$58,393,710 -\$19.876 Casinos -\$38.138 Darwin Sheraton

Source: Report of the Auditor General on the Treasurer's Annual Financial Statements, 1982 to 1986

The Trade Development Zone: Convinced that the small Territory market could not provide an adequate basis for the establishment of significant manufacturing activity, the NT government formed a task force in early 1985 to examine the possibility of setting up an export-oriented trade development zone (TDZ) in Darwin. Following a favourable task force report, legislation was introduced in June 1985 creating a Trade Development Zone Authority (TDZA) and \$2.7 million was allocated for establishment costs and to pay for infrastructure design and for promotion. It was hoped to attract investors to Darwin by stressing its proximity to major markets in South East Asia and the Western Pacific, and by offering duty-free entry to imports for use in producing manufactured exports and reduced operating costs through reductions in government taxes and charges. It was also hoped that the zone could capitalise on uncertainties regarding Hong Kong's future, by persuading investors in the colony that Darwin offered a viable and politically stable base from which to serve their traditional markets (TDZ Magazine, various issues).

Promotional activities were focused on two major groups. The first consisted of manufacturers already operating in South East Asian countries and seeking an export platform from which to further penetrate markets, especially in Europe and the US. As the Zone's representative in Hong Kong stated,

... the key advantage in South East Asian business people setting up in the TDZ is ... to beat import quota regulations ... [they] have quota problems with the US, the UK and Europe ... these can be overcome if the product is made in Australia' (TDZ Magazine, September 1986, 7).

The second group consisted of Australian companies based in Sydney or Melbourne which were anxious to break into lucrative South East Asian markets and could obtain significant locational and other cost advantages by establishing production facilities in the Darwin TDZ. In addition, the establishment of a bonded warehouse and freight clearance and handling facilities as part of the Zone were expected to make Darwin more attractive as a point of entry for general import cargo, particularly for goods destined for North Australia.

The TDZ was developed during 1986 and early 1987, with the government spending some \$11 million on provision of infrastructure and construction of three factories, a bonded warehouse, and an administration building. It offered exemption from payroll tax and stamp duties to new export ventures established in the Zone, land on 'commercial but flexible' terms, interest-free short-term loans to pay

import duties until they could be 'drawn back' after the goods involved had been processed and exported, waiving of much of the 'red tape' usually associated with setting up new businesses, and a single payment to the TDZA in lieu of most local and state government charges. The NT government also invested in an extensive promotional campaign in South East Asia, Japan, the Australian states and New Zealand, and provided advice and assistance in areas such as migration procedures, housing and workforce recruitment (TDZ Magazine, various issues).

Throughout 1986 government ministers and senior public servants involved in the TDZ made highly optimistic statements regarding its prospects and claimed that investor response was extremely favourable. In June it was stated that eight foreign companies had committed themselves to investing in the Zone, and in August that 'investment' was in excess of \$2.5 million with the signing of a ninth company. In September it was announced that the first factory would be operating in February, and in November that 'a dozen' would be operating 'within the next few months' (TDZ Magazine, various issues).

However, by the end of 1986 it had become apparent that the 'commitment' made by potential investors was not as firm as suggested by the government, and criticism of the TDZ began to emerge (NTLA, Parliamentary Record, Part 1, 25 November 1986, 1295-1310). By the time the election was announced in February 1987, the factories built by the TDZA were still empty, raising serious questions regarding the wisdom of the government's investment. (In the event the first Australian investor commenced operations in April and by May, the first foreign investor was 'running in' plant and equipment: TDZ Magazine, May 1987).

Conclusion

The NT's economic base is narrow and vulnerable, and economic diversification must consequently be a key policy aim of any government concerned with the Territory's development. But how can diversification be achieved, given that in many sectors private enterprise lacks enthusiasm for providing the required capital, and that further investment in the one sector which faces little difficulty in attracting capital, mining, is likely to narrow the economic base even further? Government must apparently play a direct role in promoting economic development, but this creates potential problems. First, how is it to finance this role, given the limited extent of existing economic activity and declining revenue from Canberra? Increases in consumer taxes and charges are politically unpopular, while increasing costs to industry may deter the investment

government is trying to promote. Second, how can government promote industrial growth while restricting commitment of public funds to levels which are politically and economically prudent?

By 1987, the CLP government had come face to face with these dilemmas for the first time, and this played an important part in defining economic issues in the election. However, party policies and political debates tended to centre around individual issues such as government charges, the apparent budget shortfall, and government investment in specific projects, rather than on the fundamental economic dilemmas which lie at the heart of these issues.



Chapter 3

THE CAMPAIGN - POLICIES AND ISSUES

The Territory parties, like state parties elsewhere in Australia, piece their policy statements together at the beginning of an election campaign, setting out briefly their promises and their reactions to the problems and issues of the day. The policies are lists, inevitably of an ad hoc character, even though the parties' ideologies give them some loose coherence and a distinctive character. The Nationals, as a new party, were in a somewhat different position from Labor and the CLP. To win votes and seats, and to establish their identity, they had to change the terms of the election 'debate', to introduce new issues and above all to convince the electorate that the country was in an economic crisis and that opposition - to Labor in Canberra as well as to the CLP in Darwin - had to take a new course entirely if it was to 'save' the Territory and Australia. It is doubtful whether the Nationals convinced many people that there was such a crisis or that they were the 'saviours'. They laboured under several disadvantages: first and foremost it was difficult to translate the sense of national crisis to local NT politics; second their rhetoric committed them to an attack on both Labor and the CLP and in trying to discredit both, their message was inevitably somewhat out of focus. And finally, by calling an early election with a short campaign and having a low-key multi-issue CLP campaign Chief Minister Hatton deprived the Nationals of the time they needed to develop an ideologically based 'save the country' campaign. They then had to present themselves as an experienced team of managers - in competition with the CLP on its own chosen ground, where it could refer to its record in government.

Policies

All three parties, presenting themselves as able to take the reins of government, put forward policies on a comprehensive range of subjects, but each had its own special emphases. The Country Liberal Party, as in past times, stressed development, its record in government and, to distinguish itself from its two competitors, it also stressed its independence from political parties elsewhere. Chief Minister Hatton said

The CLP is the only political party formed in the Territory by Territorians and for Territorians and owing its allegiance to nobody other than the people of the Northern Territory (NT News 7 March 1987).

(ADVERTISEMENT)

ONLY THE CLP STANDS FOR STRONG, STABLE, INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT.

There's only one party that stands for a strong, stable, independent Territory government.

And it's not the Canberra controlled ALP, with its airy promises and local inexperience.

And it's not the N.T. Nationals, dancing to a tune from across the border.

It's the Territory's own CLP. Strong, stable and independent. With a proven track record and a responsible, realistic plan for a prosperous future.

IF YOU WANT
IT TO HAPPEN
STAY WITH
HATTON
VOTE CLP


Authorised by J. Hatton, 80 Dwyer Road, Darwin, NT 0811
CLP NT
Sunday Territorian, March 1, 1987 - 13

CLP Advertisement stressing that the CLP, unlike the other parties, was an independent Territory party

(ADVERTISEMENT)



This local patriotism, even chauvinism, was an old theme in Territory elections, now given a new twist by the need to meet the challenge from the National party and its Queensland allies.

The development theme was uppermost in both the Chief Minister's policy speech and his election eve summary of the policy. Listing all the building projects about to begin, he summarised:

This means \$100 million in construction activity is about to be injected into Darwin's economy, creating new jobs, new business ... a major boost to retail trading (NT News 7 March 1987).

In addition, he claimed that the government would create at least 1,000 new jobs every year into the 1990s and attract over 1 million tourists by 1991. Looking forward to the year 2000, he predicted that Darwin would be a city of 100,000, with a rail link south to the development centres of Katherine, Tennant Creek and Alice Springs, from which the pastoral, tourist, agricultural and related industries would spread east and west, supporting a total population of 200,000. Darwin would be

the undisputed capital city of northern Australia, a thriving centre of trade with Asia and the Pacific, home base for the northern Australian fishing fleet and offshore oil and gas fields.

It can happen ... we have to make it happen (Policy Speech).

And this word 'happen' provided the idea for the party's slogan

If you want it to happen
Stay with Hatton.

The policy speech detailed all the projects which the government, or entrepreneurs with government encouragement, had started or would start - exports to Brunei, the trade development zone, the small ships mooring basin, construction of office blocks, a prawn hatchery, a papermaking industry based on kenaf, the north-south rail link, a \$15 million gas stripping plant, another gas pipeline, a new gas field in the Bonaparte Gulf, stabilisation of costs of power, assistance of various kinds for fishing, horticulture, farming, the pastoral industry, tourism, commerce, manufacturing and mining.

An 'exciting new shared equity strategy' for home ownership would enable a middle income family to buy a

portion of its home with the government owning the rest until such time as the family could buy the government out. This would help people avoid the 'interest rate trap' - and incidentally stimulate a stagnant house building industry. Tertiary institutions, especially the University College, would develop the education system 'to continue to stabilise our professional workforce, reducing the cost of employing people from interstate'. The government would encourage more private schools and private health care facilities to 'expand the choice' of citizens in the health and education systems. The north-south railway would be developed by private enterprise and the government was also 'pushing for private development and management of a new international standard Darwin airport terminal'. The government had decided to shift the emphasis from direct government spending, to providing real incentive for the private sector, it would not increase taxes or charges and it would work to a balanced budget.

In past elections, federal-Territory relations had been a subject for a great deal of what is popularly known as 'Canberra bashing': blaming the federal government, especially a Labor federal government, for most of the problems that beset the Territory. On this occasion the theme was touched on only lightly in the policy speech and was not a major element in the CLP's campaign speechmaking or the media. Nonetheless the old rhetoric was still there

We will do everything in our power to prevent a federal Labor government locking up vital Territory resources. We will fight for the start of Jabiluka and Koongarra uranium mines and the responsible development of mining in Kakadu stages two and three ...

Wherever Territory projects have come to a halt it's because of the negative influence of the federal Labor government. The railway, airports, mining ventures and tourism facilities at Kakadu ... all Commonwealth projects. We've been held back for too long. We now intend to tackle these issues head on (Policy Speech).

And the CLP government would continue to fight the 'destructive fringe benefits tax' introduced by the federal Labor government in 1986.

For the Labor Party,

the single most important issue in the Territory is the high cost of living

Together, we can do it

ALP

NORTHERN TERRITORY

Authorised by T. Smith, Legislative Assembly Darwin Printed by Roka Graphics Darwin

ALP Bumper Sticker

which it linked directly to the high taxes levied by the CLP government and its high charges for water, sewerage, electricity and motor vehicle registration (Policy Speech).

Labor presented the CLP as a 'total and abject failure', 'riddled with cronyism' - a reference to well publicised disputes involving the Casino and a Skywest contract for aeromed services - unable to control prices, taxes and charges. It had a half yearly deficit of \$35 million in the budget, and had, allegedly, spent all the cash reserves. Presenting itself as an alternative government, Labor claimed that it had a strong realistic social and economic plan. Labor leader Terry Smith ended his policy speech with the slogan

Together we can do it.

Labor promised a temporary freeze on water, sewerage and electricity charges while an inquiry into pricing and administration of the electricity and water authorities was carried out, and then price increases would not exceed rises in the consumer price index. A 'price watch' group had already been set up by the party and, in office, a Labor government would give 'teeth' to the office of consumer affairs. It would establish a builders' registration board to protect people having their homes built. To stimulate the building industry and help would-be home owners an inflation indexed loan scheme and other help to home builders had been devised.

The policy speech then went on to detail a number of social and welfare initiatives, including a guarantee of jobs for school leavers, a community selfhelp scheme for families struggling to care for aged or handicapped relatives, a major festival of the arts, support for the

ethnic communities council, improvement in the education of children, a committee to work on a Territory University, apparently to be developed from the existing University College.

The economic basis for social policies was to be built by means of a Territoricorp modelled on the Western Australian Development Corporation and working in tandem with a Territoribank, part government-owned, designed to retain banking profits in the Territory and to assist small business. One or two specific developments were proposed, such as a gas fired power station in Katherine to sell power to the Kimberleys, and help to horticulturalists who would grow fruit and vegetables to replace imports from the South.

As an opposition party, Labor was convinced that there had been bungling and mismanagement by the CLP government in some of its development projects. And so it promised a 'very close look' at the trade development zone which had cost millions and had generated nothing more than overseas trips for ministers. The small ships mooring basin also called for close examination; so too the Sheraton Hotel in Alice Springs and the Yulara complex at Uluru - these should all be sold to private enterprise if they could not be economically justified.

A Labor government would put \$20 million into capital works, including some into airports. It would set up a minister for defence liaison to ensure among other things, that defence contracts were let in the Territory. It would try to develop export trade to Asia.

And finally, reflecting immediate problems arising during the election, Labor promised to legislate so that municipal councillors could stand for the Assembly elections without having to resign their Council seats, and to ensure that one month's notice would be given in future of an election, with seven days notice before closure of the rolls to give people time to ensure that they were enrolled.

For the National Party, the economy was the focus of policy. As the Party's policy statement put it:

We are in a lot of trouble.

The CLP government was to blame:

lack of decision making at the 'top' - poor vision by the government; the uncertain state of the Northern Territory finances; the loss of business confidence ...

The Nationals would have

to regain the confidence of the people, balance the budget, be decisive, give direction to the community

and, although they were a newly formed party, their principal candidate, ex-Chief Minister Ian Tuxworth, explained that their candidates had a wealth of experience in private enterprise and local government.

Their experience is available for immediate transfer into government which will ensure good, sound, decision making is made [sic] by the new cabinet (NT News 7 March 1987).

Like Labor, the Nationals wanted to sell off some of the things the NT government had invested in: Yulara and the two Sheraton hotels. In general it emphasised that 'it is time to let private enterprise take the place of government'. Elsewhere in the policy speech it said that all land, including pastoral land, should be converted to freehold as soon as possible; private medical services should be expanded to give people a choice; the north-south railway should be built by a private consortium; the Darwin wharf would be sold to private enterprise; a private consortium would be sought to build a new Darwin airport terminal; private education should be actively encouraged; Aborigines should be given 'control over their land' so that they would 'do with it as they wish'; the government's small business advisory service should be turned over to private enterprise.

Small businesses were an object of special concern: they

are collapsing under government regulation, taxes, charges and bureaucracy ... unemployment levels will rise with small business collapse (Policy Speech).

And the Nationals proposed a program to assist them which included the direction of government tenders and purchases to local small business and the removal of red-tape and over-regulation.

Local government councils would be encouraged in all places, and as many community functions as possible would be passed to them; they would be allowed to own land freehold and promote entrepreneurial development. The functions of the NT Planning Authority would be passed to them and the 'disruption caused by the present Darwin-based control of town planning would cease'.

The Nationals accused the NT government of lying about the budget - a \$38 million deficit - and revenue - a shortfall of \$52 million: 'the government will not even acknowledge that we have a problem'. The Nationals, like Labor, promised not to raise taxes and charges and to freeze the cost of electricity for a year.

Besides small business, other private sector activities had to be encouraged and ways of doing this were proposed for horticulture; the building and real estate industry; the fishing industry; the gas stripping plant.

A variety of improvements in health services, services for the aged and disadvantaged and in education were proposed. And a freight subsidy scheme would ensure the cost of fuel to people in remote localities was reduced. And a number of measures would be introduced to improve morale in the Public Service and reduce wastage.

And, finally, notwithstanding the antagonism towards Canberra shown by the CLP in the past and the Nationals in Queensland, the party emphasised that

it is not in our interests to provoke and maintain conflict with the federal Government for political expediency ... will endeavour to work productively and maturely with the federal Government ... however, we will stand up for our rights when we are being attacked.

And, alone among the parties, it mentioned statehood in its policy speech - it

should be made with the support of the whole community ... this agreement does not exist ... the final question will be put to Territorians at a referendum.

Interest groups

As is usual in election campaigns, the political parties shaped some of their policies to attract the support of various interest groups, both those normally sympathetic to them and those less closely identified with any party. The Country Liberal Party and the Nationals both proposed that pastoralists should be able to convert leasehold to freehold land. The CLP had various initiatives on women's affairs; Labor sought the support of the ethnic communities with some of its proposals (NT News 6 March 1987). The Nationals contended that they would rebuild the trust and morale of the public service which had been eroded by the government. Labor's deputy leader, Brian Ede, and the

Nationals' Graeme Bevis, a career public servant, both commented adversely on the way the CLP had treated the public service, Ede seeing the shortcomings as basically organisational, Bevis seeing them as a question of lowered morale (Centralian Advocate 23 January 1987, NT News 28 February 1987). The Nationals were particularly anxious about the fate of small business - 'under siege' - and had four steps to help it. Labor promised either employment or further education within six months of leaving school to all students successfully completing secondary school years 10 to 12. This was presented to the youth of the Northern Territory in the form of a handwritten 'Declaration' signed by Terry Smith, Labor leader, in an election news sheet, Milner Info. The CLP promised upgradings for the Alice Springs and Tennant Creek airports. These are only a few of the various ways in which the parties offered policies to various groups, including the assorted interests that would benefit from community improvements in such things as schools and airports. And many of the parties' bids were competitive: for the support of small business, youth, the ethnic communities, local government in small towns or the public service and so on.

A few interest group organisations made their views known in the election, generally in relation to the issues identified by the parties. They appear to have taken no active, at least no public, part in campaigning for or against individual candidates.

The president of the Motor Traders Association, aware that the actions of some car dealers had attracted adverse publicity in recent weeks, welcomed the CLP's plan to overhaul Territory consumer protection legislation (NT News 27 February 1987). The NT Teachers Federation took a large advertisement to urge voters to support the party which would

- : invest in schools, not casinos;
- : stop the annual loss of teachers;
- : provide non-contact time for primary teachers
- : provide adequate funding for all government schools (NT News 2 March 1987).

But since neither Labor nor the CLP offered these proposals to the electorate the advertisement gave voters little clear guidance. One letter to the press (NT News 7 March 1987) explained that the education policies of the CLP and the Nationals did not meet the criteria of the NTTF advertisement and that the correspondent would therefore vote Labor. The NT Branch of the Australian Small Business

DECLARATION

to the youth of the Northern Territory



On behalf of the Labor Party I, Terry Smith, give a commitment to the people of the Northern Territory that a Territory Labor Government will guarantee the following to all students who successfully complete year ten, eleven or twelve :

- ◆ *Further Education, or*
- ◆ *A job, or*
- ◆ *A Training Opportunity*

within six months of leaving school in the Territory.

Dated this Wednesday the twenty eighth day of January 1987.

TERRY SMITH

Parliamentary labor leader

Terry Smith

Association called on candidates not to take the small business vote, estimated at 3,500 in the NT, for granted and the President of the Association issued a list of 'needs' by which candidates could be tested. These needs were generally similar to ideas being proclaimed by the Nationals

- : cuts in government charges and meddling in business
- : cashing up of NT Public Service fringe benefits
- : a minimum of business regulations
- : a government pledge to resist union disruption.

In addition, the government should 'stop duplicating private sector services and use local firms as much as possible' (NT News 26 February 1987).

Spokesmen for mining and Aboriginal interest groups had somewhat more to say. The executive officer of the NT Chamber of Mines objected to the proposal, in both the CLP and the National Party speeches, that pastoralists in the NT should be allowed to convert their leaseholds to freehold title (NT News 2 March, 7 March 1987).

The mining industry opposes the proposal on the basis that it has always been more difficult, expensive and time consuming to negotiate agreements to mine on freehold land than ... on pastoral leases or Crown land ... the proposal in its present form could spell economic doom ...

Territory mining identity, W J Fisher, wrote to the press deploring the proposal to convert pastoral leases to freehold; control of half the Territory's crown land had already been lost through the operation of the NT Land Rights Act and if the pastoral leases were converted to freehold, the Territory's land assets would be completely alienated (NT News 5 March 1987). This provoked a sharp reply from one of the pastoralists, eager to convert (NT News 7 March 1987).

Labor's policy was worse. The closure of uranium mines when existing contracts had been met and the opposition to new mines would result in a loss of hundreds of jobs and millions of dollars in export income. Labor's policy of retaining Aboriginal veto over mining on Aboriginal land was 'an economic and social disaster'; and its policies in relation to mining in national parks and park management would delay the Territory's economic development (Centralian Advocate 6 March 1987; radio news 2 March 1987).

The Aborigines were concerned about a number of issues and, in turn, the parties, in their policy speeches, offered some proposals specifically directed towards Aboriginal affairs. The Nationals, offering to increase 'opportunity' for Aborigines, proposed to train them to deliver their own services and give them greater control in health, education and community government. They would also work to make the Aboriginal Land Rights Act (1976) an act of the local legislature and to abolish the Northern and Central Land Councils in favour of Aboriginal land management by smaller bodies like the Tiwi Land Council - a proposal directed at attracting the votes of a number of groups of Aborigines disenchanted with the large land councils. The CLP promised a significant increase in funding for housing for Aborigines in rural and urban areas. Labor promised safe water supplies for all communities and encouragement to pastoralists to reach agreement with Aboriginal communities about excisions for living areas on pastoral properties.

The Aboriginal leaders, however, had other party statements in mind, above all the CLP government's statement that it wanted the Land Rights Act (NT) 1976 'patriated' to the NT so that, as Territory legislation, it could be administered by the Territory and perhaps amended by the Territory legislature.

Aborigines were fearful that if this were done, their inalienable freehold in land transferred to them under the Act would be destroyed and it would then be possible for the land to be treated as a commodity to be bought and sold notwithstanding the Chief Minister's statement that if the Land Rights Act were patriated there would be guarantees of ownership and a 'continuation of land rights' (Northern Territory, Towards Statehood, Land Matters upon Statehood, Options Paper, November 1986, 2). Galarrwuy Yunupingu, chairman of the Northern Land Council, bluntly accused the NT government of using statehood as an issue 'to grab power over Aborigines and their land' (Sunday Territorian 1 February 1987). The Chief Minister had recently visited communities selling the government's version of statehood and, in reply, the Land Councils prepared a cassette for people out bush explaining what statehood could mean for Aboriginal land rights. As the election drew nearer, Yunupingu supported Chief Minister Hatton against the Queensland Premier, Sir Joh Bjelke Petersen and the Nationals, saying Sir Joh wanted to 'spread the Queensland sickness across the nation' (Sunday Territorian 8 February 1987, NT News 9 February 1987). This 'unusual alliance' as the press report called it, of CLP and NLC in the face of a common enemy, did not however stop Yunupingu and other Aboriginal leaders from attacking Hatton in the election. Yunupingu asked 'what is lurking behind the CLP smile?' (Sunday Territorian 1 March 1987) and explained that the CLP

government had opposed every land claim and had lined up with all the 'conservative political forces' to 'rob Aborigines of the special Aboriginal inalienable freehold title we get to our land in the NT'. In the Katherine Times (19 February 1987), he and local Aboriginal leader, Mick Dodson, launched a scathing attack on the Nationals and demanded that the CLP explain how its policy was different from that of the Nationals. The Northern Land Council itself prepared a poster with questions to ask candidates and summaries of what the parties said on key issues for Aborigines, the general bearing being that on land matters and related issues the Labor party was much better than either of the other parties, the policies of which were basically much the same. The poster was reproduced in Land Rights News (March 1987), along with other material on statehood and land rights, and it was distributed to communities.

Issues before and during the election

Long before the election date was announced, a number of subjects had been in public discussion and dispute and had the potential to become major issues in the campaign and to attract policy commitments from the parties. Some did, some did not. Of those that did receive recognition by the parties, the Darwin airport terminal and the north-south rail link were two; but the question of federal-Territory conflict over the two national parks, Kakadu and Uluru, both the subject of major dispute in 1986, was scarcely mentioned in the campaign or in party policies. And, as one observer noted,

Mr Hatton's policy speech contained all the usual propaganda, but his failure to make a single reference to land rights or sacred sites signalled a departure from the political wisdom practised by Mr Everingham (NT News 25 February 1987).

This leads to consideration of the other matter of discussion late in 1986 which never became an election issue: statehood.

During 1985, statehood for the Territory became a major subject of public discussion and political argument, particularly in the ranks of the Country Liberal Party. At the end of July, it was predicted that it would be the principal subject around which the next NT election would be fought, and Labor's leader, Bob Collins, said it would be a long hard fight to get statehood (Sunday Territorian 28 July 1985). At about that time the ex-Chief Minister, Paul Everingham, insisted, in contradiction to the views of others in the CLP, including the then Chief Minister Ian

Tuxworth, that in a statehood package the number of Senators should be 12 and this should not be negotiable. Soon afterwards, in August, statehood and the dispute about Senate representation were major topics at the CLP's annual conference, and Chief Minister Tuxworth made a major speech on the subject in the Assembly. Federal leaders Ian Sinclair (National Party) and John Howard (Liberal), both offered advice on tactics to be followed to present the issue at the national level and in November 1985, the NT government called a special CLP conference to discuss statehood. After this, Chief Minister Tuxworth and his special advisor explained that they would try developing better relations with Canberra, ending the confrontationist style of the preceding 12 months or so, in the hope that the bureaucrats and politicians there would begin to think seriously and with some sympathy about statehood for the Territory. Morgan Gallup was commissioned to test national opinion on the question. There was talk of hiring Senator Bonner to explain statehood to the Aborigines. For a while early in 1986, the subject virtually disappeared from public view while the conflict over the CLP's leadership raged, but it was back on the agenda of the CLP's annual conference in August. After the conference, the new Chief Minister Steve Hatton made a major speech in the Assembly on the subject, stressing that the statehood package would have to include patriation to the Territory of the federal Aboriginal Land Rights Act (NT) 1976 and the cession to the Territory of control over national parks and over the mining of uranium. He wrote to the Prime Minister and state premiers seeking discussions on the admission of the Territory to the federation as a state. A major conference on statehood was organised by the Law Society of the NT, at which political leaders presented the case in detail and lawyers and other academics discussed it at length. The NT government followed this by letterboxing over 4,000 copies of a leaflet explaining statehood to the population in general, with newspaper advertisements on different aspects of statehood and articles in the press. A special song was even composed to promote statehood. Hatton expressed irritation that Prime Minister Hawke had ignored his letter seeking talks for weeks and eventually the two met (NT News 18 October 1986). Premier Bannon of South Australia warned that the states would be concerned about the possible effects on them, and thought that a lot more work should be done on the subject (NT News 17 October 1986). The NT government finalised an options paper on land matters on statehood early in November and Chief Minister Hatton and Terry Smith, the new Labor party leader, went on tour throughout the Territory speaking in favour of statehood - but not saying exactly the same things (Centralian Advocate 7 November 1986). The newly forming National Party conducted what it described as a survey which seemed to confirm that a large number of people thought the cost of statehood would be too

high. Early in 1987, it was reported that, in Canberra, it was known there would be no statehood under a federal Labor government (NT News 3 January 1987). And, speaking for the Northern Land Council, John Ah Kit warned that the government was pushing the statehood issue too fast. The Northern and Central Land Councils prepared leaflet material and a radio cassette, criticising the statehood proposal severely and in particular warning, as Galarrwuy Yunupingu put it, that statehood was a tool by means of which the government would take away Aboriginal land rights. Sensing that the CLP government might be embarrassed by the proposal, Labor's Bob Collins called for a referendum on statehood along with the election but the call was unheeded (Katherine Advertiser 12-18 February 1987). But the government decided not to raise statehood as an election issue in order to maintain the bipartisan approach to it.

The government clearly needed the overwhelming support of Territorians of all groups and political persuasions before the federal and state governments would seriously consider negotiations on the question and yet, on the eve of the election, the Aboriginal organisations were highly critical of the proposed package. Occasional letters to the press also indicated some scepticism, how widespread could not be determined, about the Chief Minister's claim that statehood would not cost Territorians any increase in taxes and charges. To have raised statehood as an election issue or in a referendum would have been highly divisive at the very time when the government was anxious to build consensus on the subject.

It is also arguable that the statehood issue would have played into the hands of the Nationals, because it would have given them an opportunity to shape much of the campaign in highly emotional and ideological terms about land rights, uranium, national parks and federal-state relations. If there was one cluster of issues on which the right wing of the CLP would be uneasy and sympathetic to the Nationals, this was it. At the same time, the government had most to gain by running on its record, where, of course, the newly fledged Nationals were at a disadvantage and by a campaign which stressed practical rather than ideological matters. Statehood was not the only subject played down in the election: so too were the subjects of parks, uranium and land rights, even though some people thought they should be major election issues, as interest group activity indicated. This judgment was expressed most succinctly in a letter to the press from W. J. Fisher,

Sir, After listening to the policies of the three political parties I am confused as to whether this is literally a State election or a municipal one.

All the goodies promised cannot be delivered unless the elected Government gains control of its resources.

Half the Territory locked up from any development by land rights, the threat of conversion of leasehold land to freehold effectively tying up the remainder, sacred sites making huge inroads into sites proclamations - these are the issues that will make or break the Territory.

Why have all the parties pussyfooted around them?

Where is the spirit, the drive to statehood to control our resources? (NT News 27 February 1987).

Questions concerning national parks under federal control had been in the headlines repeatedly throughout 1986. The long-running dispute between the then Chief Minister, Ian Tuxworth and the federal Minister over the control of the Uluru national park, leased by the Aboriginal owners to the Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service, flared again in April when the federal Minister eventually tired of waiting for the Territory to nominate a member to the Board of Management and went ahead without a Territory representative (NT News 21 April 1986). A wrangle then developed about the removal of the NT Conservation Commission rangers from the park, and at the end of May, after a month of public disputation, the rangers were, as the one-time Minister for Conservation, and now Chief Minister Steve Hatton put it, 'kicked out' of the park (NT News 29 May 1986). In earlier times these events would have been kept fresh in memory and rhetorically recalled at the next election - but on this occasion they were not.

The same happened with Kakadu. The full story cannot be told here, but a summary of the headlines, which told of confrontation and, from a Territory point of view, of federal bloodmindedness for several months late in the year, may be given. In April 1986, a challenge mounted by the Northern Land Council to ERA's continued mining at Ranger reached the High Court; the NLC in June was reported to be irritated that Broken Hill Proprietary had not replied to requests for information about its intentions in relation to exploration leases (outside Kakadu) in the east of Arnhem Land; also in June, the NLC made what was described as a 'historic decision' to grant an exploration licence to Uranerz (a company not in the Australian Mining Industries Council) (NT News 27 June 1986); in July Senator B. Kilgariff stressed that Kakadu national park should include

mining and tourism (NT News 3 July 1986); the proposed plan of management for Kakadu came under fire from Mike Gamble of the NT Chamber of Mines in July (NT News 13 July 1986) and the next day the NT News editorially commented, in the extravagant language typical of discussion on this question, that 'Australia's miners are finally waking up and challenging the bumper sticker brigade'. What stirred this was the announcement that Geopeko would mount an exploration program, without government approval, in its old leases in Kakadu, where work had been frozen for 13 years. According to the NT News,

whipped from pillar to post by all sorts of people and organisations the mining industry has retreated everywhere. Typical has been BHP Minerals at Coronation Hill [in Kakadu, stage three]. Nothing happened there until this newspaper and the Sunday Territorian made public the farcical situation that existed with the Aboriginal Sacred Sites Protection Authority. And nothing will happen with the richest mineral area in the world unless the miners find a bit of backbone and stand up and fight not only the conservationists but the stupidity of government by osmosis (sic). ... a huge land grab by the Canberra-domiciled Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service and its director, Professor Derek Ovington. Proven uranium reserves worth more than \$40,000 million are buried at Kakadu. This ignores other minerals and metals like gold, silver and zinc. In the proposed Kakadu stage 3 there are diamonds, gold, platinum (in extremely high demand), uranium and more ... (NT News 14 July 1986).

A few days later, Chief Minister Hatton called for the 'reining in' of ANPWS because it was a threat to mining. In August Pancontinental said it was thinking of transforming Jabiluka 2 into a \$150 million gold mine because of the federal government's ban on the export of uranium from the proposed mine (NT News 14 August 1986). It too is in Kakadu. In September, Chief Minister Hatton and federal Minister for Heritage and the Environment, Barry Cohen, agreed that it was 'vital for the two governments to cease being at each other's throats' (NT News 4 September 1986). In the same month a 'non-political' mining summit was talked of only to be followed by the screaming headline 'Peko mine battle looms' (NT News 10 September 1986). Barry Cohen wrote to the press the next day acidly saying

you are perfectly entitled to express the view that Kakadu National Park should be swiss-cheesed with mines. As to what sort of a national park it

would be, not to mention a World Heritage area, if you had your way beggars the imagination (NT News 11 September 1986)

and he went on to defend the ANPWS's record in tourist development for the area. In September, the promise of Geopeko exploration continued and was overlaid by an emerging row within the federal government and the federal Labor party over proposals to allow restricted gold and platinum mining in Kakadu stage three. This involved Prime Minister Bob Hawke. Other players quickly became involved: the NT Chamber of Mines, the NT government, the NLC, the federal opposition spokesman on resources and energy, Senator Peter Durack, the Australian Mining Industry Council which had a survey carried out to ascertain public opinion about mining in Kakadu and the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation. The federal Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Clyde Holding, proposed to give Aborigines title to leases to Kakadu stage two, which was immediately interpreted as an attempt to 'lock up' the 'enormous resources' of the area. Chief Minister Hatton was quoted as saying the Kakadu question is 'getting very close to the point of me calling an election' (NT News 6 October 1986). But he backed off, and instead wrote to Prime Minister Hawke seeking his intervention to block moves, newly alleged, to list Kakadu stage two as world heritage, like Kakadu stage one, on the ground that agreed consultation procedures had not been followed (NT News 8 October 1986). A day later, with the endorsement of the NT government, Geopeko resumed exploration in Kakadu and the press forecast a 'major political confrontation between the Territory and federal governments' (NT News 9 October 1986). The NT government decided to put a case to UNESCO to stop the federal government's moves to have stage two given world heritage status by merely extending the stage one status to it (NT News 14 October 1986). Having made a challenge, Geopeko then halted exploration work to allow discussions to take place. But the war of words continued, with Geopeko threatening to take two federal ministers to the High Court over the plan of management, the NT government hiring Harry Butler and another conservationist from Britain to look at the Park which they concluded was not fit for world heritage listing, the federal opposition promising to delist stage two if they succeeded in winning government, the federal government threatening Geopeko with legal action for renewed exploration, using a drilling rig in the Park (NT News 13 November 1986) only days after Prime Minister Hawke visited the Park and said mining would not be allowed in stages one and two. The tussle over the heritage listing continued and meanwhile, in order to circumvent a High Court decision in favour of Geopeko, the federal government introduced legislation to the federal parliament designed to block mining in stages one and two (NT News 27 November

1986). But a fortnight later it was reported to have decided to extend stage three of the Park by 4,000 sq km and to have set part of it aside as a special zone in which mining exploration would be allowed. At about the same time, the federal government gave BHP approval to apply for permission to mine at Coronation Hill after excluding the mineral lease from stage three. Throughout, the NT government and the press lambasted the federal government: 'Kakadu wealth locked in again' was one headline (NT News 17 December 1986). Late in December the High Court upheld Geopeko's action against the federal government's attempt to list stage two as world heritage and the government was therefore forced to withdraw the submission from the UNESCO committee (NT News 23 December 1986). A separate but minor dispute continued through these last weeks of the year, when the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Clyde Holding, decided to give title to a small area of stage two (about seven per cent) to its Aboriginal owners, title being vested in the Jabiluka Land Trust. The NT government decided to take that to the High Court - but in February dropped the action (Australian 17 February 1987). Thereafter, apart from a letter by Joe Fisher (NT News 4 March 1987), Kakadu vanished from the headlines - on the eve of the election.

So too did the fringe benefits tax although it was not entirely forgotten. Back in June to September, the introduction of the tax had angered a great many people in the Territory, small businessmen and the local branch of the Small Business Association being particularly outspoken about it (NT News 23 September 1986). Unions joined business groups in criticising it and Labor leader Bob Collins urged Prime Minister Hawke to modify it in favour of Territorians. As an issue, it could have been kept alive, in memory at least, until March, had a 'Canberra bashing' election of the old kind been thought good tactics - but it was allowed to die.

Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Clyde Holding, did give the locals the opportunity to criticise Canberra briefly. Evidently alerted by someone in the Territory, and not fully informed on the issue, the Minister was reported to have told federal Parliament that there

was clear evidence the Northern Territory Government had discriminated against Aborigines over provision of voting facilities for the election [and to have] warned he may intervene ... (NT News 25 February 1987).

There were two bases for the allegations. The first was that the poll at Pine Creek, a mixed community, was to be open for 10 hours, while that at the larger Aboriginal community of Nguuu was to be open for six hours. The other

was that a poll would be provided for six white voters at Auvergne Station while no mobile would be provided for 40 Aboriginal voters at Bulla, 10 kms away. Chief Minister Hatton and Labor's Terry Smith both told Mr Holding next day to 'keep his nose out of NT politics', as the press put it (NT News 26 February 1987), but Mr Holding nonetheless lodged a formal complaint with the Chief Electoral Officer of the Territory (NT News 2 March 1987; see also ch. 7 below).

Law and order had a brief run as an issue. An increase in violent crimes was the result, according to Labor's Dan Leo, of the failure of the government to spend money on crisis and rehabilitation centres (Centralian Advocate 14 January 1987) and in February, Chief Minister Hatton announced that police would be given more power in an attempt to combat growing lawlessness (Sunday Territorian 22 February 1987). Apart from some further criticism of the government's underspending on police and correctional services, this issue came to nothing in the campaign.

The long running story of the NT government's financial involvement with the Darwin and Alice Springs casinos continued to make headlines from time to time up to the eve of the election. In June 1986, two years after the government had pushed Federal Hotels out of the casinos, the government announced that it would renegotiate the casinos deal and that it would no longer play a part in casino development (NT News 20 June 1986). Talks about restructuring the ownership went on for months, and were coming to a conclusion only in February 1987 (NT News 9 February 1987). The government's remaining involvement in the loan arrangements for the Darwin Sheraton Hotel and its heavy commitments in the Yulara complex at Uluru remained as a source of embarrassment, although the Labor party's policy proposal, that if it won the election, it would demand in return some \$7 million worth of free accommodation from Sheraton was fairly easily ridiculed (NT News 27 February 1987). In general, arrangements of this kind gave the government's opponents the material to speak of undercover deals, cronyism, of taxpayers' money being used to prop up uneconomic enterprises.

The Trade Development Zone was very slow to attract business clients willing to commit investment funds, inviting the criticism that the government spent millions of taxpayers' money on promotion, with little to show for it. The Francis Bay mooring basin was regarded as a large and possibly wasteful project. The dispute over the refusal of the NT government to accept the Western Australian Skywest tender for its aeromedical services contract, in preference to the NT's Air North tender, when the NT Department of Health recommended Skywest, led to a variety of charges and

countercharges, and to a court battle when the NT government refused to go ahead with what Skywest believed was a contract (NT News 31 October, 16 December 1986).

Defence, the north-south railway and airport terminals were all mentioned in the election and each had been subjects of public discussion well before. The author of a major report on Australia's northern defence, Paul Dibb, said, in July 1986, that the railway could not be regarded as high priority from a defence point of view (NT News 9 July 1986). But nonetheless Chief Minister Hatton was set on having the railway built - as a freight only line - and began talks on it in September. By November, he was predicting that negotiations for a consortium to build it could be concluded early in 1987 (NT News 13 November 1986) and the railway was a significant item in his policy speech later on. It did not, however, attract much criticism from his opponents, even though the federal government had blocked it some years before and continued to regard it as uneconomic. The long standing dispute about rebuilding the Darwin airport terminal on a new site and to international standards flared up again briefly in August and September 1986 when local entrepreneurs offered to complete the task for up to \$40 million, building on the preliminary works which the federal government had abandoned when it decided it could not afford to go any further ahead with the project. The private enterprise proposal was rejected by the federal government, and instead a low-cost upgrade of the existing terminal was promised (NT News 5 and 21 August, 19 September 1986). The airport terminal continued to be a source of irritation to all who had to use it and it featured in all party policy speeches. Defence expenditure proposed in the wake of the Dibb report earned the federal government a measure of praise. It proposed a 'massive increase' in the number of troops to be stationed in the north and a variety of other measures all of which would benefit the Top End recovery (NT News 3 June 1986). In the middle of the election, Minister for Defence, Kim Beazley, made a timely and well publicised visit to Darwin to announce changes in the defence arrangements in the north and changes in the defensive strategy to be adopted in the north. One report thought Darwin could 'once again' become Australia's boom town (NT News 3 March 1987) and the press next day welcomed both the changes in defence strategy and the prospective economic benefits.

In the campaign itself, the state of the economy might have been the major issue once the questions of statehood, national parks and mining and, with them, Aboriginal land rights had been relegated to the background. The Territory's funds for capital works were severely cut in the premiers conference in June 1986, a so-called 'lean' budget which cut government administrative costs by \$15 million was

brought in by the new Treasurer, Barry Coulter, in August and was attacked by Labor's Terry Smith for being misleading about taxes and its estimates of revenue, and inadequate in its statements about the growth of expenditure (NT News 26 and 28 August 1986). By October, the steep down-turn in the real estate and home building industries were recognised at a special seminar on the subject; in November, the president of the NT Traders Association remarked on the 'epidemic' of bankruptcies in the Territory (NT News 18 November 1986). Early in January, the federal Grants Commission announced that the NT government has received \$27 million more than it should have done in the last two years and the federal government threatened to take it back - even though it had been spent (NT News 21 January 1987).

On the same day, the press began saying that the next months half-yearly statement from the Treasury could be 'very ugly indeed'. Chief Minister Hatton and Treasurer Barry Coulter claimed there was nothing to worry about - taxes would not be raised, the budget would be balanced, there was no budget blow-out (NT News 23 January, 5 February 1987). Ian Tuxworth and Terry Smith from the two rival parties were unconvinced. The News thought the budget 'time bomb had been defused' (6 February 1987) only to have it blow up a week later when the headline was 'Govt \$35 million in the red' (NT News 13 February 1987) - a few days before the expected announcement of the election date. By 21 February, it was known that the government had also suffered a shortfall in its half yearly revenue collection of \$53 million - but still the Treasurer said 'NT Treasury is fine' (NT News 22 February 1987). The Labor opposition and the Nationals both sought to make economic policy central to the campaign; as we have seen, in discussing their policy statements, Labor focused on the cost of living linking it to high taxes and charges, while the Nationals concentrated on the fall in revenue and wasteful expenditure.

But the campaign took some unexpected turns as headlines on new subjects pushed the economic issues into the background. Late in February, it was reported that residents of the inner Darwin Gardens Hill area had

reacted angrily to a Territory Government decision to repossess and sell prime crown land previously set aside for expansion of Darwin's Botanic Gardens (NT News 27 February 1987).

It was planned for rezoning as high density residential. The Lands Minister, Nick Dondas, denied that a final decision had been reached but next day

Acting Town Clerk, Robert White, said moves were afoot to change the title of all council parks to freehold so they could not be reclaimed by the Lands Department. ... But they [the Lands Department] have knocked us back on East Point Reserve, the Civic Centre and the Botanic Gardens. What this means is that the Lands Department can reclaim the land for rezoning ... (NT News 1 March 1987).

Angry residents massed to protest and the News said the Minister was 'totally unconvincing in his explanations'. Residents kept up their pressure and quite quickly 'won a resounding victory', according to the press, when Chief Minister Hatton gave a written statement that the Minister had directed the Department not to go ahead with the rezoning and that the land would go into the gardens (NT News 3 March 1987).

But by now another more damaging issue concerning land administration had become public. At the end of February, the commissioner hearing the Warramungu land claim, Mr Justice Maurice, was reported to have said that 'serious questions of patronage' had arisen from evidence given in the hearing that a senior official of the Lands Department had 'interfered with a pastoral inspector's report' concerning a station near Tennant Creek owned by cattleman and newly elected CLP President, Grant Heaslip (NT News 26 February 1987). Labor promptly demanded a judicial inquiry, the stand-down of Chief Minister Hatton and ruthless eradication of 'cronyism'. The press thought 'one issue has emerged sweeping everything else off the agenda' of the election (NT News 2 March 1987). The Chief Minister attacked the Judge on the same day, suggesting that it was strange that

Justice Michael Maurice had called for an urgent Territory Government response [in the hearing] soon after the election was called. He said it was also strange the court had asked for the information to be provided by Friday, the day before the election. Another uncomfortable coincidence is that the counsel assisting the judge is the Labor Party's Casuarina election candidate, Mr John Reeves ... (NT News 2 March 1987).

It was also suggested that the media had been invited to attend the hearing at which Justice Maurice had criticised the Lands Department.

These hints, that the Judge had used the hearing to influence the election to the government's disadvantage,

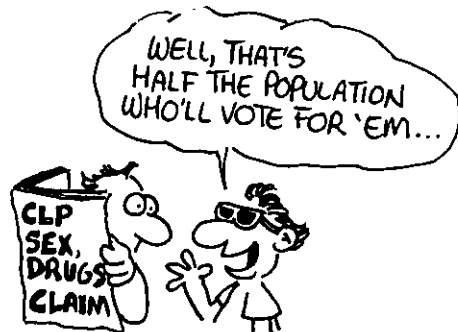
diverted attention from the allegations of patronage or 'cronyism', to use the contemporary word, to the new dispute between the executive and the judiciary. Justice Maurice demanded that the Chief Minister withdraw his remarks or apply to have him stood down from the land claim hearing (NT News 4 March 1987). There was no way in which this issue could be resolved before the election which was only three days away - it ended up in the High Court after the election - and as Justice Maurice 'upped the ante', as the press put it, so Chief Minister Hatton 'stepped back from the furious acrimony of the last few days' (NT News 5 March 1987).

Meanwhile, new allegations were made that Ian Tuxworth was again in trouble for collecting travel allowances by declaring Tennant Creek to be his home, when he was in fact living in Darwin (Sunday Territorian 1 March 1987), and new accusations of 'cronyism' were being levelled at the government from Alice Springs. The Mayor, Lesley Oldfield, accused the government of 'cronyism, backscratching and favour-giving in connection with her town's long-term planning directions' (NT News 5 March 1987).

Mrs Oldfield said she feared the Territory Cabinet was pushing the development of Emily Hills instead of Undoolya [favoured by the Town Council] without direct reference to the experts in Alice Springs.

This was an issue which did not receive much attention in the Top End; the Lands Minister, Nick Dondas, made a rejoinder in terms of the relative cost of the two projects and Ray Hanrahan, from Alice, and Minister for Business, Technology and Communications, said it was 'outrageous' of Mrs Oldfield to allege cronyism; she should consider resigning.

And finally, in the last couple of days of the campaign, a radio talk-back program was used by someone, soon identified as connected with the Nationals, to spread a story that two senior NT government ministers had been involved in a 'wild sex and drug party'. Chief Minister Hatton promptly attacked the Nationals for 'waging a dirty muck-



WICKING

A comment on campaign 'issues' from NT News 7 March 1987

raking election campaign' (NT News 5 March 1987). Heated words were exchanged on radio between the compere, Col Krohn, and the National's Jim Petrich and Chief Minister Hatton repeated that the police had found the story to be without foundation and knew where the story had come from (NT News 6 March 1987). Next day, everyone went off to vote. But we must now turn back a few weeks to consider candidate selection and campaigning before we discuss the reactions of the voters.

Chapter 4

THE CAMPAIGN: PARTIES AND CANDIDATESThe date of election

Had it been allowed to run to full term, four years, the NT Assembly would have been newly elected at the end of 1987. But instead it was cut short some nine months or more by the announcement of a March election. Speculation about the date of the election in 1986 stirred parties and candidates into early preparations for the campaign, and subsequent speculation kept the possibility of an early campaign in the media for months. In September 1986 it was reported that the CLP branches had been asked to preselect their candidates 'urgently' (NT News 9 September 1986). Labor, although protesting that an early election was unnecessary, said that it would have completed preselections before the end of September. A few weeks later, speculation had grown that an election would be called for 6 December, but it was firmly denied by the secretary of the CLP, Barry Wyatt (NT News 17 October 1986). In November proposed changes to the boundaries of electorates were tabled in the Assembly and it was still contended that the procedures for approving them could be completed in time to allow for a 6 December poll (NT News 12 November 1986). By December, dates in February, March and April were being tipped, and these guesses continued into January 1987 (e.g. NT News 2 December 1986, 19 January 1987).

The scene for a NT Legislative Assembly election had been set by the end of January. The new NT National Party was taking shape and the CLP, minus its defectors and those not selected, had undergone a major re-arrangement of party officers. Labor's organisation was in 'high gear'. On 2 February, Chief Minister Steve Hatton announced the CLP's candidates for the 25 Legislative Assembly seats and, contrary to the politician's usual practice of denying any speculation about early elections, also indicated that he did have 'a couple of dates in mind' (NT News 2 February 1987). But before any final decision could be made, there were 'certain things' to be done; such as the completion of the budget review so that the public servants could get on with their work. The election, Hatton argued, should not 'hold up the business of government' (NT News 2 February 1987). Ex-Labor leader, Bob Collins, derided this argument, contending that the government would call the election early in order to 'strangle the NT Nationals at birth' (NT News 3 February 1987). By 10 February, the NT News was demanding editorially that Hatton 'clear the election air' and was turning the 'business of government' argument back on the Chief Minister. With the

public service paralysed, business comatose and the rest of Australia just waiting to see what happens, the NT Government maintains an unhealthy silence on the date of the next election ...

This is a ridiculous situation ... there is only one way to clear the air and get on with the business of government - an election.

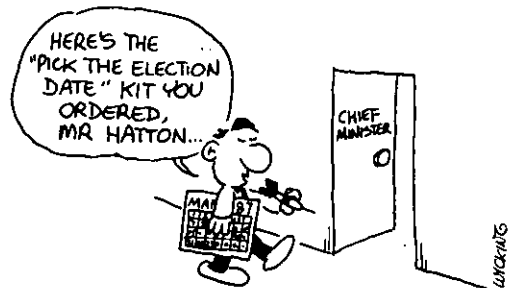
The issues were quite clear before the new National Party was established. They were Territory control over parks now under the clutches of the Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service, opening new mines, particularly uranium mines at Kakadu, the Darwin, Tennant Creek and Alice Springs airports, putting some sense into land rights and a new thrust on the economic development of the Territory.

Besides the governing Country Liberal Party has seen three Chief Ministers in three years. It has also seen five founding Cabinet members, Messrs Paul Everingham, Jim Robertson, Roger Steele, Ian Tuxworth, and Marshall Perron out of Parliament or on to the backbenches.

The new executive needs a mandate - or be tossed out as the electorate decides.

What the Territory cannot afford for much longer is this wretched state of uncertainty fed by rumours and speculation (NT News 10 February 1987).

In the following week, all three major parties had a leading extra-Territorian luminary descend on the Territory in their support. The ALP had former Prime Minister Gough Whitlam in Darwin for a fund raising function. The CLP had Western Australia's controversial federal Liberal Small Business spokesman Wilson Tuckey doing the rounds of functions in Alice Springs, Tennant Creek, Katherine and Darwin,



Cartoon comment on setting the election date. NT News 14 February 1987

while the Nationals had Queensland's Premier Joh Bjelke-Petersen doing likewise, but just a day or so behind.

By the time these latter two were in Darwin, everyone knew the election was imminent. On Friday 13 February, the NT News carried a front page story claiming that Chief Minister Hatton was set to name the date of the election as 7 March at a press conference the next Monday morning (NT News 13 February 1987). On Sunday 15th, the Sunday Territorian reported the date informally confirmed by the Chief Minister, with the formal Executive Council meeting scheduled for early Monday morning. This timing of the informal announcement allowed the Chief Minister to deliver a rebuff to Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen before the Queensland Premier had left the Territory. While Joh was claiming that the 'whole of Australia' would be watching how the Nationals fared in the Territory as some indication of the success of his push to Canberra, Hatton was reported in the NT News as telling Sir Joh that he should 'get out of the Territory and go back to Queensland to do the job he says he wants to do but hasn't done for at least eight years' (NT News 15 February 1987). The next day, the date, 7 March, was officially announced. The 1987 NT Legislative Assembly election campaign had begun with perhaps the most characteristic strategy of Territory politicians - a rebuff for any from outside the NT who deign to interfere in Territory politics.

Chief Minister Hatton later tried to blame Labor for the early election and the short campaign; people, he said, had been put off buying homes and land by the talk of an early election, and 'election fever', brought on by the Labor party rather than the media, had induced a general 'sense of instability' in the Territory. It was 'imperative' for the government 'to get the election over after a quick 19 day campaign so that everyone could continue to develop the economy' (NT News 18 February 1987).

As in previous elections, there were complaints that closure of the rolls within hours of the announcement of the date of the election had resulted in the disfranchisement of people who had failed to apply for enrolment earlier (NT News 17 February 1987). In addition, Labor spokesman from rural electorates forecast that many Aboriginal voters would not be able to vote because, by calling an early election, many remote localities would still be inaccessible at the end of the Wet (NT News 3 February 1987, 17 February 1987). CLP candidate, Terry McCarthy, denied that in his electorate, Victoria River, any community would be cut off by water (NT News 20 February 1987).

Legislative Assembly elections in the NT are conducted simultaneously at a number of different levels. The first

and most prominent is a general Territory-wide campaign. The main actors are the party leaders and the main means of communication the Darwin and Territory-wide media. Events may take the form of general party policy speeches, advertising campaigns or more impromptu media appearances. Below this is a second level of campaigning in which less prominent candidates may seek media or other public attention at a local or regional level by raising more local or regional concerns. Third, there is the more mundane process of candidates creating a physical presence in their individual electorates. This may involve public displays such as posters, car stickers and, on election day, how-to-vote cards. It also involves doorknocking, community visiting and other ways of meeting the electors and distributing party or candidate-produced literature. This last may seem trivial, but arguably it is far from that particularly in the Territory's small electorates of only 3000 voters. Even the party leaders regard doorknocking the whole electorate as a necessary part of a good campaign.

With 25 electorates and 85 candidates it would be impossible and tedious to detail all campaigning at all levels in every electorate. So, what follows is selective, but there is some rationale. We begin by considering the Territory-wide campaign emerging from Darwin and the Darwin regional campaign, to the extent that this is a separate phenomenon. In the following chapter we examine events in central Australia, home of six of the NT Legislative Assembly seats and the only multi-seat regional centre of NT politics. And finally we look at events in some individual electorates outside the major centres, namely Barkly, Koolpinyah, Katherine and Arafura.

Party campaigning

Labor's preparations for the election began in mid 1986, as it geared up to select its candidates and one or two preselection contests reached the headlines. John Reeves and Bob Wharton both offered themselves for Jingili, but a contest was averted when Reeves decided to stand for Casuarina. Jamey Robertson and Colin McDonald prepared to contest the preselection for Ludmilla in June and Robertson won it, only to withdraw and stand instead for Pt Darwin, leaving Ludmilla without a candidate only three weeks before the poll.

In the run-up to the election, the party was reasonably unified and optimistic. Having begun its preparations early, it was able to announce all but two of its candidates early in October. The dust had settled by then on the tensions arising from the transfer of the party leadership from Bob Collins to Terry Smith and the fuss made by Senator



Ludmilla Electorate. Typical party posters adjacent to major road

Ted Robertson when it became known that Bob Collins would be preselected for the No. 1 place on Labor's Senate ticket and that he, the sitting Senator, would be called on to stand down when his term was up. There was a flurry of excitement when the Macdonnell member, Neil Bell, distanced himself from others in the party who voted for a motion in the Assembly endorsing a federal decision to remove the ban on exports of uranium to France. There was some talk that he might be expelled (NT News 15 October 1986), but nothing came of it.

Early in October polls for both parties were said to show that the CLP was losing support (NT News 6 October 1986), and early in December the Labor caucus, all Top End candidates and the campaign committee met to plan their tactics. Smith confidently predicted a Labor victory with a majority of one seat. A press advertising campaign was launched early in the new year, and policies on various topics were released from time to time to the media. At the beginning of February, its television advertisements began and the party launched its campaign in earnest.

Opposition leader, Terry Smith, will launch Labor's election campaign tomorrow under the high-flying banner of - 'Together We Can Do It.'

Two advertisements - one running for 30 seconds the other for a minute - will be shown on prime-time television.

One ad claims the NT Government gambled with the Territory's future ... and lost.

It says tax-payers' money was wasted on the Diamond Beach Casino, the Sheraton Hotel, the Beaufort Centre, the Aero Medical Service and the missing buffalo from Annaburroo Station.

The other ad shows the Territory as God's own land ... full of crystal clear waterways, happy young faces and sailboats.

There are a lot of familiar faces and a smiling Terry Smith.

Mr Smith's publicity chief, Peter Woodward, said the election campaign will be promoted on Labor's new image.

'We are offering competence in Government against the CLP's background of failures,' he said.

'We want people to know the party is full of people working together to get the job done.

'The CLP is fighting over the deck-chairs on a sinking ship.' (NT News 1 February 1987)

Towards the end of February it was announced that three, and maybe more, influential southern Labor politicians, including Minister for Defence, Kim Beazley, and South Australian Premier, John Bannon, would visit the Territory to help with the campaign.

Apart from its television advertisements, Labor ran a modest series of press advertisements, many of them one page in size, spelling out one or more of its policies, presenting its candidates, with photographs (e.g. Centralian Advocate 4 March 1987) and setting out its full list of candidates and preferences for all electorates (Sunday Territorian 1 March 1987).

The Nationals, officially launched only at the end of November 1986, had a major task to establish themselves with

the electorate. They not only had to set up an organisation of branches and a central office, but they also had to project an identity to the electorate and to select candidates. Early in December it was known that the party planned to have candidates in all 25 electorates. Just before Christmas, after Chief Minister Hatton had told Queensland Premier Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen to stay out of the Territory, Sir Joh retaliated by telling Hatton that the Nationals were going to make war on the CLP in order to save Australia from the Hawke government (NT News 23 December 1986). The apocalyptic streak persisted throughout the campaign, even though the Nationals were forced by the CLP's tactics to confine themselves to Territory rather than national issues in the election.

Early in January the party published its articles of faith - an advertisement headed 'We Believe' - in the press (NT News 8 January 1987). Party convenor, Jim Petrich, said that the party had been

born out of the widespread expressed need for real Territory leadership, direction and growth to improve our living standards and do away with the shackles of Canberra.

It believed in the enhancement of family life, rewards for initiative and hard work, single rate income tax, free enterprise for all, including the right of Territorians to negotiate their own working conditions, the secret ballot in all union decisions, the right to develop land and minerals in Kakadu, the need to help the elderly, sick and disabled, in the potential of youth and in the need to lower government charges, to reduce the size of government and to free people from bureaucratic control (NT News 8 January 1987).

Defections to the Nationals were being announced at this time. Ian Tuxworth had joined in December; now in January Bob Liddle, an Alice Springs businessman and CLP Senate candidate, went across, followed closely by Mayor of Palmerston, Michael Ting. Soon afterwards, Graeme Bevis who had left the CLP late in 1986 joined the Nationals.

By the beginning of February, the Nationals were still busy selecting candidates and readying the fledgling organisation. It announced that it would give its preferences to the CLP (NT News 4 February 1987) although convenor Petrich said later that preferences would go, in order, first to independent conservatives Dennis Collins (Sadadeen), Noel Padgham-Purich (Koolpinyah) and Bruce Foley (Arnhem), then to the CLP and then to other independents, with Labor last on all its how-to-vote cards. Sir Joh planned to visit the main towns from Alice Springs to Darwin

An open letter to all Territorians from Jim Petrich

You have no doubt heard about the NT National Party which has been spawned within the Territory to get us all back on the road to rational government.

This party has been born out of the widespread expressed need for real Territory leadership, direction and growth to improve our living standards and do away with the shackles of Canberra.

I appeal to you for your support to a movement based on a number of basic beliefs.

Jim Petrich

We believe:

- * in the enhancement of family life and all it stands for in the community.
- * that initiative in all things should be rewarded and those prepared to work hardest receive rewards in accordance with their efforts.
- * that our income taxes should be levied on the same single rate basis.
- * in the free enterprise system for the benefit of employers, employees and self employed people.
- * that all Territorians should have the right to negotiate their own working conditions if need be.
- * that the secret ballot principle be used in all union decisions because your vote as an individual is your confidential property.
- * that Territorians have the right to responsibly manage and develop their own land and mineral wealth, as in Kakadu.
- * in helping people to help themselves — and caring for those who cannot ... the elderly, the sick and disabled.
- * the integrity and potential of our youth — and their right to a secure, prosperous future.
- * in a general need to lower government charges, reduce the size of the government and free people from bureaucratic control in life, work and business in both metropolitan and rural areas.

If you believe in these principles, you are a NT Nationals supporter.

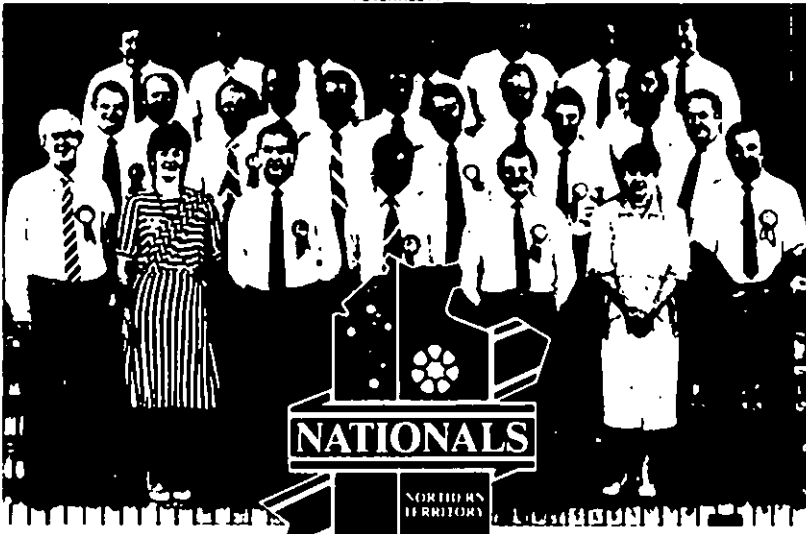


For further information concerning membership, contact:
DARWIN 845144, 470200 (AH) 855235
ALICE SPRINGS 528067 (AH) 527119
TENNANT CREEK 622767

Authorised by James Petrich, 25 Bougainville St., Nightcliff

Advertisement by Nationals stressing party beliefs
8 January 1987

ADVERTISEMENT



**Vote for the
Territory Nationals
and let's get the
Territory really
moving again!**

Meet the Team →

First page of a four page Nationals' 'Meet the Team' advertisement. Other pages showed each candidate full face as would be on the ballot paper.

and the party placed 'Say Hullo to Joh' advertisements of the itinerary in the press (NT News 12 February 1987).

Three weeks before the election the organiser Bob Baudino who had helped the CLP win earlier elections was announced - and then, a week later, it became known he would not come to help to the Nationals - it was not known why (NT News 25 February 1987). Instead 'journalist' John Anderson from Queensland arrived to help with the campaign organisation. This included daily briefings to candidates, setting up placards and posters, printing, liaison with media, organising advertisements, arranging for distribution of campaign material to remote electorates and communities, organising scrutineering not only at Saturday 7 March polling places but also at mobile polling places in remote areas in the preceding week, arranging for people to be at all polling places to hand out how-to-vote cards on 7 March.

Late in February, the party held its inaugural conference over one weekend, and with Sir Joh in Japan on a business trip, Senator Lady Flo Bjelke-Petersen was brought to Darwin to help the party with public appearances. These were apparently not an unmixed success: 'Lady Flo bungles chit chat' was one headline (NT News 4 March 1987), although it was said that the local 'blue rinse set' were nonetheless pleased with her visit. In Jabiru her speech was a

unique, almost bizarre, mixture of facts, half remembered points that Sir Joh had told her and homilies on home cooking. On flat tax, she said that computers had looked at it and said it was feasible ... (NT News 5 March 1987).

Press advertising continued, seemingly at a much higher level of space and expenditure than for the other two parties. Four full page advertisements featured candidates and policy items were featured in other one page advertisements. A full page was taken (NT News 3 March 1987) to reprint a letter from ex-Labor voter Vic Solomon, Tooboola Station, recommending the National Party in preference to Labor and CLP. Other advertisements featured photos of Territorians saying why they supported the Nationals. On 5 March over a page was devoted to an advertisement of a letter by rightwing conservative John Leard, headed 'Where Sir Joh is right' and on the day of the election itself voters were confronted with a full page photo of Sir Joh, with the caption

If you agree with Joh on a 25 per cent single rate tax vote for your local Territory Nationals candidate.



"Say hullo to Joh!"

THIS IS WHERE YOU'LL SEE HIM THIS WEEK

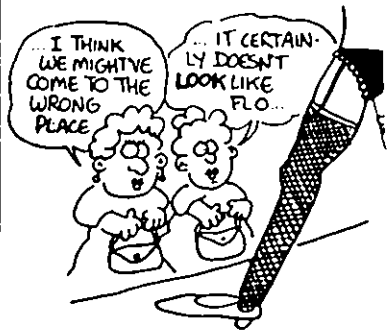
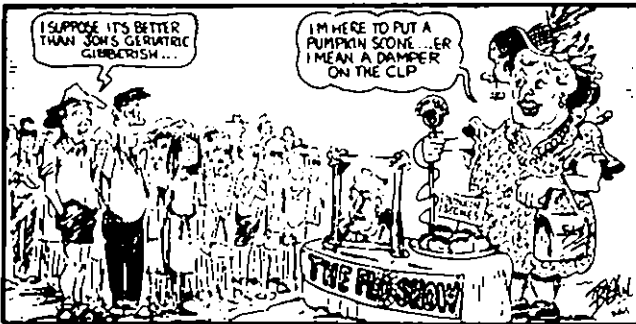


Alice Springs Friday 11.30am - Airport
 Alice Springs Friday 12 noon - The Gap Hotel
 Tennant Creek Friday 3.45pm - Airport
 Tennant Creek Friday 4.00pm - Konedobbe Building
 Katherine Friday 6.30pm - Airport
 Katherine Friday 7.30pm - "The Garden"
 Darwin Saturday 7.30am - Airport
 Darwin Saturday 8.00am - Beaufort Hotel

JOIN THE TERRITORY NATIONALS PHONE 844758

ALICE SPRINGS 528087, TENNANT CREEK 622267, KATHERINE 725587

Nationals' advertisement for Sir Joh's visit



NT News cartoons reflect local dislike of Queenslanders' intervention in the election. NT News 25 February and 7 March 1987

In the Country Liberal Party, the process of selecting candidates for federal and Territory elections began at a CLP executive meeting late in November 1986 (NT News 29 November 1986) with a view to completing the work by February 1987. Six candidates were selected at a central council meeting a few days later including Paul Everingham the sitting federal House of Representatives member (NT News 1 December 1986). A decision had already been taken, evidently with a view to preventing branch level splitting in the face of the Nationals' challenge, that the final decision on all selections of candidates would rest with central council (NT News 3 November 1986). And early in December, Senator Bernie Kilgariff told Chief Minister and party leader Steve Hatton that an election would have to be held in February or March if the party was to survive the Nationals' challenge (Centralian Advocate 5 December 1986).

The party could not finalise its selection of candidates until the threat of a split in its own ranks had passed away and its own inner turmoil had subsided. The threat of a split was averted by December when Ian Tuxworth was expelled from the parliamentary party and Steve Hatton had held the rest together and had asserted his leadership successfully. By then Graeme Lewis had resigned the party presidency and Barry Wyatt had announced that he would resign the party secretaryship early in the new year. Both posts were filled temporarily until a council meeting could be held. And Paul Everingham, although selected for the federal House of Representatives seat, announced, to the consternation of some, but not all, in the party that he would not accept nomination as he would withdraw from politics at the end of his current term. So a new party candidate for the federal election had to be found. The holiday season was by now not far off, but there were still some notable defections to come, sign of continuing turmoil and tension at the branch level. Graeme Bevis resigned from the party late in December and Bob Liddle, selected by the party as its second Senate candidate, defected to the Nationals early in January. The Barkly branch of the party split, a surprise to no one, and in Katherine a second and somewhat dissident group had set up in Katherine East determined to influence the preselection process. There was talk of a new branch being formed in Fannie Bay in connection with a possible preselection contest between Graeme Lewis and Marshall Perron (NT News 15 January 1987). From time to time, NT News reporter, Oscar Tamsen, gathered up the gossip and rumour of branch and inner party social and political bickering to retell it under garish headlines: 'Guerilla warfare by telephone and inuendo is now the name of the game in Territory politics' (NT News 10 January 1987).

The party, for its own internal consumption and as a mark of its new found organisational solidarity, put out an edition of the long unpublished house journal, Focus, dated February 1987, incorporating a message from the Chief Minister, news from branches, attacks on the Nationals and federal Labor and other rallying articles.

The Central Council meeting at which the selection of candidates would be completed was scheduled for the last weekend in January, and after that the campaigning could begin. Before the Council meeting it became known that Denis Collins was to be dropped by the party in favour of Shane Stone for the Sadadeen contest and there was a strong rumour that Noel Padgham-Purich would lose her preselection for Koolpinyah. Both predictions were correct and, in addition, Roger Steele failed to gain preselection for Katherine and Graeme Lewis failed to gain preselection for Fannie Bay (NT News 1 February 1987). The date of the election was still to be announced but within a day or two, the press reported that two leading Aboriginal footballers had begun doorknocking for the CLP candidate, John Baban, in Millner, the seat held by Terry Smith, leader of the Labor opposition (NT News 3 February 1987).

There had, of course, been political 'stage setting' before this. Early in January Chief Minister Hatton forcefully told a Young Liberal meeting in Melbourne that the Territory 'would not accept colonial control from Canberra or from the National Party in Queensland' (NT News 9 January 1987), provoking Sir Joh to deny that he was trying to interfere in the Territory's internal politics, but that he did intend to visit the Territory at the invitation of the Territory Nationals. Hatton replied saying that Sir Joh had backed away from earlier claims that he had set up the Territory Nationals:

the Queensland Premier's arrogant assumptions he could tell Territorians what to do through local puppets had obviously annoyed Territorians to the point they had stayed away from NT National Party meetings (NT News 17 January 1987).

Territory Minister for Technology and Small Business, Ray Hanrahan, tackled Sir Joh in Ian Tuxworth's own area - Tennant Creek at the beginning of Sir John's tour:

it wasn't in the Territorian character to be dictated to by anyone, especially an aging autocrat whose only support in the NT came from a loose group of disgruntled sycophants (Tennant and District Times 30 January 1987).

This set much of the flavour of the campaign to come: the Nationals and Labor were both attacked by the CLP as under outside control and Hatton's word 'puppet' formed the theme of one of the full page advertisements the party put in the press. Indeed, although the party coupled Labor and the Nationals in this way, the casual reader and television viewer could easily have formed the impression that, for the CLP, the Nationals and Sir Joh were the real enemies. Wilson Tuckey, Liberal from Western Australia, was brought in to tour the Territory on much the same schedule as Sir Joh, to rally the CLP faithful and create competing news items. A massive advertising campaign was mounted, with a variety of full page and double page spreads in the newspapers, usually featuring a photograph of Chief Minister Hatton or a simple version of one of the many policy statements prepared for the campaign. A substantial printing of policy statements, with a covering letter by Steve Hatton, all presented in a glossy folder featuring the slogan 'if you want it to happen stay with Hatton' and the heading

Only the CLP stands for strong stable independent government

was made available to candidates.

Hatton himself led the campaign around the Territory, explaining that all seats had to be fought for (Centralian Advocate 18 February 1987).

In the Centre,

within minutes of arriving at Alice Springs airport on Tuesday with his wife Debbie, Mr Hatton was doorknocking in Araluen. ... Then in a tight 20-hour schedule, he was off to a meeting of the CLP's Flynn, Alice Springs and Young CLP branches ... He announced initiatives ... He introduced CLP Centralian candidates at a special breakfast function yesterday and visited a home for the aged (NT News 19 February 1987).

And he maintained the mockery and ridicule of Sir Joh and the Nationals:

to add insult to injury, he gibbers his flat tax policies from the steps of an \$8 million aircraft which costs the Queensland taxpayer \$1800 an hour to keep the Joh show on the road.

And,

Paranoia in the NT National Party had reached new heights with allegations that 'political saboteurs' had tried to prevent ... Sir Joh's ... personal jet from landing at Tennant Creek on Friday, the Chief Minister, Mr Hatton, said ... Everybody in Tennant Creek knew the sorry saga about the local airport ... Sir Joh's personal jet, carrying his Brisbane entourage and personal bodyguards, was too heavy to land ... (Katherine Advertiser 19 to 25 February 1987).

The press club invited all three party leaders to a forum in February, but Chief Minister Hatton declined; soon afterwards, on 24 February, he gave his policy speech which, like preceding CLP 'launches' was held at a local hotel, this time a new one in Casuarina, the heartland of the northern suburbs where, according to a leaked Labor Party poll, some eight per cent of the voters had drifted from the CLP - five per cent of them to Labor (NT News 31 August 1986). The 'launch' was a glittering occasion, shown live on both television channels. But, of course, by then the candidates had been doorknocking in their own electorates for three weeks or more.

To them we now turn.

Candidates' campaigns

Two levels of campaigning are apparent in most elections: the overall campaign waged by the party through the party leaders; and the collection of constituency struggles, each of which will echo, to some degree, the themes of the broad campaign, but will also reflect the influence of local personalities, events and issues. These are most salient in the Territory in the outback electorates where the miniscule enrolments, remoteness and long distances between communities, regional differences, and the Aboriginal population, all create an environment where local campaigns can be very diverse indeed.

Speaking generally, the campaigns of candidates in urban areas are similar to one another. They are based on intensive doorknocking, letterboxing of leaflets, brochures and letters from the candidates, setting up kerbside placards in the front gardens of residents and, on election day, handing out how-to-vote cards to every voter who will accept them. Many candidates advertised in the local press and a few held, or attended, public meetings to put their views to electors. The press, especially the local press in electorates like Palmerston, Koolpinyah, Katherine and

Tennant Creek, normally featured interviews or columns of comment by the local candidates. Apart from the more orthodox advertisements by candidates, Lance Lawrence (Independent in Victoria River), advertised in the press offering

Free Marijuana

I Lance Lawrence ... undertake to introduce a Private Members Bill at first sitting of Legislative Assembly to decriminalise marijuana for home consumption. Donations needed to mount effective campaign. Send to ... (NT News 24 February 1987).

All three parties provided their candidates with a basic kit of printed material which ensured a quite high degree of visual uniformity in placards and leaflets and uniformity in the basic policy messages, especially those relating to Territory-wide politics, and slogans. Naturally, in small electorates, with door-to-door canvassing, local issues were important, issues of a kind often more appropriate to local than Territory-wide government. Nonetheless, they were things candidates thought they might be able to 'do something about' and so publicised them in the hope of winning votes. Many candidates, especially sitting members, had already been able to 'do things' in their electorates and many were personally known to quite large numbers of voters. The doorknocking reinforced this personal acquaintance and was often backed up by such things as personally signed leaflets and cards.

The printed materials provided by the parties included leaflets, stickers, posters, calling cards, buttons and how-to-vote cards. Some candidates had additional leaflets or personal letters printed. Some handed out short fact sheets about themselves, for example, Stephen Marshall (National candidate in Fannie Bay), listed his family, his place of birth, his qualifications, his employment history and the various organisations he had worked for. And, of course, independents all had to do their own - they introduced an element of variety into some contests. Apart from this kind of help, the parties also helped their candidates with funds, with advertising in the media, with office services, printing, campaign advice, the organising of scrutineers and what some described as 'moral' support. Of all kinds, printing and advertising were the most frequently provided, according to candidates.

We obtained information from the candidates about these matters by means of mailed questionnaires, and 38 were returned from the 85 candidates. Press clippings and campaign materials were collected at the same time. The



HARRY MASCHKE

Your vote on Saturday, 7 March 1987, is crucial. The future of the Territory is at stake. The future lies with the home-grown NT Nationals.

I urge that you vote for me and the new NT National Party Government

Only the Northern Territory National Party can ensure that the present government's aimless drit is replaced by clear thinking and decisive action.

I have not abandoned my previous loyalties easily, but I am convinced that only the Nationals can now put the Territory back on the right road, free from outside control and not weighed down by the burden of worn-out minds

I believe in the encouragement of private enterprise and responsible development. I recognise, too, that a vigorous private sector needs the backing of a small, efficient, non-political public service, in which merit is the only basis for advancement.

The Nationals want to help people to help themselves, but we are also pledged to provide caring support for all those who genuinely cannot do it for themselves

I am committed to the Territory. It has been good to me, enabling me to come in 15 years from a one-man operation to a company employing over 40 Territorians, turning over more than \$3 million a year, and winning numerous awards for achievement in small business, enterprise, and employer achievement.

I've achieved and I try to help others to do the same, through membership of industrial training committees and industry associations. I've also been glad to give time to helping the government and people as a Commissioner of NTEC.

Now I want to work full-time for you and Jingili, to create a community in which we can all live with contentment and pride. I want to fight for your interests in the best way possible, as member of the Northern Territory National Party Government

The Northern Territory Nationals are your party, your representatives - we are your hope for a new, honest deal for the future.

I urge you to support the Nationals by voting for me on Saturday, 7 March.

JINGILI

NATIONAL PARTY OF AUSTRALIA - NORTHERN TERRITORY
 PARTY HEADQUARTERS, FIRST FLOOR, FRONTIERS HIGHWAY, WISSELEH, N.T. POSTAL ADDRESS: PO BOX 1245, WISSELEH, N.T. 5789
 TELEPHONES: (089) 84 4750, (089) 84 4741 FAX NUMBER: (089) 47 0125

Leaflet in form of letter to Electors from National candidate for Jingili

**FOR
STRONG
STABLE
TERRITORY
GOVERNMENT
VOTE
CLP**



CLP



THE TERRITORY PARTY



**MIKE
REED
KATHERINE**

If you require assistance with
• transport on election day
• applying for a postal vote
• discussion on policies
please don't hesitate to phone
72 1720 B/Hours
72 3444 A/Hours

Authorized by J. Hare 80 Drozzone Road Nakara
Printed by Coleriana Printing Pty. Ltd. 86 Cavenagh St. Darwin NT

CLP

THE TERRITORY'S TEAM

DALE

FOR WANGURI

Country Liberal Party campaign material in standard format, poster for Dale and leaflet for Reed



LAWRENCE
LANCE ALFRED
Independent



McCARTHY
TERRENCE ROBERT
CLP

WHITE
LEON
ALP

WRIGHT
RONALD ERIC
Nationals

(SEE OTHER SIDE)

VOTE 1 Your Independent Candidate
LANCE LAWRENCE

In for the Victoria River Electorate.
THE POLITICAL PARTYS HAVE FAILED YOU

I have a life long commitment to the Territory
21 years in your electorate.

- I WORKED AS A STOCKMAN, CENTRE CAMP VRD 1966.
- I HAVE WORKED EXTENSIVELY AMONGST THE ABORIGINAL PEOPLE.
- I SET UP THE KYBROOK ABORIGINAL COMMUNITY FARM AT PINE CREEK.
- I WAS WORKS SUPERVISOR FOR THE NGUKURR COMMUNITY.
- I HAVE MY HOME, FARM AND STORE IN PINE CREEK FOR THE LAST 14 YEARS.

PLEASE VOTE ON BALLOT PAPER
AS SHOWN ON OTHER SIDE.

WRITTEN AND AUTHORISED BY LANCE LAWRENCE.
150 Miller Terrace, Pine Creek, N.T.

Independents relied heavily on leaflets to identify themselves to voters

CLP THE TERRITORY PARTY ARNHEM



- 3 DALLISTON, B.J.
- 2 FOLEY, B.R.
- 1 HANCOCK, J.R.
- 4 LANHUPUY, W.

PLACE A NUMBER IN EVERY SQUARE. IF YOU SPOIL YOUR BALLOT PAPER, ASK FOR ANOTHER.

Authorised by J. Hare 80 Dripstone Road Nakara
Printed by Colemans Printing Pty Ltd 86 Cavenagh Street Darwin NT

ALP

HOW TO VOTE LABOR Wes LANHUPUY



PLEASE
NUMBER
EVERY
BOX

Authorised by
Bob Collins, 23 Barossa St.
Darwin

Printed by Robo Graphics, 13 Cavenagh Street, Darwin

NORTHERN TERRITORY OF AUSTRALIA ARNHEM

4 DALLISTON Brian James

3 FOLEY Bruce Raymond

2 HANCOCK John Richard

1  LANHUPUY
Wes

Two party How-to-vote cards, each featuring candidate photograph as on the ballot paper

data base is not, however, as comprehensive as it should be and consequently the figures and the interpretations derived from it must be treated with considerable reserve. To offset this shortcoming to some extent, it must be noted that many of the responses received were thoughtful, very detailed and showed that the candidates writing had critically assessed both the overall campaigns and their own efforts.

Eight National Party candidates returned questionnaires, seven came back from CLP candidates, six from independents and 17 from Labor candidates. Ten were from candidates in rural electorates: Arnhem, Stuart, MacDonnell, Victoria River and Barkly, and there were some different aspects of campaigning in these as we shall see.

We first report some socio-economic characteristics of the candidates. These data are based on the questionnaires and are supplemented from other sources such as personal statements issued by parties and candidates at the election.

Age

Table 4.1
Number of candidates in different age groups

	<u>Total</u>	<u>ALP</u>	<u>CLP</u>	<u>Nat</u>	<u>Ind</u>
21-29	3	3	-	-	-
30-39	29	13	7	7	2
40-49	41	9	15	13	4
50+	4	-	1	3	-
(N)	(77)	(25)	(23)	(23)	(6)

The average age of the 77 identified candidates were 41 years, with Labor producing the youngest 'team'.

Education

Table 4.2
Levels of education of candidates

	<u>Total</u>	<u>ALP</u>	<u>CLP</u>	<u>Nat</u>	<u>Ind</u>
Primary	1	-	-	-	1
Secondary	25	9	7	8	1
Tertiary	33	13	5	10	5
(N)	(59)	(22)	(12)	(18)	(7)

A high proportion of the 59 candidates whose education was identified had reached tertiary level - 56 per cent. Further, the Labor party (59 per cent) and the National party (56 per cent) showed the highest proportion of tertiary educated candidates in the three parties. This is far removed from the former image of both parties: Labor as the 'blue-collar/Trade Union' party, and the National (Country) party as the farmers' party. But it does reflect the nature of the NT parties: Labor as increasingly middle-class/professional (as is the trend elsewhere in Australia) and with a small union 'base'; National as an urban, 'business' party.

Occupation

This education data is reflected in the occupational profiles of the candidates.

Table 4.3
Occupations of candidates

	<u>Total</u>	<u>ALP</u>	<u>CLP</u>	<u>Nat</u>	<u>Ind</u>
Professional, Technical	27	11	5	7	4
Admin, Exec	9	4	3	2	-
Managerial	3	-	2	1	-
White Collar	13	5	4	4	-
Small Business	18	1	4	11	2
Agriculture	2	-	1	-	1
Blue Collar	1	1	-	-	-
(N)	(73)	(22)	(19)	(25)	(7)

Of the 73 candidates whose occupations were identified, 49 per cent were in professional, technical, or semi-administrative/executive occupations, a pattern reflected in both Labor and the CLP. The National party occupations reflected the formation of the NT party - firmly professional and business. Only one candidate was classified as blue collar.

Religion

The religious profile of candidates was limited to the 28 candidates who completed this question in the survey. Six respondents (four Labor) claimed 'no religion', 14 were Catholic and a further eight Anglican.

Residence in NT

Table 4.4
Length of residence of candidates in NT

	<u>Total</u>	<u>ALP</u>	<u>CLP</u>	<u>Nat</u>	<u>Ind</u>
1-3 yrs	2	-	-	1	1
4-8 yrs	14	6	1	5	2
9-12 yrs	9	4	3	2	-
13-20 yrs	23	8	9	5	1
20+ yrs	29	7	6	12	4
(N)	(77)	(25)	(19)	(25)	(8)

CLP candidates showed the greatest proportion (79 per cent) of long-term (over 13 years) residence in the Territory, while Labor and National candidates were a mixture of 'old' and 'new' residents.

Duration of Membership of Party

Table 4.5
Length of membership of party

	<u>Total</u>	<u>ALP</u>	<u>CLP</u>	<u>Nat</u>
Less than 6 months	22	1	1	20
6 months to 1 year	2	1	1	-
1-4 years	4	1	2	1
5-10 years	10	4	5	-
11+ years	13	4	8	2
(N)	(51)	(11)	(17)	(23)

Most Labor and CLP candidates were long-term party members; almost all National candidates joined the party at its formation in the NT in October 1986.

Organisational membership

Most of the candidates were 'organisational people', belonging to various organisations and clubs. This was especially evident among the sitting members, for whom membership of local organisations is a matter of form and expectation in the electorates. The range of involvement varied from membership of only one organisation, to one candidate who stated he was involved in organisations in six of the categories. The levels of involvement were approximately the same across all parties, except for 'Trade Union' - almost exclusively Labor candidates.

Table 4.6
Candidates' membership of organisations

	<u>Total</u>	<u>ALP</u>	<u>CLP</u>	<u>Nat</u>	<u>Ind</u>
Rural	5	-	1	1	3
Professional	29	12	4	8	5
Business	19	3	8	7	1
Service	25	3	12	7	3
Church	12	4	3	4	1
Charity	14	2	8	3	1
School	20	8	6	4	2
Sporting	29	9	11	5	4
Trade Union	16	14	-	1	1

(N = 85 candidates)

As the data for 47 candidates were obtained from sources other than the questionnaire, the table certainly under-represents their involvement in organisations.

Campaign methods

Given the unique environment in Territory elections, especially the very small electorate populations, it was not surprising that candidates emphasised a personal approach in their campaigns. Of 34 candidates who provided information on personal canvassing, only one, an Independent, reported that no households had been visited. Three candidates stated they had canvassed all households at least once, two stated they had canvassed over 2000 households (which, in the Territory would mean 'all'), and 12 stated that they had canvassed more than 1000 households. A few candidates relied on other people to help with the canvass but indicated that these helpers knocked on only a small proportion of doors.

The emphasis on personal canvassing did not mean that the amount of paper produced and circulated was less than in elections elsewhere. In fact, given the enrolment of the Territory, the number of different types of printed electoral material, and the quantity produced, would match those of any campaign in Australia. Of the candidates who responded, few produced only one type of pamphlet, 10 produced two types, eight produced three, five produced four different pamphlets while three candidates produced five or more different types. The quantity was impressive. Using the numbers claimed by 21 candidates, a total of 117,000 pamphlets were distributed. Assuming a similar ratio of production for the other 64 candidates, then the production

was over 350,000 pamphlets, an average of five for every enrolled person in the NT.

The questionnaire included a list of 14 methods used in election campaigns, and asked candidates to record which methods they used, which methods they used most and which methods were considered most effective. A total of 37 respondents provided this information.

The results provide a table which reflects the activity of a Territory election.


Table 4.7
Election methods in the Northern Territory

	<u>Used</u>	<u>Used Most</u>	<u>Most Effective</u>
Personal canvass	35	33	29
Helper canvass	18	3	3
Public meetings	11	2	2
Personal pamphlets	34	22	7
Personal letters	26	11	6
Radio advertising	6	1	-
Radio appearance	14	3	2
TV advertising	2	1	1
TV appearance	4	-	-
Scrutineers	31	8	4
Audio cassette	2	-	-
Video cassette	5	1	1
Film	1	-	-
How-to-vote cards	37	15	10

Campaigns emphasised the 'personal' - a necessary, and probably the most effective approach in electorates of less than 2500 adults, and certainly in Aboriginal communities.

Very few - nine all told - spoke at public meetings. One such meeting was held in Koolpinyah when all four candidates took part in a forum with about 80 local people (Litchfield Times 5 March 1987). The candidates in urban electorates rarely spoke at meetings and all but one of the candidates in rural electorates used this method. For these electorates, most of them with substantial numbers of Aboriginal voters, doorknocking is not appropriate - except in a centre of white population such as Alyangula in Arnhem or Tennant Creek in Barkly - and the public meeting with small groups of voters is much more important.

Two more differences of campaigning in rural electorates may be noted here. A few candidates, all but one of them in rural electorates (the exception was in Koolpinyah which is partly rural), used either audio or video cassette material or film in their election campaigns,



JOHN REEVES
 I CALLED WHILE YOU WERE OUT
 SORRY I MISSED YOU
John Reeves

ALP CANDIDATE FOR
CASUARINA
 44 THORNTON CRESCENT, MOIL
 TELEPHONE: 27 6075 A/H


LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
 OF THE NORTHERN TERRITORY

Shop 133
 Casuarina Shopping
 Centre
 Bradshaw Terrace,
 Casuarina

Peter
 Couldn't find you at
 55 Ellerslie Drive
 as listed on Electoral
 Roll
 With the compliments of
Nick Dondas

.....
 NICK DONDAS
 Member for Casuarina

IF YOU WANT IT TO HAPPEN
 STAY WITH HATTON



VOTE 1 CLP

Personal Canvassing: Labor's is a standard signed card for houses where no one was at home; the CLP's had a personal message for the voter



It was that minute of apprehension for the Koopinyah candidates at the forum held at Taminmin High School last Thursday evening when some 80 locals came along to hear policies and the odd promise or two! L/R: Local Member Noel Padgham-Purich, CLP candidate Pat Loftus, Chairman Duncan Beggs; ALP candidate Peter Ivinson and Territory Nationals candidate David Loveridge (Litchfield Times 5 March 1987)



Posters at Casuarina Polling Booth on 7 March

NOW, MORE THAN EVER



**OUR
MAN
NICOLOSI**

RESIDENCE: FIELD CT. WOODLEIGH GARDENS
 DARWIN RESIDENT: SIX YEARS
 OCCUPATION: SENIOR CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGIST
 EMPLOYER: DARWIN HOSPITAL
 LEISURE INTERESTS: TENNIS, SOCCER
 LOCAL ISSUES: 1. CRIME PREVENTION
 2. CHILD CARE CENTRES
 3. YOUTH CLUB
 4. HONEST GOVERNMENT
 5. COST OF LIVING



ALP

HOW TO VOTE **LABOR**
Dan LEO



PLEASE
 NUMBER
 EVERY
 BOX

Authorized by Terry Smith C/o Legislative Assembly, Darwin.
 Printed by Roka Graphics, 13 Cavenagh Street, Darwin

NORTHERN TERRITORY OF AUSTRALIA

NHULUNBUY

3 CROWHURST Deane Trevor

2 ELLIS Pat

1  **LEO
Dan**

4 STEELE-WAREHAM Pamela Diane

More candidate materials produced by the parties: a Labor How-to-Vote card for Dan Leo; a National candidate letter, personally addressed and signed, and a National leaflet with biographical details.

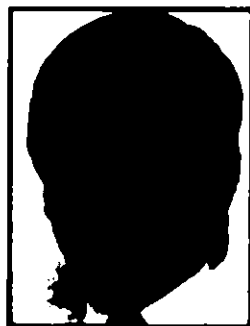


MICHAEL TING

NATIONALS CANDIDATE
Palmerston Electorate

97 NOLTENIUS CIRCUIT
PALMERSTON N.T. 5787

PHONE: 32 1641



Dear Dear,

Your vote on Saturday, 7th March 1987 is crucial. The future of the Territory is at stake. That future must be planned and assured.

Only the Territory Nationals can ensure that the present Government's aimless drift will be replaced by clear thinking and decisive action.

Your vote for the Territory Nationals will ensure the election of a new, enthusiastic, honest and competent government which will encourage individual enterprise and provide care for those who need it.

As your National Party candidate for PALMERSTON my aim will be to perform as an effective local member first and foremost. I shall stay close to the electorate, making myself accessible to everybody, whatever their politics.

I believe that I have already demonstrated convincingly my commitment to community service. After I won election as the first Mayor of PALMERSTON, I led a small team which set up a new local government system and pushed hard for the things that our new town needed - health care, policing, Medicare and Social Security offices.

As your Territory Nationals member in the Legislative Assembly I will work full-time for you, wherever you are in the electorate. Some matters I know already I must fight for - Stabilisation of electricity charges - 24-hour ambulance service - Bridging courses to prepare young school leavers for life in the community and workforce. I will also argue powerfully for better co-operation between the Territory Government and local councils.

The Northern Territory Nationals are YOUR Party, YOUR representatives. We are your hope for a new and honest deal for the future.

I ask for you to vote for ME on Saturday, 7th March, and let's get the Territory moving again.

Regards

MICHAEL TING

Authorised by Jim Dochak, 140 Stuart Highway, Wombelee

NATIONAL PARTY OF AUSTRALIA — NORTHERN TERRITORY

PARTY HEADQUARTERS: FIRST FLOOR, 400 STUART HIGHWAY, WINNELLIE, N.T. POSTAL ADDRESS: PO BOX 3705, WINNELLIE, N.T. 5789
TELEPHONES: (089) 84 4758, (089) 84 4741, FAX SIMILE: (089) 47 0185

Printed by The PRINT SHOP, Darwin

again largely in order to reach Aboriginal voters who are generally accustomed to obtaining information through these media, as contrasted with newspapers which do not circulate to remote communities in the bush. Respondents reported one or two other special campaign methods among Aboriginal people: a couple noted that they were able to use Aboriginal language in their campaigns, one sought the support of traditional elders for his campaign and one resorted to an air drop of how-to-vote cards when other means failed.

The other difference is that rural electorates all had a number of mobile polling places in addition to fixed polling booths in the larger centres of population, while nearly all the urban electorates had one only, and a few had two. Candidates in rural electorates therefore had a much larger, and much more expensive, task before them if they were to have people at all polling places to hand out how-to-vote cards and on the booth to scrutinise the voting process. Most of these rural candidates reported that they had not managed to have helpers and scrutineers at all polling places but they had reached many. Likewise all reported much higher personal expenditure on campaigning than the candidates in urban electorates.

Of course, the parties gave candidates a great deal of assistance and spent large sums on the campaign. Well-informed sources said that the CLP and the Nationals each spent upwards of \$250,000 on their campaigns, some of which went to support individual candidates. But figures on campaign expenditure are very hard to obtain, especially detailed figures, and ours are no exception. Labor, for example, laid a substantial levy on each of its candidates, but what part this played in the party's funds or the candidates' difficulties is unknown.

Party assistance

Party candidates' comments indicated no shortage of people to assist in the campaign. Of 31 candidates who replied only five claimed they had less than five people to assist them, while 11 candidates claimed more than 20 helpers. Thirteen acknowledged financial assistance from their party, 13 received administrative help, five were grateful for party guidance in the campaign, and 27 stated that they had received campaign material from the party.

But this general impression of satisfaction did not extend to funding, especially among Labor candidates.

Table 4.8
Adequate financial support from your party?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>ALP</u>	<u>CLP</u>	<u>Nat</u>
Yes	18	6	6	6
No	13	10	2	1

(N = 31)

Responses from Labor candidates indicated a much greater necessity to 'dig into their own pockets' to finance their campaigns.

Table 4.9
Claimed personal spending amounts

	<u>Total</u>	<u>ALP</u>	<u>CLP</u>	<u>Nat</u>	<u>Ind</u>
Less than \$500	4	1	1	2	-
\$500-\$999	8	4	1	2	1
\$1000-\$1499	3	2	1	-	-
\$1500-\$1999	8	5	1	2	-
\$2000-\$2999	2	2	-	-	-
\$3000-\$5000	5	3	1	-	1
	—	—	—	—	—
N =	30	17	5	6	2

Although the figures are from only small numbers of candidates, they do show levels of expenditure consistent with other evidence. In urban electorates, Labor candidates appear to have spent more, on average, than CLP and National candidates: about \$1600 each, as compared with about \$1300 for the CLP and National candidates.

Personal expenditure by candidates in rural electorates is much higher than in urban electorates and seems to have been about \$5000 per candidate. Two Labor candidates also commented that the election had cost them substantial sums in lost wages or income, as a result of having to stand down from their jobs while campaigning. Probably all candidates, except sitting members who retain their salaries during the election, would suffer some loss of income during their periods of campaigning.

Issues

The 32 respondents who replied named 32 different issues which they 'emphasised' in their campaigns. Labor candidates appeared to concentrate on three issues. Sixteen of them said that they emphasised 'negative' components of

the CLP - 'divided/maladministration/cronyism'. A second theme was 'cost of living', emphasised by 11 Labor candidates. Five emphasised 'Land Rights' and 'Aboriginal Improvement'.

Six CLP candidates depended on the 'party/government record', four emphasised that 'the CLP is a party for the NT'. National party candidates emphasised a wider range of issues than Labor or CLP, although four stressed similar 'negative' components of the CLP as the Labor party, and three mentioned the need to improve the economy.

Responses to the question 'which local issues in your own electorate were emphasised', indicated the idiosyncratic nature of Territory politics. There were as many 'local issues' as there were electorates, and little common emphasis across parties in one electorate. Issues included the 'incinerator' in Barkly, local land planning, Aboriginal issues, land rights, and a range of other 'parish pump' issues. There was also a strong theme in the questionnaires that issues were not really important, that 'personality' was the key factor at the electorate level. In fact, 15 of the 30 who responded reported that 'incumbency' was the most important factor.

Incumbency

Given the small electorates, it is to be expected that incumbency would be a considerable advantage. Certainly, 29 of the 33 respondents who replied considered that it was, although four of the 17 Labor candidates saw no advantage. Seventeen candidates were willing to predict the level of advantage: one suggested 3-4 per cent, six proposed 5-10 per cent, two said 10-20 per cent, and eight claimed incumbency was worth more than 20 per cent.

'Deciding' Factors

Respondents were asked to state what they considered to be the decisive issues in the campaign at both NT and electorate levels. From 24 replies, no less than 20 different 'decisive' issues emerged as explaining the overall NT result. There included 'media bias to CLP', 'public service bias to CLP', the 'CLP and Nationals were rich', and 'early election' from Labor respondents. The CLP candidates not unexpectedly mentioned 'CLP record', 'CLP prepared', as the determining factors. At the electorate level, the importance of personality emerged again: of 25 respondents who commented, 15 named 'personality/incumbency' as decisive.

Chapter 5

THE CAMPAIGN: THE CENTRE, BARKLY AND OTHER
NON-DARWIN ELECTORATESCampaigning in Alice Springs and the Centre

Alice Springs is the focal point for six of the NT Legislative Assembly seats - four in the town itself and two covering the remote areas to its north and south. In 1983 the CLP won all four town seats convincingly, while Labor won the two remote area ones almost as easily. Both the major parties, therefore, had an existing parliamentary representation in the centre on which to base their campaign, albeit a rather polarised one between the town and its hinterland.

As the largest 'regional' centre of the NT, Alice Springs is somewhat sensitive about its relationship to Darwin as the seat of NT Government. In the Centre nowadays, the spectre of 'Canberra control' is complemented by a sensitivity to 'Darwin domination'. In shorthand this is what is meant by the phrase 'the Berrimah line', an imaginary line a few kilometres from the city of Darwin where the suburbs end. Government, it is said, misunderstands the problems of those beyond this line, and both neglects them and overgoverns them. In this election campaign that sensitivity emerged in relation to the issue of town planning in Alice Springs and was prominent in the campaign in at least the four CLP-held urban seats.

The adoption of a structure plan for the development of Alice Springs had been a focus of unresolved tension between the Alice Springs Town Council and the CLP government in Darwin since 1985 and before. The Council was supportive of the 'Undoolya' option which sought to develop an area to the east of the town and in this it generally had the support of the professional town planners. The CLP government preferred the 'Emily Hills' or 'Farm Area' option to the south of the town. The argument had reached a stand-off without a decision having been made. With the calling of an election, the debate flared once again.

The Town Planning and Development Committee of the Council, which had included among its members two candidates for Legislative Assembly seats, let it be known that it wished to put the case for Undoolya once again to the Minister for Lands and to the Chief Minister (Centralian Advocate 18 February 1987). The Chief Minister, on a campaign visit to Alice Springs soon after, made clear that the options were presently before cabinet and that a decision would be made soon (Centralian Advocate 20

February 1987). The Centralian Advocate then reported that 'the Government' had said that 'it would not be rushed into making a decision that would affect the town for decades to come' in the heat of an election (Centralian Advocate 25 February 1987). But this was not good enough for Di Shanahan, Labor's candidate for Araluen and, until her resignation from all public offices for the purposes of contesting the election, member of the Council's Town Planning and Development Committee. She argued that the future development of Alice Springs was 'in an appallingly dangerous situation' because of the government's procrastination over the structure plan decision (Centralian Advocate 27 February 1987). The Centralian Advocate ran a series of articles profiling the Legislative Assembly candidates in the Central Australian region and Shanahan in hers took the opportunity to elaborate her views on the town planning issue.

The future of Alice Springs is at the crossroads ...

Alice Springs has been treated with utter contempt by this government.

I support and encourage private developers coming into town to build, but it is the government's job to set the guidelines for the developers to follow and not the other way round ...

Alice Springs has been a victim of the Berrimah line for too long.

I believe an ALP government has to give better representation - it gets back to our people having an active interest in Alice Springs and being prepared to go to bat for them in Darwin (Centralian Advocate 4 March 1987).

The Centralian Advocate had already made a similar attack on the CLP Government in Darwin under the editorial byline 'Tell a town where to go':

The joint planning committee, formed by the Government, came out in favour of the Undoolya option in 1985.

Still there is no decision about which direction our town is to grow.

The results of ad hoc planning can, unfortunately, be seen in various areas of Alice Springs today - the legacy of a lack of forward planning in the past.

While not a decision that should be made with undue haste, the Government has had before it long enough the opinions and projections of professionals and its own departments.

Why hasn't it taken their recommendations into account and made a decision? Doesn't it trust its own departments and unbiased experts?

A lot of preliminary work must be done before a whole new area is opened up. No wonder the Town Council's engineering department describes the forward planning situation as "extremely disturbing".

There is a nasty feeling that decisions might be made for Alice Springs - decisions which its residents may not agree with - by people in Darwin who could be influenced by parties with a vested interest (Centralian Advocate 27 February 1987).

Other Labor candidates for the urban Alice Springs seats were making some running on the town planning issue, as too were some non-Labor candidates. The National Party candidate for Sadadeen, former CLP member and former Town Council Planning and Development Committee member, Lynne Peterkin, took the opportunity in her Centralian Advocate profile to say she supported both 'rational' and 'appropriate' development of the town and greater 'regionalisation' and 'local autonomy': 'We're sick of everything being done from Darwin' (Centralian Advocate 25 February 1987).

Her party's only parliamentary representative, Ian Tuxworth, fleshed out the argument by stating that under a Territory National Party government Alice Springs would be given full authority over its own town planning (Centralian Advocate 27 February 1987).

The CLP candidates were understandably rather less forthcoming on the Alice Springs town planning issue, though the one new CLP candidate, Shane Stone, was quoted in the Centralian Advocate as arguing that:

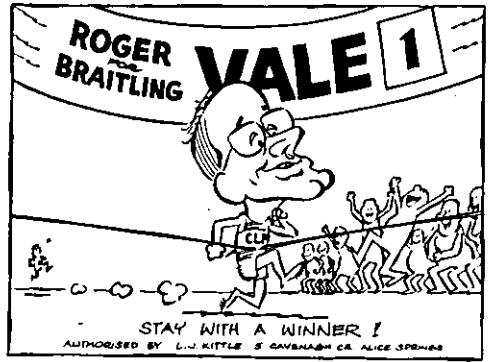
The decision should be made by people who understand what the local needs are and what the local people are saying,...

It is clear to Alice Springs people that the Undoolya option is closer to the Central Business District and industrial area and has the capacity to accommodate the projected population (Centralian Advocate 4 March 1987).

LYNNE PETERKIN



NATIONALS



Candidate advertisements in Alice Springs: large poster for Lynne Peterkin, Roger Vale's cartoon and Eric Poole's Araluen Thoughts (below)

(ADVERTISEMENT)

ARALUEN THOUGHTS



I sat behind a school bus on Milner Road waiting to turn right into Larapinta Drive for about 8 or 9 minutes the other afternoon. This intersection has quite clearly become a major problem for residents of Araluen. The main problem is traffic turning right into the Industrial area thereby holding up residents who want to drive across Larapinta Drive or turn right themselves. The short term solution of course is to use the railway crossing from Bloomfield Street onto the highway. In the long term residents will be pleased to know that the widening of Larapinta from George Crescent up to Milner Road is planned for the latter part of this year under capital works. This of course depends on finance but in any event it will be done by the end of the 87/88 financial year.

*Written and authorised by Eric Poole CLP
Member for Araluen, 5 Kirk Place, Alice Springs.*

104668v5

ARALUEN THOUGHTS



I wonder how many parents realise the amount of anxiety and annoyance that their youngsters cause, particularly over the weekends. Sunday used to be a day of rest, but for many people, particularly over in the new Larapinta area and Lovegrove Drive, they have to put up with bikes roaring up and down pathways adjacent to their properties without any thought being given by the riders to the amount of dust and noise that they generate. The Alice Springs Motor Cycle Club is always looking for new members and encourages young riders to use their bikes responsibly, so parents instead of letting your kids annoy residents, and also presumably worrying about them riding by themselves in the bush, why not join the club where they can be supervised and have somebody on hand in case of an accident.

*Written and authorised by Eric Poole CLP
Member for Araluen*

104642v7

The three CLP sitting members who had retained their preselection were conspicuous in the debate by their silence. So too was Denis Collins, the sitting CLP member for Sadadeen who had lost his preselection and stood as an Independent, but still Country Liberal, candidate. The defence of the government's position was left largely to the Darwin-based Minister for Lands, Nick Dondas. His letter to Alice Springs Mayor, Lesley Oldfield, was extensively reported in the Centralian Advocate. He argued in favour of the Emily Hills option on the grounds that it would require less initial investment by the government and that it represented a 'private enterprise approach' to town development in which the developer would contribute to the headworks 'to an extent not yet achieved elsewhere' (Centralian Advocate 4 March 1987). The Mayor was not convinced and neither was Labor's Araluen candidate Di Shanahan, who was by this time stating that a Labor government would immediately adopt the Undoolya option (Centralian Advocate 4 March 1987). The Mayor's response was to accuse the government of 'cronyism and backscratching' (Centralian Advocate 6 March 1987). The implication seemed to be that the government's preference for the Emily Hills option amounted to patronage for the private developer. At this point the sitting CLP member for Flynn and Minister for Tourism and Business, Technology and Communications, Ray Hanrahan, did become involved in the debate - but on the matter of the accusation of 'cronyism' rather than on the substance of the town planning debate. He demanded that the Mayor withdraw her accusation (Centralian Advocate 6 March 1987). This she did only rather half heartedly. But by this time it was election eve and any damage to the ruling CLP government arising from the Alice Springs town planning argument had probably already been done.

Ray Hanrahan's previous strategy in the campaign had been to play down the town planning issue and redirect attention elsewhere. As Minister for Tourism he promoted the fact that January had been the 'best month ever' for the industry in the NT and that \$190 million worth of tourism projects were under way or planned for 1987/88 (Centralian Advocate 4 March 1987). He also attempted to redirect attention from dissatisfaction with Darwin to dissatisfaction with Canberra by noting the Commonwealth government's lack of commitment to upgrading Alice Springs air terminal despite the major increases in passenger traffic that tourism and other developments were bringing (Centralian Advocate 27 February 1987). The CLP government, he claimed, would keep pressuring Canberra on this and related issues:

HOW TO VOTE FOR A TERRITORY LABOR GOVERNMENT

BRAITLING

TO VOTE FOR TERRY SMITH'S LABOR TEAM, PLEASE MARK YOUR BALLOT PAPER EXACTLY AS SHOWN BELOW. IF YOU MAKE A MISTAKE OR SPOIL YOUR BALLOT PAPER, TAKE IT BACK TO THE OFFICER WHO GAVE IT TO YOU AND ASK FOR ANOTHER FORM.

1



ALSOP
Mike

2



STEWART
Max Dana Thomas

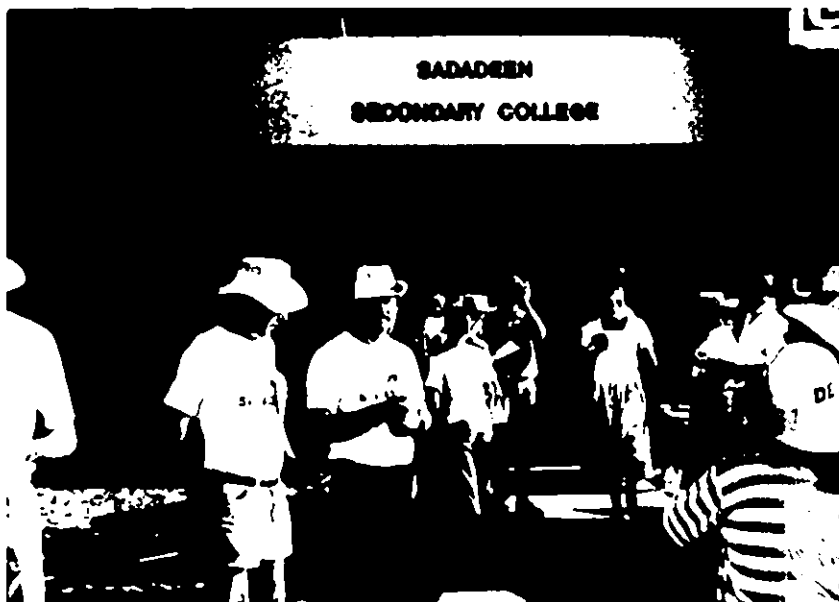
3



VALE
Roger William Stanley

Authorised by Terry Smith, Parliamentary Labor Leader, Clematis Street, Nightcliff
FOR THE AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY Printed by Roka Graphics 13 Cavenagh Street, Darwin

The election in Alice Springs: a Labor how-to-vote card; posters near street signs; voting at Sadadeen: a voter 'runs the gauntlet'!



We'll campaign for port of entry status for Alice Springs to enable international services to fly direct' (Centralian Advocate 4 March 1987).

All this gave Hanrahan a positive tack on which to campaign to compensate for his playing down of the town planning issue. But the structure plan decision, or lack thereof, remained the major issue of the campaign in the Alice Springs urban seats.

The focus on town planning in the campaign seemed also to generate interest in a number of related town management issues - some large, some rather small. Labor candidates Shanahan and Omond called for a government bus service for Alice Springs, while CLP candidate Shane Stone argued that this was not an issue since Senior Citizens and Aboriginal Organisations were already running their own buses (Centralian Advocate 27 February, 4 March 1987). Labor's Braitling candidate, Mike Alsop, identified the lack of safe parks in his electorate as an issue, while CLP sitting member for Araluen, Eric Poole, in his only reported newspaper story of the campaign, called for the re-introduction of 'school crossing guards' at the local school (Centralian Advocate 27 February 1987). Poole seems generally to have restricted his newspaper appearances to his own series of advertisements under the title 'Araluen Thoughts'; perhaps preferring not to expose those thoughts to the ravages of journalists. But even in Poole's advertising columns town management issues were again prominent; busy intersections and traffic management, the nuisance of children riding motor cycles in the suburbs.

Ousted CLP sitting member for Sadadeen, Denis Collins, also focussed on some town management issues in one of his letters to the Sadadeen electors: a new pedestrian crossing here, resiting of one there, the draining of a swamp, the building of a dam to alleviate town flooding and the top-dressing of a school oval (Denis Collins, Letter to 'Sadadeen Electors', 28 February 1987). In his newspaper appearances, however, Collins steered away from such issues, preferring instead to be seen playing parliament with students at the local high school or informing the Centralian Advocate readership of his childhood dreams to fly like Biggles or to be Prime Minister (though presumably not like Bob Hawke) (Centralian Advocate 6 February, 4 March 1987).

Collins and his fight for re-election in Sadadeen as an Independent Country Liberal provided some additional interest to the Alice Springs campaign. The CLP's endorsed candidate for Sadadeen was Shane Stone, a lawyer who had moved to Alice Springs to set up a practice only 18 months previously, but who had quickly made his way through the

ranks of the CLP. The competition between these two would-be members for CLP voters endowed the campaign with an additional sense of personal rivalry and intensity.

The campaign in Sadadeen really began late in January when Denis Collins lost the CLP preselection. Collins attacked the new CLP candidate Shane Stone saying:

He did his homework, buttered up all the right people and was helped by others in an organised campaign of denigration ...

I am a pretty plain sort of bloke. If I've got to kiss backsides and pander to the right people - it's just not me (Centralian Advocate 28 January 1987).

Collins indicated that he would, however, contest the seat 'in some capacity', which immediately led to speculation that he might stand for the National Party (Centralian Advocate 28 January 1987). A few days later, when all chance of overturning the CLP preselection had been lost, Collins confirmed that he would be standing, but as an Independent Country Liberal (Centralian Advocate 4 February 1987). When the election was officially called on 16 February, Collins was quick to produce a letter to the 'Sadadeen Electors' which spelt out his new Independent Country Liberal position:

I have been very proud to belong to the CLP and have the highest regard for the majority of its members. In 1986 however, I came to realize that a few people were starting to use the party as a 'dirty rag' and seemed hell bent on its destruction. I spoke out in party circles against them. These people are powerful and my defeat at preselection stems from my determination to expose these people to party members and CLP supporters.

I certainly am not upset by the defeat at preselection because I see a big opportunity to be far more effective as your representative and servant in Sadadeen. That preselection group may unwittingly have done us both a favour.

As your Independent Country Liberal Member, I will be responsible only to you, the Sadadeen elector and wont be hamstrung by the party machine nor pre-occupied by its host of meetings.

Keep in mind that I am not a 'new chum' Independent. I have nearly seven years of



Shane who? Shane who?

Shane Stone for Sadadeen



Introducing . . .

Shane Stone

**7 Sturt Terrace
52 2602**

PROFILE

SHANE STONE is a local lawyer with a proven track record of community service. Shane and wife Josephine live in the Sadadeen Electorate. Shane's association with the Territory dates from 1982, with Shane and Josephine making Alice their home. Shane brings to the CLP parliamentary team an acknowledged expertise in the areas of education and law, and he looks forward to serving the electors of Sadadeen.

Shane welcomes your enquiries on 528163 during business hours, and 522602 at home.

Authorised by Dr. Richard Lim
4 Van Streeke Ave. Alice Springs



VOTE 1 Shane Stone

**CLP
THE TERRITORY PARTY**



The CLP's candidate, Shane Stone, identifies himself to the electorate

Parliamentary experience inside the Party Room and I know its workings very well indeed. Please keep in mind also that I have chosen the term Country Liberal to remind you that I expect to support the Government on most of its legislation. I will however work hard to find improvements to legislation and any criticism I make, will be constructive and be done in the interest of the electorate and Territorians in general (Denis Collins, Letter to 'Sadadeen Electors', 17 February 1987).

Collins' projection of himself as an experienced independent parliamentarian who would be answerable only to the people of Sadadeen continued throughout the campaign.

Stone, began his campaign by admitting his major weakness - the brevity of his residence in the Territory and in Alice Springs. He produced a pamphlet with the words 'Shane who?' on the outside, giving a profile of himself when opened. The pamphlet provoked quite a deal of comment. One Centralian Advocate correspondent thought that Stone must have been 'duped' by a strategist supporting his opponents, but Stone himself was adamant that any publicity was good publicity (Centralian Advocate 25 February 1987). Another Centralian Advocate correspondent raised as an issue the misleading nature of Stone's claim in the pamphlet that his 'association with the Territory dated to 1982, with Shane and Josephine making Alice their home'. But Stone himself was unperturbed, pointing out that he had been admitted as a lawyer in the NT in 1982 and had had short residencies in Katherine and Darwin before coming to Alice Springs late in 1985 (Centralian Advocate 4 March 1987). The issue of the various candidates' length of residence in Alice Springs was clearly seen as one on which campaign points could be scored and to which Alice Springs residents would be sensitive. Labor's candidate for Sadadeen, Meredith Campbell, was more than a little perturbed by the headline of her Centralian Advocate profile which read 'Recent arrival says she knows the electorate' (Centralian Advocate 20 February 1987). Writing to the Centralian Advocate to 'clear some misunderstandings' arising from the profile, she concluded with a swipe both at the paper and at Stone:

And for those who didn't get past the headline, may I say that my seven years on Territory soil may not match the residency of some - but it beats the record of at least one Sadadeen candidate (Centralian Advocate 27 February 1987).

Stone, of course, also went on the offensive in the 'length of residence' debate. He argued, in his Centralian Advocate profile, that the 'prerequisite' for being a Member

of the Legislative Assembly was not length of residence, but rather 'ability to do the job' (Centralian Advocate 4 March 1987). He also had a bit each way against Collins by initially arguing that Collins would not poll well because people vote for 'parties rather than individuals' and then later, when Collins directed his preferences to the Nationals, by suggesting that Collins intended to sit with the Nationals anyway (Centralian Advocate 4 February, 4 March 1987). Collins smugly retorted that his preferences would not be valuable anyway, because they would not be distributed. His smugness did have some basis, for by this stage in the campaign all the candidates had given Collins their second preferences. So as long as he didn't come in last in the primary count, his preferences were likely not to be distributed. In fact, he now had a good chance of winning on the flow of preferences towards him from whoever did come last in the primary count.

The campaign in the Central Australian outback seats was, understandably, rather different. The two sitting members were both Labor MLAs standing for re-election on the basis of their records, not as members of a government but as opposition members who had worked hard for their individual electorates. The member for Stuart, Brian Ede, wrote to the communities in his electorate reminding them of 'the things we did together in your area' - an approach which tied in nicely with Labor's general election slogan of 'Together we can do it'. The list was long and was dominated by efforts to secure more adequate land tenure and services for the small Aboriginal communities which comprise the great bulk of the Stuart electorate. Neil Bell in Macdonnell adopted a similar approach, but using audio tapes in the local Aboriginal languages, one of which he speaks, rather than the written word. Beyond such circulation of personally produced material it is difficult to reach the electors of these two electorates without engaging in fairly extensive travel and community visiting. For all the candidates in Macdonnell and Stuart this is what campaigning became, particularly in the last week as they moved quickly around their electorates from community to community in parallel with the mobile polling teams. To the extent that matters were raised in the media pertaining to these electorates at all, the central issue seemed to be the conduct of the election itself. Both Labor sitting members were critical of the Electoral Office's provision of mobile polling facilities, particularly given the heavy rainfall of the month leading up to the election. Lajamanu, in Stuart, had a visit from only one candidate, the CLP's Jim Sinclair, before voting day. Brian Ede was supposed to come but heavy rain and flooded rivers stopped him. He did get there on the day of polling - and so too did the voters: 'an early heavy turnout. This surprised me (our observer wrote) because most people are living on an outstation fifteen



Brian
EDE



for
STUART
ALP

NORTHERN TERRITORY

The outback electorate of Stuart: posters at the Lajamanu polling place; poster for the Labor candidate

kilometres away at present for 'business' and had to travel here. Most of the voting was completed by midday'. The weather did not stop them. Bell also criticised the government for not allowing public sector employees to 'participate fully' in the electoral process (Centralian Advocate 4, 18 February 1987). On the mobile polling issue even the Federal Labor Minister for Aboriginal Affairs put in a plug in support of the claims of the local Labor members (Centralian Advocate 27 February 1987).

The other interesting aspect of the election in these two predominantly Aboriginal outback seats was the candidacy of two Aborigines - Vince Forrester in Stuart as an independent and Ron Liddle in Macdonnell for the National Party. Ideologically the two could not have been further apart. So it would be interesting to see just how much attraction their brands of disillusioned Labor left and small business right extremism had for their predominantly Aboriginal constituencies. Forrester was well known in the Alice Springs area as a political campaigner, having been a member of the National Aboriginal Conference from 1981 to 1985 and an independent Senate candidate for the federal election in 1984. His candidacy in 1984 and again in this election was aimed to highlight what he saw as the Hawke government's betrayal of Aboriginal people:

There's no difference at all; Malcolm Fraser gave us landrights and now Bob Hawke wants to take them away ...

The ALP has been sponging off us and riding on our backs for ages.

If Aborigines vote for the ALP now the Federal Government will look at it and say: 'they'll still support us so we can keep cutting while they've got no other way to go'.

They've abused our vote, they've abused our trust, so I'm offering the voters of Stuart an alternative (Centralian Advocate 27 February 1987).

Liddle, on the other hand, was an Aboriginal entrepreneur, tour operator and a political newcomer with some fairly radically conservative views about recent trends in Aboriginal affairs policy. For example, in their candidate profile, the Centralian Advocate quoted him as arguing that the Queensland National Party Government, usually seen as the bete noir of recent Aboriginal affairs policy, had been mis-represented over its attitude to Aboriginal affairs:

Aborigines own a great deal of land and get a very good deal there ...

Here you have a lot of settlements with a great deal of land but, with few exceptions, there is nothing happening on them (Centralian Advocate 4 February 1987).

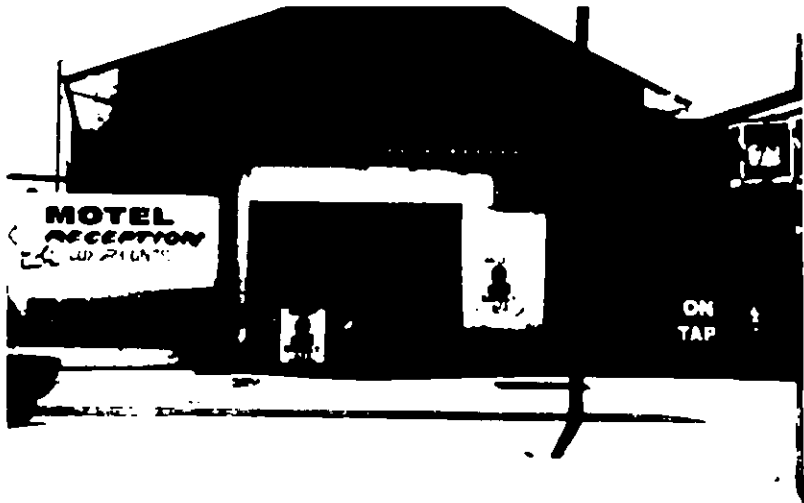
Barkly

The Barkly electorate consists half of voters living in the small highway and mining town of Tennant Creek and half of electors in a number of even smaller more remote settlements scattered across the Barkly tablelands. The 1987 election campaign in Barkly was one of the most extraordinary in the Territory's political history. This was largely because of the actions of one man; Barkly's sitting member of the Legislative Assembly, Ian Tuxworth. As Chief Minister from late 1984 to early 1986, Tuxworth had initiated investigations into the possibility of establishing a major toxic waste incinerator facility near the town of Tennant Creek. The proposal created a storm of local protest and a very successful anti-incinerator organisation quickly emerged. Almost any possibility of realising the incinerator idea seemed to have faded by the time of the 1987 election. However, one of the incinerator's most strident local critics, Maggie Hickey, decided to stand in the election as an independent, if only to force home the anti-incinerator point. Ian Tuxworth's second contribution to the shape of the Barkly contest derived, of course, from his actions since being dropped by the CLP as Chief Minister in May 1986 and then expelled from the party in December. Now he stood as a National Party member of the Legislative Assembly recontesting the seat which he had won four times previously under the CLP banner. The CLP's new candidate was Alice Springs-based policeman, Gary Smith, while the ALP, after some discussion of the possibility of running two candidates from different parts of the electorate, had opted once again for its unsuccessful 1983 candidate and Tennant Creek publican, Keith Hallett.

Tuxworth's election strategy was, understandably enough, to stand on his record of 13 years parliamentary service. His standard National Party election pamphlet identified the 'development of the Ranger and Nabarlek mines and the Mereenie oilfield, the gas pipeline and the University College' as among his 'spectacular achievements ... to the benefit of the whole Territory'. The list of achievements of benefit to the Barkly was longer but less sublime:



The campaign in Barkly: the contest as seen in posters in shopfronts in Tennant Creek



Roads, churches, schools, the Fullwood Centre, a nursing home and senior citizens' centre, the Mary Ann Dam, the Venturers' Unit den, the YMCA, the Civic Centre, beautification programs - all these and many more stand as evidence of Ian Tuxworth's dedicated service to the people who elected him as their representative.

Tuxworth's advertisements in the Tennant Creek press followed a similar line:

What Ian did well with the CLP he can do better with the Nationals

A proven record of achievements ...

Achievements as Chief Minister

Big enough to put the Northern Territory on the map

Achievements as Member for Barkly

Down to earth enough to address the needs of the people in the Barkly Electorate (Tennant and District Times 27 February 1987).

There could be little doubt that Ian Tuxworth did have a loyal following of people who admired what he had achieved for the Barkly. In moving over to the Nationals he had been accompanied by a large proportion of the Tennant Creek branch of the CLP. So unlike National Party candidates elsewhere Tuxworth already had the support of an experienced local party machine. But to what extent this loyal following would extend beyond the Tennant Creek National Party members was less clear. Gary Smith, as CLP candidate, promoted the view that improvements in the Barkly in recent years were not the achievements of Tuxworth, the man, but rather of the 'man as a serving member of the Party' (Barkly Regional 18 February 1987). The implication was clear.



Cartoon disparages Ian Tuxworth (National) as puppet of Sir Joh. NT News 14 February 1987

Whatever Tuxworth had helped to achieve in the region in the past, he would not be able to achieve in the future. Smith put the case most succinctly:

Probably the biggest single issue here is whether the people of the town want their Local Member in the Opposition or with the Government (Barkly Regional 18 February 1987).

The CLP would not forget. Tuxworth was now a renegade. In putting this case, Smith enjoyed the support of the Tennant and District Times which later in the campaign editorialised in a similar vein:

Can we afford to have Barkly and Tennant Creek on the losing team? The CLP Government, with Ian Tuxworth as a minister, spent five times as much in the Barkly electorate than in other places.

Imagine what could happen if Barkly stuck with Tuxy and turned its back on the loyal CLP candidate, Gary Smith.

It is likely the CLP Government and its Chief Minister, Steve Hatton, would see Barkly as an opposition electorate represented by a man he regards as a turncoat.

There is no doubt Barkly would suffer.

The CLP deserves loyalty, Gary Smith deserves our votes - and Barkly deserves CLP Government support (Tennant and District Times 27 February 1987).

Smith's loyalty to the CLP through difficult recent times in Barkly seems only to have been surpassed by that of the Tennant and District Times. Previously the paper had been a great supporter of Ian Tuxworth both as local member and member of the ruling CLP Government. But with his defection to the Nationals, Tuxworth and his co-defectors were rather unceremoniously dumped by the Times. Former CLP branch President and now National Party branch President, Joan Small, was forced to write to the competing Barkly Regional newspaper, with which she had had little need to deal in the past, in order to get the National point of view aired. Her letter to the editor began as follows:

Another year, another era.

In the holiday period when usually the Territory is 'closed', and most people either go away or rest, there has been intense political activity

reported with great fervour by the papers in Darwin and Alice Springs. One has to be quick to buy an NT News or Centralian Advocate or one misses out.

Yet we have been isolated from this news in Tennant Creek where our sitting member, Ian Tuxworth, has made a major change from the CLP to the National Party. Not a word has been reported in 3 editions of the local Times though articles have been submitted. I find this strange to say the least.

It is always easier to recognise that which is open and 'up front' than that which is hidden and underhand. Let me say that the Barkly Regional has always been 'up front' and prints what is provided. Like other people in the town, I have not always agreed with the views presented, but looking at the situation now from a different angle and not from the 'inner sanctum' of politics I believe I have a much clearer picture (Barkly Regional 4 February 1987).

Such are the reversals possible in a small town when a governing political party divides. There was clearly no love being lost in Tennant Creek in the lead up to this election.

Maggie Hickey's election campaign in Barkly was primarily an extension of the campaign to stop the incinerator proposal, but she did also attempt to develop a more general appeal. Her election headline was 'family, community and environment' and her other election slogan a homely appeal to 'Make Mine Maggie'. She also sold herself as 'Our Maggie' and, like most independents, developed the anti-party theme by asking electors 'Put the Barkly Above Party Politics'. Hickey had been a member of the ALP up until about six months before the election at which point she became disillusioned with the local branch of the party on a number of issues - including its unwillingness to once and for all condemn the incinerator proposal or to consider the possibility of a second candidate running alongside Hallett. If her candidacy achieved nothing else, it would test the loyalty of Labor voters to the party machine and to the endorsed candidate, who was among the more equivocal of Labor members on the incinerator issue. Clearly the ALP was more than a little worried, for after an editorial in the Barkly Regional which had supported Hickey's candidacy fairly strongly, both Hallett and another prominent ALP local member were spurred into writing letters to the editor (Barkly Regional 11 and 18 February 1987). Hallett's letter attempted to clarify his stance on the incinerator, while the other member's letter concentrated largely on attacking

the notion that an independent could be an effective parliamentary member. At another level, Hickey's candidacy had already been successful before the vote was cast, for it had forced the two conservative parties to come out clearly against the incinerator proposal. Both parties' lines on the issue were reiterated in the Tennant and District Times just a week before the election. The Nationals, including the originator of the idea, Ian Tuxworth, were now against the idea because of the lack of community support. Chief Minister Hatton couched the CLP's position in similar terms:

The feasibility study into the incinerator was commissioned by the Minister for Barkly [sic], Ian Tuxworth, when he was Chief Minister.

The study was started and must be completed, but no facility will be built unless it meets the most stringent environmental and economic requirements and unless it receives national, and most importantly, community support' (Tennant and District Times 27 February 1987).

Hatton's slip, if correctly reported, seems particularly appropriate.

The other interesting aspect of Hickey's campaign in Barkly was her decision not to direct her preferences. She hoped by doing so that she might both maximise her primary vote and attract second preferences from all the other candidates. But unlike Collins in Sadadeen, she was not recognised as a conservative independent. So despite all the personal acrimony between the conservative parties in Tennant Creek, they still decided to exchange preferences between themselves rather than direct them to the dreaded socialists, whether of ALP or independent persuasion. To win, Hickey would now have to beat Hallett in the primary count and rely largely on ALP second preferences to raise her vote to the level required, with perhaps some minor preference leakage from the conservatives. Having learnt of the conservatives' exchange of preferences, Hickey realised in retrospect that it may have been more sensible to have exchanged preferences with the ALP in order to at least maximise the potential non-conservative vote flowing to her. It is easy, of course, to be wise after the event. And the intense personal acrimony between the Tennant Creek conservatives had earlier convinced her that her original course of action was the right one. She didn't believe at the time that the conservatives would necessarily exchange preferences. Perhaps, like Collins in Sadadeen, she should have boldly directed her preferences while asserting that they would not be valuable anyway because they would not be distributed. Instead she offered supporters an incomplete how-to-vote card with the unfortunately phrased direction

HICKEY, Maggie INDEPENDENT

IMPORTANT:- YOU MUST FILL IN ALL THE BOXES

INDEPENDENT

YOU MUST FILL IN ALL THE BOXES

HALLET,
KEITH · ALP



HICKEY
MAGGIE ANNE
IND.

SMITH,
GARY ALLAN
CLP

TUXWORTH
IAN LINDSAY
NAT.

Your PREFERENCES are YOUR CHOICE

Electorate of Barkly

Authorised by A. Russell,
Caroline St, Tennant Creek

Printed by Hickey, Tennant Creek



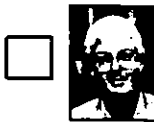
HALLETT,
Keith



HICKEY,
Maggie Anne



SMITH
Gary Allan



TUXWORTH
Ian Lindsay

**YOUR PREFERENCES are
YOUR CHOICE**

Electorate of Barkly

Authorised by A. Russell, Caroline Street, Tennant Creek.
Printed by TENNANT CREEK PRINTING SERVICE, 134 Paterson Street, Tennant Creek



HOW TO VOTE FOR A STRONG **INDEPENDENT** VOICE IN KOOLPINYAH



IVINSON
Peter David



LOFTUS
Patrick



LOVERIDGE
David John



PADGHAM-PURICH
Cecilia Noel

Authorised by K. Purich, 1775 Wallaby Holze Rd., Howard Springs

Printed by Zip Print Shop 2, 2180 Winzelle Road, Winzelle

Independents' campaign material: Maggie Hickey's posters (above); Noel Padgham-Purich's How-to-vote card

that 'Your preferences are your choice'. Presumably she wasn't predicting that her preferences would be distributed to determine the winner of this four way contest, but unfortunately the direction could be read that way.

Some Other Electorates

Some of the other electorates in which the election campaign was most interesting were those where sitting members were either not re-contesting the seat or were doing so as independents dropped in the preselection process.

In Koolpinyah, the Darwin rural area seat, the campaign was almost a replica of the four way contest in Sadadeen in Alice Springs. The sitting CLP member, Noel Padgham-Purich, had been dropped in the CLP preselection process but, like Collins in Sadadeen, had quickly decided to stand as an independent. And, according to the Litchfield Times she and the Labor candidate had been out doorknocking for many weeks before this. The CLP's endorsed candidate, Pat Loftus, was again a lawyer who suffered a residency disadvantage. The parallel was close. Objectively, Loftus' residency disadvantage seemed not as substantial as Stone's in Sadadeen, for he had come to the NT as far back as 1969. However, in the eyes of the Litchfield Times, the Darwin rural area's two weekly-newspaper, Loftus was a Darwin-based lawyer with few, if any connections, with the rural area. After the results of the preselection were announced, the Litchfield Times commented:

The local CLP preselection committee struck a severe body blow to the intelligence and independence of the people of Koolpinyah when they endorsed newcomer to the district, Pat Loftus, over several long term residents with impressive track records of community interests and personal ability to achieve on behalf of the rural people ...

We are too independent out here to have any political party slap a label on a candidate and expect us to follow blindly along and take a risk with a person who has only lived in the district a short time and further does not even reside within the electorate of Koolpinyah (Litchfield Times 5 February 1987).

By contrast, the Times went on in the same article to eulogise Noel Padgham-Purich as a 'formidable lady' with 'that vital independent streak', 'a street fighter when it comes to grass roots community issues' (Litchfield Times 5 February 1987). Padgham-Purich also enjoyed the luxury of

having her own column in the Litchfield Times, which she used to good effect during the campaign. Announcing her candidacy as an independent, she did not dwell on the CLP's dropping her, but rather reminded the electors of Koolpinyah that they needed 'a strong voice to speak up for them, and to put their interests first'. She went on to raise what she saw as the most important local issue, the Darwin Rural Area Strategy Plan ('When will we finally see it and will it give us what we want in the way of planning?') as well as more specific planning and development matters (Litchfield Times 19 February 1987). Her next bi-weekly contribution continued in similar vein. 'Personal vilification' and 'slanging matches' were not the order of the day. But instead, by contrast she was floating ideas for a peacock industry in the area, discussing problems posed for the area's emerging mango industry and congratulating those involved in the formation of the electorate's thirteenth volunteer fire brigade (Litchfield Times 5 March 1987).

The Litchfield Times was also well disposed towards the ALP candidate for Koolpinyah, Peter Ivinson. The Times noted that he, like Padgham-Purich, was being 'well received' as he door-knocked his way around the electorate (Litchfield Times 19 February 1987). Also like Padgham-Purich, he enjoyed the advantage over the other two candidates of having his own regular column in the Times. He used this during the campaign period first to slam the CLP's 'disregard for locals' and to suggest himself as the appropriate 'local blockie' to represent the 'rugged individualists' of Koolpinyah and second to reiterate a few things that a Territory Labor Government would do in the areas of electricity charges, horticulture, taxation and banking (Litchfield Times 19 February, 5 March 1987).

Although the National Party candidate for Koolpinyah, David Loveridge, did not enjoy the same rights to a column of his own in the local paper, the Times did at least recognise him as a 'credible candidate' (Litchfield Times 5 March 1987). Pat Loftus, however, remained beyond the Litchfield Times' pale throughout the campaign. In its final pre-election editorial, under the heading 'The Day of Reckoning', the Times commented unrepentently:

The electors of Koolpinyah have four choices. The thing which separates three of the candidates from the fourth is that they have a proven track record within our area, they live within the electorate of Koolpinyah and we have known them long enough to make a rational judgement. The other candidate is a Darwin based lawyer, with absolutely no record of rural community activity (Litchfield Times 5 March 1987).

The seat of Katherine did not exist in previous Territory elections, but it has a close resemblance to the previous seat of Elsey. Both have been dominated by the town of Katherine, but have included a small area of the surrounding hinterland. With the growth of the town since the last electoral re-distribution, the included area of hinterland was considerably reduced and along with it the number of Aboriginal voters. The change in the electorate's name reflected this fact.

The interest in the Katherine campaign arose because the sitting member was not standing for re-election and because the only 1987 candidate who had previously contested a Legislative Assembly election in the area was the National Party's Jim Forscutt.

The sitting CLP member for the area, former Minister and former Speaker of the Legislative Assembly Roger Steele, stood for CLP preselection but lost. From all accounts, he did not really want to win the candidacy as he had indicated to the preselection committee that he could not guarantee a full term of parliamentary service if elected. Opposition leader, Terry Smith, put the matter more bluntly, writing in one of the local papers under the headline 'Steele eyes super payout' (Katherine Times 5 February 1987). The argument was simply that if Steele did not stand for preselection his superannuation payout would be considerably less.

The CLP heir who emerged from the preselection process was NT Conservation Commission regional manager, Mike Reed. Competition for the position had been intense with Mayor Pat Davies and NT Electricity Commission regional manager, Peter Bellenger, both being serious candidates. In fact the competition between these aspirants was largely responsible for the formation of a second CLP branch in the town, the Tindal branch, late in 1986. The two branches subsequently backed different people in the pre-selection battle. Clearly, the CLP candidacy in Katherine was seen as a prize worth having and understandably so, since Steele had won the seat fairly convincingly back in 1983.

However much the new CLP candidate might take heart from Steele's 1983 victory, the National Party's Jim Forscutt would also have to be regarded as a serious contender for the seat of Katherine. Forscutt, a local farming identity long associated with the area, had stood as an independent in both 1980 and 1983 and in the latter he had achieved a creditable 22.8 per cent of the primary vote. How he might be able to build on this now that he had a party label was an interesting question. Forscutt's hope was that he would improve enough in the primary count to

finish ahead of the Labor candidate, Phil Maynard, and then take the seat with the aid of Labor preferences which for reasons best known to those within the ALP had been directed to Nationals rather than the CLP in this particular seat. The issues of the Katherine campaign were not particularly exciting. Labor's Phil Maynard tried to make some running on the CLP's internal divisions over preselection and the consequent uncertainty of good representation:

Katherine needs stable representation ... not someone who will be wondering if he will be representing them at the next election (Katherine Times 5 February 1987).

The CLP appears to have been sensitive to such claims and keen to answer them. The very same day, Mayor Pat Davies was reported in the Katherine Times as saying she was 'behind the CLP candidate and behind the CLP'. She was 'disappointed' at not being selected, but would 'abide by the party decision' (Katherine Times 5 February 1987). A week later the other local newspaper, the Katherine Advertiser, ran a story showing CLP candidate, Mike Reed, touring the site of Katherine's planned gas turbine power station with NT Electricity Commission regional manager and erstwhile preselection competitor, Peter Bellenger (Katherine Advertiser 12-18 February 1987). The competitors were now co-operating.

Maynard's other campaign ploy was to develop Labor's general theme of CLP mis-management in relation specifically to Katherine. When outgoing CLP member, Roger Steele, accused him of a backward looking stance, Maynard replied by noting that if he was a member of the CLP in Katherine he 'wouldn't want to look back on the past either' as it was 'nothing to be proud of':

cancellation of the contract to build Katherine East High School; reduce full-time firemen from five to two; close the Daly Waters Police Station; freight surplus government cars to Alice Springs for auction, then put them in lots of three to make it impossible for the average Territorian to bid; increase rate charges ...; increase taxes by 33% in 1985/86 but reduce casino taxes by 99.5% in the same period (Katherine Advertiser 12-18 February 1987).

ALP accusations of CLP mismanagement also became accusations of CLP 'cronyism', or political patronage, as elsewhere in the Territory. Under the inevitable headline 'Woolies Dealings', the Katherine Times reported Maynard's claims that Paul Everingham's signature appeared on the lease documents for stores at the new Woolworth's shopping

complex in Katherine, suggesting some sort of impropriety (Katherine Times 19 February 1987). In the same article Maynard also claimed that the list of those who obtained cheap \$15,000 blocks in the Katherine East land development read like a 'Who's Who of the CLP'. 'Ordinary Katherine people' he claimed, 'never had a go' (Katherine Times 19 February 1987). Getting these sorts of accusations to stick was fairly difficult for the ALP. Reed struck back at the first item on Maynard's list of past mismanagement saying that the claim that the contract to build Katherine East High School had been cancelled was false and that contracts would be in place by mid March (Katherine Advertiser 19 February 1987). In fact, the Minister for Education managed to squeeze in the announcement of the contract just before election day (Katherine Times 5 March 1987). Everingham also struck back saying there was no impropriety in the Woolworth's case as he was just acting as solicitor for the owners of the complex. It was, he claimed, common for backbench members of federal parliament to 'carry on their practices as barristers, chemists and lawyers' (Katherine Advertiser 26 February-4 March 1987).

The National Party's Jim Forscutt also attempted to raise the spectre of CLP mismanagement arguing that 'law and order' had become a major problem in Katherine because the Chief Minister had ignored the police staffing issue during the town's rapid growth of the last 18 months. The fault, as he saw it lay fairly and squarely with the government. The police stationed at Katherine were doing what they could:

But without extra help they don't stand a chance ... Given the circumstances they are doing a terrific job. But they are not super human. They cannot perform the impossible (Katherine Advertiser 26 February-4 March 1987).

Forscutt also struck a blow for greater local control of town planning and development, an item in his National Party's policy. The present system of centralised development approval, as he saw it, was inhibiting development:

It's an old fashioned, anti-development practice which we will do away with' ...

I find it absurd that a developer who wants to go ahead with a project in Katherine, or wherever, had to go to Darwin to see the Minister for approval' (Katherine Times 5 March 1987).

Through all this, Mike Reed looked more like a government sitting member than a new CLP candidate. He

doorknocked in the company of Roger Steele and generally appropriated the laurels of incumbency. He defended the government wherever necessary, but he also admitted certain problem areas which required future government action. His final message to the electors in the Katherine Times two days before the election was exemplary. He began by noting the government's recent and planned works in the area and argued that the CLP could be 'proud' of its record in Katherine. He would be working hard to see that this record continued. He then admitted that law and order was a problem and that he would be pushing for more police for the town after the election. He also identified local deficiencies in the areas of youth services and recreation and again said that he would be working hard on these after the election (Katherine Times 5 March 1987).

Faced with Reed's approach, the other candidates had little option but to identify their own local issues on which they too would work hard if elected. In his final pre-election contribution to the Katherine Times Forscutt reiterated just his two chosen issues: law and order and town development (Katherine Times 5 March 1987). Maynard, on the other hand, reiterated quite a list, several items of which were local versions of Labor policy proposals: the re-establishment of 24 hour manning of Katherine Fire Station, allowing Housing Commission renters to use rent towards purchase, giving land buyers a grant of \$1000 if building on blocks they purchased had begun within six months, charging caravan parks electricity at domestic as opposed to commercial rates, the introduction of price watch and neighbourhood watch schemes, dollar for dollar grants for the construction of a Katherine senior citizens centre and for the Katherine Historical Society, the establishment of a youth centre, a study of the feasibility of a Katherine town bus service, extra staffing for schools and an end to development deals by private negotiation rather than by public auction (Katherine Times 5 March 1987). The ALP strategy now seemed to be to bombard the local electors with promises. Whether it would work, only time would tell. The only other electorate, besides Katherine, in which the sitting member was not standing for re-election was Arafura. Here, the Labor Party's former leader, Bob Collins, had bowed out of the election after losing the parliamentary leadership and later obtaining the party's number one Senate nomination. The new ALP candidate was Collins' Tiwi brother-in-law and President of the Nguiv Council, Stanley Tipiloura. The ALP campaign in Arafura was, consequently, something of a family affair. Like Wes Lanhupuy in 1983, Tipiloura was accepted as the preselected Labor candidate only after an intensive tussle, less well publicised than that in 1983, but still casting doubt on the party's readiness to accept that its Aboriginal voting support was

entitled to look to the party for preselection of Aboriginal candidates.

Arafura, like other remote area electorates in the NT, is an electorate without a centre. It consists of the island Aboriginal communities along the north coast from Darwin and those on the mainland in a band down to the mining town of Jabiru, which is also included in the electorate. Without a centre, the electorate is also without a local means of communication in the form of local press or radio. So campaigning becomes, as in other remote electorates, largely a matter of visiting a number of communities and making oneself known. Stan Tipiloura had the dual advantage of already being prominent in one of the electorate's major population centres, Nguuu, where he was President of the local council, and of being able to travel to the others in the company of sitting member Bob Collins. Tipiloura was also well-known as a leading footballer, he was president of the newly-formed local branch of the Labor party, and he had served in the NT police force for four years (NT News 26 January 1987). A story that Stan's father, Bernard, said to be a CLP supporter, would campaign for CLP candidate Dorothy Fox surfaced in the press and was promptly denied (NT News 22 February, 25 February 1987). The other two candidates, Dorothy Fox, and Peter Watton for the Nationals, were both Darwin-based, but had some existing connections with the electorate. Fox, in particular, claimed local support through her past work as an Aboriginal field officer in the area and her record of community involvement with the Catholic Aboriginal Organisation, Family Support groups and her work on problems of Aboriginal health as a nurse and writer. Since her preselection she too had been travelling extensively throughout the electorate re-newing her acquaintances. Like Tipiloura, Watton had been a member of the NT police force in the seventies and had patrolled from Oenpelli to Garden Point before Jabiru was built, gaining knowledge of the electorate essential for a candidate. The campaign of community visits came to a climax in the week leading up to election day, with the candidates, and Collins as well, all travelling around in pursuit of the mobile polling teams. Fox, Collins and Tipiloura in particular continually found themselves face to face with each other in front of polling booths during these few days. So the competition between them developed an immediacy which most election contests seldom have. Collins, as the experienced politician, enjoyed the jousting. Tipiloura was undoubtedly the beneficiary, while the other candidates were at times rather unnerved by Collins' tactics. The sitting member may not have been re-contesting the seat, but his presence was certainly felt during the campaign.

Chapter 6

THE POLL AND THE ABORIGINAL VOTEThe Size of the Aboriginal Electorate

The Aboriginal population of the Territory in the 1986 census was given as 34,739 in round figures. It is necessary to begin with population because there is no other way of determining how many Aboriginal voters there may be. Like other citizens, Aborigines are required to enrol and to vote and they are not asked to identify themselves as Aborigines at the time of enrolment. The population figures, subdivided by age, are therefore the only base from which to estimate the probable size of the Aboriginal voting population. At age 18 all citizens are required to enrol; of the Aboriginal population approximately 52 per cent are aged 18 and over, which gives a population of 18,060 for the electoral roll in 1986.

Natural increase in the following nine months must have added a few more to the roll. By natural increase in this context, we refer to the excess of those who have come of age over those over the age of 18 who have died in the period. The figures for this are not, of course, available. There has also been some migration into the Territory from adjacent states, for example of people seeking work at the Tindal airbase in Katherine, and there has, presumably, been some migration out of the Territory. Whether these people have put themselves on the electoral roll, as required by the act, or removed themselves is unknown and since the numbers of migrants in each direction are unknown, we can do no more than report our impression that the migration into the Territory probably exceeds the migration out of it.

The actual Aboriginal electorate is, however, smaller than the potential Aboriginal electorate because not all Aborigines - or for that matter all non-Aborigines - are on the roll. Two previous surveys showed that 91 per cent of those interviewed in 1983 and 84 per cent of those interviewed in 1984 were on the roll (Loveday and Jaensch 1985, 89). Another survey, to be reported below, was carried out in connection with this election and 85 per cent of those interviewed said they were on the roll. This means that the electorate is of the order of 15,350 or a little more. And, since the estimates of eligible population have been 'conservative', if there is an error it is likely that the electorate is more than 15,350, not less.

The Aboriginal population is distributed throughout the Territory and it has long been supposed that a substantially larger proportion of Aborigines live in rural areas than in

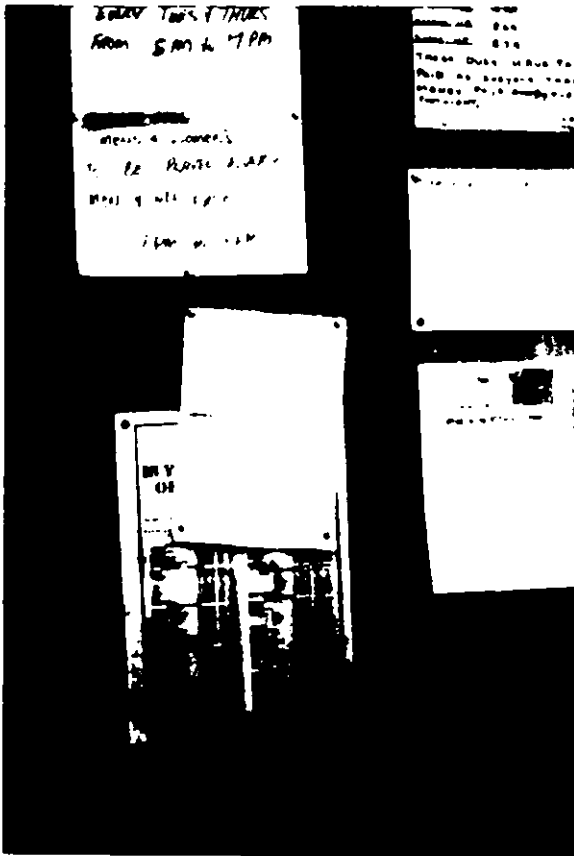
urban areas. The proportion in the rural areas may be less if it is true that a substantial number of urban Aborigines did not identify themselves as such in the census. An estimate of the numbers of Aboriginal voters in rural electorates can be made, using the results of the election and some assumptions about the proportions of Aborigines in each electorate. Until new census figures are available, calculated on the electorate boundaries drawn in 1986, these assumptions are all that we have to go on.

Table 6.1
Estimate of number of Aboriginal voters -
rural electorates

Electorate	Total votes cast	Assumed % Abor.	Est. no. of Abor. voters	No. of voters at predom. Abor. places
Arafura	2,026	60	1,215	1,404
Arnhem	1,909	80	1,527	1,340
Barkly	2,039	30	611	555
Macdonnell	1,623	70	1,136	1,274
Nhulunbuy	2,315	30	694	642
Stuart	1,514	70	1,059	1,134
Victoria River	1,689	60	1,013	1,022
			<u>7,255</u>	<u>7,371</u>

The figures in the last column of this table are derived from the returns from the electorates. The total votes are shown for each electorate from those polling places where most voters - upwards of 90 per cent - would have been Aboriginal voters. Normally in these places about 10 per cent of the population would consist of white service personnel and so the Aboriginal voters would have numbered about 6,600. However, there would have been Aboriginal voters at other polling places than those taken into account in deriving the figures for the last column: for example Aborigines would have voted in the Tennant Creek polling place in Barkly, but in the above table this polling was not counted. So the figure of 6,600 is undoubtedly low and the number of Aboriginal voters is probably about 7,000, which compares favourably with the estimate of 7,255.

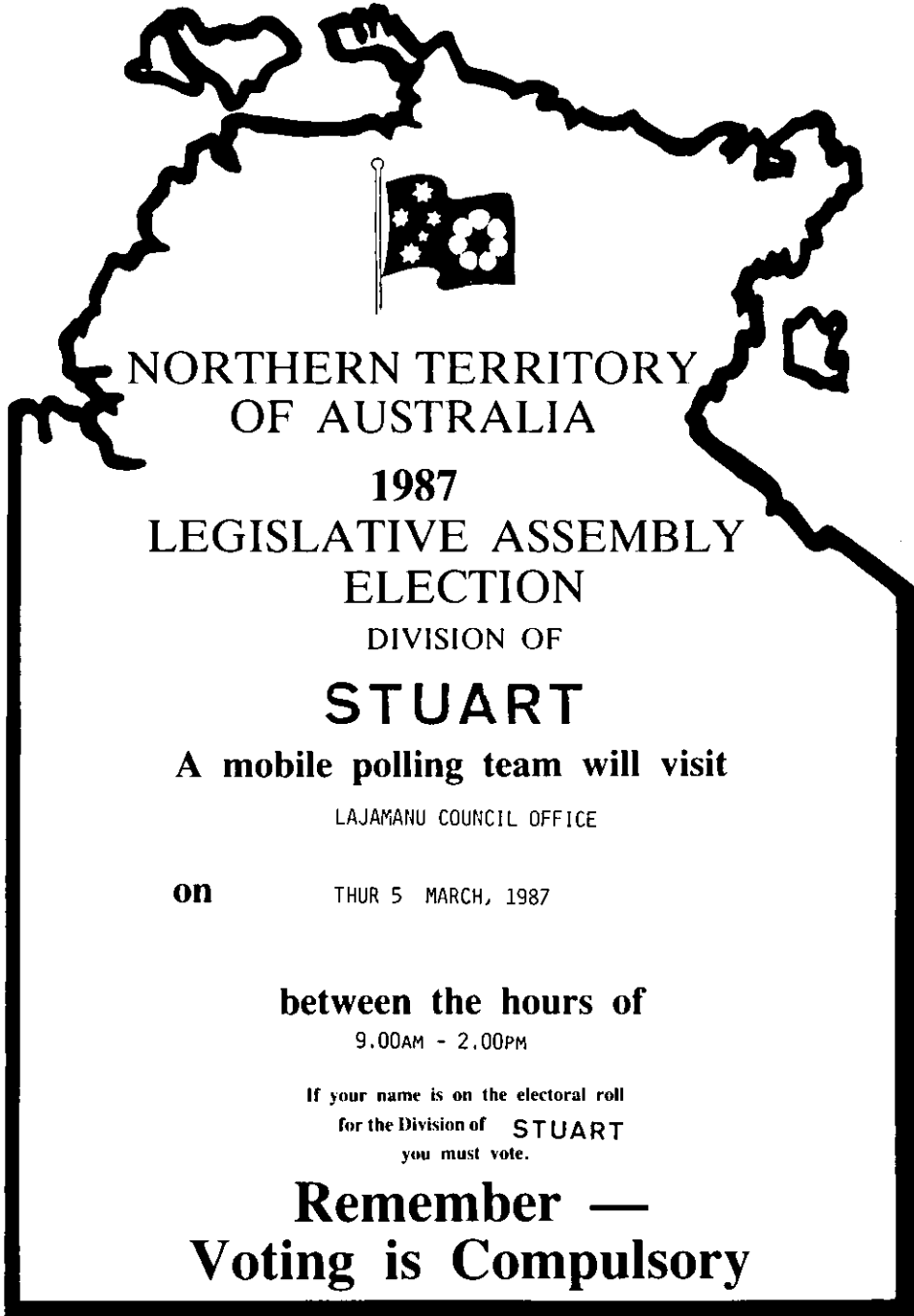
If the above estimates are about right, then the Aboriginal voters are divided approximately half and half between the rural electorates and the urban electorates. But since there are only seven rural electorates and eighteen urban electorates, the Aboriginal voters are likely to be in much smaller proportions in each urban electorate (none have concentrations of Aboriginal population) and are



Notice of mobile polling dates, on notice board, store, Barunga. The Council office also exhibited a notice and a couple of candidate posters were displayed in the entrance to the Store.



The polling place at Barunga, once known as Bamyili



**NORTHERN TERRITORY
OF AUSTRALIA**

1987

**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
ELECTION**

DIVISION OF

STUART

A mobile polling team will visit

LAJAMANU COUNCIL OFFICE

on **THUR 5 MARCH, 1987**

between the hours of
9.00AM - 2.00PM

**If your name is on the electoral roll
for the Division of STUART
you must vote.**

**Remember —
Voting is Compulsory**

Authorised by A.T. HANGAN Chief Electoral Officer

G. L. DUFFIELD Government Printer of the Northern Territory

An Electoral Office leaflet of the kind used to announce the place and date of the visit of a mobile polling team

therefore much less likely to be able to determine the outcome in them.

The Polling

Polling in the rural electorates was carried out both by mobile teams and at the normal static booths in the larger centres of population on the day of election, 7 March. Mobile polling took place in preceding days, beginning 2 March. Mobile polling has been described in detail in earlier publications (Jaensch and Loveday, 1981; Loveday and Jaensch, 1985) and on this occasion, there were mobiles in eight electorates, these being Arafura, where all the Maningrida outstations and the western coastal and island communities had mobile polls; Arnhem, which included Roper Valley places, Barunga, Beswick and Bulman, Groote Eylandt communities and coastal and island places east of Maningrida; Barkly, which included Borroloola and Elliott and a number of cattle station communities; Macdonnell; Stuart; Victoria River; Nhulunbuy for the outstations of Yirrkala and for Gapuwiyak and Galiwinku; and finally Katherine - for Mataranka. Six planes, one helicopter and five trucks were used to carry staff and equipment on the mobile runs.

Notwithstanding predictions that the polling might be disrupted by rivers in flood and sodden airstrips, the polling was carried out as planned. According to the Chief Electoral Officer for the Territory, a 'few alterations' were made because of the weather but everything was 'running smoothly' when the mobile polling began (NT News 2 March 1987). There was some anxiety that the polling might be disrupted by flooding at Daly River Mission and the polling team were ready to move the polling place if the people were evacuated to higher ground. On 4 March all polling was on schedule and a few minor changes had been made, for example, at Utopia where the polling was carried out at the store as requested by the Aborigines. At Epenarra, 140 kilometres south east of Tennant Creek in the Barkly electorate, the airstrip was flooded on 2 March, the day of polling. The people were advised by radio that a truck was on its way instead and it arrived only 15 minutes late and polling was carried out as planned.

But the weather was the least troublesome aspect of mobile polling: the Electoral Office staff had to contend with a variety of complaints from the federal Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Clyde Holding, and others that the system could be improved.

One of these concerned the community of Nguuu on Bathurst Island. It had a mobile poll on 7 March from

8.00am to 2.00pm for about 600 voters, while the much smaller community, largely non-Aboriginal, of Pine Creek in Victoria River had a 'static' polling station on the same day from 8.00am to 6.00pm for about 140 voters on the roll. As reported in the press, Mr Holding thought this discriminatory and offered legal and other support to ensure that Aborigines were not discriminated against (NT News 25 February 1987). The implication was that Aboriginal votes might be lost in Nguiu by reason of the early closure of the poll, while at Pine Creek no white votes would be lost for that reason. It was possible for us to arrange an official observer at the poll at Nguiu; the voting was completed well before the close of the poll and there was no evidence of voters being denied a vote because the poll was closed at 2pm. The criticism overlooked the fundamental differences between the two communities. People at Nguiu had other business to attend to in the afternoon; they were well prepared to vote early and the poll was adequately staffed to take their votes.

Pine Creek, on the other hand, is a roadside service centre for travellers and a centre for a gold mine population and prospectors and small rural landholders out bush who come in to the local pub late in the afternoon and cast their votes on the way. These people are not a coherent group for whom polling can be organised in less than the full period allowed under the Act.

The allegations concerning the mobile at Auvergne were also somewhat wide of the mark. West of Timber Creek in the Victoria River electorate, Auvergne is a white-owned cattle station with some half-dozen white voters. About 10 km away at Bulla, there were about 40 enrolled Aborigines who, to get to Auvergne, the polling place, had to cross a river. On the appointed day, 4 March, one of the authors was present when the radio message was received that the people at Bulla were on their way to vote at Auvergne, as usual, and that the river was not rising and would present no problem. There was some argument whether there was an airstrip at Bulla at the time of the poll. (Sunday Territorian 1 March 1987) - one had just been newly built and it is doubtful whether, at the time the mobile runs were planned, it was known to be available - but it appears that neither the danger of a flooded river nor the availability of an airstrip at Bulla were the reasons for the confused messages reaching the media and the Minister in Canberra. The voting at Auvergne was carried out in about half the allotted time and all the Aborigines from Bulla voted. The problem was one to which we drew attention in 1984 in our report on mobile polling in the federal election, namely that there are one or two white station managers who still go out of their way to ensure that Aborigines vote as close as possible to the station homestead under white

observation. It is not intimidation in the strict sense, but it is overbearing and does worry Aboriginal voters. And it is not always possible for the Electoral Office staff either beforehand or on the day of polling to take steps to prevent it. In a separate, and isolated, incident of the same kind a scrutineer, flown in from Western Australia, went as far as possible to make polling difficult on one run without actually being in breach of the legislation. In this case the near-intimidation was directed at polling officials, not voters, although they too were affected by it. Although we did not have official observers on the mobiles in 1987, but relied instead on interviews with staff afterwards, we believe that the comment made on the mobile polling in 1984 is applicable to the mobile polling in 1987:

it is essential to add, to counterbalance this story of rural intimidation, that no other example of such behaviour was observed on cattle stations or anywhere else. On other stations, the people were generally helpful, made no attempt to intimidate polling staff or voters, assisted in providing transport, shelter and communications... (Loveday and Jaensch 1984, 44).

At another, non-mobile, polling place in the 1987 election it was reported that many people had gone to live at an outstation some 15 kilometres distant while they carried out important ceremonies. The report continues:

there was an early heavy turn-out of voters. This surprised me because most people are living on an outstation fifteen kilometres away at present and had to travel here. Most of the voting was completed by midday.

This leads on to another problem which the Electoral Office has to face. Once people are enrolled at a particular place, the Electoral Office is obliged to send a mobile to that place if it has enough voters on the roll and a static polling place would not be appropriate. But if the people move, as in the instance above, to some other place for which they are not enrolled the Electoral Office cannot name that as the polling place instead, although, if it knows about the movement, it can advise the people who have moved where they can vote. But the confusion is not always caused by the movement of people; in some instances people who have helped Aborigines to enrol have put them down as residing at the parent community of an outstation and not at the outstation, or at some other similar 'official' place of residence for one reason or another. The Electoral Office does not always discover the incorrect address and it is nonetheless criticised for not sending mobiles to the places 'where the people are'. This is the reason why there were

no mobiles to outstations known to be in the area near Oenpelli. All the people, though living out bush, were enrolled, quite inaccurately, for Oenpelli and, presumably, those who did not come in to Oenpelli did not vote. The same thing appears to have happened in Central Australia in at least one place.

One other matter connected with polling may be mentioned here. Provision is made in the legislation for assistance to be given to voters in certain circumstances, for example if they are blind, not literate in English, or have physical disabilities. And at some polling places in the past, once a few voters have sought assistance, others follow suit and soon a substantial number have been helped to cast their ballots. Naturally, these ballots are most unlikely to be informal, and it is assumed by critics of this system that this procedure masks the extent of the Aborigines' ignorance of the system and also ensures that votes, largely Labor votes, are not cast informally. This, by some twist of logic, is thought to give Labor candidates a special advantage which they ought not obtain from the system of assistance.

Polling officials from four runs gave us estimates of numbers assisted at four polling places and these can be compared with the numbers of informals at these places, as in the following table.

The number of assisted voters at these four places in 1987 is quite small - no more than about 1 in 5 or 20 per cent of the voters - and the level of informal voting, from 4.6 per cent to 13.3 per cent straddles the average, 7.8 per cent, for the five rural electorates in the Territory.

Secondly, there is only one place, Ngukurr, in one election, the 1984 federal election, where the level of informality is so low, 1.0 per cent, as to suggest a very high proportion of assisted voters. The level of informal voting in all electorates in 1987 was 4.1 per cent, significantly lower than the level in the five rural electorates. Clearly then there were unassisted Aborigines who made mistakes in filling out their ballots, just as a smaller proportion of non-Aborigines made mistakes. But the other side of this coin should be emphasised: if assistance is being given to only about 1 in 5 voters and the proportion of informals is less than 1 in 10, then clearly large numbers of Aborigines do know how to cast a valid vote, knowledge presumably strengthened, as it is for non-Aboriginal voters, by the how-to-vote cards handed out by the parties to indicate how they would like voters to give their preferences.

Table 6.2
Assisted voters and informal votes,
selected polling places

	1987 Territory Election				% informal from electoral returns			
	<u>Assisted</u>	<u>Voted</u>	<u>Informal</u>		<u>Territory elections</u>		<u>Federal elections</u>	
	<u>n(1)</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>n(2)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>
Nguiu	30-40	481	<u>81</u> 1058	7.6	17.4	3.9	26.6	16.2
Ngukurr	40	199	<u>44</u> 384	11.5	10.3*	-	16.0	1.0
Daguragu	20	129	<u>43</u> 322	13.3	-	12.1*	-	3.8
Wadeye (Pt Keats)	70-80	387	<u>32</u> 700	4.6	13.8	8.2*	16.6	3.1

(1) Data from polling officials.

(2) In each instance in 1987, the ballots from the polling place named were aggregated with other ballots on a mobile run before being counted. The preceding column shows the number of ballots cast at the polling place, and the figures, for example 81/1058, show informals out of the total number of ballots counted for the run which included that polling place.

* In each case the ballots from the place named were aggregated with those from other small communities before being counted. Most votes were from the place named.

The Survey

A total of 261 Aboriginal respondents were interviewed in the week before the polling, using a questionnaire designed to include some questions complementary to those in the questionnaire mailed to a random sample of voters on the electoral roll, but the questions were not all the same and the results are therefore separately reported. The two surveys must also be distinguished because, as in earlier studies of the Aboriginal vote in the Territory and Western Australia, we have not drawn a sample of the Aboriginal electorate. This is technically impossible. Instead, a team of interviewers, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal,

men and women, was organised to select respondents at random in a number of places throughout the Territory to answer the questionnaire. The respondents were chosen from people in towns, in town camps and in rural communities and all were asked to say where they normally lived. They fall into three roughly equal groups as shown in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3
Usual places of residence of respondents

	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Towns	83	32
Town camps	97	37
Settlements and 'bush'	81	31
	—	
	261	

The people in each group are approximately evenly divided by sex.

The people came from places which range from Finke to Darwin, and from Lajamanu to Umbakumba. Twenty were from north-east Arnhem; 66 were from Katherine and its nearby region; 33 were from Lajamanu and Wave Hill; 58 were interviewed from Darwin and nearby, including Batchelor; 26 were from Tennant Creek and district; 52 were from Alice Springs and communities using it as a base and six were from 'the bush'.

As in earlier surveys, respondents were asked to say how they identified themselves using a list of names developed by Aborigines in connection with earlier surveys. The results are given in the next table.

Those who identified themselves as Australian were included in the analysis only if they subsequently identified themselves as also having either Aboriginal language or tribal identity. Of course some, almost all town residents who identified themselves as Aboriginal, had neither tribe nor Aboriginal language.

Table 6.4
Selfidentification by Aboriginal respondents

	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Aboriginal	130	50
Part Aboriginal	30	12
Australian Aboriginal	43	17
Urban Aboriginal	10	4
Traditional Aboriginal	30	12
Australian	10	4
Other	7	3
	<u>260</u>	
nd	1	

Table 6.5
Respondents who identified tribe or language
or both by name

	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Named	214	82
None	39	15
No data	8	3
	<u>261</u>	

The people interviewed included a slightly higher proportion of women than men, as the following table indicates, but since there was very little difference between men and women on any of the variables, the slight disproportion is of no consequence.

Table 6.6
Proportions of men and women among respondents

	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Men	122	47.5
Women	135	52.5
	<u>257</u>	
nd	4	
	<u>261</u>	

The age profile of respondents, given in the next table, indicates that those interviewed included a disproportionately high number of people in their thirties

and forties, as compared with the census profile in 1981. This was at the expense of people in the 18-20 age group and the 50 and over age groups.

Table 6.7
Age profile of respondents

	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1981 census %</u>
18-20	26	10	13
21-29	75	30	31
30-39	78	31	21
40-49	53	21	15
50-59	16	6	10
60 and over	6	2	11
	—		
	254		
nd	7		
	—		
	261		

Crosstabulation of age and sex shows that women are a significantly higher proportion of the 18-20 age group, while men are a higher proportion of the 50-59 age group.

Even though we emphasise that it is impossible to sample the Aboriginal voting population by normal methods, the question is bound to arise whether the people interviewed are approximately representative of the population. First it must be noted that we had no respondents for some important centres of Aboriginal population such as Maningrida and outstations, the centres on the islands (except for one Tiwi respondent) and from Yuendumu, Docker River and Kintore. Nonetheless, the age and sex profiles indicate that in relation to the known population characteristics the group is not seriously skewed or biased. The principal difference is that the proportion identifying themselves as either Aboriginal, traditional Aboriginal or Australian Aboriginal is higher than in earlier surveys (cf Loveday and Jaensch 1985, 81), presumably because more interviews were carried out in rural places than in earlier surveys. In these, however, no attempt was made to draw respondents from all over the Territory, whereas on the present occasion, the respondents were drawn from as wide an area as was technically possible at short notice. This means that, by comparison with some other surveys we have carried out in Aboriginal communities, this survey is of relatively low density; 261 out of an estimated eligible population of 18,060 is 1.4 per cent or about three people in every 200.

Table 6.8
Levels of education of Respondents, 1984, 1987

	<u>1987</u>		<u>1984</u>
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
None	44	18	5
Primary	79	33	26
Attended Secondary	80	33	42
Completed Secondary	30	12	23
Other Post Secondary	8	3	3
	<u>241</u>		<u> </u>
nd	20		

Crosstabulation with sex showed that men had lower levels of formal education than women: 71 men and 50 women had no education or only primary schooling, and 44 men and 64 women had attended or completed secondary schooling.

Just over one-third - 39 per cent - said that they were employed; those who were not employed included not only the unemployed but the people on pensions, mothers caring for children and others not in the workforce.

The occupations reported may be briefly listed without any attempt to classify them.

Table 6.9
Occupations of respondents

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Labourer	17	18
Secretary, clerical	14	15
Teacher	10	11
Field Officer	8	9
Shop assistant	6	7
Health worker	4	4
Gardener	4	4
Driver	4	4
Stationhand, cleaner, public servant, student - each 3	12	
Bookkeeper, carpenter, ranger, manager - each 2	8	
Mechanic, plumber, plant operator, town clerk, builder, administrative officer - each 1	6	
	<u>93</u>	
Not employed	168	
	<u>261</u>	

As in earlier surveys, respondents were asked simple questions about their education, employment and occupation. As is consistent with our observation that, in this survey, we have a higher proportion of respondents from rural and remote parts, so we have a higher proportion who had had no formal schooling at all or only primary level schooling (cf Loveday and Jaensch 1985, 85).

Political Knowledge

At the beginning of the interviews, respondents were asked whether they were on the roll and whether they would vote. These two questions revealed some lack of knowledge and some confusion: 11 per cent said they would not vote, evidently not realising that they were required to do so, while a few said they would go to vote even though they were not enrolled.

Nearly half of the respondents correctly knew the names of the political parties contesting the election, and most of the remainder were aware either that Labor and the CLP or that one of these two were contesting the election. Knowledge of the National party appeared to be slight, although, as the interviews progressed, respondents recalled that they had heard of the Nationals - or else learned of them when they came to answer a later question. There was some evidence that the people living in town were better informed than those in town camps and the settlements.

Table 6.10
Know names of parties contesting the election,
by place of residence

<u>Know</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Town Camp</u>	<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Total</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Labor only	3	13	16	32	18
CLP only		5	15	20	11
Nationals only		2	1	3	2
Labor & CLP only	9	16	14	39	22
Labor & Nat. only		1	1	2	1
All three	56	12	12	80	46
				<hr/>	
				176	
nd	15	48	22	85	

The higher level of knowledge of those living in towns is presumably a function not only of education - those in town have higher levels of education and those with higher levels are slightly better informed about the parties

contesting - but also of the higher level of exposure to the media of people living in towns.

To take this further, respondents were then presented with a list of names of eight party leaders and we asked them to tell us the name of the party each person led, one at a time. The following table presents the data; the names are presented in the order in which they were given to the respondents. Percentages are based on all respondents including those who answered 'don't know'.

Table 6.11
Knowledge of parties of political leaders

<u>Leader</u>		<u>Party name given</u>				<u>nd, dk</u>	
		<u>Correctly</u>		<u>Incorrectly</u>		<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
		<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>		
Hatton	CLP	79	30	34	13	148	57
Hawke	Lab	138	53	8	3	115	44
Tuxworth	Nat	62	24	50	19	149	57
Collins	Lab	89	34	24	9	148	57
Sinclair	Nat	37	14	32	12	192	74
Smith	Lab	72	28	18	7	171	65
Howard	Lib	27	10	51	20	183	70
B-Petersen	Nat	72	28	29	11	160	61

It will be noted that the federal Liberal leader, John Howard, was least well known in attracting the largest proportion of wrong answers and the largest number of 'don't knows'. On the other hand, federal Labor leader Hawke was best known by party on both counts. Of the Territory leaders, Tuxworth was perhaps slightly less well-known as the Nationals' 'leader' (formally he was not, of course), than the other two, Hatton (CLP) and Smith (ALP).

We then asked respondents to identify the federal party leaders out of the list of eight names. It must be noted that, to this point in the interviews, respondents had not had their attention drawn to the fact that we were asking them about leaders at two levels of politics and the only party names used were those supplied by respondents themselves.

Table 6.12
 Knowledge of name of federal leaders
 and their parties

<u>Correctly know name and party of</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
all three	24	13
Hawke, Howard	21	12
Hawke, Sinclair	22	12
Howard, Sinclair	1	1
Hawke only	73	41
Howard only	1	1
Sinclair only	7	4
All three wrong	30	17
	<hr/>	
	179	
nd	82	

The next question also throws considerable light on respondents' political knowledge.

Still without telling respondents the party names of the NT party leaders, we asked them to pretend that they were voting for Hatton, Smith and Tuxworth and to number the squares on the questionnaire 1 to 3 in the order of their preferences.

There were two possible combinations which put Hatton first, one with Tuxworth second and one with Smith second. These combinations are represented by HTS and HST in the following table, and the corresponding combinations for the other two leaders each being first are shown similarly. Those in which only one or two preferences were indicated are shown as other.

Table 6.13
 Preferences indicated for the NT leaders
 (H = Hatton; S = Smith; T = Tuxworth)

	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
HST	33	16
HTS	17	8
SHT	79	37
THS	17	8
STH	20	9
TSH	20	9
Other	26	12
	<hr/>	
	212	
nd	49	

Crosstabulations of these answers with the answers given when people were asked to name the parties of the party leaders, reveals that of the 50 people who voted Hatton 1, 20 had said earlier that they did not know what party he led and 12 gave the wrong party, leaving only 18 who got Hatton's party right.

For Tuxworth, the voters' knowledge was much worse, at least in relation to party. Of the 37 who voted Tuxworth 1, 27 could not name his party, one was correct and nine named it wrongly. Smith had 99 first preferences, and of these 53 were from people who correctly named his party, while nine were from those who gave the wrong party and 37 were from people who did not know his party.

For those whose concern was to vote for the leader rather than the party, it was unimportant if they made a mistake about the party, but for those who wanted to vote for a party, their ignorance cost them dearly in wasted votes.

The next question we asked was whether respondents always voted for one party and 82 per cent (n = 196 out of 238) said they did. The question that followed was to ask what parties voters usually voted for. Those who usually voted Labor numbered 140 and of these 75 (54 per cent) gave Smith correctly as their first preference. Nine out of 47 who usually voted CLP correctly gave Hatton as their first preference, that is, 19 per cent. Since the Nationals had not stood before the same breakdown of their first 'preferences' could not be carried out. The Electoral Education Program as it once was, now the new Aboriginal Electoral Information Service, cannot do much to assist Aborigines understand the party system. The emphasis in the Service is on how to enrol and cast a valid ballot and on understanding the parliamentary and representative system and the Service certainly cannot provide current information on party leaders and their policies.

The practical implication of this for the parties, is that they should make the strongest efforts to publicise themselves as parties and that, if they do want to promote leaders, as is customary in contemporary elections, the leaders' images should be much more firmly linked with the names of the parties than they now seem to be, at least for the Aboriginal voters. Of course, for those who want to vote for a party, the party how-to-vote cards are the surest way of reducing confusion and mistakes, assuming that they are used by voters when marking the ballot papers.

Sources of Knowledge About the Election

A large proportion of those interviewed said they made some attempt to follow news about the election. A total of 66 (28 per cent) said they made no attempt to follow the news (which is not to say they were quite unaware of the coming poll), 70 (30 per cent) said, yes, they did try to follow the news and another 96 (41 per cent) said they tried 'a little' - which means that, although they made no effort to find out, they attended when the information was in front of them. The following table reports the answers to the question about how they found out. Respondents were allowed to mark more than one of the following seven sources.

Table 6.14
Sources of information about the election
(N = 261 in each case)

	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Radio	141	54
Meetings	10	4
Newspapers	92	35
Posters, leaflets	73	28
Candidates	15	6
Television	118	45
Talk	97	37

Problems of Government; Statehood

As in the 1983 Territory election survey and the 1984 federal election survey in the NT, respondents were asked to name up to three problems which they thought the government should do something about. A total of 405 responses was obtained and they were condensed into a limited number of categories comparable with those used in earlier surveys. Several of the 'problems' were on subjects which had been raised as issues in the campaign. For example: the proposal to have a toxic waste incinerator at Tennant Creek was mentioned three times; the problem of how to keep the mentally ill in hospital or gaol when there were no proper institutions for them was mentioned once; statehood was mentioned once - a subject to be discussed in detail below; concern about transport in the Alice Springs area, a local issue, resulted in eighteen mentions; crocodiles were mentioned once, following two recent well publicised fatalities. The responses, when aggregated by subject area, are shown in the following table alongside the results from earlier surveys. There is a broad consistency in the pattern of responses. Economic questions - for Aborigines almost always the need for jobs and the cost of living - and Aboriginal land rights, with related questions about

sacred sites are the two main problems, or problem areas, with possibly a rising anxiety about land rights. The subjects of health, housing, education and social services are next in importance, to judge by frequency of mention - admittedly a somewhat crude test.

The questionnaire included several questions the same as those in the general survey mailed to a random sample of voters on the roll. This was designed in October 1986 when it was thought that the election might to be held on 6 December. Then it seemed likely that statehood might be a major issue in the election campaign and a group of questions was included on the subject because of its political and constitutional importance. Even when it was realised that statehood was not to be an election issue, it remained important to obtain benchmark data on a question

Table 6.15
Problems government should do something about,
1983, 1984, 1987

	<u>NT 1983</u>	<u>Federal 1984</u>	<u>NT 1987</u>	
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Economy (incl jobs, cost of living)	31	25	98	24
Aboriginal land rights, equality, sites	16	20	103	25
Housing	6	17	38	9
Education	9	15	38	9
Social Services, Welfare	7	10	17	4
Health	6	3	38	9
Mining	4	1	1	*
Other (incl transport)	19	9	77	19
	(N)	(139)	(496)	(405)

which was bound to arise from time to time in coming years and to obtain the data from Aboriginal as well as non-Aboriginal voters.

The first question was whether the Northern Territory should become a state, no time being specified.

Table 6.16
Should the NT become a state?

	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Y	78	42
N	108	58
<hr/>		
	186	
nd	75	

In view of the evidence from earlier surveys that Aboriginal voters had little knowledge of the Senate the questions on this subject were omitted; but three questions were asked to find out whether Aborigines thought the Territory or the Commonwealth government should control national parks, uranium mining and Aboriginal land rights, all three major questions in the statehood 'package'. Some Aboriginal leaders had tried to get these topics discussed in the election, but as we have seen in the chapter on policies and issues, their attempts were not very successful. The next table summarises the data on all three subjects. A few respondents stepped outside the alternatives we offered and said control should lie with Aborigines or with the Northern Land Council.

Table 6.17
Which government should control parks, uranium mining and Aboriginal land rights

	<u>Territory</u>		<u>Commonwealth</u>		<u>Aborigines</u>		<u>nd</u> <u>n</u>
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	
Parks	108	58	76	41	1	*	76
Uranium	105	58	74	41	1	*	81
Abor. Land	96	50	93	48	5	3	67

These figures, and the proportions on the question of statehood show that Aborigines are quite evenly divided on the package. There is certainly no predominant opinion one way or the other and, while this may be of some comfort to statehood proponents who could expect massive opposition from Aborigines, it reveals that there is still a long way to go before achieving the consensus thought necessary for statehood. Indeed, the very effort to achieve it might well succeed in arousing hostility to it rather than support for it.

The complexity of the division of opinion is revealed more fully by considering patterns of responses on the four questions: statehood, yes or no; parks, uranium and Aboriginal land rights. A respondent might answer 'yes' to

the first and then say 'Territory' government should be in control in all three areas mentioned. This would conform to the NT government's view of the matter; it would indicate support for the statehood package announced by the Chief Minister in October 1986. This particular combination of answers was given by 40 respondents, 19 per cent of the total of 210 who gave answers to at least some of the four questions. A division of these 40 respondents by 'usual party vote' showed that 17 of them were usually Labor voters and 11 were usually CLP voters - further evidence of the division of opinion on this subject.

The opposite combination of answers - 'no' to statehood, and Commonwealth government control of parks, uranium mining and Aboriginal land rights - was given by 43 respondents, 20.5 per cent of the total. Thirty of these were usually Labor voters and two were usually CLP voters.

The next most frequent combination was to say 'no' to statehood, but to say that the Territory government should control the three items mentioned. This combination could be read one of two ways. Either it meant: 'Well, if we have statehood anyway, even though I am opposed to it, the Territory should have control', or it could mean, 'Even if we don't have statehood, I think the Territory should have control in the three areas'. Fourteen usual Labor voters and 17 usual CLP voters were included in the number who gave this set of answers.

Then followed a fourth combination of answers, which were to say 'yes' to statehood, but that control in the three areas in question should remain with the Commonwealth. There were 10 of these answers (five per cent of the total), and eight were from usual Labor voters.

Twelve other combinations of answers were recorded, coming from 26 respondents. Only one was given by four respondents: yes to statehood and Territory control of uranium, and control of parks and Aboriginal land rights to remain with the Commonwealth. A further 53 respondents gave incomplete sets of answers and 51 gave no answers at all.

The variety of combinations and the divisions of opinion among usual party supporters and the uncertainty of some voters all give some indication of the task ahead for proponents of statehood who want to develop a high level of support for the government 'package'.

The scepticism of Aborigines is also revealed by their answers to three other questions on statehood. We asked them whether they thought taxes and charges would have to be increased if statehood were agreed to and 135 said yes and 29 said no (82 per cent and 18 per cent), with 97 giving no

answer. Similar proportions thought that voters should be asked their opinions of statehood in a referendum (165=84 per cent yes; 31=16 per cent no; with 65 no answer). And very few people (26 or 13 per cent) thought Aborigines would be better off under statehood. A third (65 or 34 per cent) thought they would be worse off and just over half (103, or 53 per cent), thought statehood would make no difference to Aborigines (67 gave no answer). Taken together these figures suggest both scepticism and apathy about statehood, a combination from which it will be difficult to forge much positive support, even if the confusion about it can be dispelled.

Perceptions of the Parties

In 1984, respondents were asked - in respect of federal politics - do you think the policies of Labor and the CLP in regard to Aborigines are different? They were given a choice of answers: yes, no, not much difference. They were asked the same question on this occasion, with reference to Territory politics. The results are as follows:

Table 6.18
Perceptions of differences on Aboriginal policy
between parties

	<u>1984</u>	<u>1987</u>	
	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	56	80	38
No	19	33	16
Not much	23	96	46
		<u>209</u>	
nd		52	

Whether the doubling of the 'not much' answer, at the cost of nearly halving the 'yes' answer, indicates a disillusionment with Labor since 1984, or alternatively a perception that NT Labor is much more like the opposing party than federal Labor cannot be determined on the data. As in 1984, usual voters of both Labor and CLP were divided on this question (cf Loveday and Jaensch 1985, 118).

Respondents were asked a similar question about their perceptions of the CLP and the National party. The question asked whether they thought the Nationals would be better or worse or no different than the CLP for Aborigines. The largest proportion thought they would be worse.

Only three people were able to say why the Nationals would be better; 'more jobs' and 'more help'. Thirty six

gave reasons why they would be worse: 9 said they were against land rights, 8 simply said 'Joh' (the Queensland sickness, in Yunupingu's words), 5 saw them as racist, and 10 others thought they were against everyone, or wouldn't help get reforms.

Table 6.19
Perceptions of difference, for Aborigines,
between Nationals and CLP

	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Better	29	20
Worse	72	49
No difference	46	31
	<u>147</u>	
nd	114	

The votes

Although it is impossible to say how the Aboriginal population as a whole voted, significant conclusions for upwards of half of the Aboriginal population can be drawn from a consideration of the votes cast in seven electorates at polling places where most voters (approximately 90 per cent) were Aborigines. These polling places were in remote settlements only and consequently it cannot be assumed that the conclusions reported apply to Aboriginal voters elsewhere. The figures are given in Table 6.20 below.

Table 6.20
The Aboriginal vote in selected polling places
% of formal votes cast, rounded

	<u>CLP</u>	<u>ALP</u>	<u>Nat</u>	<u>Ind</u>	<u>Formal</u> <u>(no. of votes)</u>
<u>Arafura</u>					
Mobiles A*	11	79	10	-	316
Mobiles B	15	75	10	-	977

*The full list is on the official returns.

A = Maningrida + 13 outstations

B = Oenpelli, Minjilang, Warruwi, Gumarrinbang, Pularumpi, Nguiu, Milikapiti

Table 6.20 continued

	<u>CLP</u>	<u>ALP</u>	<u>Nat</u>	<u>Ind</u>	<u>Formal</u> (no. of votes)
<u>Arnhem</u>					
Angurugu	15	19	12	54	240
Mobiles A	17	50	19	13	340
Mobiles B	13	55	8	25	661

A = Ngukurr + 7 smaller places

B = Umbakumba, Numbulwar, Barunga, Milingimbi, Ramingining and Bulman

Barkly

Mobiles A	23	25	21	31	310
Mobiles B	7	14	22	57	194

A = Borroloola, Warrego + 8 small station places

B = Elliott + 4 small places

Macdonnell

Mobiles A	20	74	6		482
Mobiles B	13	84	3		560
Papunya	6	93	1		159

A = Santa Teresa, Hermannsburg, Harts Range, Alcoota, Aileron, Imanpa, Iwupataka, Wallace Rockhole

B = Finke, Maryvale, Areyonga, Haasts Bluff, Kintore, Docker R, Yulara, Ayers Rock.

Nhulunbuy

Yirrkala	17	74	6	4	245
Mobiles	2	68	8	2	376

Stuart

Mobiles A	12	66	7	15	478
Mobiles B	6	50	8	36	132
Mobiles C	41	37	14	9	182
Mobiles D	37	50	12	1	131
Lajamanu	7	80	10	3	153

A = Yuendumu, Ali Curung + 4 smaller

B = Willowra + 4 small

C = Ammaroo, Lake Nash, Mt Allan, Napperby

D = Urapuntja + 8 smaller

Table 6.20 continued

	<u>CLP</u>	<u>ALP</u>	<u>Nat</u>	<u>Ind</u>	<u>Formal</u> (no. of votes)
<u>Victoria River</u>					
Mobiles A	28	58	7	7	279
Mobiles B	72	21	3	3	668
A = Daguragu, Kalkaringi, Wave Hill, VRD, Yarralin, Timber Creek					
B = Wadeye, Daly R Mission, Belyuen, Peppimenarti + 3 small					
Total N	1507	4016	617	743	6883
Total %	22	58	9	11	

The first thing to notice is that the two non-Labor parties, the CLP and the Nationals, won 31 per cent of the votes, with another 11 per cent going to independent candidates, leaving Labor with 58 per cent. These figures leave no doubt that, while Labor has a comfortable overall majority, it is by no means dominant or overwhelming in these remote places. The Country Liberal Party which polled well in many similar places in 1983 (Loveday and Jaensch 1984, 60-61) once again won a significant percentage of Aboriginal votes.

Given what Aborigines in the survey said about the Nationals it is to be expected that they would not poll well in rural areas. The fact that they won nine per cent of the vote in these places is therefore remarkable given that they themselves did not expect to do well in the bush and did not campaign very strongly in several of these electorates. In Barkly the sitting member and National candidate, Ian Tuxworth, was undoubtedly known to many Aboriginal voters and probably had some personal following.

Another National candidate who was locally well-known, and connected with a local Aboriginal family, Brian Dalliston in Arnhem, presumably gained some personal votes, running 'ahead' of the generality of National candidates in rural electorates. Nonetheless, their performance shows that a new group, even if it is neither well-known nor well-regarded, can win a small, and in close contests a possibly useful, percentage of votes.

This leads to the second major observation. The votes for all three parties and for the independents vary markedly from place to place. The CLP's vote ranged from two per cent in Nhulunbuy mobiles (n=376 votes) to 72 per cent in one of the Victoria River mobiles (n=668 votes). Given the large number of votes on each mobile and the fact that other polling places reported similar percentages at either

extreme, these cannot be dismissed as eccentric or exceptional results. Labor had a similar, if higher, range of figures: minima of 14, 19 and 21 per cent in three places and maxima of 80, 84 and 93 per cent at three others. Table 6.20 also shows the variations in the votes for Nationals and independents. The conclusion is that the Aboriginal vote is not consistently solid for one party, Labor, in all places, but exhibits a high degree of locational variation.

It is probably also unstable and likely to vary over time, a conclusion suggested by the third main observation that, in several electorates, there is evidence of a personal vote at one or more places. The personal vote for some National candidates has already been noted. But in addition, the result in Angurugu is a good example. There, Aborigines gave 54 per cent of their votes to the independent candidate, Bruce Foley, a local non-Aboriginal with a strong personal following in the community. Barkly shows evidence of a personal vote among Aborigines for Maggie Hickey. In Arafura, the retiring member, Bob Collins, appears to have conveyed some of his personal vote to reinforce that of Labor's local Aboriginal candidate Stan Tipiloura. And in Macdonnell, sitting Labor member, Neil Bell, polled far ahead of the general Labor result, presumably because, like Collins, he has built up a personal following.

A personal vote, as the term is used here, is a complex matter. It refers not only to specific characteristics of the candidate and his or her family and other similar connections which may attract votes, but also to a variety of 'local' factors with which candidates, by advocacy and in other ways, become identified. These personal votes could be unpacked for each specific contest, candidate and locality, but what matters here is that they are variable over time, changing as local disputes wax and wane, as new issues arise and as local candidates come and go. Of course, in the longrun as political parties establish themselves and incorporate local candidates, some legacy of what started as personal votes may be transferred into party votes, passed on, as it were, by an incumbent with a strong personal following, but this is not inevitable. Parties which rely on local candidates with personal followings must expect that the votes they have won in the past may well be eroded in the future not as a result of voters' dissatisfaction with general party policy or leadership, but as a result of changes in the local politics of small communities. The variation over time can be seen by comparing figures given in Table 6.20 above, with data for elections in 1980 and 1983 (Loveday and Jaensch 1984, 60-61). The Labor vote at Angurugu, for example, was 67 per cent in the June 1980 Territory election, falling to 21 per



BRUCE FOLEY

INDEPENDENT for ARNHEM

How to Vote for Bruce

2

DALLISTON, Brian James

1

FOLEY, Bruce Raymond

3

HANCOCK, John Richard

4

LANHUPUY, Wes

Authorised by B. Foley, Angurugu
Printed by Angurugu Community Government Council

Independent candidate, Bruce Foley, had a strong personal following at Angurugu, but not elsewhere in the electorate



BRUCE FOLEY

INDEPENDENT for ARNHEM

I live at Angurugu, Groote Eylandt.

I Have worked for the Angurugu Community Council as the Accountant.

I am able to understand both Aboriginal and European cultures.

I am a family man— my wife and I are Christians, and I have four children.

I believe in:

* **AN INDEPENDENT VOICE**— We need an independent voice to tell government our needs and problems, without being tied to party policies.

* **LAND RIGHTS**— Aboriginal people should have control over their land.

* **PEOPLE DEVELOPMENT**— Governments should be serious about appropriate training programmes for individuals in remote communities.

Why you should vote for me:

* I am a man who understands the problems of living in a remote area.

* I am a man who is honest and reliable.

* I am a man who will speak as an independent voice and can best represent all the communities in Arnhem.

* I will bring a new political awareness to the people of Arnhem.

Brian Dalliston



TERRITORY NATIONALS FOR ARNHEM

*let's get the Territory
really moving again.*

Brian Dalliston and the Northern Territory National Party Government will make sure that everybody in Arnhem gets a fair go.

On Saturday, 7 March, Arnhem will elect a new Member to the Legislative Assembly.

Make sure your Member is one of the winning team - the next Northern Territory Government - the NT Nationals.

Vote for Brian Dalliston.



cent in the December 1983 election and then to 19 per cent in the 1987 election, while the CLP vote varied from 27 per cent to 30 per cent and then back to 15 per cent. Some additional comparisons over time are given in the next table.

Table 6.21
Voting in Selected Communities, 1980-87

<u>Place, and 1987</u> <u>NT Electorate</u>		<u>1980</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1987</u>
Angurugu (Arnhem)	ALP	67.4	21.1*	19.2*
	CLP	27.4*	29.7	15.4
			30.8*	
	NAT	-	-	11.7
	Other	5.2	18.4*	53.8
Yirrkala (Nhulunbuy)	ALP	74.4	59.6	73.5
	CLP	17.6	40.4	16.7
	NAT	-	-	6.1
	Other	7.7	-	3.7
Macdonnell	ALP	62.4*	53.5	72.6
	CLP	37.6*	38.0	20.5
	NAT	-	-	6.9*
	Other	-	8.4*	-
Stuart	ALP	53.1	64.3	55.0
	CLP	46.9	35.7*	20.6
	NAT	-	-	12.3
	Other	-	-	12.1*

* = Aboriginal candidate

Contests in the outback in 1987 when compared with earlier contests in the same places offer further evidence to support the conclusions of earlier studies - that Aboriginal voters do not constitute a block vote for Labor, and that Aboriginality does not necessarily bring support from Aboriginal voters.

There were seven Aboriginal candidates in 1987: three Labor (including one sitting member), two CLP, one National, and one independent. Labor has maintained a majority in the electorates of Macdonnell and Stuart, and at the Yirrkala polling place. But there have been marked 'peaks' and 'troughs' in the levels of support. Further, in each there is a significant minority of Aborigines who have voted CLP. Further, the impact, or lack of impact of Aboriginality is shown clearly in Angurugu, Macdonnell and Stuart. Obviously there is neither a block vote for Labor among these

Aboriginal communities, nor any evidence that an Aboriginal candidate, per se, will attract Aboriginal voters.

Chapter 7

ELECTORAL BEHAVIOUR IN THE URBAN ELECTORATE

Establishing what happened, and where, in any election is a relatively easy task. Establishing why it happened is a task of a different order. One method is to ask the electors their opinions by means of a questionnaire. This chapter sets out the results of a sample survey of urban voters conducted immediately following the election.

Earlier surveys (See Loveday and Jaensch 1984; Jaensch and Loveday 1983) in the Territory emphasised the mobility of the population and identified an important tendency among voters, that party allegiance and political attitudes were much less settled than among voters elsewhere. Surveys have now been conducted in Alice Springs in 1980, in the main urban centres in 1982, in four urban areas in 1983 and all urban centres in 1987. From these, a bank of data about the electorate is being established.

One limitation is that these samples have been drawn from urban areas only. It has not yet been possible to conduct a full-scale survey of the rural population, or of the Aboriginal population for whom a different methodology would be necessary. However, limited surveys have been conducted among Aborigines, as reported in this and earlier studies.

The 1987 questionnaire was self-administered by respondents, and so had to be fairly short if they were not to be deterred from answering it. The survey had the aim of eliciting information concerning the 1987 election: to establish the 'why' of patterns of party support; to replicate some questions asked in previous surveys, allowing analysis over time; to explore attitudes to policy areas in Territory politics; and especially to explore attitudes concerning statehood. The last was prompted by the campaign inaugurated by the Hatton-led government in 1986, and by suggestions that the public's mood did not necessarily mirror the fervour of the government.

A second important component was to explore the impact of the new National party, and especially to attempt to establish the extent to which party allegiance in the Territory had been established. Previous surveys had found that party identification in the Territory was somewhat weaker than in the national and state electorates, and that the link between identification and party support, for NT contests, was also weaker than elsewhere. The emergence of the National party, contesting against the CLP and Labor in

all 25 electorates, offered a further test of this party allegiance.

Previous surveys had also shown that urban Territorians appeared to be more willing and able to distinguish between national and Territory election contests, and more willing to cross party lines from one contest to another. Further, the relatively tiny electorate populations, an average of less than 2,500 electors, provided an environment where personality and local issues had a greater impact than in the much larger electorates elsewhere. Finally, some regional variations in the Territory had emerged in past surveys as of electoral importance.

The sample of 5,020 electors was extracted from the NT electoral rolls in 20 of the 25 electorates, covering the towns of Darwin, Alice Springs, Nhulunbuy, Katherine, and Tennant Creek. Each respondent received a letter explaining the survey, a copy of the questionnaire and a reply-paid envelope. A total of 1,185 completed questionnaires were returned, 23.5 per cent of the total sample. This compared with 22 per cent returned from the sample in the 1983 survey. But the reply rate in fact, was higher. Of the 5,020 letters sent out, 580 (11.6 per cent) were returned as unclaimed or undelivered for one reason or another. Hence, the rate of completed replies was at least 25 per cent of the 'real' sample. This provided a completed response of 7.6 per cent of the urban electorate, an acceptable sample on which to base generalisations about the electorate as a whole. (See Appendix for a methodological note on the sample and survey).

Before turning to the results of the post-election survey, it is instructive to note the findings of a telephone poll commissioned by the Territory Labor party late in January 1987. This poll, conducted in the key northern suburbs in Darwin provided Labor with some depressing data. Of the 400 respondents, 57 per cent intended to vote CLP, and only 34 per cent chose Labor as a first preference. The CLP led Labor in every socio-economic subset of the sample except 'retired', even among those who were members of a trade union.

The party's urban campaign, based on general economic conditions, and specifically on cost of living, was designed in the light of evidence from its survey. Of the total sample 56 per cent felt that the Territory's economy was 'getting worse', and when asked 'the two most important issues or problems', 32 per cent of responses mentioning an issue named 'cost of living' and 14 per cent named 'state charges'.

Stability, Consistency, Change

In terms of aggregate electoral patterns, and in terms of control of the government, the Northern Territory suggests both stability and consistency. The CLP has won government, with clear majorities, in all five elections for the Legislative Assembly - an indication of stability. The CLP's share of the vote, after actual and estimated distribution of preferences, has been within four per cent of the average over five elections and 13 years - clear evidence of consistency at the aggregate level. Further, these patterns have emerged during a massive increase in enrolment from 39,027 in 1974 to 74,633 in 1987; an equally massive turnover in a very mobile population, and very different party contests.

On the other hand, there has been evidence of change. The CLP's share of the seats in the Assembly has varied from 17 of the 19 in 1974 to 16 out of the 25 in 1987. There have been significant shifts in patterns of electoral choice in individual electorates, in the regions, and in the NT electorate as a whole. Finally, there has been a complexity of individual electorate choices from one election to another in previous elections, partly as a result of the weaker salience of party identification in the Territory electorate. The 1987 election, with the intervention of the National party, provided an environment for further change.

Table 7.1
Recalled Votes, 1983, 1987: Three Party
(% of respondents: N = 901)

<u>Stability</u>		<u>Change</u>		
		1983	1987	
Both CLP	40.7	CLP	Labor	6.0
Both Labor	26.4	CLP	National	14.7
Both Ind.	*	CLP	Ind.	4.1
	67.1	Labor	CLP	3.4
		Labor	National	1.9
		Labor	Ind.	2.2
N = 606		Ind.	CLP	*
		Ind.	Labor	*
		Ind.	National	*
				32.3
				N = 295

(* = less than 0.05%)

Of 901 respondents who voted formally in 1983, almost one-third changed their vote in 1987. This compared to 26 per cent who changed their vote from 1980 to 1983 (Loveday and Jaensch 1984, 45). The increase was probably because of the extra choice offered by the National party in 1987.

Three important aspects of 'change' are evident in these data. First, there is evidence that the impact of the National party was overwhelmingly on the CLP. Of the total of 150 respondents who voted National in 1987 and who had voted formally in 1983, 88 per cent had voted CLP in 1983. This suggests that the stated aim of the new National party, not only in the Northern Territory, that it would appeal to voters across party lines, was not successful. (This point will be taken up further in the consideration of preference distributions).

The second aspect is the effect of the mobility of the Territory population. Of the 1,134 respondents who voted formally in the 1987 election, 178 (15.7 per cent) were not in the Territory in 1983. Of these, the proportions supporting CLP, Labor, National and Independent were 40, 33, 17 and 10 per cent respectively. There is no data concerning those who moved out of the Territory after 1983.

The net change in the various party movements in Table 7.1 indicates a virtual status quo in regard to Labor and anti-Labor. Of the 901 respondents who were in the NT in both elections, 67.1 per cent remained with their 1983 party choice. The net change of the 295 who did not vote for their 1983 party was Labor -1.4 per cent, CLP/ National -4.6 per cent, Independent +6.0 per cent. The shift to Independent was almost totally a result of the CLP pre-selection changes - Dennis Collins and Noel Padgham-Purich. If the net change separates the components of the Labor/ anti-Labor contest, then the point noted above is emphasised: the impact of the National party was overwhelmingly on the CLP. The net changes were: Labor -1.4 per cent; CLP -21.3 per cent; National +16.7 per cent.

Volatility and inconsistency are also evident in patterns of party support in federal and NT elections. Previous studies have noted (Jaensch and Loveday 1983, 104-5; Loveday and Jaensch 1984, 46) that a significant proportion of voters change party support between federal and Territory elections, and that this benefits the CLP. In the 1987 data, both CLP and the Nationals benefited.

Table 7.2
Recalled Votes, 1984 Federal and 1987 NT
(% of respondents: N = 999)

<u>Stability</u>		<u>Change</u>		
		1984	1987	
Both CLP (L/NP)	37.7	CLP(L/NP)	Labor	4.0
Both Labor	30.8	CLP(L/NP)	National	14.3
	68.5	Labor	CLP	9.6
		Labor	National	3.5
	N = 685			31.4
				N = 314

The net effects of the changes in 'two-party' terms were Labor -9.1 per cent, CLP/National +9.1 per cent. In terms of a three party context, the net effects were: Labor -9.1 per cent; CLP -18.3 per cent; National +17.8 per cent.

Given the significant proportion of the electorate willing to change votes, it is likely that the intensity of party allegiance is weaker than elsewhere in Australia.

Table 7.3
Party Identification: Intensity and Direction
(% of respondents)

	<u>Australia</u>		<u>Northern Territory</u>		
	1979*		1982*	1983**	1987
Identified with a party	85		75	62	62
No party identification	12		25	38	38
(N)	(1982)		(1906)	(827)	(1162)
			<u>Northern Territory</u>		
	<u>1980*</u>		<u>1983**</u>		<u>1987</u>
	Labor	CLP (N)	Labor	CLP (N)	Labor CLP Nat. (N)
Very strong	40	35 (531)	39	42 (199)	30 32 41 (229)
Somewhat strong	38	39 (545)	44	41 (203)	44 46 43 (319)
Not very strong	21	26 (332)	17	17 (81)	26 22 16 (163)
(N)	(682)	(726)	(156)	(327)	(227)(423) (61)

Sources: * Jaensch and Loveday 1983, 54
** Loveday and Jaensch 1984, 47

Significant trends are evident in these data. The proportion of Territory voters who do not identify with a party has remained very much higher than elsewhere. Second, the proportion of Labor identifiers who strongly identify with the Labor party has decreased from 40 per cent in 1980 and 39 per cent in 1983 to only 30 per cent in 1987. A similar decrease in salience of party allegiance is shown among the CLP identifiers, but National identifiers, even after only three months of the existence of the party, are much stronger in commitment. Given that the ratio of CLP and National identifiers to Labor identifiers remained at over 2:1, then in the environment of NT politics, including small electorates and the resultant potential impact of personality and local issues, there is a clear 'benefit' to the anti-Labor parties.

Further evidence of this 'benefit' is shown by comparing party identification and party vote.

Table 7.4
Party Identification and Party Vote
(% of respondents)

	<u>1980*</u>	<u>1983**</u>	<u>1987</u>
Voted in agreement with party identification	89	92	79
Voted, but not in agreement	10	7	20
Did not vote; informal	1	1	1
(N)	(1032)	(513)	(717)

Voted

<u>Party Ident</u>	<u>1983**</u>				<u>1987</u>			
	CLP	Labor	Other	(N)	CLP	Labor	Nat.	Other (N)
CLP	95	3	3	(346)	76	13	4	7 (423)
Labor	6	93	1	(161)	3	3	85	8 (229)
Nat.	-	-	-	-	5	85	8	2 (60)
None	60	34	6	(304)	37	17	36	10 (430)

Sources: * Jaensch and Loveday 1983, 58

** Loveday and Jaensch 1984, 47

There was a significant decline in the proportion who voted in agreement with party identification. But this was almost completely explained by the 1983 CLP voters who switched to National in 1987. As the National party had only a few months of independent existence in the Territory,

few of those CLP voters who changed could be expected to have formed an allegiance with the new party.

What had shown a superficial change was the pattern of voting among those with no party allegiance. In 1983, the CLP had a marked advantage in this group: in 1987, the CLP/Labor division was almost equal, but the overall 'advantage' remained firmly with non-Labor. In fact, the former very tight correlation of Labor identification and vote had also weakened.

A comparison of party identification, federal and Territory, further emphasises the non-Labor 'advantage'.

Table 7.5
Federal and NT Party Identification
(% of respondents)

<u>Stability</u>		<u>Change</u>		
		Federal	NT	
Both CLP	32	CLP	Nat.	4
Both Labor	18	CLP	Labor	*
Both none	25	CLP	None	6
	75	Labor	CLP	2
		Labor	Nat	*
		Labor	None	6
(N) 837		None	CLP	4
		None	Nat.	*
		None	Labor	2
				25
				(N) 273

The net result, in a three-party analysis, was CLP -4, Labor -6, National +10. But in terms of Labor/non-Labor, the net result is Labor -6, non-Labor +6.

Reasons: Consistency and Change

Respondents were asked to give reasons for their electoral decision in 1987, and for their decision to change (if they did) their vote from 1983. These were 'open-ended', asking respondents the 'main reason' for their 1987 votes, and for up to two reasons for changing.

Of the total sample of 1,185, 10 respondents stated that they did not vote in 1987, and a further 12 stated they had deliberately voted informal. Of the 1,163 respondents who cast a formal vote, 1,070 gave a main reason for their choice. The answers were originally coded into 32

categories, of which seven contained 80 per cent of the total responses. The 32 categories were further condensed into five categories, as set out in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6
Reasons for Vote, by Party Choice 1987
(% of respondents)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Voted</u>		
		CLP	Labor	National
Habit	7	7	13	0
Party	63	71	63	65
Issues	6	5	7	9
Personality	23	18	14	25
Other	1	-	2	1
(N)	(1070)	(460)	(345)	(184)

The 'Party' category included references to the 'record' of the party, philosophy/ideology, party policy (as a general statement), and both 'negative' and 'positive' references. A total of 176 (16 per cent of all responses), overwhelmingly CLP, gave 'record of government' as their main reason for voting as they did. A total of 139 (13 per cent) gave party policy: 125 (12 per cent) stated party philosophy/ideology; 61 respondents, the majority National voters, gave as their reason 'CLP weak/divided'; while 29 respondents specifically referred to 'CLP arrogance and/or cronyism' as their main reason. The category 'best of a bad lot' was included under 'party' and included such comments as:

I wanted to vote Labor and National even less than CLP.

It wasn't as if the CLP had any great policies. It was just that the other two had none.

The general mood of those who gave 'habit' or 'philosophy' as their main reason was encapsulated in the comment:

I'd slash my wrists rather than vote Labor.

There was also a group who noted the intervention of Bjelke-Petersen. One respondent, who had changed from CLP (1983) to Labor (1987) gave the reason:

To indicate dissatisfaction with the present government and offer no encouragement to the Joh factor.

'Personalities' included specific mention of candidates, of Joh and of 'the candidate' as the main reason.

The fact that 189 respondents, 18 per cent of the total, gave 'candidate' as the main reason is a comment on the effects of personality, and of the small electorates in the Territory.

Two other categories, although small in number, merit comment. Thirty respondents gave 'change' as their main reason. One respondent who voted National stated:

The other two parties have held top positions for years. So give someone else a go. It couldn't get any worse.

The tenor of the comment was, in fact, a fairly common component of a significant proportion of the questionnaires from CLP voters. While many decided to continue to vote for the CLP, there were negative and critical comments sprinkled throughout the responses - in reasons for vote, issues and general comments. The main impression was that more respondents could have been included under the heading 'best of a bad lot'. The second category, 'reduce the majority', included 15 respondents whose views were along the lines of one response;

Someone had to vote ALP - otherwise there would not be an Opposition!

Of the 295 respondents who had changed their vote from 1983 to 1987, a total of 266 gave one reason and 53 of these offered a second reason, providing a total of 319 responses. The largest single response was 'candidate' (25 per cent), while 24 per cent had changed from the CLP because of internal divisions and/or perceived weaknesses within that party. The effect of individual personality on Territory politics in general, and in small electorates in particular, is emphasised by the fact that of the 319 responses concerning change, 44 per cent gave either 'candidate', or a specific person, as their reason.

By far the largest proportion of those who changed moved to the National party in 1987 - almost half of the total of 295 changed their vote. The reasons for this shift, especially those who changed from CLP or Labor to the Nationals, are important, not only in terms of clarifying party allegiance and party choice in the Territory, but also in the national arena, in that the Queensland-Joh-National push was based on a thesis that it would erode both Liberal and Labor traditional support.

Of 595 respondents who recalled voting CLP in 1983, only 367 remained with the CLP in 1987. Thirty seven shifted to independent (mainly from Sadadeen and Koolpinyah), 54 voted Labor in 1987, and 132 stated they had

changed to National party. Of those who shifted to Labor, most (64) gave reasons which were in a 'party' context: because of CLP 'splits' (17 responses), CLP 'not kept promises' (8), CLP 'wasting money' (8), general party preference had changed (6); while 11 responses mentioned candidate or specific person. Only three of the 64 responses indicated a positive factor in the Labor party as the reason - all three mentioned Aboriginal policy. The remainder were based on a criticism of the CLP.

The 132 respondents who had changed to the National party provided 143 responses. Only four responses named Bjelke-Petersen as the reason for change. Again, the overwhelming majority of reasons were not based on a positive attribute of the National party - 51 responses stated CLP too split/divided; 22 claimed the CLP had not kept promises, eight criticised the CLP for wasting money, six gave Hatton as their reason for changing to the National party.

In both directions of change from the CLP, 'party' components dominated. But this was not the case with former Labor voters. Only 58 of the 68 Labor voters in 1983 who shifted to a different party in 1987 gave a reason for their decision. Of the 58, eight named specific personalities and 29 stated 'candidate'. That is, 37 of 58 respondents who changed from Labor did so on personality grounds.

These data reinforce the findings of previous surveys - that 'personality' is a major factor in the Territory, especially in the small electorates of an NT election. But while the idiosyncratic nature of NT politics was again evident, there was also evidence that the shift to the National party from the CLP was a negative reaction to the latter, rather than a positive attraction by the Nationals. The evidence, then, suggests that the salience of party in electoral contests remains less than elsewhere in Australia.

Social Characteristics of the Vote

Recent sociological studies of voting in Australia have suggested that the class basis of party choice has weakened significantly - that the 'working class' and 'middle class' are less and less aligned with Labor and non-Labor respectively. They also suggest that the bias to non-Labor among women voters which had been evident until the 1970s has now disappeared, and that the once-sharp class-based differences of party choice have been weakened by the growth of the white collar occupations.

The urban component of NT society exhibits the same weakening of party-class cleavage links as is evident elsewhere in Australia. With only an embryonic industrial

base, the 'working class' is numerically weak. A high proportion of the workforce is in 'white collar', especially government, employment. The towns have not developed distinct working and middle class suburbs. Further, as previous studies have shown, party identification has been weaker in the Territory than in state environments.

Table 7.7 sets out a number of characteristics of the NT voters in 1987. From these data it is possible to identify subsets of the sample population in which one party has an advantage in that it secured electoral support at a level greater than the mean for the sample as a whole. These advantages (and corresponding disadvantages) become especially important where that subset contains a substan-

Table 7.7
A 'Profile' of the 1987 Urban Voters
(% of respondents)

	CLP	Recalled Vote 1987			(N)
		Nat.	Labor	Ind.	
Class: Self description					
Upper Middle	51	16	28	5	(257)
Lower Middle	43	16	34	7	(282)
Upper Working	44	18	28	10	(285)
Lower Working	45	10	41	3	(58)
None	36	16	41	7	(225)
Occupation					
Professional	46	18	33	3	(116)
Semi Professional	39	14	39	8	(226)
Admin. Executive	43	13	38	5	(92)
Managerial	52	21	21	5	(84)
White Collar	44	15	33	7	(337)
Small Business	50	31	13	6	(68)
Blue Collar	37	16	39	7	(148)
Employment Sector					
Government	38	16	40	6	(593)
Non-Government	49	18	25	7	(518)
Age					
18-20	42	21	25	13	(24)
21-29	42	14	37	6	(189)
30-39	38	16	38	8	(410)
40-49	48	19	27	6	(326)
50-59	48	17	29	5	(126)
60+	56	11	25	8	(64)
Sex					
Male	43	18	32	7	(630)
Female	46	15	33	6	(479)

Table 7.7 continued

	CLP	Recalled Vote 1987			(N)
		Nat.	Labor	Ind.	
Length of Residence					
< 2 years	37	20	33	10	(86)
2-5 years	42	14	36	8	(210)
6-10 years	42	18	32	8	(226)
> 10 years	46	17	32	6	(618)
Town of Residence					
Darwin	44	16	36	3	(787)
Alice Springs	45	16	29	10	(230)
Education					
Primary only	48	16	29	7	(58)
Secondary	45	18	30	6	(689)
Tertiary	40	14	38	8	(385)

tial proportion of the whole sample. The data, in Table 7.7 then need to be compared with the recalled votes of the whole sample:

<u>CLP</u>	<u>National</u>	<u>Labor</u>	<u>Independent</u>	
44%	17%	33%	7%	(N=1152)

The first aspect, which would be surprising to those steeped in electoral sociology elsewhere in Australia, is the relative consistency of patterns of party support across the subsets of the population. The National party, for example, varied from its overall 17 per cent of the vote in only very few subsets, and then only slightly. Some were significant. Support was significantly low in 'lower working', but this was only a small subset. The high level of support among 'small business' was expected, given the membership and electoral focus of the party.

The CLP's strengths are expected in some subsets: among 'upper middle class' and 'managerial' for example. It is notable, however, that CLP support was significantly below the mean in four subsets: 'government employees', '30-39' age group, those who had lived in the NT for less than two years, and among 'tertiary' educated.

The indices for the Labor party are generally lower than would be expected in similar subsets in state electorates. 'Working class', 'blue collar', '18-29' and '30-39' subsets were much weaker in support for Labor than elsewhere in Australia. Labor was also weak in Alice Springs, a factor which has been evident in every election held. One recent national trend is reflected in the 'male', 'female' subsets - there is no longer any significant variation in Australia and this similarity has been a feature of the Territory in all surveys.

Such data emphasise the problems of the Labor party in NT election contests, and the corresponding CLP (in 1987, anti-Labor) advantages. In the states, Labor's 'heartland' is in the urban, blue collar, industrial working class. In the Territory, Labor's support in this group is significantly weaker. Of the 343 respondents who identified themselves as 'working class', only 36 per cent recalled voting Labor in the 1987 election. Of the 148 respondents whose occupation was 'blue collar', only 39 per cent voted Labor.

Another aspect is revealed if we ask how people of different classes, as self-attributed, voted. All four, upper middle, lower middle, upper working and lower working contributed substantially to the CLP vote: 50, 42, 43 and 45 per cent respectively. And there is no marked differentiation between each of the four groups in the contributions they made to the Labor vote or to the Nationalist vote. The question may be looked at the other way - what proportion of the CLP vote came from each of the class groups? And the upper middle class voters contributed 32 per cent, lower middle class 29 per cent, upper working class 31 per cent and lower working class six per cent. The percentages are much the same for Labor and the Nationals. In short, whichever way we look at it, the vote in 1987 was not class polarised to any significant extent, and if that is accompanied by a relatively large proportion of voters who do not identify with parties, the factors which parties and their leaders manipulate at election time - images and ideology; leadership appeals, personality, current political issues, national and local, promises - are likely to be of major significance in explaining the outcome.

Issues

Respondents were asked:

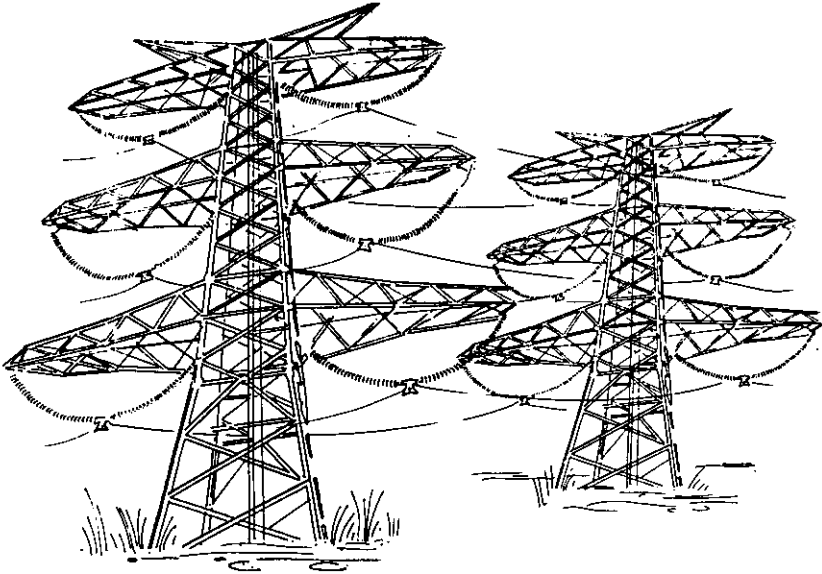
In your opinion, what are the three most important problems that the NT government should do something about?

The replies identify the issues in the minds of the voters in 1987, and provide a means of identifying changing issues through a comparison with the answers to a similar question in 1982 (see Jaensch and Loveday 1983, 79, 82).

Of the total of 1,185 respondents, 1,136 named one 'problem', 1,062 named two, and 790 named three problems. The analysis provided 89 separate 'problems', and a total of 2,988 responses. These were condensed to categories allowing comparison with the results of the 1982 survey.

(ADVERTISEMENT)

TERRY SMITH'S LABOR TEAM WILL DELIVER LESS EXPENSIVE POWER TO THE PEOPLE.



A Territory Labor Government will freeze electricity, water and sewerage charges for 12 months while we investigate the pricing structures of these groups. And we've guaranteed no increases at all over CPI in our firm term in office.

We completely reject the CLP off-peak price scheme.

First of all, you'll have to pay out hundreds of dollars for new time-coded meters. And they haven't said how much discount.

We'll also be working at getting electricity supplies extended to Jabiru . . . and I'll continue to negotiate with the Western Australian Government on the concept of the Territory supplying electricity to the Kimberleys.

Together, we can do it.



ALP NORTHERN TERRITORY

Authorised by Terry Smith - Chairman of ALP/NTT

Northern Territory News, Thursday, March 5, 1987-27

One of a number of different full page Labor advertisements, each dealing with a separate issue

Table 7.8
Major Problems: Frequency of Mention
(% of responses)

<u>Category</u>	<u>1982**</u>	<u>1987</u>
Aboriginal issues	18.2	14.2
General economic conditions	16.4	28.6
Transport	14.0	13.3
Housing	12.9	2.3
Health	7.4	1.7
Social Policy	7.0	8.0
Economic policy	6.9	12.6
Education	4.8	3.4
Uranium	2.3	*
'Probity'	1.0	9.6
Statehood	*	3.0
Other	8.9	3.4

* <0.05%

** Source: Jaensch and Loveday 1983, 80

The general categories which received the most responses, and which showed the most significant change from 1982 were those concerned with the economy of the Territory. The responses which focussed on a perception of a weak economic condition of the NT, and on the necessity for policies to improve this, comprised 41.2 per cent of the responses in 1987, compared to 23.3 per cent in 1982. It was also obvious that 'housing' had slipped down in the agenda of importance, as had 'health'.

Within these general categories were significant levels of responses on specific issues. The specific mention of 'cost of living' increased from 8.8 per cent in 1982 to 11.7 per cent (348 respondents named it) in 1987. A further 141 respondents (4.7 per cent) in 1987 specifically referred to high electricity charges, a factor which hardly rated a mention in 1982. The issue of 'the airport' was mentioned by only eight respondents as a major issue in 1982; in 1987 this had grown to 180 respondents. On the other hand, the issue of the Alice Springs-Darwin railway had not excited many more respondents: 2.8 per cent in 1982 and 3.2 per cent in 1987 named it as a major problem.

One issue emerged in 1987 with a significant response rate. The category 'probity' was mentioned by only 39 respondents in 1982. In 1987, a total of 288 respondents commented on such issues as 'casino deals', 'lack of integrity among politicians', 'corruption in NT politics' and 'cronism in politics'.

Responses on two topics merit further analysis: 'Aboriginal issues' and 'statehood'. Aboriginal affairs has been a major question in Northern Territory politics since the inauguration of the Territory. Statehood emerged as an issue in the 1980s, and became a major component of the rhetoric of the CLP government in 1986.

Aboriginal Issues

Of the 424 respondents who mentioned 'Aboriginal Issues' as a major problem for the government, 269 (63 per cent) named 'Land Rights' as the issue. Only seven respondents commented in a manner that could be interpreted as 'pro-Aboriginal'.

The survey in 1987 included questions which allowed for a direct comparison with the 1983 study (Loveday and Jaensch 1984). Respondents were asked two sets of questions in both surveys concerning party policies. The first was:

Do you think that the policies of Labor and the CLP in regard to Aborigines are different?
(If yes) in what ways are they different?

As in the 1983 survey, only a small minority of respondents were critical of the CLP policies, although the total increased from six to 11 per cent. But there was a significant decrease in critical comments overall, from 61 per cent of the 828 respondents in 1983 to 44 per cent of 1025 in 1987. What was more significant was the marked increase in the proportion of respondents who had positive comments about the CLP, from 23 per cent to 39 per cent. The analysis of responses of Labor voters emphasises the extent to which voters in the Territory appear less constrained to 'follow the party' in all circumstances and on all policies. Only 36 per cent of Labor voters made any positive comment about Labor's Aboriginal policies, while over a quarter, 28 per cent, made positive comments about the CLP. Fifteen per cent of Labor voters in 1987 were critical of Labor's policies.

The second question on party policies asked:

Which party's policies on Aborigines do you most agree with? What is the main reason you agree with that policy?

Table 7.9
Party Policy Differences on Aborigines by Vote
(% of respondents)

	1983	1987			
	Total	Total	CLP	Labor	Nat.
Party policies are different	76	72	73	74	67
Party policies not different	24	28	27	26	33
(N)	(797)	(1098)	(476)	(348)	(178)

Perceived Differences of Party Policies
(% of up to two responses)

	1983	1987			
		CLP	Labor	Nat.	Total
Labor					
handouts only, buying votes, giving NT away, using Aborigines, only for Aborigines, dividing NT, too hasty, Canberra controlled, weak, for land rights	50	50	15	51	38
CLP					
anti Aboriginal, racist, victimises, confrontationist, paternalistic	11	1	17	2	6
Labor					
fair, for equality, honest, works with Aborigines, creates jobs, for self-determination, humanitarian	14	2	36	5	15
CLP					
balanced white/black, for development, practical, for self- sufficiency, conservative, understands, more control, realistic, against land rights	23	46	28	39	38
Other	2	1	3	4	2
(N)	(828)	(458)	(323)	(156)	(1025)

Direct comparisons with 1983 are complicated by the presence of the National party in 1987.

Table 7.10
 Agreement with Party Policy by Vote
 (% of respondents)

	1983			1987			
	Total	CLP	Labor	Total	CLP	Nat.	Labor
Agrees with CLP	65	89	20	52	82	38	20
Agrees with National	-	-	-	13	7	48	3
Agrees with Labor	24	3	68	25	4	6	63
Other, None	11	7	12	10	6	8	14
(N)	(742)	(458)	(229)	(1002)	(426)	(172)	(318)

The comparative data suggest virtually no change - if the agreements with CLP and National are summed. The only suggested change, and that minor, is a suggestion of weakening support for Labor policy among Labor voters. Further, the reasons for agreement mirrored the response to the question concerning party differences. The over-riding components of the agreement with the CLP were that the party was 'for everyone, not just Aborigines', and that the party was opposed to land rights. These views, in both sets of questions, were variously expressed, but the general 'flavour' is shown by the following quotes from respondents:

Labor just looks at it from the Aboriginal viewpoint, which causes racial tensions. The CLP takes in both Aboriginal and white viewpoints.

The Nationals are moving away from the handout attitude which has created the denigration of a once proud people. Removed their dignity and self-respect.

The Labor party is the only party which will give them a fair go.

There was a group in the sample who agreed with the policies of neither major party:

The ALP would lock Aborigines in the Dreaming-time and use them as tourist attractions like other components of the wilderness eco-systems. The CLP would 'free' Aboriginal lands and Aborigines - and then forget about them. Essentially, ALP and CLP policies are the same - to use Aborigines for electoral success.

The general mood of the majority of responses, however, (483 of 733 responses) were along the lines of 'anti land rights', 'less for Aborigines', 'firmer policy on Aborigines', 'realistic', and comments were epitomised by:

Aborigines are Australians and should be treated the same as me.

I think Australia should belong to all Australians.

The CLP is fairly restraining on the Aborigines. ALP would give them everything and more.

Statehood

During 1986, statehood for the Northern Territory became a major policy thrust for the CLP government. Chief Minister Hatton elevated statehood as a key demand, and sought support from the states. But the Hatton government had earlier received evidence that its emphasis on statehood was not backed by strong support among Territorians. The government commissioned a survey by Roy Morgan Research Centre in November 1985, and 780 interviews were conducted in the five urban centres of Darwin, Alice Springs, Katherine, Nhulunbuy and Tennant Creek. Of the 780 respondents, 38 per cent considered statehood a 'good thing', 35 per cent a 'bad thing' and 22 per cent stated it 'wouldn't matter'. Further, 44 per cent considered the Territory would be 'financially worse off' as a state.

The issue of statehood was placed on the formal political agenda in 1975, when Malcolm Fraser promised a Territory State in 1980. It dominated the 1977 election campaign, but was then virtually forgotten until the Tuxworth government raised it again. Despite the evidence of rather lukewarm public support, Chief Minister Hatton elevated the issue to prime importance, and released a strong statement, Towards Statehood, in August 1986.

Once the CLP put statehood back on the agenda, the NT Labor party was in a dilemma. In the political context of 1986, it could hardly oppose statehood as such. In fact, Labor produced a bi-partisan policy with the CLP, not only on the principle of statehood, but on important details. For example, on the key issue of NT representation, both CLP and Labor demanded 'full representation' (qualified by the CLP as an ultimate aim), and one prominent Labor member, John Reeves, writing in Northern Perspective (1985), proposed that there is 'an irresistible argument for equal representation in the Senate ... any less ... would be ... a sell out'.

The unusual bi-partisan approach and the suggestion that the NT voters were by no means as committed to state-

Table 7.11
Attitudes to Statehood by Vote (% of respondents)

Should the NT be a state?

	Total	CLP	Nat.	Labor	Ind.
Yes	44	61	52	21	33
No	56	39	48	79	67
(N)	(1110)	(481)	(180)	(364)	(76)

Reasons for Attitude:

Favour	Total	Voted			
		CLP	Labor	Nat.	Ind.
Equality, representation	23	21	31	24	20
Improve self-image, NT achieves its destiny	25	25	19	30	20
Independence, policy autonomy	39	42	31	35	35
NT controls parks, mining, land rights	9	8	12	8	20
Financial benefit	4	5	6	2	5
(N)	(443)	(266)	(67)	(86)	(20)

Oppose	Total	Voted			
		CLP	Labor	Nat.	Ind.
Too small, not enough resources, need development first	71	71	68	77	80
Cost of living, taxes will rise	13	13	14	12	11
Politicians not good enough	12	10	15	10	2
Other	5	7	3	1	7
(N)	(600)	(179)	(273)	(82)	(46)

hood as were their parliamentary representatives, invited inquiry in the post election survey. The results provide relatively clear opinions, not only on statehood, but on its implications as voters saw them.

The first question was straightforward:

Do you believe the Northern Territory should become a state?

A majority was opposed (including six respondents who stated 'not yet'), but there was a clear 'party' division. The reasons for the opinions provided a clear distinction between an 'idealist' view of the Territory and a 'realist' view of whether the Territory is 'ready' for statehood.

The survey tapped a clear duality of opinion, which crossed party lines. While CLP and National voters contained a majority in favour of statehood, the latter only marginally, and while an overwhelming majority of Labor voters were opposed, there was no evidence of a single-mindedness in the Territory to support the government's campaign.

The comments on the questionnaires best explain the categories above:

Self-image, destiny:

Maybe we will be taken more seriously by the rest of Australia.

It needs to be recognised, not ignored just because it is a Territory.

To enable determination of our destiny.

Equality, representation:

Because NT will then be treated equally as in the states.

We want the same rights like people in the southern states.

To achieve equality in parliamentary representation.

Independence, autonomy:

To stop getting ripped off by the Commonwealth

NT will have greater independence.

What emerged from the majority of this group of 443 respondents was more of an emotional commitment to 'the Territory' than an appeal on specific policy matters.

One interesting aspect in the analysis of 'Yes' and 'No' reasons was a not uncommon contradiction of interpretation. Two respondents exemplify opposed opinions on a similar question:

As a Territory no-one helps. As a state we will get federal help.

We can't expect southerners to keep supporting us. Why should southern taxpayers be forced to subsidise the NT.

The overwhelming proportion, across party lines, of those who were not in favour of statehood focussed on the Territory's lack of resources.

We don't yet have the economic resources, the population, or the infrastructure to support statehood.

There are not enough people or industries to survive.

I would like to know how the NT would raise the money.

A minority, but through the mood of the comments, a very convinced one, was not sure that the 'politicians were ready'.

Our politicians have not yet demonstrated maturity and capability.

Not until the government can run its affairs properly.

A pipedream! The quality of possible representatives is laughable.

One respondent opposed statehood on a similar 'emotional' ground as the majority who supported it:

For purely selfish reasons. The NT is unique with a special aura that would be lost if we opened it up to all and sundry.

Respondents were also asked:

Do you think that statehood would make any difference in your life?

Of the 1,127 respondents who replied, 64 per cent said 'yes', and 36 per cent said 'no'. Of the 726 respondents who said statehood would make a difference, 670 provided at least one reason for their statement. Of the total of 930 responses, only 285 (31 per cent) mentioned a factor which could be described as a 'positive' effect of statehood, and the majority of these were again, 'emotional commitments' rather than specific policy effects. For example:

The self-satisfaction of living in a state that has some control over its fortunes.

More morale in the community and therefore more pride, effort and prosperity.

It will give us a greater say, and our requests and needs will get a fairer hearing.

A small proportion (75 responses, 8 per cent) were of the opinion that statehood would mean more prosperity, and/or less unemployment, lower taxes and lower costs. As two respondents put it:

We would have a say with our taxes instead of South Australia, Victoria, Tasmania, Western Australia and New South Wales eating up our taxes.

We would not be under the control of Canberra and would therefore be allocated more money.

A further 55 responses hoped for 'more respect for the NT', and 60 responses saw a positive effect through 'independence'.

The overwhelming proportion on the 'negative' side were in two responses. Of 645 responses which indicated such a negative impact, 535 (83 per cent) stated 'cost of living will rise' or 'higher taxes' and over half of these respondents stated that they expected both to occur.

I think it will lead to bigger government, increased taxes and the ultimate result a lowering of the quality of life.

Cost of living will use so much we will have to move out of the NT.

I don't think we could afford to live in the NT.
Then I don't think I could afford to leave - Catch
22.

There was a clear party difference: while 45 per cent of 366 CLP responses and 50 per cent of 144 National responses named higher cost of living/taxes, 72 per cent of Labor responses named these expected results of statehood. On the other 'side', the anticipated positive effects of statehood, 30 per cent of CLP responses and 27 per cent of National responses, but only 8 per cent of labor responses could see any benefits.

The issue of taxation was explored in a specific question:

Do you think that Statehood will cost Territorians more in NT taxes and charges?

The answers mirrored the opinions expressed in the open-ended questions. Of the total of 1,141 respondents who replied, 80 per cent believed that statehood would bring higher taxes and charges. The equivalent levels of similar opinion by party vote were: CLP 74 per cent, National 75 per cent, Independent 79 per cent and Labor 90 per cent.

The overall impression from the data and from the comments was that on the basis of these three sets of questions, there was not only no strong mood in the electorate in favour of statehood, but there was a strong majority who believed that statehood would not bring any improvement in 'quality of life'.

The survey also sought opinions on components of statehood regardless of the attitude of the respondents to whether or not the Territory should be a state. One question sought a 'threshold' for statehood by asking what level of population was a prerequisite. Forty two respondents saw no relation of the two - it was a matter of 'statehood now!' Of the 1,020 respondents who selected one of the three options given, 39 per cent would accept 150,000 population (approximately the present population), 43 per cent required 500,000 people, while 18 per cent thought a population of two million was a reasonable prerequisite.

Opinions were much firmer on a second prerequisite. The questionnaire asked respondents to agree or disagree with the statement:

Before the NT gets statehood, Land Rights for Aborigines should be guaranteed.

Of the 1,095 who replied to this question, only 312 (29 per cent) agreed. Only 17 per cent of CLP voters and only 11 per cent of National voters agreed, while 53 per cent of Labor voters were in favour of such a prerequisite.

Respondents were also asked:

If the NT becomes a state, then which government, the NT or the Commonwealth, should control these policy areas - National Parks, uranium mining, and Land Rights for Aborigines?

A handful of respondents (8, 17 and 13 respectively) supported 'joint' administration.

Table 7.12
NT Government should Control Policy Areas by Vote
(% of respondents)

	<u>CLP</u>	<u>Nat.</u>	<u>Labor</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(N)</u>
National Parks	92	89	52	68	77	(1151)
Uranium Mining	89	83	42	62	70	(1137)
Land Rights	91	89	47	69	75	(1131)

CLP and National voters were overwhelmingly in favour of control of all three areas in the hands of a Northern Territory state, and relatively of equal opinion on all three. Labor voters were divided almost in half on the issues - more were in favour of NT control over parks, but a majority considered that the Commonwealth should continue to control uranium and Land Rights after the NT became a state.

In comparison with the CLP-commissioned survey in 1985 opinions had apparently hardened in favour of NT control. In 1985 the proportions in favour of NT control were: national parks 68 per cent, uranium mining 49 per cent and land rights 56 per cent.

Respondents were asked whether there should be a referendum in the NT for statehood. A clear majority was in favour. Of 1,158 respondents who replied, 79 per cent supported a referendum, and again the high level of support crossed party lines: CLP 77 per cent, National 78 per cent, and Labor 82 per cent.

Finally, the survey attempted to establish opinion in the sample concerning how many senators the NT should have if statehood were granted. This issue had dominated the CLP-Labor debates in 1986, with an unusual bi-partisan position emerging. However, as some respondents pointed out, the question did not clarify the 'conditions' under which statehood was obtained, for example, the level of

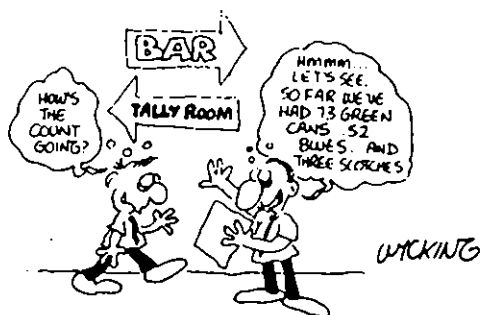
population. Hence, the answers need to be analysed with some caution. Support was as follows: two senators:16 per cent, four:22 per cent, six:22 per cent, eight:9 per cent, ten:5 per cent and 12:26 per cent. The 1985 CLP survey found 22 per cent who demanded 12 senators at statehood and a further 55 per cent who sought 12 'over time'. The impression from the 1987 survey was that an overwhelming majority of respondents would demand equality of representation with other states, also over time.

Chapter 8

RESULTS AND THE REASONS

The tally room set up for election night on the stage of the Performing Arts Centre, was the focus of attention for the national media with a breadth of coverage and an intensity never before seen in the Territory. The elections since the inauguration of the Assembly in 1974 had not been considered of national importance: they were, after all, just Territory elections, and the return of the CLP government was never seriously in doubt.

In 1987, however, the tally room discussions before the first figures were posted expressed real uncertainty about the result. There was no doubt that Labor would again be in opposition, but the discussions revolved around the impact of the National party. Would it hold the seat of its only incumbent - former CLP chief minister and member for Barkly, Ian Tuxworth? Would it win more seats, even to the extent of forcing the CLP to a coalition? Above all, the national media was interested in the election as a test of the 'Joh factor'. The National party had predicted a significant impact, with a minimum of 25 per cent of the votes. Attention focussed, then, on the size of the National vote, and, more important, where it would be drawn from. To indicate the success of the 'Joh factor' the National party had to retain the seat of its leader, pick up a significant proportion of the votes, and erode both the CLP and Labor support. If its votes were drawn only, or even in the main, from the CLP, then its intervention could be interpreted as damaging the anti-Labor effort overall.



The bar of the Performing Arts Centre was open on the night of the count in the Tally Room at the Centre. NT News 7 March 1987

In the final analysis, the National party narrowly succeeded in the first, but won no other seats; it did not achieve the level of support it had predicted; it did not erode Labor's support at all; in fact, there was a slight swing to the Labor party.

Redistribution

The election was held on new boundaries, which makes difficult any attempt at detailed regional or electorate comparisons of the 1987 and the 1983 elections. The new electoral geography retained 25 electorates, but only four remained with unchanged boundaries. Only minor amendments were carried out in the Alice Springs area, with the regional boundary of the four electorates unchanged. Major changes were necessary in the Darwin area, following rapid population growth in the northern suburbs and in Palmerston.

Three new electorates were created: Katherine (from the old electorate of Elsey), Palmerston, and Karama in the northern suburbs. The electorates of Elsey in the rural area, and Berrimah and Wagaman in Darwin, were abolished. As a result of these changes, the analysis of election patterns can be made on the basis of four 'regions': Darwin urban (12 electorates), Alice Springs urban (4), rural (6), and three urban/rural (Nhulunbuy, Katherine, Koolpinyah).

Results - Northern Territory

At the dissolution of the 1983-87 Assembly, the party numbers were CLP 18, Labor 6, National 1. Two of the CLP members had failed to retain CLP endorsement, and stood as Independent (Padgham-Purich, Koolpinyah) and Independent-CLP (Collins, Sadadeen).

The result of the 1987 election is summarised in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1
1987 Election Result: Northern Territory

<u>Party</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Formal Votes</u>		<u>Change</u> %	<u>Seats Won</u>	
		<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>1987</u>	<u>(1983)</u>
CLP	25	20,074	39.4	-18.8	16	(19)
Labor	25	18,307	36.0	+0.4	6	(6)
National	25	9,058	17.8	+17.8	1	(-)
*Ind.	10	3,489	6.9	+2.5	2	(-)
Dem	-	-	-	-1.8		
Total	85	50,928	100	-	25	(25)

* Including one Ind-CLP

Enrolment and Turnout

A total of 74,633 Territorians were eligible to vote on 7 March 1987. Only 53,127 (71.2 per cent) actually attended a polling booth. This compared with 81.6 per cent turnout in 1983, and was the lowest turnout since the inauguration of the Assembly in 1974. Levels of turnout in the regions varied: 76.5 per cent in Darwin; 68.6 per cent in Alice Springs; 69.1 per cent in the rural/urban electorates; 59.8 per cent in the rural electorates (see Appendix).

But these low levels of participation need to be qualified. The survey of voters conducted at the election provides a means to assess whether the turnout was actually at such a low level. Letters were sent to a random sample extracted from the 1987 electoral roll. The high proportions of these which were 'returned to sender' indicates that the enrolment figures used in the turnout calculations above were far from an accurate representation of the actual numbers eligible to vote. The number on the roll appears to be greater than the number eligible to vote largely because people who have moved from the Territory and are no longer eligible have not had their names taken off the roll. And the administrative process, beginning with a habitation review, which results in updating the roll had to be terminated in October when a 6 December election was thought possible. It could not be resumed before 7 March 1987. Others discovered that they were unable to vote - and therefore contributed to the low turnout - because they had moved from one address to another within the Territory, changing electorates in so doing, without notifying the Electoral Office of the change until the day of polling. Over 2,000 objection notices, from the far-from-complete habitation review begun in October, were outstanding at the time of the election and they undoubtedly represent only a fraction of the total number of names which should have been removed from the roll. We believe it was inflated by at least 10 per cent and probably more. Of the total of 5,020 letters sent to random sample of urban areas, 580 (11.6 per cent) were returned because the respondent had left the address. The proportions returned were Darwin 10.7 per cent, Alice Springs 9.6 per cent, Tennant Creek 16.5 per cent, Katherine 20.0 per cent, Nhulunbuy 19.5 per cent. If these data are applied to the reported enrolment and turnout figures (and the return rate can be considered as a minimum) then participation was not significantly lower than in the past. Adjusting the enrolment figures by the 'return to sender' proportions provides turnout levels at: Darwin 86 per cent; Alice Springs 75 per cent; and Katherine, Tennant Creek and Nhulunbuy 83 per cent. These levels approximate the levels in previous elections.

The overall level of informal voting - 4.1 per cent over the Territory - is equivalent to levels in state and federal elections. But there were wide variations across regions and in specific electorates. Informal voting varied from 3.4 per cent in Darwin and 3.0 per cent in Alice Springs, to 4.0 per cent in rural/urban electorates and 7.8 per cent in the outback areas. But it was not simply a case of a rural-urban difference. For example, informal voting in Macdonnell and Victoria River, both overwhelmingly Aboriginal in population, was 5.3 per cent and 5.1 per cent respectively. In Karama, an urban Darwin electorate, 5.6 per cent of votes were informal. In Stuart, also an Aboriginal electorate, 16.2 per cent were informal. In Fannie Bay, with the most complex ballot paper (five candidates) the informal vote was only 3.3 per cent. There seems no clear pattern which can explain the disparities.

Party Support in the Electorates

The electorates of the Territory fall into four groups, characterised by degree of urbanisation, proportions of Aborigines and non-Aborigines in the population, levels of development and kinds of economic activity. Darwin and Alice Springs are the two main centres and each constitutes an urban region, distinct from each other and therefore to be separately analysed (see Jaensch and Loveday 1983, 13-17). The five outback electorates, Arnhem, Arafura, Victoria River, Macdonnell and Stuart, are rural in character and all have a majority of Aborigines, ranging from approximately 60 per cent in Victoria River to over 80 per cent in Stuart. The fourth group consists of three electorates with rural and urban and Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal components: Barkly (which includes Tennant Creek), Katherine and Nhulunbuy.

Darwin

The city has expanded rapidly since the first electoral geography in 1974, and this has been reflected in the proportion of the electorates in Darwin. In 1974, Darwin accounted for nine of the 19 electorates. By the 1986 redistribution, following rapid population growth in the northern suburbs, and in Palmerston, the Darwin region covered 13 of the 25 electorates. Where, in 1974, the nine electorates were equally divided between 'old' Darwin and the 'new' Darwin in the northern area, in 1986 'old' Darwin was represented by only three electorates, the 'new' northern suburbs comprised eight, while Palmerston and Koolpinyah covered the rapidly developing southern-eastern area.

With over half of the seats in the Assembly, Darwin was clearly a major target for a party wishing to win government. And the CLP had dominated the city since 1974. Labor won no seats at all in 1974, three (of nine) in 1977 and 1980, and it was reduced to only one seat, Millner, in 1983. The party focussed its campaign on the Darwin area, aware that it was the key to government.

The overall result, especially in the sense of a Labor/non-Labor contest, was virtually 'no change'. In terms of votes, Labor increased its support slightly in the area, and what the CLP lost, the National party and the ex-CLP Independent, Padgham-Purich (Koolpinyah) gained.

Table 8.2
Election Results, Darwin, 1983, 1987

		<u>1983</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>Change</u>
% formal Votes	CLP	61.0	43.2	-17.8
	NAT	-	17.7	+17.7
	ALP	34.6	35.3	+0.7
N votes		28,481	29,766	+1,285
Seats won	CLP	12	11	-1
	ALP	1	1	0
	IND		1	+1

There were some significant shifts of party support at the electorate level. Labor markedly improved its support in the northern suburbs. But there was no uniform pattern of swing across the Darwin electorates. The small electorate populations, an average of less than 2,500 votes, provides an environment where personality and local issues can have a greater influence than elsewhere in Australia.

Table 8.3
Shift in Two-Party Votes, 1983-87
Darwin Region: Labor Party

<u>Northern Suburbs</u>		<u>'Old Darwin'</u>		<u>Other</u>
Millner	+13.2%	Port Darwin	+0.9%	Palmerston +6.9%
Jingili	+11.6%	Ludmilla	-0.4%	Koolpinyah +0.5%
Casuarina	+11.0%	Fannie Bay	-3.3%	
Karama	+9.5%			
Leanyer	+6.7%			
Wagaman	+1.6%			
Nightcliff	-3.4%			
Sanderson	-3.6%			

Both party leaders, Terry Smith in Millner and Steve Hatton in Nightcliff, achieved a swing in their favour, with the former the biggest shift in the Territory contests. Incumbent CLP Nick Dondas saw Labor's John Reeves achieve the second-largest swing to Labor. Apart from Hatton, the only CLP incumbent to increase his support in the northern suburbs was Daryl Manzie in Sanderson. The 'old Darwin' electorates showed only minimal change, but two electorates merit comment. In Ludmilla, the Labor party's selected candidate withdrew at the last minute and a replacement was chosen. The party and the replacement candidate virtually ran no campaign, yet there was no significant change in voting patterns. In Fannie Bay, incumbent Marshall Perron achieved a swing in his favour in opposition to John Waters. Overall, the northern suburbs now offer Labor its best chance ever to hope to win government. A repeat of the 1987 shifts of party support in Jingili, Casuarina, Karama and Leanyer would give Labor four seats in its quest for a majority.

Alice Springs

This town is Labor's weakest area in the Territory. Since 1974, (when the town contained two electorates and the urban section of a third), through four successive elections (with four electorates in 1983 and 1987), Labor has been soundly defeated.

Only in 1977 did Labor manage to win over one-third of the total votes in urban Alice Springs. If CLP, National, Independent CLP, and Progress Party (all of which exchanged preferences) can be considered as non-Labor, then the patterns of support in the town have shown a remarkable stability.

Table 8.4
Election Results, Alice Springs, 1974-87
(% of first preference votes)

	<u>1974</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1987</u>
CLP		50.5	56.1	69.0	43.7
Ind-CLP		-	13.7	-	10.9
Nat		-	-	-	20.7
Progress Party		12.2	-	-	-
ALP	25.7	37.3	26.7	24.5	24.7
Ind		-	3.5	6.5	-
Other		-	-	-	-

The Labor party had virtually ignored Alice Springs after the debacle of 1974 (see Jaensch and Loveday 1979, 71-75), but it had mounted a strong campaign, with its best

team of candidates to date, in 1983. The result was virtually 'no change'. In 1987, the party put considerable effort into the town, with four new candidates, and achieved some shift of opinion. In Araluen, Di Shanahan for Labor achieved a shift of almost eight per cent in her favour. But shifts in the other three seats were very small indeed. Roger Vale, who had held Braitling, and the preceding northern suburbs seat since 1974, again achieved the distinction of the highest vote in the Territory (75.5 per cent of the estimated two-party vote). Given this stability, then the CLP can confidently expect to hold Alice Springs in the future.

Rural/Urban

Three electorates have been classified under this category. Each contains a town and a rural area, the latter including a majority of Aboriginal voters. However, there were markedly different results in each.

Nhulunbuy, centred on the mining town of that name, was won by the CLP in 1974 and 1977. In 1980, Danny Leo won a close contest for Labor, and he has held the seat in the succeeding elections, with a swing in his favour of five per cent in 1987.

The electorate of Katherine was formed in the 1986 redistribution, following the excision of the major part of the rural section of the old Eleyse electorate. The CLP incumbent, Roger Steele, had resigned as Speaker, and from the parliament, before the election. The National candidate, J B Forscutt, had contested Eleyse as an independent in 1983, and his support in 1987, 28.7 per cent of first preference votes, was the second highest National figure in the Territory. However, despite the lack of advantage for an incumbent (which can be considered as higher than elsewhere in Australia because of the miniscule population) there was almost no change in a 'two-party' contest.

The electorate of Barkly, centred on Tennant Creek with a rural area extending to the Queensland border and to Elliott and to Borroloola to the north, promised an interesting result. The incumbent, Ian Tuxworth had a complex recent political history, which has been described above. He was challenged by a popular local personality, Maggie Hickey, a former member of the Labor party, by Gary Smith for the CLP, and by Labor candidate Keith Hallett who had stood in 1983 and significantly increased the Labor vote to 39 per cent.

The final result, after recounts and rechecks, provided a very narrow victory for Tuxworth over Hickey. The results merit closer examination.

Table 8.5
1987 Election Result in Barkly

<u>First Preference Votes</u>		<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Change %</u>
Hallett	ALP	314	16.3	-23.4
Hickey	IND	581	30.2	+30.2
Smith	CLP	301	15.6	-44.7
Tuxworth	NAT	729	37.9	+37.9

After Preferences

Hickey	IND	953	49.5
Tuxworth	NAT	972	50.5

<u>Polling Places</u>	<u>ALP</u>	<u>IND</u>	<u>CLP</u>	<u>NAT</u>
Mobile 1 (includes Borroloola, 170)	79	95	71	65
Mobile 2 (includes Elliott, 167)	27	111	14	42
Postal	15	30	27	78
Section	11	22	29	58

The town of Tennant Creek, comprising 1,157 of the total of 1,655 votes cast at polling places, gave 42 per cent to Tuxworth, 28 per cent to Hickey, 16 per cent to Hallett, and only 14 per cent to the CLP's candidate, Smith. Clearly, personality politics over-rode party allegiance among the majority of the 65 per cent who had voted CLP in 1983. Labor, with the same candidate, had also been rejected by Tennant Creek, falling from 39 per cent in 1983 to 16 per cent in 1987.

In the outback, the analysis of the result is limited to two sets of aggregated data from mobile polling runs. The results are aggregated because the results from any polling place with less than 100 voters cannot be separately reported. Mobile 1, including votes cast at Borroloola, showed a clear four-way split between the candidates, with Hickey winning a plurality. From mobile 2, which included votes cast at Elliott, Hickey won 57 per cent. The final result needed distribution of CLP and Labor preferences and confirms the suggestion that Territory politics, especially

at the electorate level, is by no means as settled or party-oriented as is the case elsewhere in Australia. Maggie Hickey successfully challenged the Barkly election on the ground that the Labor candidate was not qualified to stand for election. A new election was called which Ian Tuxworth won, standing once again as a National candidate. There were four candidates: Hickey (Labor), Tuxworth, Holt (CLP) and Conway (Independent). In the count Conway was eliminated first then Holt before a majority was reached.

Rural Electorates

The rural area comprehends the remaining eight electorates, three of which are mixed - rural/urban, or at least contain a central town. There are five electorates which can sensibly be defined as 'outback', 'rural' or 'bush', but this should not be taken to infer that they constitute an homogeneous region, or that patterns of electorate behaviour and party choice are the same across the area.

Three of the five electorates - Arafura, Macdonnell and Stuart - were unchanged in the 1986 redistribution, hence detailed comparisons 1983-87 are possible. Arnhem and Victoria River were modified. Gapuwiyak and Galiwinku were transferred from Arnhem to Nhulunbuy, while Beswick and Eva Valley were transferred to Arnhem from Elsey. Victoria River was slightly enlarged to incorporate a section of the old Elsey electorate, but lost Elliott, Larrimah and Newcastle Waters to Barkly. Table 8.6 therefore includes two of the five electorates which were modified.

Table 8.6
Election Results, Rural Electorates, 1983, 1987
(% of first preference votes)

	<u>1983</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>Change</u>
CLP	41.7	28.8	-12.9
NAT	-	11.2	+11.2
ALP	47.3	52.5	+5.2
Dem	9.7	-	-9.7
IND	1.2	7.5	+6.3
(N)	(7,701)	(8,761)	

The contests in 1983 and 1987 are markedly different, hence it is difficult to unpack the transfers of votes which may have occurred. It may be reasonable to assume that the National party drew the bulk of its support from CLP 1983 voters. But again, it is necessary to stress not only the small electorate populations, and hence the potential for

personality and local issues to be important, but also the majority of Aborigines in all five electorates. On the 1981 census, the unchanged electorates of Macdonnell, Stuart and Arafura included 66, 81 and 56 per cent Aboriginal people respectively. The changes to Arnhem only slightly modified the 73 per cent Aboriginal population, while the proportion of Aborigines in Victoria River, 56 per cent in 1981, was increased by the excision of Elliott, Larrimah and Newcastle Waters.

Unchanged Rural Electorates

The comparison of results in Arafura and Macdonnell is based on unchanged electorates, and the same party contests in both 1983 and 1987. Comparisons in Stuart are complicated by the presence of an Aboriginal independent in 1987.

The Arafura contest and result was complex. The incumbent, Bob Collins, had represented the area since 1977 and had very close links with the electorate. His resignation to contest the Senate had the potential, then, to bring a decrease in Labor support through loss of the personal support. But Collins was fully involved with the campaign of Aboriginal Stan Tipiloura, and secured a significant increase in Labor support.

The Macdonnell electorate, held by Neil Bell since 1983, contains the highest proportion of Aborigines. There was therefore some potential for Aboriginal National party candidate Ron Liddle. But the National party support in Macdonnell, 6.9 per cent, was second lowest in the Territory, and Bell achieved the largest swing to Labor - in both first preference and two-party votes - of the 25 electorates.

Table 8.7
Election Results in Three Electorates, 1983, 1987

	<u>1983</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>Change</u>
<u>Arafura</u>			
CLP	31.8	21.2	-10.6
NAT	-	14.8	+14.8
ALP	50.8	63.9	+13.1
Dem	17.4	-	-17.4
(N)	(1,830)	(1,894)	

Table 8.7 continued

	<u>1983</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>Change</u>
<u>Macdonnell</u>			
CLP	38.0	20.5	-17.5
NAT	-	6.9	+6.9
ALP	53.5	72.6	+19.1
Dem	8.4	-	-8.4
(N)	(1,399)	(1,537)	
<u>Stuart</u>			
CLP	35.7	20.6	-15.1
NAT	-	12.3	+12.3
ALP	64.3	55.0	-9.3
IND	-	12.1	+12.1
(N)	(1,416)	(1,269)	

The 1983 contest in Stuart was straight two-party. In 1987, the contest was complicated by the nomination of Vince Forrester, an Aborigine who had represented the area as a member of the National Aboriginal Conference. Personality clearly played a part in the result, but Brian Ede held the seat comfortably for the Labor party.

Arnhem and Victoria River

Both electorates promised interesting contests, partly because of the changes in boundaries.

Table 8.8
Election Results in Two Electorates 1983, 1987

	<u>1983</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>Change</u>
<u>Arnhem</u>			
CLP	45.2 (2)	23.3	-21.9
NAT	-	14.1	+14.1
ALP	43.9	41.9	-2.0
IND	-	20.8	+20.8
Dem	10.9	-	-10.9
(N)	(1,440)	(1,771)	
<u>Victoria River</u>			
CLP	58.3 (2)	58.4	+0.1
NAT	-	8.1	+8.1
ALP	26.3	29.1	+2.8
Dem	9.6	-	-9.6
IND	5.9	4.4	-1.5
(N)	(1,616)	(1,603)	

HOW TO VOTE LABOR AT THE MARCH 7TH ELECTION

<p>3 Fox 1 TIPILOURA 2 Watton</p> <p>ARAFURA</p>	<p>3 Floreani 2 Poole 1 SHANAHAN</p> <p>ARALUEN</p>	<p>4 Dalliston 3 Foley 2 Hancock 1 LANHUPUY</p> <p>ARNHEM</p>	<p>1 HALLETT 2 Hickey 3 Smith 4 Tuxworth</p> <p>BARKLY</p>	<p>1 ALSOP 2 Stewart 3 Vale</p> <p>BRAITLING</p>
<p>3 Dondas 2 Nicolosi 1 REEVES</p> <p>CASUARINA</p>	<p>5 Marshall 4 Osgood 3 Perron 2 Strider 1 WATERS</p> <p>FANNIE BAY</p>	<p>3 Anderson 2 Hanrahan 1 OMOND</p> <p>FLYNN</p>	<p>3 Maschke 2 Setter 1 WHARTON</p> <p>JINGILI</p>	<p>1 CROMPTON 2 Palmer 3 Preston</p> <p>KARAMA</p>
<p>2 Forscutt 1 MAYNARD 3 Reed</p> <p>KATHERINE</p>	<p>1 IVINSON 4 Loftus 3 Loveridge 2 Padgham-Purich</p> <p>KOOLPINYAH</p>	<p>3 Finch 1 LAMB-JENKINS 2 Wane</p> <p>LEANYER</p>	<p>3 Cross 2 Firmin 1 McMAH 4 Thomas</p> <p>LUDMILLA</p>	<p>1 BELL 2 Davis 3 Liddle</p> <p>MACDONNELL</p>
<p>3 Baban 2 Foley 1 SMITH</p> <p>MILLNER</p>	<p>3 Crowhurst 2 Ellis 1 LEO 4 Steele-Wareham</p> <p>NHULUNBUY</p>	<p>2 Brent 3 Hatton 1 ROWELL</p> <p>NIGHTCLIFF</p>	<p>3 Coulter 1 HENRY 2 Ting</p> <p>PALMERSTON</p>	<p>2 Harris 1 KEARNEY 3 MacLean</p> <p>PORT DARWIN</p>
<p>1 CAMPBELL 2 Collins 3 Peterkin 4 Stone</p> <p>SADADEEN</p>	<p>3 Armstrong 2 Manzie 1 McQUEEN</p> <p>SANDERSON</p>	<p>4 Drennan 1 EDE 2 Forrester 3 Sinclair</p> <p>STUART</p>	<p>3 Lawrence 2 McCarthy 1 WHITE 4 Wright</p> <p>VICTORIA RIVER</p>	<p>3 Bevis 2 Dale 1 McNAB</p> <p>WANGURI</p>

Together, we can do it.



Authorised by Terry Smith Cde Legislative Assembly, Darwin.

Labor's preference list, as advertised in the press

Both electorates were contested by two CLP candidates in 1983, an attempt to benefit from local networks of Aboriginal candidates. Despite this, Aboriginal Wes Lanhupuy won the seat for Labor, but only on Democrat preferences. Lanhupuy needed preferences again in 1987, but he achieved a two-party shift of just over four per cent to Labor.

Victoria River in 1983 saw a contest between two CLP candidates, Labor, Democrat, and the former Labor member, who had lost preselection and had nominated as Independent Labor. The electorate has an interesting history: won by CLP in 1974, by Labor in 1977 and 1980, and by the CLP in 1983. In 1987, Victoria River was the only electorate where National party intervention significantly increased the non-Labor vote (the National candidate in 1987 was the defeated CLP candidate in 1983), with a two-party shift away from Labor of three per cent.

Preferences

The presence of National party candidates in all electorates, and of independent candidates in nine electorates, provided an environment where preferences could be crucial.

Allocation

In the 16 electorates with a three-party, CLP/Labor/National contest, the CLP and Nationals gave second preferences to each other. The Labor party, in the majority of these electorates, decided on a how-to-vote card which gave voters the simplest pattern of preferences to follow. In Katherine, Nightcliff, Palmerston and Port Darwin, however, the Labor cards showed preferences which indicated a deliberate choice of National (in the first three) and CLP (in Port Darwin).

In the nine electorates contested by independents, the patterns of party allocations were complex. In five electorates, the intervention by independent candidates was expected to have little, if any, impact on the final result. Although two independents stood in Fannie Bay, the electorate was safe for Marshall Perron, and preferences were unlikely to be needed. Independent candidates in Ludmilla, Nhulunbuy, Stuart and Victoria River, were also expected to have little impact, with different reasons in each case. It was interesting to note, however, that the CLP-National preference-sharing broke down in Fannie Bay

and Ludmilla - both directed preferences to independent candidates.

In three electorates however, the independent candidates were of a different potential, and in a fourth, Arnhem, the result was expected to be close. Hence, in each, the parties' decisions on allocations of preferences could be important in the final result. In Arnhem, both CLP and National gave second preferences to the independent candidate, before exchanging third preferences with each other. The three electorates with different independent contests were Barkly, Koolpinyah and Sadadeen. In Barkly, the independent candidate, Maggie Hickey, had strong local connections, and had campaigned strongly, especially in Aboriginal communities, over the issue of the proposed toxic waste incinerator. The contest between incumbent Ian Tuxworth (expelled from the CLP and now National) and the CLP had divided the town of Tennant Creek, and a close result was expected. Labor directed its preferences to Hickey, but the CLP and National party exchanged second preferences and placed Hickey third.

In Koolpinyah and Sadadeen, the independent candidates, Padgham-Purich and Collins, both rejected at preselection by the CLP, were given second preferences by all three parties. Hence both had the opportunity of election provided that they were not last on first preferences, and provided that voters followed the parties' allocations.

Distribution

Preferences were necessary to decide the result in 15 of the 25 electorates, and in six of these, a second distribution was necessary. Of the 15 distributions of second preferences, ten saw the National party candidate excluded first, independents and CLP candidates were excluded first in two electorates each, and later in one.

The analysis of the distribution of National party preferences, especially in the seven electorates where there was a straight Labor/CLP/National contest, provides a test of hypothesis commonly used in non-Labor discussions elsewhere in Australia: that separate Liberal and National candidates will increase the non-Labor vote, at the expense of independents and the Labor party, if an exchange of preferences arrangement is followed by the overwhelming majority of non-Labor voters. The former factor has already been analysed - the intervention by the National party did not increase the non-Labor (CLP + National) vote across the Territory.

The seven electorates with a straight, three party contest in 1987 were all urban; six in Darwin, and Araluen in Alice Springs.

Table 8.9
National Party Preferences in Seven Electorates

	<u>NAT</u> <u>First Preference</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>To CLP</u> <u>%</u>	<u>To ALP</u> <u>%</u>
Araluen	550	413	75.1	137 24.9
Casuarina	343	244	71.1	99 28.9
Jingili	444	321	72.3	123 27.7
Karama	483	347	71.8	136 28.2
Leanyer	471	342	72.6	129 27.4
Sanderson	372	282	75.8	90 24.2
Wanguri	586	438	74.7	148 25.3

The six Darwin electorates comprised the same overall area in 1983 and 1987. Although the enrolments increased significantly in the period, there was a straight two-party, Labor-CLP contest in five of the six electorates in 1983. There is therefore a real test of the hypothesis above.

In 1983, in these electorates, the aggregate first preference votes were CLP 62.8 per cent, Labor 35.8 per cent, Independent (in one electorate) 1.3 per cent. In 1987, the aggregate votes were CLP 43.5 per cent, National 18.1 per cent (non-Labor 61.6 per cent), Labor 38.3 per cent. After preferences in 1987, the two-party aggregate vote was CLP 56.9 per cent, Labor 43.1 per cent. The overall impact, then, was a reduction of CLP two-party support in the six electorates from 62.8 per cent to 56.9 per cent. Some proportion of this may have been because of the overall swing to Labor evident in most Darwin electorates, but certainly there is no suggestion that the separate campaign by the National party increased non-Labor support.

Barkly, Koolpinyah, Sadadeen

Each of these electorates involved an independent candidate who had a strong chance of winning the seat. In fact, in Koolpinyah and Sadadeen, the independents were the incumbents, both of whom had been refused preselection by the CLP. In Barkly, the former CLP member, Ian Tuxworth, had been expelled from the party, and had nominated as a member of the National party. In Barkly, Labor directed preferences to Independent Hickey, but both CLP and National party placed Hickey third after exchanging second preferences. In Koolpinyah and Sadadeen, the three parties all directed second preferences to the independents.

In Sadadeen, 78 per cent of National voters followed the party how-to-vote card and ensured the re-election of Dennis Collins as an Independent-CLP. He had obtained 41.3 per cent of first preference votes, an indication of the extent to which incumbency is an advantage in small electorates, and the extent to which party allegiance is weaker in the Territory.

Table 8.10
Election Results in Three Electorates

	<u>First Preference</u>		<u>Preference Distribution</u>		
<u>Barkly</u>	CLP	301	-	=	903 + 69 = 972 (50.5%)
	NAT	729	+ 174	=	370 -
	ALP	314	+ 56	=	652 + 301 = 953 (49.5%)
	IND	581	+ 71	=	
<u>Koolpinyah</u>	CLP	488	-	=	612 + 96 = 708 (31.2%)
	NAT	497	+ 115	=	588 -
	ALP	545	+ 43	=	1069 + 492 = 1561 (68.8%)
	IND	739	+ 330	=	
<u>Sadadeen</u>	CLP	396	+ 39	=	435 (23.6%)
	NAT	236	-	=	464 (25.1%)
	ALP	451	+ 13	=	946 (51.3%)
	IND	762	+ 184	=	

In Koolpinyah, two preference distributions were necessary before the incumbent, now Independent, Padgham-Purich retained the seat. In this electorate, 68 per cent of CLP voters followed the how-to-vote card, 24 per cent deciding to direct their second preferences to the National party. Of the 545 + 43 Labor votes, 84 per cent were directed to Padgham-Purich.

Of course, in any discussion of Territory-wide aggregate votes, it may be said that the votes of the two ex-CLP candidates who won as Independents, Noel Padgham-Purich and Denis Collins, should be added to the CLP vote in 1987. If this is done, the CLP vote would rise to 21,575 or 42.4 per cent and the vote for Independents would fall to 1,988 or 3.9 per cent. This would make the total non-Labor vote 60.2 per cent, only 3.0 per cent higher than in 1983, but it does so at the cost of assuming none of the votes for the two candidates were personal but were instead CLP votes temporarily on loan to them. A similar calculation should be carried out on the Labor side, with the additional justification that for several elections Labor did not stand a candidate against Dawn Lawrie in Nightcliff.

If this argument is persisted in, a further addition to Labor's vote in 1987 must be made, namely to add a

proportion (75 per cent?) of Maggie Hickey's 581 votes in Barkly to the total. This would bring Labor's total up to about 18,743 votes. But of course this makes assumptions, unjustified in the Territory context at least, that contests of these kinds can be reduced to a two-party preferred basis. The evidence of the contests themselves is that they occur largely because the two-party mould would not contain the currents of opposition flowing at the electorate level. It is one thing to employ the preference system in voting to achieve a majority decision, it is another thing entirely to interpret that decision in two-party terms.

Barkly produced a very close result, partly because of the 42 per cent of CLP voters who rejected their party's how-to-vote card. On the other hand, given the bitterness between the CLP and National parties, Territory-wide and in Barkly, the fact that 58 per cent did stay with the CLP card is notable.

Prospects

The 1987 election was an important test in a number of ways. The most public test was that of the new National party, and its result can be given two interpretations. The first is that a party which had existed for only three months would not be expected to make a major impact. Under this interpretation, the 17.8 per cent over the Territory, was a creditable achievement.

On the other hand, the Northern Territory is a fertile area for the intervention of parties other than Labor and CLP, with the looser party allegiances, and the small electorates. It is very fertile ground for a Joh-type National party given its similarity to Queensland in political culture and in its non-Labor majority. On this interpretation, the National party should have achieved a minimum of 25 per cent of the first preference votes, thus eroding the CLP's 1983 vote by about half. The 17.8 per cent support, in this view, is a set-back for the Nationals.

The CLP was confirmed in government, with a very secure majority, for the fifth successive election. Labor was soundly defeated for the fifth time. There was a slight shift to Labor, notable in the northern suburbs of Darwin, and there was evidence in the survey that Labor's campaign emphasis on cost of living issues was a correct reading of the mood of many urban voters. But the CLP's strengths remain Labor's weaknesses. To win government, Labor needs to hold its six seats, four of which are in electorates dominated by Aboriginal voters, and win a further seven. Given that Alice Springs seems permanently beyond Labor, then it cannot win government without winning at least five

more seats from Darwin. Without an industrial base, a blue-collar and trade-union syndicate, it has a real problem, especially in the white-collar, public service sector. Finally, the incumbents have a greater advantage than elsewhere, because of the small electorates, and 12 of the 13 incumbents in Darwin are CLP.

Labor faces a dilemma. To win more urban seats, it may have to become an urban party, reflecting the moods and desires of the Darwin (and Alice Springs) voters. However, to focus on the issues of the white, urban society of the Territory, leaves the Labor party members in electorates such as Macdonnell, Stuart and Arafura to depend on their personal contacts and networks to retain support in Aboriginal communities. This dilemma has exercised the minds of the Labor hierarchy in the recent past; it is likely to do so more in the near future.

Appendix 1

THE SURVEY METHOD

The 1987 post-election survey was conducted in 20 of the 25 electorates in the Northern Territory. The questionnaire was posted, and was self-administered by respondents. The sample was limited to urban areas; in outback electorates, it is difficult to ensure that the responses to a mailed questionnaire constitute an adequate sample and to obtain written responses to a self-administered questionnaire.

The sample was extracted from the electoral roll of the NT for the following towns and electorates.

<u>Town</u>	<u>Sample</u>	<u>Electorates</u>
Alice Springs	1040	Araluen, Braitling, Flynn, Sadadeen
Darwin	3380	Casuarina, Fannie Bay, Jingili, Karama, Koolpinyah, Leanyer, Ludmilla, Millner, Nightcliff, Palmerston, Port Darwin, Sanderson, Wanguri
Katherine	200	Katherine (part)
Nhulunbuy	200	Nhulunbuy (part)
Tennant Creek	200	Barkly (part)

The total sample of 5,020 received the questionnaire on the Monday or Tuesday following the 7 March election. Each respondent received a questionnaire, a letter explaining the survey, and a reply-paid envelope.

The response rate was good, given the usual expectations of self-administered surveys. A total of 1,185 completed questionnaire were returned, a response rate of 27 per cent (580 were 'returned to sender', giving an actual sample of 4,440). This provided an overall response of 2.2 per cent from the overall urban population in the electorates sampled. The response from the regions was Darwin 796, Alice Springs 238, Katherine 51, Nhulunbuy 38, Tennant Creek 46, with 16 who did not state 'town'.

The total of 1,185 replies provided a sufficiently accurate sample of the population survey on the basis of actual patterns of aggregate party support in the sampled areas.

	<u>Actual Result</u>	<u>Survey Result</u>
CLP	45.3%	43.7%
Nat	30.8	32.7
ALP	17.9	16.7
Ind	6.0	6.9

(N = 1,152)

Thirty-three respondents gave us no answer (11), stated they did not vote (10), or stated they voted informal (12).

The codebook, reporting the basic results of the survey and including the questionnaire, is available from the North Australia Research Unit at a cost of \$10 (post paid).

Appendix 2

ELECTION STATISTICS

Table 1
Territory-wide comparisons, 1974-1987

	<u>1974</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1987</u>
Enrolment	39027	43284	53218	62185	74633
Voted (%)	29428 (75.5)	32861 (76.0)	41484 (78.0)	50716 (81.6)	53127 (71.2)
Formal (%)	27935 (94.9)	31817 (96.8)	40156 (96.8)	49184 (97.0)	50928 (95.9)
CLP (%)	13690 (49.0)	12769 (40.1)	20065 (50.0)	28637 (58.2)	20074 (39.4)
Labor (%)	8508 (30.5)	12165 (38.2)	15818 (39.4)	17505 (35.6)	18307 (36.0)
Nat. (%)					9058 (17.8)
Ind. (%)	5737 (20.5)	3718 (11.7)	3251 (8.1)	2155 (4.4)	3489 (6.9)
Other (%)		3165 (10.0)	1022 (2.6)	887 (1.8)	

Table 2
Regional* Comparisons 1983, 1987, Enrolment and Voting

	<u>1983</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>Change</u>
<u>Darwin Urban</u>			
Enrolment	33551	40276	+6725 (20.0%)
Voted (%)	86.8	76.5	-10.3
Informal (%)	2.3	3.4	+1.1
Formal (%)	97.7	96.6	-1.1
<u>Alice Springs Urban</u>			
Enrolment	9119	10533	+1414 (15.5%)
Voted (%)	83.5	68.6	-14.9
Informal (%)	2.5	3.0	+0.5
Formal (%)	97.5	97.0	-0.5
<u>Other</u>			
Enrolment	19515	23824	+4309 (22.1%)
Voted (%)	67.9	63.4	-4.5
Informal (%)	5.2	6.2	+1.0
Formal (%)	94.8	93.8	-1.0

* Darwin area - 13 electorates, including Koolpinyah
 Alice Springs area - 4 electorates
 Other - 8 electorates; including 5 rural,
 3 rural/urban

Table 3
Regional* Comparisons 1983, 1987

	1983			1987			Change
	Cands	Votes	%	Cands	Votes	%	%
<u>Darwin Urban</u>							
CLP	13	17361	61.0	13	12871	43.2	-17.8
National	-	-	-	13	5276	17.7	+17.7
Labor	13	9849	34.6	13	10495	35.3	+0.7
Ind.	5	1132	4.0	4	1124	3.8	-0.2
Other	1	139	0.5	-	-	-	-0.5
Total	32	28481		43	29766		
<u>Alice Springs Urban</u>							
CLP	4	5125	69.0	4	3065	43.7	-25.3
National	-	-	-	4	1447	20.7	+20.7
Labor	4	1822	24.5	4	1734	24.7	+0.2
Ind.	2	480	6.5	1	762	10.9	+4.4
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	10	7427		13	7008		
<u>Other</u>							
CLP	10	6151	46.3	8	4138	29.2	-17.1
National	-	-	-	8	2335	16.5	+16.5
Labor	8	5834	43.9	8	6078	42.9	-1.0
Ind.	2	448	3.4	5	1603	11.3	+7.9
Other	4	843	6.3	-	-	-	-6.3
Total	24	13276		29	14154		

* Darwin area - 13 electorates, including Koolpinyah

Alice Springs area - 4 electorates

Other - 8 electorates; including 5 rural, 3 rural/urban

Sub-regions 1987

<u>Rural Urban</u> (Barkly, Katherine, Nhulunbuy)	Votes	%
CLP	1812	29.8
National	1413	23.2
Labor	1845	30.4
Ind.	1010	16.6
Total	6080	
<u>Rural</u> (Arafura, Arnhem, Macdonnell, Stuart, Victoria River)		
CLP	2326	28.8
National	922	11.4
Labor	4233	52.4
Ind.	593	7.3
Total	8074	

Table 4
1987 Results by Electorate (*sitting member, elected in capitals)

Format	Candidate	Party	First Preference	Votes	%		
Enrolment							
Voted (% enrolment)			No.				
Formal (% voted)							
Informal (% voted)							
Preference distribution							
Polling Places							
Arafura							
3151	Fox	CLP	402		21.2		
2026 64.3	TIPILOURA	Labor	1211		63.9		
1894 93.5	Watton	Nat.	281		14.8		
132 6.5							
Polling Places	CLP	Labor	Nat.	Informal	Formal	Total	
Jabiru	170	130	113	16	413	429	
Mobile 1	35	251	30	30	316	346	
Mobile 2	144	733	100	81	977	1058	
Postal	24	32	16	1	72	73	
Absent	29	63	21	-	3	3	
Section	-	2	1	4	113	117	
Araluen							
2657	Floreani	Nat.	550		27.5		
2053 77.3	POOLE (S)	CLP	871		43.6		
1998 97.3	Shanahan	Labor	577		28.9		
55 2.7							
Preferences:	Floreani	550					
	Poole	871 + 413 = 1285	64.2				
	Shanahan	577 + 137 = 714	35.7				
Polling Places	Nat.	CLP	Labor	Informal	Formal	Total	
Gillen	502	787	505	50	1794	1844	
Postal	22	48	40	1	110	111	
Absent	20	35	24	3	79	82	
Section	6	1	8	1	15	16	
Arnhem							
3068	Dalliston	Nat.	249		14.1		
1909 62.2	Foley	Ind.	368		20.8		
1771 92.8	Hancock	CLP	412		23.3		
138 7.2	LANHUPUY (S)	Labor	742		41.9		
Preferences:	Dalliston	249					
	Foley	368 + 128 = 496					
	Hancock	412 + 87 = 499 + 296 = 795	44.9				
	Lanhupuy	742 + 34 = 776 + 200 = 976	55.1				
Polling Places	Nat.	Ind.	CLP	Labor	Informal	Formal	Total
Alyangula	69	20	191	96	28	376	404
Angurugu	28	129	37	46	27	240	267
Mobile 1	66	45	59	170	44	340	384
Mobile 2	54	163	84	360	28	661	689
Postal	8	3	17	15	2	43	45
Absent	24	8	24	50	9	106	115
Section	-	-	-	5	-	5	5

(contd next page)

(Table 4 contd)

<u>Barkly</u>							
3097		Hallett	Labor	314			16.3
2039	65.8	Hickey	Ind.	581			30.2
1925	94.4	Smith	CLP	301			15.6
114	5.6	TUXWORTH (S)	Nat.	729			37.9

Preferences:		Hallett		314 + 56 = 370			
		Hickey		581 + 71 = 652 + 301 = 953			49.5
		Smith		301			
		Tuxworth		729 + 174 = 903 + 69 = 972			50.5

Polling Places		Labor	Ind.	CLP	Nat.	Informal	Formal	Total
Tennant Creek*		185	323	162	487	51	1157	1208
Mobile 1		79	95	71	65	31	310	341
Mobile 2		27	111	14	42	20	194	214
Postal		15	30	27	78	4	150	154
Absent		11	19	29	56	2	115	117
Section		-	3	-	2	-	5	5

* Vary from total due to re-checks and re-counts

<u>Braitling</u>							
2447		Alsop	Labor	307			20.1
1576	64.4	Stewart	Nat.	249			16.3
1525	96.8	VALE (S)	CLP	969			63.5
51	3.2						

Polling Places		Labor	Nat.	CLP	Informal	Formal	Total
Braitling		281	227	876	45	1384	1429
Postal		12	8	58	1	78	79
Absent		13	13	34	4	60	64
Section		1	1	1	1	3	4

<u>Casuarina</u>							
3175		DONDAS (S)	CLP	1109			44.3
2588	81.5	Nicolosi	Nat.	343			13.7
2505	96.8	Reeves	Labor	1053			42.0
83	3.2						

Preferences:		Dondas		1109 + 244 = 1353		54.0	
		Nicolosi		343			
		Reeves		1053 + 99 = 1152		46.0	

Polling Places		CLP	Nat.	Labor	Informal	Formal	Total
Nakara		1011	310	959	78	2280	2358
Postal		43	15	40	1	98	99
Absent		51	18	47	4	116	120
Section		4	-	7	-	11	11

<u>Fannie Bay</u>							
3058		Marshall	Nat.	334			15.5
2223	72.7	Osgood	Ind.	84			3.9
2150	96.7	PERRON (S)	CLP	1030			47.9
73	3.3	Strider	Ind.	88			4.1
		Waters	Labor	614			28.6

(Fannie Bay contd next page)

(Fannie Bay contd)

Preferences:	Marshall	334 + 18 =	352 + 13 =	365	17.0
	Osgood	84			
	Perron	1030 + 42 =	1072 + 22 =	1094	50.8
	Strider	88 + 6 =	94		
	Waters	614 + 18 =	632 + 59 =	691	32.1

Polling Places	Nat.	Ind.	CLP	Ind.	Labor	Informal	Formal	Total
Parap	264	75	841	73	493	56	1746	1802
Stuart Park	46	3	100	8	63	7	220	227
Postal	13	4	53	2	25	3	97	100
Absent	10	2	36	4	31	6	83	89
Section	1	-	-	1	2	1	4	5

Flynn

2663	Anderson	Nat.	412	25.1
1696 63.7	HANRAHAN (S)	CLP	829	50.6
1640 96.7	Omond	Labor	399	24.3
56 3.3				

Polling Places	Nat.	CLP	Labor	Informal	Formal	Total
Flynn	242	495	234	27	971	998
Heavitree Gap	109	199	113	22	421	443
Postal	27	59	14	1	100	101
Absent	30	73	36	6	139	145
Section	4	3	2	-	9	9

Jingili

3190	Maschke	Nat.	444	17.9
2577 80.8	SETTER (S)	CLP	1108	44.5
2488 96.5	Wharton	Labor	936	37.6
89 3.5				

Preferences:	Maschke	444	
	Setter	1108 + 321 =	1429 57.4
	Wharton	936 + 123 =	1059 42.6

Polling Places	Nat.	CLP	Labor	Informal	Formal	Total
Moil	399	1024	861	81	2284	2365
Postal	23	38	33	4	94	98
Absent	18	39	36	4	93	97
Section	4	7	6	-	17	17

Karama

3364	Crompton	Labor	959	38.1
2667 79.3	PALMER (S)	CLP	1076	42.7
2518 94.4	Preston	Nat.	483	19.2
149 5.6				

Preferences:	Crompton	959 + 136 =	1095 43.5
	Palmer	1076 + 347 =	1423 56.5
	Preston	483	

Polling Places	Labor	CLP	Nat.	Informal	Formal	Total
Karama	874	967	430	140	2271	2411
Postal	21	44	20	1	85	86
Absent	61	60	29	7	150	157
Section	3	5	4	1	12	13

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(Table 4 contd)

<u>Katherine</u>						
2704	Forscutt	Nat.	545			28.7
1979 73.2	Maynard	ALP	497			26.2
1900 96.0	REED	CLP	858			45.2
79 4.0						

Preferences:	Forscutt	545 + 293 =	838	44.1	
	Maynard	497			
	Reed	858 + 204 =	1062	55.9	

Polling Places	Nat.	Labor	CLP	Informal	Formal	Total
Katherine (1694)]	478	429	761	70	1668	1738
Mataranka (44)						
Postal	22	20	40	2	82	84
Absent	44	43	54	6	141	147
Section	1	5	3	1	9	10

<u>Koolpinyah</u>						
2963	Ivinson	Labor	545			24.0
2312 78.0	Loftus	CLP	488			21.5
2269 98.1	Loveridge	Nat.	497			21.9
43 1.9	PADGHAM-PURICH (S)	Ind.	739			32.6

Preferences:	Ivinson	545 + 43 =	588		
	Loftus	488			
	Loveridge	497 + 115 =	612 + 96 =	708	31.2
	Padgham-Purich	739 + 330 =	1069 + 492 =	1561	68.8

Polling Places	Labor	CLP	Nat.	Ind.	Informal	Formal	Total
Howard Springs	211	228	217	293	18	949	967
Humpty Doo	255	194	184	325	17	958	975
Postal	46	43	64	93	1	246	247
Absent	30	20	31	26	7	107	114
Section	3	3	1	2	-	9	9

<u>Leanyer</u>						
3388	FINCH (S)	CLP	1105			43.0
2649 78.2	Lamb-Jenkins	Labor	996			38.7
2572 97.1	Wane	Nat.	471			18.3
77 2.9						

Preferences:	Finch	1105 + 342 =	1447	56.3	
	Lamb-Jenkins	996 + 129 =	1125	43.7	
	Wane	471			

Polling Places	CLP	Labor	Nat.	Informal	Formal	Total
Leanyer	987	889	422	72	2298	2370
Postal	48	38	19	1	105	106
Absent	66	66	27	3	159	162
Section	4	3	3	1	10	11

<u>Ludmilla</u>						
2992	Cross	Ind.	213			11.6
1899 63.5	FIRMIN (S)	CLP	749			40.8
1834 96.6	McMah	Labor	449			24.5
65 3.4	Thomas	Nat.	423			23.1

(Ludmilla contd next page)

(Ludmilla contd)

Preferences: Cross 213
 Firmin 749 + 94 = 843 + 369 = 1212 66.1
 McMahon 449 + 33 = 482
 Thomas 423 + 86 = 509 + 113 = 622 33.9

Polling Places	Ind.	CLP	Labor	Nat.	Informal	Formal	Total
Ludmilla	159	546	366	306	57	1377	1434
Berrimah	40	116	52	72	4	280	284
Postal	5	33	15	17	1	70	71
Absent	9	47	15	27	3	98	101
Section	-	7	1	1	-	9	9

Macdonnell

3108	BELL (S)	Labor	1116	72.6
1623 52.2	Davis	CLP	315	20.5
1537 94.7	Liddle	Nat.	106	6.9
86 5.3				

Polling Places	Labor	CLP	Nat.	Informal	Formal	Total
Papunya	148	10	1	6	159	165
Mobile 1	356	97	29	30	482	512
Mobile 2	472	72	16	37	560	597
Postal	43	102	41	3	186	189
Absent	92	33	19	9	144	153
Section	5	1	-	1	6	7

Millner

2979	Baban	CLP	533	25.5
2154 72.3	Foley	Nat.	263	12.9
2089 97.0	SMITH (S)	Labor	1293	61.9
65 3.0				

Polling Places	CLP	Nat.	Labor	Informal	Formal	Total
Millner	462	233	1195	53	1890	1943
Postal	28	5	36	1	69	70
Absent	42	22	59	11	123	134
Section	1	3	3	-	7	7

Nhulunbuy

3366	Crowhurst	Nat.	139	6.2
2315 68.8	Ellis	Ind.	429	19.0
2255 97.4	LEO (S)	Labor	1034	45.9
60 2.6	Steele-Wareham	CLP	653	29.0

Preferences: Crowhurst 139
 Ellis 429 + 49 = 478
 Leo 1034 + 16 = 1050 + 301 = 1351 59.9
 Steele-Wareham 653 + 74 = 727 + 177 = 904 40.1

Polling Places	Nat.	Ind.	Labor	CLP	Informal	Formal	Total
Nhulunbuy	78	387	550	481	35	1496	1531
Yirrkala	15	9	180	41	11	245	256
Mobile	30	9	255	82	10	376	386
Postal	2	14	13	23	-	52	52
Absent	12	10	27	24	3	73	76
Section	2	-	9	2	1	13	14

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(Table 4 contd)

<u>Nightcliff</u>								
3099		Brent		Nat.	272	13.5		
2099	67.7	HATTON (S)		CLP	1181	58.5		
2020	96.2	Rowell		Labor	567	28.1		
79	3.8							
<u>Palmerston</u>								
3371		COULTER (S)		CLP	1429	53.2		
2760	81.9	Henry		Labor	821	30.5		
2688	97.4	Ting		Nat.	438	16.3		
72	2.6							
<u>Port Darwin</u>								
2967		HARRIS (S)		CLP	975	53.2		
1899	64.0	Kearney		Labor	509	27.8		
1834	96.6	MacLean		Nat.	350	19.1		
65	3.4							
<u>Sadadeen</u>								
2766		Campbell		Labor	451	24.4		
1902	68.8	COLLINS (S)		Ind. CLP	762	41.3		
1845	97.0	Peterkin		Nat.	236	12.8		
57	3.0	Stone		CLP	396	21.5		
<u>Preferences:</u>								
		Campbell		451 + 13 = 464	25.2			
		Collins		762 + 184 = 946	51.3			
		Peterkin		236				
		Stone		396 + 39 = 435	23.6			
<u>Section</u>								
Section		Labor	Ind. CLP	Nat.	CLP	Informal	Formal	Total
Sadadeen		392	679	214	353	50	1638	1688
Postal		23	60	8	25	3	116	119
Absent		33	21	13	18	3	85	88
Section		3	2	1	-	1	6	7

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(Table 4 contd)

<u>Sanderson</u>					
2886		Armstrong	Nat.	372	15.7
2460	85.8	MANZIE (S)	CLP	1086	45.7
2375	96.5	McQueen	Labor	917	38.6
85	3.5				

Preferences:	Armstrong	372		
	Manzie	1086 + 282 = 1368	57.6	
	McQueen	917 + 90 = 1007	42.4	

Polling Places	Nat.	CLP	Labor	Informal	Formal	Total
Anula	330	964	846	76	2140	2216
Postal	14	52	23	1	89	90
Absent	26	68	45	7	139	146
Section	2	2	3	1	7	8

<u>Stuart</u>					
2738		Drennan	Nat.	156	12.3
1514	55.3	EDE (S)	Labor	690	55.0
1269	83.8	Forrester	Ind.	154	12.1
245	16.2	Sinclair	CLP	261	20.6

Polling Places	Nat.	Labor	Ind.	CLP	Informal	Formal	Total
Lajamanu	15	123	5	10	22	153	175
Mobile 1	33	314	72	59	89	478	567
Mobile 2	11	66	47	8	57	132	189
Mobile 3	25	67	16	74	39	182	221
Mobile 4	16	66	1	48	26	131	157
Postal	35	4	1	41	-	81	81
Absent	17	49	11	14	8	91	99
Section	4	9	1	7	4	21	25

<u>Victoria River</u>					
2592		Lawrence	Ind.	71	4.4
1689	65.2	McARTHUR (S)	CLP	936	58.4
1603	94.9	White	Labor	466	29.1
86	5.1	Wright	Nat.	130	8.1

Polling Places	Ind.	CLP	Labor	Nat.	Informal	Formal	Total
Adelaide River (66)}	8	149	79	23	3	259	262
Batchelor (196)							
Pine Creek	11	55	21	18	2	105	107
Mobile 1	18	79	163	19	43	279	322
Mobile 2	23	483	140	22	32	668	700
Postal	6	105	26	33	3	170	173
Absent	4	61	35	14	3	114	117
Section	1	4	2	1	-	8	8

<u>Wanguri</u>					
2864		Bevis	Nat.	586	24.2
2519	88.0	DALE (S)	CLP	1002	41.3
2424	96.2	McNab	Labor	836	34.5
95	3.8				

Preferences:	Bevis	586		
	Dale	1002 + 438 = 1440	59.4	
	McNab	836 + 148 = 984	40.6	

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(Wanguri contd)

Polling Places	Nat.	CLP	Labor	Informal	Formal	Total
Wanguri	473	813	657	66	1943	2009
Hospital	45	88	109	12	242	254
Postal	27	52	19	3	98	101
Absent	36	41	47	14	124	138
Section	5	8	4	-	17	17

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