#### Hawker Britton Public Affairs Solutions government relations strategic communications campaigns





# A GUIDE TO THE THIRD CARR GOVERNMENT 2003



The re-election of the Carr Government for a historic third four year term has brought with it unprecedented changes in the government sector. It is difficult to recall this level of change in ministerial and bureaucratic structures in NSW without there being a change in government.

In the expanded ministry of 21 members, nine are new faces. The formation of "mega ministries" has created some new and larger public departments and agencies while others have been radically restructured or abolished altogether. The change to bureaucratic structures has brought with it the elevation of some senior bureaucrats and the reassignment of others to new duties.

This guide seeks to explain these changes for people who work with the government in the media, the private sector and in non-government organisations. It covers the new Parliament (including Independent MPs) and new seat margins. It also provides updated ministry and shadow ministry lists and outlines some of the changes to departments and agencies. Because many of the departmental and agency changes have not been announced at the time of publication or may not be implemented until later in 2003, this information may need to be updated in the coming weeks and months.

Also included is a brief op-ed piece I authored for *The Australian* following the election with some analysis of the result.

For those readers not familiar with Hawker Britton, a short summary of our services is also included.

Please feel free to contact us on (02) 9241 2729 or visit our website, www.hawkerbritton.com.au

Bruce Hawker Managing Director

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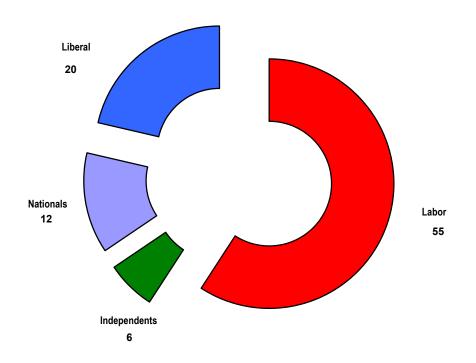
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# **Election Results**

On March 22, 2003, the Carr Government recorded a convincing third consecutive win to retain power in New South Wales. The majority in the Legislative Assembly remains almost unchanged, with the Carr Government gaining the seats of Camden and Monaro, but losing Clarence and the South Coast to the Coalition.

However, the Carr Government has increased its overall voting share since 1999, and the Liberal-National Coalition suffered an average swing of 4.5% in nine key marginal seats. Seats that were marginally held by Labor after 1999 – Maitland, Menai, Kogarah, Ryde, Georges River, and the vast Murray-Darling – are now comfortably safe Labor seats. Many commentators have suggested that it will take the Coalition more than one election to reverse these gains, giving the Carr Government even further prospects of electoral longevity.

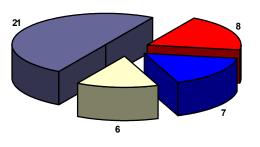
### Legislative Assembly

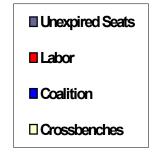


## Legislative Council

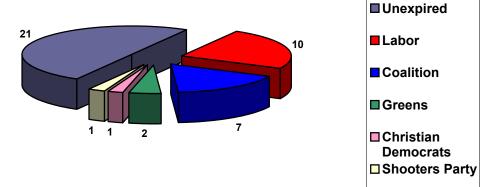
Members of the NSW Legislative Council are elected for a term of eight years, with half the seats vacated every four years. Minor parties still hold the balance of power in the Upper House, despite Labor picking up two extra seats.

#### Legislative Council Seats Vacated, March 22, 2003

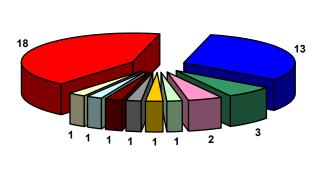




Legislative Council Seats Won, March 22, 2003



The New Legislative Council of the 53rd Parliament, April 2003



Labor
Coalition
Greens
Christian Democrats
Democrats
One Nation
Outdoor Recreation Party
Unity
Reform the Legal System
Shooters Party

	MARGIN	
ALP	WARGIN	OPPOSITION
Cabramatta (31.7)	20+	(32.8) Port Macquarie (Ind., Rob Oakeshott)
Liverpool (30.7) Bankstown (28.6)		(32.4) Northern Tablelands (Ind., Richard Torbav)
Smithfield (27.8)		(21.6) Ku-ring-gai (Lib)
Canterbury (27.6) Lakemba (27.4)		(21.2) Lachlan (Nat) (20.1) <mark>Pittwater</mark> (Lib)
Auburn (27.3)		
Fairfield, (27.0) Mount Druitt (26.8)		
lliawarra (24.8)		
Blacktown (24.5)		
Heffron (23.9) Maroubra (23.5)		
Macquarie Fields, Keira (vs. Greens) (22.5)		
Wallsend (20.7)		
Campbelltown (19.6) Granville (19.5)	15-20%	(19.7) <mark>Davidson</mark> (Lib) (17.8) Murrumbidgee (Nat)
Kogarah (19.2)		(16.2) Barwon (Nat)
East Hills (18.5) Mulgoa (17.9)		(15.4) Myall Lakes (Nat)
Wollongong (vs. Ind) (17.3)		
Kiama (16.9) Riverstone (16.1)		
Swansea, Rockdale (15.9)		
Strathfield (15.8)		
Ryde, Cessnock (15.5)		(14.7) Disk (Ind. Clayer Means)
Londonderry (by-election to be held 31 May) Wentworthville, Newcastle, Blue Mtns. (14.8)	10-15%	(14.7) Bligh (Ind., Clover Moore) (14.1) Hawkesbury (Lib)
Charlestown (14.7)		(13.7) Wagga (Lib)
Lake Macquarie (14.5) Bathurst (14.1)		(12.8) Lismore (Nat) (12.7) Upper Hunter (Nat), <mark>Wakehurst</mark> (Lib)
Georges River (13.7)		(12.3) North Shore (Lib)
Parramatta (13.4) Coogee (12.6)		(11.6) The Hills (Lib) (11.5) Albury (Lib vs. Ind.)
Wyong (11.1)		(10.3) Vaucluse (Lib)
Marrickville (vs. Greens) (10.7) Peats (9.7)		(40.0) Oxlov (Not)
The Entrance (9.6)	5-10%	(10.0) Oxley (Nat) (9.3) <mark>Cronulla</mark> (Lib)
Menai (9.5)		(9.0) Ballina (Nat)
Port Stephens (9.3) Miranda (9.1)	←	(7.6) Southern Highlands (Lib) (7.1) Orange (Nat)
Maitland (8.9)	9 Seat	(6.9) Coffs Harbour (Nat vs. Ind), Epping (Lib)
Heathcote, Drummoyne (8.7) Port Jackson (vs. Greens) (7.3)	Outright	(5.9) <mark>Baulkham Hills</mark> (Lib) (5.0) Dubbo (Ind., Tony McGrane)
Murray-Darling (6.7)	Majority	
Penrith (6.1)		
Camden (5.4) Tweed (3.8)		(4.1) Burrinjuck (Nat)
Monaro (3.3)	0-5%	(3.9) Bega (Lib)
		(3.2) Lane Cove (Lib) (3.1) Hornsby (Lib)
		(2.8) South Coast (Lib)
		(2.5) Tamworth (Ind., Peter Draper)
		(1.6) Clarence (Nat) (1.3) Manly (Ind., David Barr)
		(0.3) Gosford (Lib)
		(0.2) Willoughby (Lib vs. Ind)

#### **Electoral Pendulum**

# The New Ministry

The newly appointed ministers of the third Carr Government were sworn in 2 April, 2003. Key figures include Craig Knowles, John Della Bosca, Morris lemma, Frank Sartor and Michael Costa. Knowles takes on a "super ministry" which spans infrastructure, planning, and natural resources. He will be charged with reconciling the environmental and development concerns in Sydney and across the state, aided by a number of junior ministers. John Della Bosca retains his position as Special Minister of State, Minister for Industrial Relations, and Assistant Treasurer, adding the new Commerce ministry and the Central Coast to his portfolio. Morris lemma is elevated to Health, while Frank Sartor's brief covers Energy and Utilities, Science and Medical Research, Assistant Minister for Health (Cancer) and Assistant Minister for the Arts. Michael Costa switches to Transport from his high-profile Police portfolio.

Name:	Portfolio:
Bob Carr MP	Premier, Minister for the Arts, Minister for Citizenship
Andrew Refshauge MP	Deputy Premier, Minister for Education and Training, Minister for Aboriginal Affairs
Michael Egan MLC	Treasurer, Minister for State Development, Vice President of the Executive Council
John Della Bosca MLC	Special Minister of State, Minister for Commerce, Minister for Industrial Relations, Assistant Treasurer, Minister for the Central Coast
Craig Knowles MP	Minister for Infrastructure and Planning, Minister for Natural Resources
Bob Debus MP	Attorney General, Minister for the Environment
Carl Scully MP	Minister for Roads, Minister for Housing
Morris lemma MP	Minister for Health
Michael Costa MLC	Minister for Transport Services, Minister for the Hunter, Minister Assisting the Minister for Natural Resources (Forests)
John Watkins MP	Minister for Police
Carmel Tebbutt MLC	Minister for Community Services, Minister for Ageing, Minister for Disability Services, Minister for Youth
Frank Sartor MP	Minister for Energy and Utilities, Minister for Science and Medical Research, Minister Assisting the Minister for Health (Cancer), Minister assisting the Premier on the Arts
Sandra Nori MP	Minister for Tourism and Sport and Recreation, Minister for Women
Tony Kelly MLC	Minister for Rural Affairs, Minister for Local Government, Minister for Emergency Services, Minister Assisting the Minister for Natural Resources (Lands)
David Campbell MP	Minister for Regional Development, Minister for the Illawarra, Minister for Small Business
Ian McDonald MLC	Minister for Agriculture and Fisheries
Diane Beamer MP	Minister for Juvenile Justice, Minister for Western Sydney, Minister Assisting the Minster for Infrastructure and Planning (Planning Administration)
Reba Meagher MP	Minister for Fair Trading, Minister Assisting the Minister for Commerce
John Hatzistergos MLC	Minister for Justice, Minister Assisting the Premier on Citizenship
Grant McBride MP	Minister for Gaming and Racing
Kerry Hickey MP	Minister for Mineral Resources

### New Ministerial Arrangements

New Name:	Formerly Known As:
Minister for Infrastructure and Planning	Minister for Planning
Minister Assisting the Minister for Infrastructure and Planning	
(Planning Administration)	
Minister for Natural Resources	Minister for Land and Water
Minister Assisting the Minister for Natural Resources (Lands)	Conservation
	Minister for Information Technology
	(Natural resources legislation)
Minister for Natural Resources	Minister for Forestry
Minister Assisting the Minister for Natural Resources (Forests)	
Minister for Agriculture and Fisheries	Minister for Agriculture
	Minister for Fisheries
Minister for Commerce	Minister for Information Technology
	Minister for Public Works and Services
Minister for Transport Services	Minister for Transport
Minister for Energy and Utilities	Minister for Energy
Minister for Tourism and Sport and Recreation	Minister for Tourism
Minister for Justice	Minister for Corrective Services

### **New Departments**

These new arrangements are correct at time of printing. However, caution is advised, as not all arrangements have been announced, and many do not take effect until later this year.

New Departments:	Formerly known as:	Responsible to:
Department of Urban and	Department of Planning	- Craig Knowles, Minister for
Transport Planning		Infrastructure and Planning
		- Diane Beamer, Assistant Minister
		for Infrastructure and Planning
		(Planning Administration)
Department of	Department of Land and Water	- Craig Knowles, Minister for
Sustainable Natural	Conservation	Natural Resources
Resources		
Department of	- Department of Information	- John Della Bosca, Minister for
Commerce	Technology and Management	Commerce, Industrial Relations
	- Department of Fair Trading	- Reba Meagher, Minister for Fair
	- Department of Industrial Relations	Trading
	- Dep. of Public Works and Services	
Transport Coordination	Department of Transport	Michael Costa, Minister for
Authority		Transport Services
Department of Lands	<ul> <li>Department of Land and Water</li> </ul>	- Craig Knowles, Minister for
	Conservation	Natural Resources
	- Department of Information	- Tony Kelly, Assistant Minister for
	Technology and Management	Natural Resources (Lands)

# New Departmental Arrangements

Department:	Now responsible to:
Forestry Commission and State	- Craig Knowles, Minister for Natural Resources
Forests	- Michael Costa, Asst. Minister for Natural Resources (Forests)
National Parks Service	Bob Debus, Minister for the Environment
Motor Accidents Authority and	John Della Bosca, Minister for Commerce
WorkCover Authority	
Heritage Office	- Craig Knowles, Minister for Infrastructure and Planning
	- Diane Beamer, Assistant Minister for Infrastructure and
	Planning (Planning Administration)
Department of State and Regional	- Michael Egan, Treasurer
Development	- David Campbell, Minister for Regional Development, Minister
	for Small Business
Sydney Olympic Park Authority	Sandra Nori, Minister for Tourism and Sport and Recreation
Department of Corrective Services	John Hatzistergos, Minister for Justice
Commission for Children and Young	Carmel Tebbutt, Minister for Youth
People	

# New Agency Arrangements

As above, not all agency changes have been announced, and some may not take effect until later this year.

Name:	Formerly located in:	Now in:
Office of Information Technology	Department of Information Technology and Management	Department of Commerce
Resource and Conservation Division	Department of Planning	Department of Sustainable Natural Resources
Coastal Council	Department of Planning	Department of Sustainable Natural Resources
Infrastructure Co-ordination Unit	Premier's Department	Department of Urban and Transport Planning
State Water business unit, Town Water and Recycling Services, Fish River Water Supply Scheme	Department of Land and Water Conservation	Ministry of Energy and Utilities
Administration of <i>Crown Lands</i> <i>Act 1989</i> ; administration of <i>Roads Act 1993</i> ; minor ports unit; Soil Services Unit	Department of Land and Water Conservation	Department of Lands
Healthy Rivers Commission	Environment Protection Authority	Department of Sustainable Natural Resources
Transport Planning	Department of Transport	Department of Urban and Transport and Planning
Master Planning and Infrastructure	Transport NSW	Craig Knowles, Minister for Infrastructure and Planning
Centennial Park and Moore Park Trust	Premier's Department	Department of Sport and Recreation
Parramatta Park Trust and Regional Parks	National Parks and Wildlife Service	Department of Sport and Recreation
Asset and Procurement Policy	Department of Public Works and Services	Treasury
Forestry Industry Structural Adjustment Unit	Department of Information Technology and Management	Department of Sustainable Natural Resources
Office of Western Sydney	Department of Information Technology and Management	Department of State and Regional Development
Threatened Species Support Unit	National Parks and Wildlife Service	Department of Sustainable Natural Resources
NSW Fisheries Management	NSW Fisheries	Department of Sustainable Natural Resources
Surveyor General, Registrar General, Valuer General, Crown Lands for NSW, Spatial Information	Department of Information Technology and Management	Department of Lands and Rural Affairs

### Shadow Ministry

Nomo	Portfolio:
Name:	
John Brogden, MP	Leader of the Opposition, Shadow Treasurer, Shadow Minister for Ethnic
	Affairs
Andrew Stoner, MP	Leader of the National Party, Shadow Minister for Natural Resources,
	Shadow Minister for Regional Development
Barry O'Farrell, MP	Deputy Leader of the Opposition, Shadow Minister for Health, Shadow
	Special Minister of State
Donald Page, MP	Deputy Leader of the National Party, Shadow Minister for Roads, Shadow
	Minister for Housing
Andrew Tink, MP	Shadow Leader of the House, Shadow Attorney General, Shadow Minister
	Assisting the Leader on Ethnic Affairs
Chris Hartcher, MP	Shadow Minister for Commerce, Shadow Minister for Industrial Relations,
	Shadow Minister for the Central Coast
Jillian Skinner, MP	Shadow Minister for Education and Training, Shadow Minister for the Arts
George Souris, MP	Shadow Minister for Gaming and Racing, Shadow Minister for State
; ···; ····-	Development
lan Armstrong, MP	Shadow Minister for Tourism, Shadow Minister for Sport and Recreation
Brad Hazzard, MP	Shadow Minister for Energy and Utilities, Shadow Minister for Science and
,	Medical Research, Shadow Minister for Aboriginal Affairs
Peter Debnam, MP	Shadow Minister for Police
Andrew Humpherson,	Shadow Minister for Justice, Shadow Minister for Emergency Services
MP	
Michael Richardson, MP	Shadow Minister for Environment
Peta Seaton, MP	Shadow Minister for Infrastructure and Planning, Shadow Minister for the
	Illawarra, Shadow Minister for Reform of Government
Andrew Fraser, MP	Shadow Minister for Local Government, Shadow Minister for Rural Affairs
Katrina Hodgkinson, MP	Shadow Minister for Small Business, Shadow Minister for Fair Trading
Adrian Piccoli, MP	Shadow Minister for Mineral Resources, Shadow Minister Assisting the
	Leader of the National Party on Natural Resources, Shadow Minister Assisting the
	Assisting the Leader on Ethnic Affairs
John Ryan, MLC	Deputy Leader of the Liberal Party in the Legislative Council, Shadow
JUHH RYAH, MILU	
	Minister for Community, Shadow Minister for Ageing, Shadow Minister for
	Disability Services, Shadow Minister for Youth, Shadow Minister for Western
	Sydney

### Independents in the Legislative Assembly

MP: Clover Moore ELECTORATE: Bligh, Central-Eastern Sydney LOCATIONS: Darling Point, Woollahra, Edgecliff, Paddington, Woolloomooloo, Kings Cross, Surry Hills, Chippendale, Redfern, Centennial Park, Darlinghurst, Potts Point. MARGIN: 14.7% vs. ALP	<b>MORE INFO:</b> Clover Moore has held the inner-Sydney seat of Bligh since 1988. She is an outspoken critic of large developments, especially those which affect the city's residential areas. Other interests include environmental and heritage protection, burying overhead powerlines, crime prevention strategies, public transport, pedestrian networks, and the preservation of community services.	WUCLUS WITHOUT WITHOUT WITHOU
MP: David Barr ELECTORATE: Manly, Sydney Northern Beaches LOCATIONS: Manly, Manly Vale, Fairlight, Balgowlah, Clontarf, Seaforth, Harbord, Curl Curl, North Curl Curl, Brookvale, Queenscliff. MARGIN: 1.3% vs. LIB	MORE INFO: David Barr has held Manly since 1999, but the electorate has had an independent member since 1991. Barr's issues of concern include continued funding and relocation for Manly Hospital, the reopening of Seaforth TAFE, reducing pollution in Manly lagoon, reducing sewerage in Northern Beaches waters, opposition to the Northside Storage Tunnel, and preservation of North Head Quarantine Station. Barr's concerns also extend to public and private transport services for the Manly peninsula.	WARDNDAH WARDNDAH WARDNDAH WARDNDAH Wardn
MP: Tony McGrane ELECTORATE: Dubbo, Mid-West NSW LOCATIONS: Wellington, Dubbo, Narromine, Parkes. MARGIN: 5.0% vs. NAT	<b>MORE INFO:</b> Tony McGrane won Dubbo from the Nationals in 1999, on a knife-edge margin. His previous issues have included promoting public transport in the local area, improving services such as sewerage treatment, opposing the movement of nuclear waste through his electorate, reducing salinity, and addressing the falling population of young people.	ARWON AR

<ul> <li>MP: Rob Oakeshott</li> <li>ELECTORATE: Port Macquarie, Mid-North Coast</li> <li>LOCATIONS: Port Macquarie, Laurieton, Harrington, Coopernook, Bonny Hills, Lord Howe Island.</li> <li>MARGIN: 32.8% vs. NAT</li> </ul>	<b>MORE INFO:</b> Originally elected as a member of the National Party in 1996, Rob Oakeshott resigned to become an Independent in March 2002. At the time he claimed the Port Macquarie Branch of the National Party was being taken over by developers. His interests include improving local roads, health services and education; supporting senior citizens, and small business; and protecting the environment.	OLEV OLEV OLEV OLEV OLEV OLEV OLEV OLEV
NAME: Peter Draper ELECTORATE: Tamworth, New England Region DETAILS: Bendemeer, Gunnedah, Nundle, Tamworth, Walcha, Werris Creek. MARGIN: 2.5% vs. NAT	<b>MORE INFO:</b> Peter Draper has won the seat of Tamworth for the first time, against National MP John Cull. He is a former executive of the failed Hazelton Airlines company. From 1991 to 2001, the seat was held by the popular independent Tony Windsor.	WHERE HARTE
NAME: Richard Torbay ELECTORATE: Northern Tablelands, New England Region DETAILS: Armidale, Glen Innes, Guyra, Inverell, Tenterfield, Uralla. MARGIN: 32.4% vs. NAT	MORE INFO: Former Mayor of Armidale, Richard Torbay successfully contested this seat in 1999. His interests include improving regional investment, regional rescue services, water services; reducing crime; reducing environmental restrictions on rural industries; support for the New England University and support for local education.	VALLARDY WYERPELL WALLARDY WYERPELL WYE

### Commentary

#### Labor wins states by getting the basics right

Bruce Hawker, The Australian, 24 March 2003

DREAMS of a resurgent NSW Liberal Party were shattered on Saturday night. After four leaders in 11 years, great expectations were held for John Brogden.

In the end he actually led the coalition to a worse defeat than the disastrous Kerry Chikarovski campaign of 1999.

By contrast, Bob Carr has effectively rewritten the rule book on incumbency. Since 1988, when he took over the leadership of a discredited and demoralised Labor Party, Carr has increased his majority.

By all rights he should have been fighting for his government's life on Saturday. In recent years, state governments with similar longevity have always been defeated. For example, Richard Court's Liberals were defeated by Geoff Gallup after eight years; in Tasmania they lost to Jim Bacon after seven years; Jeff Kennett lasted seven years and Wayne Goss's Labor government went down to Rob Borbidge after only six years.

So how did Carr *increase* his majority? He went into the campaign with the fundamentals in pretty good order. He was able to boast seven consecutive balanced budgets, a strong law and order record (two issues which often bedevil Labor administrations) and could point to some achievements in the key portfolios of health, education and transport. He had also kept a close eye on the regions – unlike Kennett in 1999.

Perhaps more importantly, an increased sense of public unease about the looming Iraq war, compounded by September 11 and Bali, gave his long-term incumbency a boost. For once, the fact that a premier had been in office for eight years was a bonus. Juxtaposed against Carr's mature presence was the 33-year-old John Brogden, whose youthfulness was easily portrayed by Labor as "inexperienced".

#### "Bob Carr has effectively rewritten the rule book on incumbency."

There were other very real problems with the Liberal campaign. Brogden had an understandably low recognition level in the community. However, his team chose to refrain almost completely from paid television advertising until about 10 days before election day. Presumably this was because the Liberal machine had failed to properly fund their campaign. Accordingly, the Coalition lost a great opportunity to "fill out" their leader with paid media. Instead, at a time of mounting media fixation with Iraq, they relied almost exclusively on news coverage to promote Brogden. The result – a staggering 49 per cent of people polled one week before the election could not name the Liberal leader.

TODAY, Labor's stranglehold on state and territory governments remains unchallenged – while it still struggles in Canberra. There are numerous reasons for this imbalance but some contributing factors stand out. In the 1980s and early '90s state governments actively pursued policies of privatisation, downsizing, outsourcing and greater competition. All present Labor governments were elected on platforms that largely rejected these programs. In fact, the only time the Carr Government found itself in real trouble was when it briefly flirted with electricity privatisation in 1997. The increased majorities of the Labor governments in NSW, Queensland, Tasmania and Victoria have been built on a sometimes grudging public recognition that they have performed satisfactorily in the key votechanging areas of health, education, economic management and law and order.

Their successes have been furthered by quite hapless oppositions who seem to spend more time plotting the removal of their own leaders than the government. For example, Queensland now has its third Opposition Leader since Peter Beattie was elected; NSW has had three Liberal leaders during Carr's premiership and Victoria's Steve Bracks has had two in three years.

Ironically, another important factor in securing Labor wins at state level was One Nation. Just as the Greens Party has now emerged as a threat from the Left to Labor, Pauline Hanson and One Nation served to divide conservative voters between 1998 and 2001.

Borbidge's chances of winning the 2001 Queensland elections for the Nationals were completely blown away when his own party rejected his demand that One Nation be placed last on how-to-vote cards. Similar problems confronted the Liberals in the West Australian campaign that year and it even divided the conservative voters in the Northern Territory elections in August 2001.

All that came to an abrupt halt with Tampa and September 11. Federal Labor's ability to exploit One Nation evaporated overnight as Howard seized national security, border protection and immigration as votewinning election issues. Does anyone recall a debate in that campaign about putting One Nation last? Wedge politics, which had effectively divided conservatives, was now being used to separate Labor voters from each other and their party. In 2001, electorates in western Sydney and the NSW Central Coast, which last Saturday resoundingly voted Labor, were turning to Howard as never before.

Despite the Prime Minister's waning personal support over Iraq, we are yet to see the critical circuit-breaker that will drive them back to Labor. It is only two years since Kim Beazley's team won the blue-ribbon Liberal seat of Ryan – but it seems so long ago.

### Hawker Britton Services

Hawker Britton is Australia's only national and international public affairs company. With offices in all mainland state capitals, the United States, and Britain, Hawker Britton works with more than 100 companies, peak bodies, and not-for-profit organisations, managing government relations, strategic communications, and campaigns.

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Key services in Government Relations include:

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- Crisis management
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- Reputation management

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- Public affairs campaigns
- Corporate campaigns

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#### **Contact Hawker Britton**

If you require advice on any of these services, or on a specific project, contact Hawker Britton in your capital city, or visit www.hawkerbritton.com.au

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