

**Research Report Number 4
April 2004**

**Australian Federal Redistributions
1901 -2003**



CD ROM

In addition to this paper, a separate CD is available containing data on each electoral division for the redistributions since 1901. The data is voluminous and consequently has been copied to a CD ROM. The CD is available from the Research Section of the AEC.

This paper is also available in hard copy from the AEC

Enquiries

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What is a redistribution?

In Australia, an integral part of the federal electoral process is the periodic examination, and revision where necessary, of the electoral boundaries used to elect members of the House of Representatives. This examination and revision is called a redistribution. In a number of other countries the redistribution process is called redistricting. This particular report is about Commonwealth Parliamentary Electoral Provisions that have been used in Australia since Federation in 1901.

The Australian method of conducting a federal redistribution examines both mathematical formulae and community of interest issues. The current legislation, the *Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918* (the Act) provides that Electoral boundaries are redrawn with the objective that in three years and six months time after the redistribution, the number of electors in each division in a State or Territory will vary by no more than 3.5% from the then average divisional enrolment for that State or Territory. Second at the time of the redistribution is completed no more than a 10% deviation above or below the agreed enrolment quota for each electorate is allowed. The criteria used to determine this are explained in this paper.

Introduction

Why have a redistribution ?

In Australia redistributions are undertaken to ensure that, as nearly as is practicable, each State and Territory has representation in the House of Representatives in proportion to the State or Territory's population, and that there are, nearly as is practicable, the same number of electors in each electorate for a given State or Territory. If periodic redistributions were not undertaken the relative population of division would differ widely. For example Queensland has had a population growth rate that has seen an additional seat created for every redistribution held in that state since 1992. In the same period Victoria has lost 2 seats, South Australia lost 1 seat, and Western Australia gained 1 seat. In the same period the Australian Capital Territory gained an additional seat, which was abolished 3 years later due to population changes¹.

It is worth noting that states that were original signatories to the Act of Federation (New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and Tasmania) are guaranteed a minimum of 5 seats regardless of population, which is why Tasmania with a small elector population, currently 333,324 as at December 2003 has 5 seats whereas Victoria with an elector population of 3,255,581 in the same period, has 37 seats. If the average divisional enrolment used in Tasmania were applied to Victoria it would have approximately 50 seats.

Origins of the Australian Redistribution Process

The first distribution for federal parliament occurred in 1900 when 3 of the original states, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, as well as Western Australia, had electoral boundaries determined by their respective State Parliaments. However, the first distribution under actual federal legislation occurred in 1903 when Tasmania and South Australia had their single electorate abolished and multiple electorates created. For the first federal election in 1901, electors in Tasmania and South Australia voted as 1 division in each state.

Since Federation there have been 111 distribution/redistribution reports written which resulted in 2 initial distributions (South Australia and Tasmania)², 76 redistributions, 14 lapsed reports and 19 rejected reports. In addition there has been 1 revision to original boundaries (the Northern Territory in 2004). The redistribution summaries in this report only reflect the successful distributions and redistributions³. Between 1901 and 1984 the average time between redistributions was 8.8 years⁴. Since 1984 the time between redistributions has been reduced to a maximum of 7 years.

Since Federation there have been four significant procedural changes and one machinery of government change that has affected the Australian procedure for calculating and conducting a redistribution:

1948 The number of Senators was increased for the states from 5 to 10 for the original states thereby increasing the number of Members for all the states and territories, from 75 to 123. This initiated a general redistribution in all states.

¹ See Appendix Five for a complete list of all divisions created and abolished as a result of redistributions.

² New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland and Western Australia had their initial boundaries decided by their respective state parliaments prior to Federation.

³ See Appendix Two for a summary of distributions and redistributions since federation.

⁴ See Appendix Three for the frequency of redistributions held since federation.

1974 The permissible variation of the quota was reduced from 20 percent to 10 percent and The Northern Territory and the ACT each were entitled to 2 Senators to be elected at each general election.

1977 The High Court ruled that the 4 Senate places created in 1974 for the Australian Capital Territory and the Northern Territory could not be used for the purposes of calculating the number of Members for the House under the nexus provision of the Constitution. As a result the number of Members was reduced at the next election from 127 to 124⁵.

1983 The number of senators, for the original states, was increased from 10 to 12, bringing the total for all the states to 72, with 4 from the territories making a total of 76, although the territory Senators are not included in the calculation of Member entitlement. As a result the number of members increased from 125 to 148.

1984 The Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) was created as an independent Statutory Authority out of the then Australian Electoral Office. The most significant change was that the AEC, now being an independent government agency, is not subject to ministerial direction, as its predecessor was, and the AEC is charged solely with the responsibility of conducting a redistribution. Redistributions were no longer subject to approval or disapproval of the Parliament.

Parliamentary Procedure

Prior to the 1983 amendments to the legislation, redistributions were subject to the approval, by a resolution, of each house of Parliament. If either house disapproved or negated the proposal the Minister could direct a fresh redistribution report; such was the case in 1912, 1936, and 1968. There were also instances where Parliament took no final action regarding redistribution reports in 1905 and 1931 and one instance where a proposal was being debated but lapsed because of the dissolution of Parliament in 1962. There have also been several occasions where proposed boundaries were adopted but Parliament changed the proposed names of the divisions⁶.

The Nexus Provision

Section 24 of the Constitution requires that the number of Members of the House of Representatives must be twice the number of Senators, or as near as practicable. This provision is usually referred to as the nexus provision. This prevents the House of Representatives becoming at any time disproportionately large in relation to the Senate. The Parliament may legislate to change the number of the members of both Houses, and it has done so on two occasions since federation, in 1948 and again in 1983. It does this by changing the number of Senators representing each state, which automatically allows a proportionate change in the number of Members of the House of Representatives.

There are currently 150 Members of the House of Representatives (as at December 2003), just over twice the number of the Senators (72) who represent the six states⁷. The remaining 4 members represent the territories with 2 members elected from each territory.

The size of the Senate was 36 from 1901 until 1949; 60 from 1950 to 1975; 64 from 1976 to 1984; and 76 since 1985⁸. Since 1975, 4 senators have been elected at every House of Representatives election for the ACT and the Northern Territory.

⁵ I C Harris (Ed) *House of Representatives Practice 4th Edition* (Canberra: Department of the House of Representatives 2001) p. 84.

⁶ *ibid.* p. 88.

⁷ Senate Brief No. 1 July 1999 Electing Australia's Senators at <http://www.aph.gov.au/Senate/pubs/briefs/briefone.htm>

Timing of redistributions

Redistributions of the electoral boundaries take place periodically to ensure that all Australians receive equal representation in Parliament. Since 1983 the Act provides for three triggers for a redistribution of federal electoral boundaries. Under Section 59 of the Act a redistribution commences whenever the Electoral Commission publishes a direction in the *Commonwealth Gazette*. Such a direction is made when:

- the number of Parliamentary representatives to which a State or Territory is entitled to changes (population change)
- the number of electors in more than one-third of the divisions in a State or Territory deviates from the average divisional enrolment by over ten per cent for more than two consecutive months (malapportionment)
- seven years has elapsed since the last redistribution.

However, a direction under the last two circumstances will not be made if a State or Territory is already undergoing redistribution, or within the last 12 months of the life of a House of Representatives (that is, more than two years after its first meeting).

Calculation of Apportionment

The procedure for determining the apportionment (or entitlement) in the House of Representatives is contained in section 48 of the Act and section 24 of the Australian Constitution.

The Act requires that during the thirteenth month after the first meeting of the newly elected House of Representatives, the Electoral Commissioner ascertains the population of the Commonwealth (excluding the Territories) according to the latest official statistics available from the Australian Statistician. The Commissioner then makes a determination of the number of Parliamentary representatives to which each State is entitled. A similar exercise is used to calculate the entitlements of the Territories.

The calculation is as follows:

Step One:

The population of the six States is divided by twice the number of Senators for the States.

$$\frac{\text{Total population of the six States}}{(2 \times \text{number of Senators for the States} = 144)} = \text{Apportionment Quota}$$

For example the calculation of the Quota in February (the 13th month following the 1st day of sitting of the 40th Parliament) was as follows:

$$\frac{19\ 205\ 190}{(72 \times 2 = 144)} = 133\ 369.375$$

Step Two:

The population of the individual State or Territory is divided by the apportionment quota.

$$\frac{\text{Total population of individual State or Territory}}{\text{Quota}} = \text{Number of Members}$$

⁸ Harry Evans (Ed.) Odgers' Australian Senate Practice Tenth Edition (Canberra; Department of the Senate, 2001)p. 123.

For example the calculation of the entitlement which triggered the 2003 redistribution in Queensland was:

$$\frac{3\,729\,123}{133\,369.375} = 27.96086432$$

Applying the round up rule section 48 (2A) of the Act, Queensland was entitled to 28 seats, one additional seat.

Calculation of Malapportionment

Malapportionment occurs when an electorate contravenes the norm of equal representation according to the enrolment population. In effect, the value of votes in one or more electorate will differ from that in one or more other electorates. Malapportionment is possible only in electoral systems with more than one electoral constituency. Thus a proportional representation electoral system with only one national constituency like those in the Netherlands cannot be malapportioned.

Section 59 (10) of the Act states:

A reference in this section to a malapportioned Division is a reference to a Division in a State or the Australian Capital Territory in which the number of electors enrolled differs from the average divisional enrolment of the State or Territory to a greater extent than one-tenth more or one-tenth less.

In 1983 the Joint Standing Committee Inquiry assessed the degree of equality of Australia's electoral systems. Three measures of malapportionment were referred to in evidence. They were:

the David-Eisenberg Index

the Dauer-Kelsay Index

the Gini Index.

This report of the history of Australian redistributions cites all three indices. A detailed explanation of these indices appears in appendix one. A summary table containing population, enrolment and the three indices used is in appendix two.

Population Flux

In 2003, 3 redistribution processes commenced which resulted in 2 actual redistributions; Queensland and South Australia, and one revision; the Northern Territory. The Northern Territory did not undergo a Redistribution, but reverted to a single division as a result of the determination of entitlement made on 19 February 2003. The following tables show the population of Australia as required under the Act and the entitlement as a result of using the above formulae.

The Population⁹

State/Territory ¹	Number of people
New South Wales	6 657 478
Victoria	4 888 243
Queensland	3 729 123

⁹ Commissioner Issues Federal Electoral Determination Attachment One Redistribution backgrounder 20 February 2003 at http://www.aec.gov.au/_content/what/media_releases/2003/feb/att1.htm

Western Australia	1 934 508
South Australia	1 522 467
Tasmania	473 371
The Commonwealth ²	19 205 190
The Australian Capital Territory ³	322 871
Northern Territory ⁴	199 760

The Entitlement

The number of Members of the House of Representatives to be chosen in each State and Territory is determined by dividing the number of people in each State and Territory by the apportionment quota, and rounding the result to the nearest whole number.

State/Territory	Quotas	Number of members to be chosen	Change
New South Wales	49.9176	50	Nil
Victoria	36.6519	37	Nil
Queensland	27.9609	28	+1
Western Australia	14.5049	15	Nil
South Australia	11.4154	11	-1
Tasmania ⁵	3.5493	5	Nil
Australian Capital Territory	2.4209	2	Nil
Northern Territory	1.4978	1	-1
Total		149	Nil

Explanatory Notes regarding calculation of Population and Entitlement

Under section 38A of the Act, the Territory of Norfolk Island is not taken to be a Territory for the purposes of the determination, but certain Norfolk Island residents are included in the State and ACT population figures.

Under section 45 of the Act, the total number of the people of the Commonwealth does not include the numbers of people of the Territories.

Under section 4 of the Act, the population figure for the ACT includes Jervis Bay for the purposes of the determination.

Under section 48 (2C) of the Act, the population figure of the Northern Territory includes Cocos (Keeling) Islands and Christmas Island for the purposes of the determination.

Under section 24 of the Constitution, Tasmania is guaranteed a minimum of five Members.

Enrolment Deviation

At the end of each month the Electoral Commissioner must ascertain the enrolment in each division, calculate the average divisional enrolment for each State and Territory, and determine the extent to which each division's enrolment deviates from the average divisional enrolment for the relevant State or Territory. These statistics must be published in the *Government Gazette*. The statistics constitute one method¹⁰ of determining if a redistribution is required in a State or Territory

The Redistribution process

The procedures for conducting electoral redistributions are contained in parts III and IV of the Act and are summarised below.

Structure of the Redistribution Committee

A separate Redistribution Committee is established for each State or Territory in which a redistribution has commenced.

The Act requires that each Committee for a state must consist of the following:

- the Electoral Commissioner
- the Australian Electoral Officer (AEO) for the particular State
- the State Surveyor-General (SG) or the person holding an equivalent office
- The Auditor-General (AG) for the State or if unavailable a senior Australian public servant.

The members of the Redistribution Committee for the Australian Capital Territory are:

- the Electoral Commissioner
- the senior Divisional Returning Officer for the Territory
- the Surveyor-General of the Territory (or equivalent office holder)
- the Auditor-General of the Territory (or equivalent office holder).

The members of the Redistribution Committee for the Northern Territory are:

- the Electoral Commissioner
- the AEO for the Territory
- the Surveyor-General
- the Auditor-General or Territory equivalent.

Each Committee has the task of producing a proposed set of boundaries and names for electoral Divisions for the House of Representatives in that particular State or Territory. The Redistribution Committee for the State or Territory is formally appointed by the Electoral Commission.

¹⁰ A discussion of the triggers required to commence a redistribution are found on page 19

The Enrolment Quota

After the formal commencement of the redistribution, section 65 of the Act requires that the enrolment quota for the State is determined. The quota is determined by the Electoral Commissioner by dividing the number of persons enrolled in the State or Territory by the number of Members of the House of Representatives (ie the number of electoral divisions) to be chosen in the State or Territory and rounding to the nearest whole number.

The calculation is as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Number of electors enrolled in a State}}{\text{Number of Members of the House of Representatives to which a State is entitled}} = \text{Quota}$$

For example in 2003 in Queensland the calculation was:

$$\frac{2\,354\,176}{28} = 84\,078$$

There is a permissible margin of allowance, currently 10%, that the Redistribution Committee may use for calculating the number of electors that are to be assigned to each and every electoral division. Section 66 (3) states that:

the Redistribution Committee may adopt a margin of allowance, to be used whenever necessary, but in no case shall the quota be departed from to a greater extent than one-tenth more or one-tenth less

Thus the margin of allowance available to the Redistribution Committee for the 2003 Queensland redistribution was as follows:

Quota for Queensland	84 078
Permissible maximum number of electors (+10%) in a Division	92 485
Permissible minimum number of electors (-10%) in a Division	75 671

Public invited to make Suggestions and Comments

As soon as possible after the commencement of the redistribution, the Electoral Commissioner must publicly invite written suggestions to the redistribution and written comments to those suggestions. This is done by a notice published in the *Commonwealth Gazette* and in 2 major daily newspapers circulating throughout the State or Territory.

Suggestions must be lodged by 6pm on the fifth Friday after publication of the notice in the *Gazette*, and comments must be lodged by 6pm on the seventh Friday after publication. The suggestions are made available for public inspection and any comments may be lodged within 14 days.

The Redistribution Committee then considers the public suggestions and comments and develops a set of proposed boundaries. At the commencement of the redistribution, the enrolment in each proposed division may not deviate from the quota by more or less than 10%. The Committee also calculates the projected enrolment quota in three and half years' time. Their proposal must ensure, as far as practicable that at that date the enrolment of each division does not deviate from this projected enrolment by more than 3.5%.

Development of a redistribution proposal

Section 66 of the Act requires a Redistribution Committee to develop a set of proposals for dividing each State or territory into a number of divisions equal to its entitlement in the House of Representatives. In doing so the Committee must consider certain numerical constraints, namely that at projection time the number of electors of the state in each division would not be less than 96.5 percent or more than 103.5 percent.

Thus in Queensland the enrolment projection figures calculated were:

Number of Electors in Queensland as at 18 January 2002	2 354 176
Quota for Queensland	84 078
Projected number of electors in Queensland as at 31 July 2007	2 621 489
Average enrolment for Queensland projected at 31 July 2007	93 625
103.5% of average enrolment projected at 31 July 2007	96 901
96.5% of average enrolment projected at 31 July 2007	90 349

In addition to this mathematical requirement the Committee shall give due consideration to the following which are subordinate to the core mathematical requirement mentioned above.

- community of interests within the division, including economic, social and regional interests
- means of communication and travel within a division
- physical features and area
- existing boundaries of divisions

Three-and-a-half year Rule

Boundaries are drawn so that, as far as is practicable, three and a half years after the redistribution, the enrolment in each electoral division should not vary from the State average by more than 3.5%. However section 63A (3) of the Act (a new provision inserted in 1998), also allows for the Electoral Commission to reduce the mid point date when considering the projection time. This means that the mid-point may be less than three and a half years. This provision is used if there is a change in entitlements. The redistribution conducted in South Australia in 1999 was the first occasion that this new provision was used¹¹.

The Committees proposed redistribution is published and maps showing the suggested boundaries and names are publicly exhibited. The public has 28 days to lodge objections to the proposals. There is then a period of 14 days in which interested people and organisations may make comment on the objections.

¹¹ Gerard Newman and Andrew Kopras, 1999-2000 'Redistribution of Federal Electoral Boundaries' *Current Issues Brief Number 3* 2000-2001 Department of the Parliamentary Library at <http://www.aph.gov.au/library/pubs/CIB/2000-01/01cib03.htm>

Augmented Electoral Commission

After the receipt of written comments on the objections an augmented Electoral Commission for the State or Territory then considers these objections and any comments on the objections lodged. The augmented Electoral Commission for each State or Territory consists of the members of the Redistribution Committee for that State or Territory, plus the Chairperson (currently J C S Burchett QC) and the non-judicial member of the Electoral Commission (currently the Australian Statistician, Dennis Trewin).

The augmented Electoral Commission has 60 days to consider all objections (including initial and any further objections). It must hold a public inquiry into any objection unless it is of the opinion that the objection deals with matters which were covered in an earlier submission or comment, or is vexatious or frivolous.

After concluding its inquiries into initial objections and comments on the objections, the augmented Electoral Commission makes public its own proposed redistribution for the State or Territory. If its proposal differs significantly from the Redistribution Committee's proposal, it will invite further objections and hold an inquiry into any received.

Final determination

The augmented Electoral Commission makes a final determination of the names and boundaries of the electoral divisions into which the State or Territory is to be distributed by notice published in the *Commonwealth Gazette*. Such a determination must be made as soon as practicable after all objections have been considered.

Tabling in Parliament

Section 75 of the Act requires the Electoral Commission to forward the responsible Minister (the Special Minister of State) a copy of:

- the suggestions relating to the redistribution of the State or Territory lodged with the Redistribution Committee for the State or Territory
- the comments lodged with the Redistribution Committee
- the proposed redistribution made by the Redistribution Committee and its reasons for the proposed redistribution;
- if a member of the Redistribution Committee has stated in writing the reasons for his or her disagreement with the proposed redistribution—those reasons
- the objections and comments lodged with the Electoral Commission
- the written record (if any) of the proceedings at any inquiry as a result of objections received
- the determination of the augmented Electoral Commission and its reasons for the determination
- if a member of the augmented Electoral Commission has stated in writing the reasons for his or her disagreement with the determination made by the augmented Electoral Commission—those reasons.

This copy is tabled in both Houses of Parliament by the Special Minister of State within 5 sitting days of receiving them and neither the Parliament nor the Minister has any power to reject or amend the final determination of an augmented Electoral Commission.

Commencement date of new boundaries

The enrolment of new electors and changes to existing enrolments are implemented immediately following the determination of new boundaries. However, for the purpose of electing Members of Parliament, the new boundaries do not come into effect until the next federal election.

If the writ for an election were issued before the gazettal of the new boundaries, it would be contested on the old boundaries. If a redistribution was occurring due to a change of entitlement, a mini redistribution would be held. Similarly, if a by-election is held prior to the next federal election, the by-election will be conducted on existing boundaries, not the redistributed boundaries.

Guidelines for the naming of electoral divisions

In 1986, the *Joint Select Committee on Electoral Reform* issued a new set of guidelines on the naming of electoral divisions. These are set out in Recommendation 14 of the report and are paraphrased below:

In the naming of electoral divisions the following guidelines should be observed:

Naming after persons

- That, in the main, divisions be named after former citizens who have rendered outstanding service to their country and that every effort be made to retain the names of original Federation divisions. That, when new divisions are created, the names of former Prime Ministers be considered.

Geographical Names

- That locality or place names should generally be avoided but in certain areas the use of geographical features may be appropriate (eg Eden-Monaro or Riverina).

Aboriginal names

- That Aboriginal names should be used where appropriate and, as far as possible, the names of existing divisions with Aboriginal names should be retained.

Other criteria

- That the names of Commonwealth divisions should not duplicate existing State divisions and discussions between the Commonwealth and State Electoral Officers should take place on this question.
- That qualifying names (eg North Sydney, Melbourne Ports, Port Adelaide) should be used where appropriate.
- That names of divisions should not be changed or transferred to new areas without very strong reasons.
- That, when two or more divisions are partially combined at a redistribution, as far as possible the name of the new division should be that of the old division which has the greatest number of electors within the new boundaries.

The Redistribution timetable

Electoral Commission directs redistribution to commence	<i>Commences as per Section 59 of the Act</i>
Quota of Electors is determined	<i>As soon as possible</i>
Electoral Commissioner invites written suggestions from public	<i>As soon as possible</i>
Appointment of Redistribution Committee	<i>As soon as possible</i>
Public Suggestions invited	<i>As soon as possible</i>
Closing date for Public Suggestions	<i>5th Friday after invitation</i>
Suggestions available for public comments	<i>5th Monday after invitation</i>
Closing date for written comments on public suggestions	<i>7th Friday after invitation</i>
Redistribution Committee considers suggestions and comments and develops a set of boundary proposals	<i>No time specified</i>
Redistribution Committee publishes and exhibits maps showing proposed boundaries and names	<i>No time specified</i>
Public objections to proposals invited	<i>As soon as possible</i>
Closing date for written objections to proposal	<i>4th Friday after invitation</i>
Objections available for public comments	<i>5th Monday after invitation</i>
Closing date for written comments on objections	<i>6th Friday after invitation</i>
Augmented Electoral Commission considers objections.	<i>60 days from closing date of comments on objections</i>
Augmented Electoral Commission makes final proposal (open hearings)	<i>As soon as possible</i>
Final determination (Redistribution completed)	<i>As soon as possible</i>

Dates of final determinations of Distributions & Redistributions 1900 – 2003

	NSW	VIC	QLD	WA	SA	TAS	ACT	NT
1900	11 Dec	26 Sep	04 Dec	05 Dec				
1903					02 Oct	02 Oct		
1906	13 Jul	13 Jul	13 Jul	13 Jul				
1913	27 Feb	01 Feb	01 Feb	01 Feb				
1922	13 Sep	04 Oct	13 Sep	13 Sep	13 Sep	13 Sep		
1934	01 Aug		01 Aug		01 Aug			
1937		21 Jul		28 Jul				
1949	11 May							
1955	30 Aug	10 Aug	10 Aug	10 Aug	19 Oct	30 Aug		
1968	21 Nov	21 Nov		21 Nov	21 Nov	21 Nov		
1969			27 Feb					
1974				19 Apr			19 Apr	
1977	31 Oct	31 Oct	31 Oct	07 Nov	31 Oct	31 Oct		
1980				28 Feb				
1984	11 Oct	14 Sep	13 Sep	31 Aug	03 Sep	12 Sep	23 Aug	
1989		05 Jun		31 Mar				
1992	31 Jan		28 Jan		17 Jan	01 Apr	23 Mar	
1994		20 Dec	01 Dec				30 Sep	
1997			10 Dec	06 Mar			10 Dec	
1999					13 Aug			
2000	11 Feb			20 Nov		11 Feb		21 Dec
2003		29 Jan	25 Nov		17 Dec			*19 Feb

* The Northern Territory did not undergo a Redistribution, but reverted to a single division as a result of the determination of entitlement made on the 19 February 2003.

Legislative changes affecting redistributions

Introduction

Since the introduction of the first Commonwealth electoral act in 1902, legislation remained relatively constant until the passing of the 1983 amendments to the *Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918*. Redistribution procedures were prescribed in a number of amendments to Commonwealth electoral legislation. To fully understand the amendments of 1983, and subsequent years, in context, it is first necessary to outline the provisions applying to redistributions before then. The following is a brief description of redistribution provisions and amendments prior to the 1983 changes

Brief summary of legislative changes (1900-1983)

Australian Constitution

Section 24 sets out the method of establishing the number of Members of the House of Representatives to be elected in each State.

A quota is ascertained by dividing the number of people of the Commonwealth, as shown by the latest statistics of the Commonwealth, by twice the number of Senators. The number of Members for each State is determined by dividing the number of people for the State, as shown by the latest statistics of the Commonwealth, by the quota. Where there is a remainder greater than one-half of a quota, one more Member shall be chosen.

Commonwealth Electoral Act 1902

Although this was the seminal federal Electoral Act there is no reference to the numbers of Members or numbers of people of the Commonwealth in this Act.

Representation Act 1905

This Act set up Enumeration Days which were deemed to be the day on which any census of the people of the Commonwealth was taken. The Chief Electoral Officer (CEO) is also entitled to set up other Enumeration days as follows: The first enumeration day shall be appointed as soon as possible after the commencement of the Act and after the first census taken after the commencement of this Act an enumeration day shall be appointed at the expiration of every fifth year after the preceding enumeration day.

A Certificate of the numbers of people (Schedule B) was done on Enumeration Day and sent to the Minister, then laid before both Houses, and gazetted forthwith. Once completed, the CEO would immediately determine the numbers of Members and forward a notification to the Minister.

Representation Act 1916, amended previous Act to Representation Act 1905-1916

Amendments cancelled the Enumeration Day scheduled for 1916 on the basis that the only change would have been that SA would have lost one seat by a small margin and the enumeration might not be fair with so many men away at war.

Representation Act 1930, amended previous Act to Representation Act 1905-1930

Amendments cancelled the Enumeration Day scheduled for 1930 because of the postponement of the 1931 Census till 1933.

Representation Act 1938, amended previous Act to Representation Act 1905-1938

Amendments removed the requirement to have an Enumeration Day five years after each Census. From 1931, the requirement to hold a Census in the first year of every decade was waved and Censuses were held in 1933, 1947, 1954 and 1961. From 1961, a Census has been

held every five years. It also removed the need to apply a formula (previously Schedule A to the Act) to adjust for likely emigrations from and immigrations to particular states when producing a certificate of the numbers of people of the states and the Commonwealth.

Representation Act 1948

This was a new and additional Act increasing the number of Senators to ten for each original state, thereby increasing the Members of the House of Representatives for the states to 120. It did not alter the provisions of the Representation Act 1905-1938.

Representation Act 1964, amended previous Act to Representation Act 1905-1964

Amendments permitted an increase in the number of Members for a particular state when the proportion exceeded a quota, rather than a quota and a half as previously. The 1961 determination of entitlements by the Chief Electoral Officer was set aside.

Representation Act 1973, amended previous Act to Representation Act 1905-1973

Amendments clarified that the people of the Commonwealth does not include the people of any territory. The certificate of the Chief Electoral Officer showing the people of the Commonwealth and of the several states was to be laid before each House of the Parliament within fifteen sitting days.

The permissible variation in the number of electors in a division was reduced from 20% to 10% by the Commonwealth Electoral Act (No 2) 1973.

Representation Amendment Act 1977, amending Representation Act 1905 (the naming convention for Acts had changed to refer to original year only)

This Act provided that the Chief Australian Electoral Officer was to make a determination of the numbers of people of the Commonwealth and the several states in the twelfth month of each House of Representatives. The entitlement to a gain of a seat reverted to those instances when a state exceeded a quota and a half.

First Mandatory Requirement introduced

The *Commonwealth Electoral Amendment Act 1977* (No 14 of 1977) introduced a mandatory requirement for a redistribution into Commonwealth electoral legislation for the first time. Prior to this amendment redistribution requirements were non-mandatory.

The Amendment required that a Proclamation directing a redistribution of a State shall be made if there was an alteration to the number of members of the House of Representatives to be chosen for the State. The *Representation Amendment Act 1977* (No 16 of 1977) specified that each State's entitlement was to be determined in the twelfth month of the life of a House of Representatives.

Non-mandatory grounds for a redistribution

The 1977 legislation also included two non-mandatory grounds for a redistribution:

1. Whenever in one-fourth of the Divisions of a State the number of electors differed for a quota (average divisional enrolment) by a greater extent than one-tenth more or one-tenth less, and
2. At such times as the Governor-General thinks fit.

Redistributions were conducted by special Distribution Commissioners appointed for the purpose by the Governor-General. The Distribution Commissioners were required to invite written suggestions and written comments on suggestions.

In drawing boundaries the Commissioners were to ensure that in no case shall the number of electors in a proposed Division be greater than one-tenth more or one-tenth less than the quota. A form of rural weighting was reintroduced by the 1977 amendment with the inclusion of a clause that the number of electors in territorially large Divisions (area of 5000 square

kilometres or more) shall not be smaller than the number of electors in territorially small Divisions (area of less than 5000 square kilometres).

After due consideration and allowing for comment on proposed boundaries the Distribution Commissioners should prepare a report for the Minister. The Minister was required to lay the report before both house of Parliament for consideration. Parliament could approve, disapprove or request a fresh distribution. If both house of Parliament passed a resolution approving the proposed distribution the Governor-General would, as soon as practicable, proclaim the names and boundaries of Divisions.

Brief summary of legislative changes (1983-1998)

1983 Amendments

In 1983 the Joint Select Committee on Electoral Reform issued a report proposing sweeping changes to Commonwealth electoral legislation. The Committee's recommendations formed the basis for the *Commonwealth Electoral Legislation Amendment Act 1983* (referred to as the 1984 changes as the legislation came into effect in 1984). A comparative table of the most significant changes (1977-1998) is in appendix four.

The 1983 Act fundamentally changed the way Commonwealth electoral redistributions are conducted. The most important changes were:

- inclusion of a requirement for a redistribution to be held at least every seven years
- removal of the Government's discretion to hold a redistribution
- removal of the requirement for Parliamentary approval of a redistribution,
- abolition of rural weighting
- insertion of an enrolment projection criteria, and
- insertion of provisions for a mini-redistribution

The effect of the 1983 amendments was to remove the possibility of partisanship from the redistribution process by establishing mandatory grounds for triggering redistributions and by removing the government's discretion as to holding or not holding a redistribution. The impartiality of the process was further enhanced by removing the requirement for the Parliament to approve or disapprove a redistribution.

Three Mandatory Triggers

The 1983 amendments established three mandatory triggers for a redistribution in a State or the ACT:

- When there is an alteration to the number of members of the House of Representatives that a State or ACT is entitled to (entitlements criterion)
- When the enrolment in more than one-third of the Divisions of a State or the ACT vary from the average divisional enrolment by a greater extent than one-tenth more or one-tenth less for more than two months (malapportionment criterion)
- If a period of 7 years has elapsed since the State or the ACT was last redistributed (seven-year criterion).

It is worth noting that of the 27 redistributions commenced in the States and Territories from 1983 to 2003 none have been triggered by the malapportionment criterion.

Numerical Requirements

Since the 1983 amendments the overriding consideration for Redistribution Committees has been one of complying with the strict numerical requirements. The 1983 amendments required that Redistribution Committees draw boundaries so that no division varied by more than ten percent above or below the quota at the time of the redistribution and to endeavour to ensure that, as far as practicable, three and a half years after the redistribution the number of electors enrolled in each division would be equal.

The insertion of the enrolment projection criterion placed a considerable burden on Redistribution Committees to accurately project future enrolments. Within the strict enrolment criteria the Redistribution Committees were to give due consideration to the following: community of interests, means of communication and travel, trend in population changes, physical features and area, and existing boundaries. After due consideration of suggestions and comments the Redistribution Committee prepares a set of proposed boundaries. The proposed boundaries are then subject to a further round of comment and submissions. Consideration of these comments and submissions is undertaken by an augmented Electoral Commission that makes the final determination on the redistributed boundaries. Approval by Parliament is no longer required.

Mini Redistribution Amendment

The 1983 amendments inserted a provision for a mini-redistribution to occur if an election was called and the number of divisions in a state or the ACT is different from the number of divisions it is entitled to. The mini-redistribution involved arranging all the contiguous pairs of divisions in the state or ACT in order of their enrolment. If a state is entitled to an additional division then the pair of contiguous divisions with the greatest enrolment are divided into three divisions. If the state or ACT is entitled to one less division then the pair of contiguous divisions with the least enrolment are combined. The mini-redistribution provision was inserted to overcome the difficulties in administering the previous requirement for an election at large (State as one electorate) if there was a discrepancy between the number of divisions in a State and the State's entitlements.

1987 Amendments

The enrolment projection criterion was eased by amendments to the Act in 1987 that reduced the onus on the Redistribution Committees to achieve equality in future enrolments. With the 1987 amendments Redistribution Committees were required to endeavour to ensure that, three and a half years after the redistribution, the number of electors in each proposed division would not be less than 98% or more than 102% of the average divisional enrolment.

As a consequence of the easing of the projection criterion the requirement for the Redistribution Committee to give due consideration to the trend in population changes in the State was removed.

1998 Amendments

In 1995 the Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters conducted an inquiry into the redistribution provisions of the Act. A number of the Committee's recommendations were implemented in amendments to the Act in 1998. The amendments covered the projection time for enrolment projections, the time at which enrolment projections are to be made available, the allowable tolerance for enrolment projections, and the matters for consideration.

The strict numerical criteria specified in section 66 of the Act ensure that redistributions carried out under this legislation are first and foremost mathematical exercises and can often inhibit due consideration of other qualitative criteria. In an attempt to make the process more flexible the Act was amended in 1998.

New Provision

The 1998 amendments inserted a new provision (Section 63(A)) into the Act that allows the Electoral Commission to vary the end period for enrolment projections if the Commission is of the opinion that the State or ACT will or may require a further redistribution as a result of a change in entitlements sooner than seven years after the starting date for the projection. This provision was used in the redistribution of South Australia in 1999.

The amendments also allow the Electoral Commissioner to determine the quota for a state or ACT as soon as practicable after the redistribution commences (Subsection 65(2)). Prior to this amendment the quota was determined 14 days after the closing date for written submissions. Thus submissions had to be prepared in ignorance of the quota requirements.

Increased Allowable Variation

An additional amendments section 66 (3)(a)) further eased the enrolment projection requirements by increasing the allowable variation from the average enrolment at the projection date from 2% to 3.5%. Thus the projected enrolment for divisions can now vary from the average by not less than 96.5% and not more than 103.5%. The matters to be considered by the Redistribution Committee were also altered to make the boundaries of existing divisions subordinate to the other matters to be considered (Subsection 66 (3A)).

Determination of Entitlements

During the period 1983 to 1998 a number of minor changes have been made to the date when a determination of entitlements is to be made.

Under the Representation Act 1977 a determination of each States' entitlements was to be made within 30 days of the expiration of a period of eleven months after the date of first meeting of a House of Representatives.

The 1983 Act changed the allowable time period for making the determination from 30 days to one month.

The 1987 Act changed the date when a determination was to be made from eleven months after the first meeting to nine months. This time period was increased from nine months to twelve months by the 1998 Act, so that the determination is made in the 13th Month of the new Parliament

Northern Territory

Although the Northern Territory is not explicitly mentioned in the redistribution provisions outlined above, these provisions apply to the Northern Territory by virtue of an amendment in 1990 *Electoral and Referendum Amendment Act 1989*, No 24 of 1990.

Appendix One: Measures of Malapportionment

David-Eisenberg Index

The David-Eisenberg Index is calculated as the ratio of the largest electorate (in terms of enrolment size) to the smallest. Therefore, the greater the variation between the largest and smallest electorate, the higher would be the Index measure. The following calculation illustrates the David-Eisenberg Index:

Illustration of the David-Eisenberg Index

State	Smallest	Largest	David-Eisenberg Index
	(a)	(b)	(b/a)
South Australia (1934)	48,511	61,563	1.2691

The closer the final calculation is to 1.0, the more equal is the variation. Obviously this index is not capable of use in a situation where there are only 2 electorates, as is currently the case in the Australian Capital Territory and the Northern Territory.

Dauer-Kelsay Index

The Dauer-Kelsay Index is the smallest percentage of the total enrolment contained in the electorates required to produce a majority in the legislature.

It is calculated by listing electorates in ascending size of enrolment, then going up the list until a majority of electorates has been taken and then calculating the enrolment totalled to that point as a percentage of the enrolment for the whole legislature.

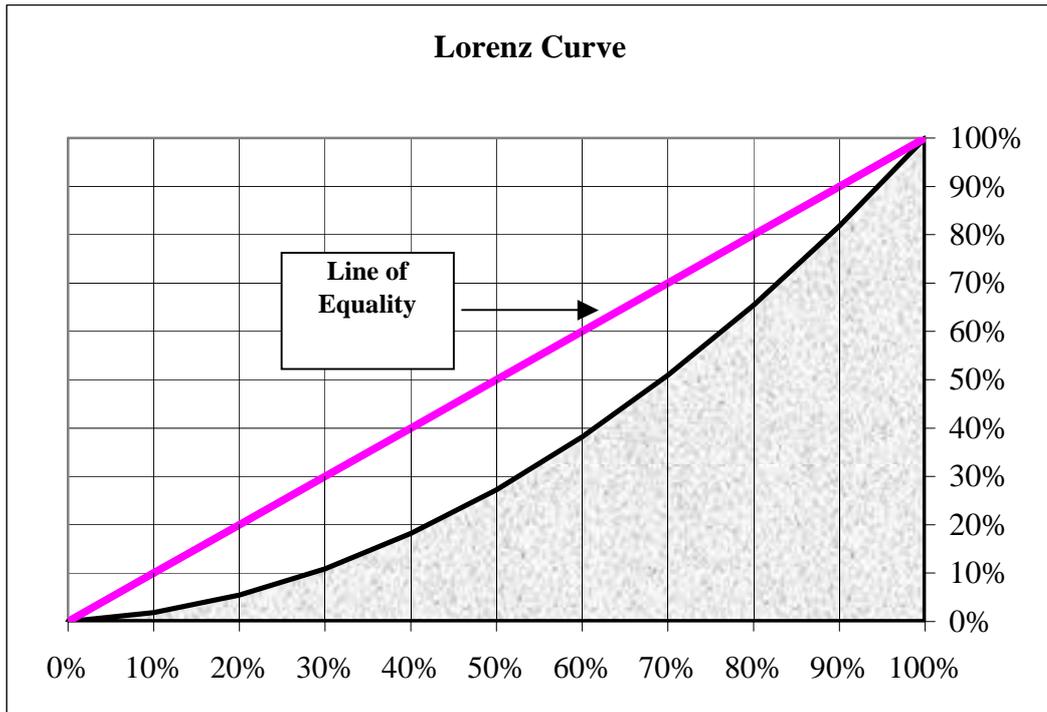
The closer the index result is to 0.5 the more equal the calculation.

Gini Index

The Gini Index is a general measure of inequality in the social sciences. The closer the index is to 0.0 the more equal the calculation is.

This is best explained by reference to the following hypothetical example where the axes of the diagram are the number of seats (horizontal) and the enrolments (vertical). In the following example if voters were equally apportioned amongst the number of seats available 20 percent of voters would have been located in 20 percent of the seats, 40 percent in 40 percent seats and so on. Such a distribution is shown by the 'line of equality'.

However, in this example voters are not equally apportioned and the plotting of the enrolments and seats (beginning with the smallest and moving to the largest) produces a curve, the 'Lorenz Curve'. The curve meets the line of equality at the top right of the diagram where 100 percent of the enrolments are contained within all of the seats.



The Gini Index is calculated as the ratio of the shaded area between the line of equality and the Lorenz Curve to the hatched triangular area to the right of the line of equality. The scale of the Gini Index ranges from zero for an equal electoral distribution to unity (1.000) for a malapportioned distribution so extreme that all electors are located in only one of the electoral districts.

In 1983 the Joint Standing Committee Inquiry necessitated that the Committee assess the equality of Australia's electoral systems. Three measures of malapportionment were referred to in evidence. While the Committee made use of the David-Eisenberg Index and the Dauer-Kelsay Index, the Gini Index was more commonly referred to in submissions. The Committee also noted comments made previously by the then Electoral Commissioner, Professor Colin Hughes, that the Gini Index was regarded as a better measure of equality:

The curve and the (shaded) area between the curve and the line of equality are better measures of deviation from equality across the whole range of electorates than either (the David-Eisenberg Index or the Dauer-Kelsay Index) because the location of each electorate in relation to the line of equality is measured.¹²

¹² Colin A. Hughes, *A Handbook of Australian Politics and Government*, (Canberra: ANU Press) 1977, p. 129.

Appendix Two: Summary Tables

Redistribution Year	Australian Population (includes territories)	State	State/Territory Population	Electoral Population	Number of Divisions Created	Gini Index	David-Eisenberg Index	Dauer-Kelsay Index
1901	3,826,286	NSW	1,354,846	318,116	26	0.0852	1.6078	0.4736
		VIC	1,201,070	257,008	23	0.0625	1.3477	0.5272
		QLD	498,129	105,144	9	0.0572	1.3309	0.5089
		WA	184,124	87,920	5	0.0362	1.2327	0.5750
1903	3,916,592	SA	368,821	165,188	7	0.0310	1.2265	0.5515
		TAS	179,480	80,447	5	0.0244	1.144	0.5832
1906	4,119,481	NSW	1,526,697	673,282	27	0.0446	1.3066	0.4861
		VIC	1,231,940	616,426	22	0.0302	1.1766	0.5821
		QLD	535,113	234,172	9	0.0520	1.3112	0.5164
		WA	261,746	116,199	5	0.0208	1.1060	0.5828
1913	4,872,059	NSW	1,831,716	936,104	27	0.0464	1.2842	0.4815
		VIC	1,412,119	727,601	20	0.0211	1.1395	0.5088
		QLD	660,158	313,870	10	0.0326	1.2274	0.5774
		WA	320,684	151,953	5	0.0081	1.0502	0.5948
1922	5,633,281	NSW	2,172,932	1,105,380	28	0.0266	1.1839	0.5157
		VIC	1,590,225	855,784	20	0.0392	1.2518	0.5204
		QLD	788,290	391,709	10	0.0384	1.1211	0.5760
		WA	343,608	167,095	5	0.0172	1.0758	0.5852
		SA	513,194	274,183	7	0.0275	1.1753	0.6503
		TAS	218,924	108,618	5	0.0155	1.0783	0.5877
1934	6,705,677	NSW	2,636,203	1,487,206	28	0.0272	1.1638	0.5502

Redistribution Year	Australian Population (includes territories)	State	State/Territory Population	Elector Population	Number of Divisions Created	Gini Index	David-Eisenberg Index	Dauer-Kelsay Index
		QLD	959,497	514,468	10	0.0257	1.1389	0.5798
		SA	584,294	342,019	6	0.0470	1.2691	0.6401
1937	6,866,590	VIC	1,859,487	1,067,430	20	0.0415	1.2183	0.5148
		WA	457,111	247,355	5	0.0639	1.3639	0.5476
1949	8,050,882	NSW	3,175,935	1,880,779	47	0.0226	1.2184	0.4921
		VIC	2,164,331	1,351,853	33	0.0114	1.2785	0.4689
		QLD	1,160,300	669,555	18	0.0411	1.2783	0.5264
		WA	544,815	301,223	8	0.0633	1.3524	0.5812
		SA	687,873	422,809	10	0.0220	1.1329	0.4829
		TAS	284,245	157,668	5	0.0186	1.0953	0.5873
1955	9,313,291	NSW	3,525,923	2,000,209	46	0.0241	1.1985	0.515
		VIC	2,555,021	1,418,870	33	0.0179	1.1745	0.5029
		QLD	1,350,684	743,574	18	0.0385	1.3649	0.5309
		WA	670,750	336,403	9	0.0416	1.2707	0.5238
		SA	834,635	458,389	11	0.0254	1.2419	0.4373
		TAS	325,801	173,056	5	0.0404	1.2675	0.5728
1968	12,173,300	NSW	430,200	2,376,220	45	0.0508	1.4016	0.4724
		VIC	3,356,900	1,756,943	34	0.0147	1.2809	0.4977
		WA	930,800	459,422	9	0.0606	1.4229	0.511
		SA	1,136,400	608,821	12	0.0384	1.2250	0.5521
		TAS	386,000	203,424	5	0.0237	1.1536	0.5856
1969	12,446,027	QLD	1,785,394	912,858	18	0.0517	1.4148	0.4624
1974	13,485,027	WA	1,118,350	574,028	10	0.0531	1.3515	0.5549
		ACT	186,326	97,127	2	0.0029	1.0118	N/A

Redistribution Year	Australian Population (includes territories)	State	State/Territory Population	Elector Population	Number of Divisions Created	Gini Index	David-Eisenberg Index	Dauer-Kelsay Index
1977	14,074,100	NSW	4,956,700	3,059,402	43	0.0152	1.0870	0.5003
		VIC	3,782,300	2,301,695	33	0.0284	1.1526	0.4939
		QLD	2,136,800	1,251,659	19	0.0145	1.1002	0.516
		WA	1,197,100	694,432	10	0.0219	1.1159	0.5843
		SA	1,276,800	814,570	10	0.0165	1.0816	0.5319
		TAS	410,600	262,009	5	0.0140	1.071	0.5879
1980	14,695,400	WA	1,269,100	704,240	10	0.0155	1.0996	0.5900
1984	15,555,900	NSW	5,412,000	3,361,268	51	0.0304	1.1254	0.4868
		VIC	4,078,500	2,535,478	39	0.0322	1.2170	0.4885
		QLD	2,507,000	1,502,836	24	0.0379	1.1382	0.4902
		WA	1,383,700	943,570	13	0.0368	1.2035	0.5436
		SA	1,353,900	880,904	13	0.0232	1.1546	0.5524
		TAS	437,400	280,986	5	0.0132	1.0734	0.5904
		ACT	244,600	145,779	2	0.0236	1.0991	N/A
1989	16,806,730	VIC	4,315,170	2,754,072	38	0.0298	1.1978	0.5040
		WA	1,591,077	943,570	14	0.0368	1.2035	0.5436
1992	17,528,982	NSW	5,974,146	3,675,688	50	0.0286	1.1847	0.4980
		QLD	3,037,405	1,813,140	25	0.0321	1.2056	0.4938
		SA	1,459,622	967,848	12	0.0248	1.1746	0.5671
		TAS	471,118	308,899	5	0.0140	1.0829	0.5900
		ACT	296,376	178,208	2	0.0161	1.0665	N/A
1994	17,843,268	VIC	4,476,100	2,889,391	37	0.0309	1.2068	0.4912
		QLD	3,196,934	1,994,190	26	0.0406	1.2144	0.5068
		ACT	300,912	192,096	3	0.0403	1.1976	0.6336

Redistribution Year	Australian Population (includes territories)	State	State/Territory Population	Elector Population	Number of Divisions Created	Gini Index	David-Eisenberg Index	Dauer-Kelsay Index
1997	18,524,200	QLD	3,397,100	219,277	27	0.0321	1.2056	0.4938
		WA	1,797,900	1,104,904	14	0.0321	1.1955	0.5488
		ACT	308,000	204,601	2	0.0097	1.0395	N/A
1999	18,937,000	SA	1,492,400	1,024,632	12	0.1230	1.0764	0.5745
2000	19,157,000	NSW	6,463,500	4,110,100	50	0.0226	1.0205	0.5038
		WA	1,883,900	1,184,058	15	0.0300	1.1948	0.5441
		TAS	470,400	326,396	5	0.0135	1.0778	0.5906
		NT	195,500	109,977	2	0.2300	1.0966	0.4770
2003	19,727,821	VIC	4,888,243	3,259,454	37	0.0220	1.1875	0.4981
		SA	1,522,467	1,043,177	11	0.0210	1.1335	0.5299
		QLD	3,729,123	2,354,176	28	0.0242	1.1981	0.5185

Sources:

1901-2000 – Australia Year Book (Various Years), Australian Bureau of Statistics

2003 Commissioner Issues Federal Electoral Determination Attachment One Redistribution backgrounder 20 February 2003 at http://www.aec.gov.au/_content/what/media_releases/2003/feb/att1.htm

NB: The figures cited for the population of Australia cited in this table refer in the main to the estimated population for that year, as cited in that particular year book, it is therefore likely that slight variations may occur in subsequent editions.

Appendix Three: Frequency of Distributions & Redistributions

1901-1983

State	Number of Redistributions	Average Time (Years)
New South Wales	9	9.1
Victoria	9	9.1
Queensland	9	9.1
Western Australia	11	7.45
South Australia	8	10.25
Tasmania	6	13.6
ACT	1	82

1984-2003

State	Number of Redistributions	Average (Years)
New South Wales	3	6.3
Victoria	4	4.75
Queensland	5	3.8
Western Australia	4	4.75
South Australia	4	4.75
Tasmania	4	4.75
ACT	4	4.75
NT	1	19

1901-2003

State	Number of	Average Time
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	Redistributions	(Years)
New South Wales	12	8.5
Victoria	13	7.9
Queensland	14	7.3
Western Australia	15	6.8
South Australia	11	9.3
Tasmania	10	10.3
ACT	5	20.6
NT	1	102

Appendix Four: Comparative Table of Legislative Changes 1977-1998

	Commonwealth Electoral Amendment Act 1977 (No 14 1977)	Commonwealth Electoral Legislation Amendment Act 1983 (No 144 1983)	Commonwealth Electoral Amendment Act 1987 (No 35 1987)	Electoral and Referendum Amendment Act 1998 (No 94 1998)
Grounds for Redistribution	<p>A proclamation directing redistribution shall be made if the entitlements to representation in the House of Representatives for a State change.</p> <p>A proclamation directing a redistribution may be made:</p> <p>(1) Whenever in one-fourth of the Divisions of the State the number of electors differs from a quota (average divisional enrolment) by a greater extent than one-tenth more or one-tenth less.</p> <p>(2) At such other times as the Governor-General thinks fit.</p>	<p>A direction for a redistribution of a State or the ACT shall be made:</p> <p>(1) If the entitlements to representation in the House of Representatives for a State or the Act change.</p> <p>(2) Whenever the enrolment in more than one-third of the Divisions in the State or ACT have, for a period of more than 2 months, varied from the average divisional enrolment of the state or ACT to a greater extent than one-tenth more or one-tenth less.</p> <p>(3) If a period of 7 years after the day on which the State or ACT was last distributed has expired.</p>	No change	No change
Times when Redistribution can't take place	A proclamation directing redistribution shall not be made under (1) above within	A direction for a redistribution of a State or ACT shall not be made	No change	No change

	Commonwealth Electoral Amendment Act 1977 (No 14 1977)	Commonwealth Electoral Legislation Amendment Act 1983 (No 144 1983)	Commonwealth Electoral Amendment Act 1987 (No 35 1987)	Electoral and Referendum Amendment Act 1998 (No 94 1998)
	7 years of the last redistribution being proclaimed.	under (2) and (3) above if the state or ACT is undergoing a redistribution, or within one year before the date of expiry of a House of Representatives. The Electoral Commission may direct that redistribution not take place if the Electoral Commission is of the opinion that at the next determination the entitlements to representation for the State or ACT will or may alter.		
Quota determination	Chief Australian Electoral Officer determines quota whenever necessary.	Quota for State or ACT to be determined 14 days after the closing date for written suggestions to the Redistribution Committee	No change	Quota for State or ACT determined as soon as practicable after redistribution commences.

	Commonwealth Electoral Amendment Act 1977 (No 14 1977)	Commonwealth Electoral Legislation Amendment Act 1983 (No 144 1983)	Commonwealth Electoral Amendment Act 1987 (No 35 1987)	Electoral and Referendum Amendment Act 1998 (No 94 1998)
Numerical requirements	In no case shall the number of electors in proposed Divisions be greater than one-tenth more or one-tenth less than the quota The number of electors in large Divisions (area of 5000 sq kms or more) shall not be smaller than the number of electors in small divisions (area of less than 5000 sq kms).	In no case shall the quota of electors for the State or ACT be departed from to a greater extent than one-tenth more or one-tenth less. The Redistribution Committee shall , as far as practicable, endeavour to ensure that, 3 years and 6 months, after the State or ACT has been redistributed, the number of electors enrolled in each proposed Division will be equal.	No change The Redistribution Committee shall , as far as practicable, endeavour to ensure that, 3 years and 6 months after the State or ACT has been redistributed, the number of electors enrolled in each proposed Division would not be less than 98% or more than 102% of the average divisional enrolment of that State or ACT.	No change The Redistribution Committee shall , as far as practicable, endeavour to ensure that, 3 years and 6 months after the State or ACT has been redistributed, the number of electors enrolled in each proposed Division would not be less than 96.5% or more than 103.5% of the average divisional enrolment of that State or ACT.
Matters to be considered	The Distribution Commissioners shall give due consideration to: 1) Community of interests within the Division, including economic social and regional interests. 2) Means of communication and travel within the Division.	Subject to the above the Redistribution Committee shall give due consideration to: 1) Community of interests within the proposed Division, including economic, social and regional interests. 2) Means of communication and travel	Subject to the above the Redistribution Committee shall give due consideration to: 1) Community of interests within the proposed Division, including economic, social and regional interests. 2) Means of communication and	Subject to the above the Redistribution Committee shall give due consideration to: 1) Community of interests within the proposed Division, including economic, social and regional interests. 2) Means of communication and

	Commonwealth Electoral Amendment Act 1977 (No 14 1977)	Commonwealth Electoral Legislation Amendment Act 1983 (No 144 1983)	Commonwealth Electoral Amendment Act 1987 (No 35 1987)	Electoral and Referendum Amendment Act 1998 (No 94 1998)
	<p>3) The trend of population changes within the State.</p> <p>4) The physical features of the Division.</p> <p>5) Existing boundaries of Divisions and Sub-divisions.</p>	<p>within the proposed Division.</p> <p>3) The trend of population changes within the State or ACT.</p> <p>4) The physical features and area of the proposed Division.</p> <p>5) The boundaries of existing Divisions.</p>	<p>travel within the proposed Division.</p> <p>3) The physical features and area of the proposed Division.</p> <p>4) The boundaries of existing Divisions.</p>	<p>travel within the proposed Division.</p> <p>3) The physical features and area of the proposed Division.</p> <p>4) The boundaries of existing Divisions.</p> <p>When applying the above the Redistribution Committee must treat (4) as subordinate to other matters.</p>
Discrepancy between existing divisions and entitlement	For an ordinary general election State shall be one electorate.	Mini-redistribution by combining contiguous pair of divisions with lowest enrolment or dividing into three the contiguous pair of divisions with highest enrolment. Existing subdivisions to be the basis for the mini-redistribution.	No change Whole Census Collection Districts to be the basis for the mini-redistribution.	No change No change
Determination of Entitlements	Within 30 days after the expiration of a period of eleven months after the date of first meeting of a House of Representatives.	Within one month after the expiration of a period of eleven months after the day of first meeting of a House of Representatives.	Within one month after the expiration of a period of nine months after the day of first meeting of a House of Representatives.	Within one month after the expiration of a period of twelve months after the day of first meeting of a House of Representatives.

Appendix Five: Electoral Divisions Created and Abolished 1901-2003

The following tables are a list of electoral divisions, in order of current state size, created and abolished as a result of redistributions. In a number of cases the same name has been used for a new division at a later date. These are identified simply as Cook 2 or Corinella 2.

New South Wales

Division	Created	Abolished
Banks	1948	
Barrier	1901	1922
Barton	1922	
Bennelong	1948	
Berowra	1968	
Bland	1901	1906
Blaxland	1948	
Bradfield	1948	
Calare	1906	
Canobolas	1901	1906
Charlton	1984	
Chifley	1968	
Cook	1906	1955
Cook 2	1968	
Cowper	1901	
Cunningham	1948	
Dalley	1901	1968
Darling	1901	1977
Dobell	1984	
Dundas	1977	1992
East Sydney	1901	1968
Eden-Monaro	1901	
Evans	1948	1977
Farrer	1948	
Fowler	1984	
Gilmore	1984	
Grayndler	1948	
Greenway	1984	
Gwydir	1901	
Hughes	1955	
Hume	1901	
Hunter	1901	
Illawarra	1901	1922
Kingsford Smith	1948	
Lang	1901	1977
Lawson	1948	1968
Lindsay	1984	
Lowe	1948	
Lyne	1948	
Macarthur	1948	
Mackellar	1948	
Macquarie	1901	
Martin	1922	
Mitchell	1948	

Division	Created	Abolished
Nepean	1901	1922
New England	1901	
Newcastle	1901	
North Sydney	1901	
Page	1984	
Parkes	1901	1968
Parkes 2	1984	
Parramatta	1901	
Paterson	1948	1984
Paterson 2	1993	
Phillip	1948	1992
Prospect	1968	
Reid	1922	
Richmond	1901	
Riverina	1901	1984
Riverina 2	1992	
Riverina-Darling	1984	1992
Robertson	1901	
Shortland	1948	
South Sydney	1901	1934
St George	1948	1992
Sydney	1968	
Throsby	1984	
Warringah	1922	
Watson	1934	1968
Watson 2	1992	
Wentworth	1901	
Werriwa	1901	
West Sydney	1901	1968

Victoria

Division	Created	Abolished
Aston	1984	
Balaclava	1901	1984
Ballarat (Spelt as Ballarat until 1977 redistribution)	1901	
Batman	1906	
Bendigo	1901	
Bourke	1901	1948
Bruce	1955	
Burke	1948	1955
Burke 2	1968	2003
Calwell	1984	
Casey	1968	
Chisholm	1948	
Corangamite	1901	
Corinella	1901	1906
Corinella 2	1989	1994
Corio	1901	
Darebin	1948	1968
Deakin	1936	

Division	Created	Abolished
Diamond Valley	1968	1984
Dunkley	1984	
Fawkner	1906	1968
Flinders	1901	
Gellibrand	1948	
Gippsland	1901	
Goldstein	1984	
Gorton	2003	
Grampians	1901	1922
Henty	1912	1989
Higgins	1948	
Higinbotham	1948	1968
Hoddle	1948	1955
Holt	1968	
Hotham	1968	
Indi	1901	
Isaacs	1948	
Jagajaga	1984	
Kooyong	1901	
La Trobe	1948	
Laanecoorie	1901	1912
Lalor	1948	
Mallee	1948	
Maribyrnong	1906	
McEwen	1984	
McMillan	1948	
Melbourne	1901	
Melbourne Ports	1901	
Menzies	1984	
Mernda	1901	1912
Moira	1901	1906
Murray	1948	
Northern Melbourne	1901	1906
Scullin	1955	
Southern Melbourne	1901	1906
Streeton	1984	1989
Wannon	1901	
Wills	1948	
Wimmera	1901	1977
Yarra	1901	1968

Queensland

Division	Created	Abolished
Blair	1997	
Bonner	2003	
Bowman	1948	
Brisbane	1901	
Capricornia	1901	
Darling Downs	1901	1984
Dawson	1948	
Dickson	1992	
Fadden	1977	
Fairfax	1984	
Fisher	1948	
Forde	1984	
Griffith	1934	
Groom	1984	
Herbert	1901	
Hinkler	1984	
Kennedy	1901	
Leichhardt	1948	
Lilley	1912	
Longman	1994	
Maranoa	1901	
McPherson	1948	
Moncrieff	1984	
Moreton	1901	
Oxley	1901	1934
Oxley 2	1948	
Petrie	1948	
Rankin	1984	
Ryan	1948	
Wide Bay	1901	

Western Australia

Division	Created	Abolished
Brand	1984	
Canning	1948	
Coolgardie	1901	1912
Cowan	1984	
Curtin	1948	
Dampier	1912	1922
Forrest	1922	
Fremantle	1901	
Hasluck	2000	
Kalgoorlie	1901	
Moore	1948	
Pearce	1989	
Perth	1901	
Stirling	1955	
Swan	1901	
Tangney	1973	

South Australia

Division	Created	Abolished
At the first general election, 1901, the States of South Australia and Tasmania were each polled as one division.		
Adelaide	1903	
Angas	1903	1934
Angas 2	1948	1977
Barker	1903	
Bonython	1955	2003
Boothby	1903	
Grey	1903	
Hawker	1968	1992
Hindmarsh	1903	
Kingston	1948	
Makin	1984	
Mayo	1984	
Port Adelaide	1948	
Sturt	1948	
Wakefield	1903	

Tasmania

Division	Created	Abolished
At the first general election, 1901, the States of South Australia and Tasmania were each polled as one division.		
Bass	1903	
Braddon	1955	
(Formerly Darwin. See note for Darwin.)		
Darwin	1903	1955. Name changed to Braddon following the redistribution of seats.
Denison	1903	
Franklin	1903	
Lyons	1984	
(Formerly Wilmot. See note for Wilmot.)		
Wilmot	1903	1984. Name changed to Lyons following the redistribution of seats.

The Australian Capital Territory

Division	Created	Abolished
Until the passing of the Australian Capital Territory Representation Act, No. 3 of 1966, the member for this division had limited voting rights in the House of Representatives, being restricted to matters affecting the ACT.		
Australian Capital Territory	1948	1974
Canberra	1974	
Fraser	1974	

Namadgi	1994	1997
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The Northern Territory

Division	Created	Abolished
Until the passing of the Northern Territory Representation Act. No. 11 of 1968, the member for this division had limited voting rights in the House of Representatives, being restricted to matters affecting the Northern Territory.		
Lingiari	2000	2003
Northern Territory	1922	2000
Solomon	2000	2003
Lingiari 2	2004	
Solomon 2	2004	

In February 2004 a bill was introduced into Parliament to set aside the determination that the Electoral Commissioner made on February 19, 2003 regarding the entitlement for the Northern Territory. As a result the Northern Territory again has 2 divisions, based on the redistribution conducted in 2000.

Part Two: Electoral Redistributions 1901-2003

The following individual redistribution reports are a snap shot of information pertinent to the process of conducting a redistribution. The format for these reports changes for redistributions conducted after the 1984 amendments and includes projected figures.

The layout is based upon the usual AEC convention of the largest state to the smallest, ie New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, Western Australia, South Australia, Tasmania, Australian Capital Territory and the Northern Territory.

It should also be pointed out that some of the information required has not been readily available due to the differences in records, for example some redistribution reports clearly identified the area of the divisions, others have not.

Brief History

This section contains a very brief overview for the reasons for the redistribution and identifies the members of the various Committees.

Redistribution Timetable

This table provides a ready reference for the key dates concerning the redistribution.

Enrolment Data

This section provides the key enrolment data, such as the quota and maximum and minimum variations allowable for each particular redistribution.

Divisional Snapshot

Lists the largest and smallest division by enrolment as well as those divisions created and abolished. The figures cited are those at the time of the redistribution.

Elections held based on the redistribution

Provides a list of federal elections, by-elections and referenda held based on the boundaries of the redistribution. Unless otherwise described references to Senate elections are for half-senate elections. On three separate occasions the cycle of the Senate and the House of Representatives has aligned which resulted in simultaneous elections, as opposed to the Government of the day calling a double dissolution.

Measures of Malapportionment

These are the key indicators of whether or not the redistribution has been a success from a numerical perspective. Volume two will contain the statistical analysis, which resulted in these calculations.

Division Summary

This table provides a ready reference for comparing individual divisions with current enrolment and the actual variation relevant to the determination of the quota and the acceptable margin of difference.

Individual Redistribution Reports

New South Wales

Year	Date of Final Determination
1900	11 December
1906	13 July
1913	27 February
1922	13 September
1934	01 August
1949	11 May
1955	30 August
1968	21 November
1977	31 October
1984	11 October
1992	31 January
2000	11 February

Victoria

Year	Date of Final Determination
1900	26 September
1906	13 July
1913	01 February
1922	04 October
1937	21 July
1949	11 May
1955	10 August
1968	21 November
1977	31 October
1984	14 September
1989	05 June
1994	20 December
2003	29 January

Queensland

Year	Date of Final Determination
1900	04 December
1906	13 July
1913	01 February
1922	13 September
1934	01 August
1949	11 May
1955	10 August
1969	27 February
1977	31 October
1984	13 September
1992	28 January
1994	01 December
1997	10 December
2003	25 November

Western Australia

Year	Date of Final Determination
1900	05 December
1906	13 July
1913	01 February
1922	13 September
1937	28 July
1949	11 May
1955	10 August
1968	21 November
1974	19 April
1977	07 November
1980	28 February
1984	31 August
1989	31 March
1997	06 March
2000	20 November

South Australia

Year	Date of Final Determination
1903	02 October
1922	13 September
1934	01 August
1949	11 May
1955	19 October
1968	21 November
1977	31 October
1984	03 September
1992	17 January
1999	13 August
2003	17 December

Tasmania

Year	Date of Final Determination
1903	02 October
1922	13 September
1949	11 May
1955	30 August
1968	21 November
1977	31 October
1984	12 September
1992	01 April
2000	11 February

Australian Capital Territory

Year	Date of Final Determination
1974	19 April
1984	23 August
1992	23 March
1994	30 September
1997	10 December

Northern Territory

Year	Date of Final Determination
2003	19 February

References:

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- Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918 Reprint 9 (Canberra: Attorney-General's Department, 2001)
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- Harry Evans (ed.) *Odgers' Australian Senate Practice Tenth Edition* (Canberra; Department of the Senate, 2001)
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- Colin A. Hughes, *A Handbook of Australian Politics and Government*, (Canberra: ANU Press, 1977).
- Gerard Newman and Andrew Kopras, 1999-2000 'Redistribution of Federal Electoral Boundaries' *Current Issues Brief Number 3 2000-2001* Department of the Parliamentary Library at <http://www.aph.gov.au/library/pubs/CIB/2000-01/01cib03.htm>
- Referendum Dates and Results 1906 – 1999 at http://www.aec.gov.au/_content/when/referendums/dates.htm
- Senate Brief No. 1 July 1999 *Electing Australia's Senators* at <http://www.aph.gov.au/Senate/pubs/briefs/briefone.htm>
- The Australian Constitution in *Australia's Constitution*, (Canberra: Australian Government Solicitor and Australian Government Printing Service, 1998).

Other Publications in this Series

Name	Date
Research Report 1 – Informal Vote Survey House of Representatives 2001	2003
Research Report 2 – Redistribution Forward Estimates 1984-1999	Dec 2003
Research Report 3 – Analysis of Declaration Voting	June 2004