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**Objection Number 129**

**Jenni Newton-Farrelly**

**7 pages**

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**From:** Newton-Farrelly, Jenni [Jenni.Newton@parliament.sa.gov.au]  
**Sent:** Friday, 27 August 2010 1:00 PM  
**To:** VIC Redistribution  
**Subject:** submission  
**Attachments:** Newton-Farrelly submission.pdf; Newton-Farrelly Attachments.pdf

I have attached a short submission with attachments (four sheets) in relation to the proposed redistribution of federal divisions in Victoria.

Please note that I make this submission in a private capacity.

Thank you,  
Jenni

Jenni Newton-Farrelly

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## **Redistribution of Victoria into Electoral Divisions**

### **Submission to the Redistribution Committee for Victoria on the Proposed Redistribution**

The Committee is bound to observe criteria of equal elector numbers, community of interest, communication and geography, as well as to observe existing divisional boundaries where possible. The Committee is not required to take into account the political effects of the boundaries it draws. Nonetheless the boundaries do have a political effect and political parties can be expected to assess the Committee's proposed boundaries largely on that effect.

This paper considers the political effect of the proposed boundaries, with the aid of four attached sheets. The election of 2010 has been characterised by non-uniform swings, so it would be inappropriate to assess the political effect of the proposed boundaries on the basis of the results of the most recent election alone. For this reason I have used the election results from 2004 and 2007 as well as 2010. In addition the pendulum on the far right of each sheet shows the outcome had the votes recorded in each booth (and the declaration votes, where available) been an *average* of the results in 2004, 2007 and 2010.

**Attachment 1 shows how the voters in the current Victorian federal divisions voted at the federal elections of 2004, 2007 and 2010.**

**Attachment 2 adjusts the results from Attachment 1 to a hypothetical 50:50 outcome in each case.**

In a jurisdiction with an odd number of districts an ideal set of district boundaries would allow each party an equal chance of winning the median seat, and at a 50:50 outcome the median seat could be expected to be won with a narrow margin. The pendula at Attachment 2 adjust the results of the 2004, 2007 and 2010 election to a hypothetical 50:50 outcome in each case. On the current divisional boundaries the ALP would have won the median seat in 2004 and 2007 with a margin of almost 2%. Indeed the result is similar for 2010, with one exception – the ALP would have won McEwen as well.

These pendula indicate a small but increasing bias in the existing set of divisional boundaries.

**Attachment 3 resorts the actual results shown in Attachment 1 into the proposed divisional boundaries.**

The Attachment 3 pendula show that if the proposed boundaries had been in operation in 2004 the number of seats won by the major parties would not have changed (the coalition seat of Murray would have disappeared but the new seat of Burke would have been a marginal coalition seat). If the proposed boundaries had been in place in 2007 Labor would have lost Deakin and Corangamite to the coalition, but would have won Burke (a net Labor loss of one seat on the new boundaries). In 2010 the ALP would have lost Corangamite and McEwen but would

have gained Aston and Burke (producing no net difference in seat numbers compared to the current boundaries).

**Attachment 4 adjusts the results from Attachment 3 to a hypothetical 50:50 outcome in each case.**

An unbiased set of divisional boundaries would produce a 19:18 or 18:19 result if the parties won the same level of voter support. The pendula at Attachment 4 show the ALP winning 20 seats and the coalition winning 17 seats with a hypothetical 50:50 outcome under all four scenarios - in 2004, 2007 2010 or an average of the three elections. *This is a strong indication that the proposed divisional boundaries would produce a one to two seat advantage to the ALP over the coalition.*

**Responsiveness**

An ideal set of boundaries would allow seats to change hands in response to changes in voter support. It is not clear that nine marginal seats (in a jurisdiction of 37 seats) has provided enough responsiveness to translate a change in voter support into a change in government.

**CONCLUSION**

These results indicate that the proposed boundaries would be likely to increase the existing bias towards Labor in the federal divisional boundaries in Victoria. Increasing the number of marginal seats would help to make the system more responsive and less likely to favour either of the major parties.

Jenni Newton-Farrelly  
27 August 2010

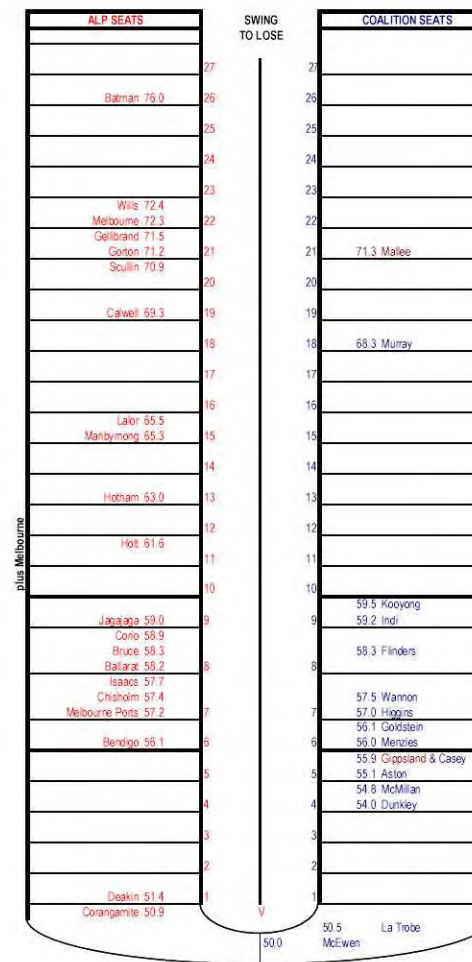
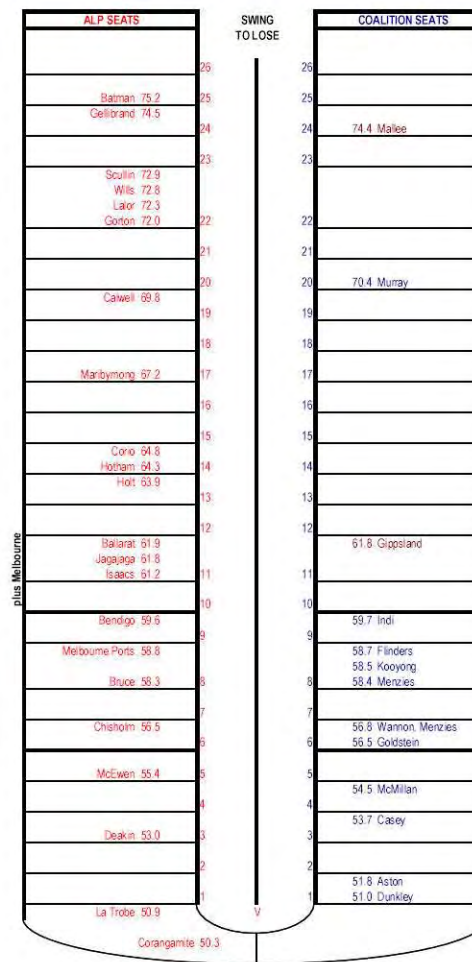
# CURRENT DIVISIONS, ACTUAL RESULTS

VICTORIA  
CURRENT DIVISIONS  
Actual results from 2004

VICTORIA  
CURRENT DIVISIONS  
Actual results from 2007

VICTORIA  
CURRENT DIVISIONS  
Preliminary results from 2010 (no decs)

VICTORIA  
CURRENT DIVISIONS  
Averaging the results from 2004 to 2010



49.0 VIC 2PP 51.0  
19 ALP seats in total 18 coalition seats in total

54.3 VIC 2PP 45.7  
21 ALP seats in total 16 coalition seats in total

54.9 VIC 2PP 45.1  
23 ALP seats in total 14 coalition seats in total

54.3 VIC 2PP 45.7  
21 ALP seats in total 16 coalition seats in total

SOURCE: my calculations based on The Official 2004 Federal Election Results at <http://results.aec.gov.au/12246/results/default.htm>

SOURCE: my calculations based on data from AEC The Official 2007 Federal Election Results at [http://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/federal\\_elections/2007/index.htm](http://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/federal_elections/2007/index.htm)

SOURCE: my calculations based on data from AEC Election 2010 Virtual Tally Room The Official Results at <http://tvr.aec.gov.au/House/DivisionMenu-15506-VIC.htm>

SOURCE: my calculations based on data from AEC Virtual Tally Room pages for the federal elections of 2004, 2007 and 2010 <http://results.aec.gov.au/12246/results/default.htm> [http://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/federal\\_elections/2007/index.htm](http://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/federal_elections/2007/index.htm) <http://tvr.aec.gov.au/House/DivisionMenu-15506-VIC.htm>

CURRENT DIVISIONS, RESULTS ADJUSTED TO A 50:50 OUTCOME

VICTORIA  
CURRENT DIVISIONS  
Actual results from 2004  
ADJUSTED TO A 50:50 OUTCOME



50.0 VIC 2PP 50.0  
19 ALP seats in total 18 coalition seats in total

SOURCE: my calculations based on The Official 2004 Federal Election Results, at <http://results.aec.gov.au/12249/results/default.htm>

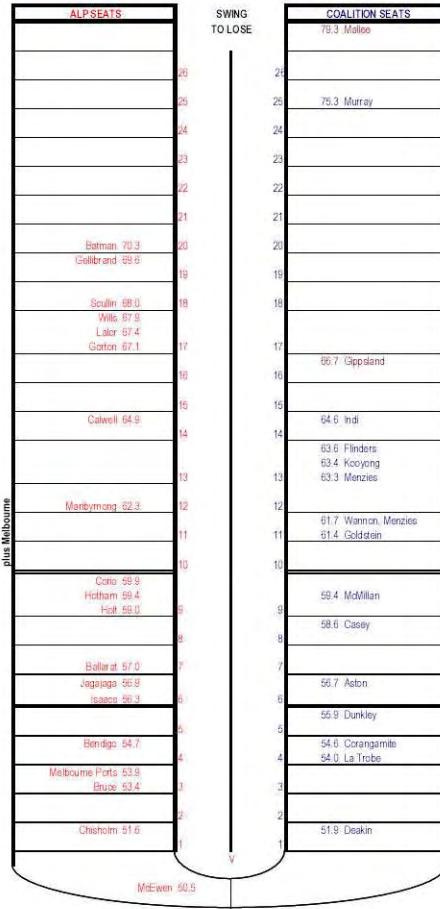
VICTORIA  
CURRENT DIVISIONS  
Actual results from 2007  
ADJUSTED TO A 50:50 OUTCOME



50.0 VIC 2PP 50.0  
19 ALP seats in total 18 coalition seats in total

SOURCE: my calculations based on data from AEC The Official 2007 Federal Election Results, at [http://www.aec.gov.au/Election/federal\\_elections/2007/index.htm](http://www.aec.gov.au/Election/federal_elections/2007/index.htm)

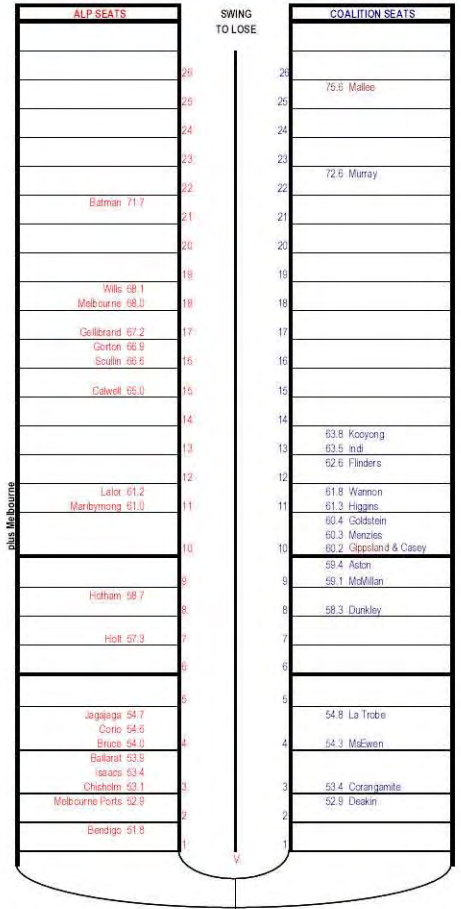
VICTORIA  
CURRENT DIVISIONS  
Preliminary results from 2010 (no decs)  
ADJUSTED TO A 50:50 OUTCOME



50.0 VIC 2PP 50.0  
20 ALP seats in total 17 coalition seats in total

SOURCE: my calculations based on data from AEC Election 2010 Virtual Tally Room: The Official Results, at <http://vt.aec.gov.au/House/Division/Menu-15508-VIC.htm>

VICTORIA  
CURRENT DIVISIONS  
Averaging the results from 2004 to 2010  
ADJUSTED TO A 50:50 OUTCOME



50.0 VIC 2PP 50.0  
19 ALP seats in total 18 coalition seats in total

SOURCE: my calculations based on data from AEC Virtual Tally Room, pages for the federal elections of 2004, 2007 and 2010 <http://results.aec.gov.au/12246/results/default.htm>, [http://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/federal\\_elections/2007/index.htm](http://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/federal_elections/2007/index.htm), <http://vt.aec.gov.au/House/Division/Menu-15508-VIC.htm>

PROPOSED DIVISIONS, ACTUAL RESULTS

VICTORIA  
PROPOSED DIVISIONS  
Actual results from 2004



49.0 VIC 2PP 51.0  
19 ALP seats in total 18 coalition seats in total

SOURCE: my calculations based on The Official 2004 Federal Election Results, at <http://results.aec.gov.au/12249/results/default.htm>

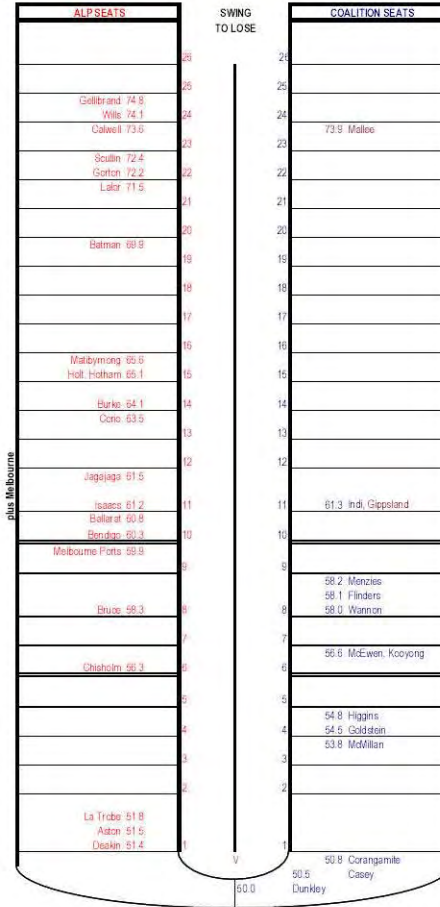
VICTORIA  
PROPOSED DIVISIONS  
Actual results from 2007



54.3 VIC 2PP 45.7  
20 ALP seats in total 17 coalition seats in total

SOURCE: my calculations based on data from AEC The Official 2007 Federal Election Results, at [http://www.aec.gov.au/Election/federal\\_elections/2007/index.htm](http://www.aec.gov.au/Election/federal_elections/2007/index.htm)

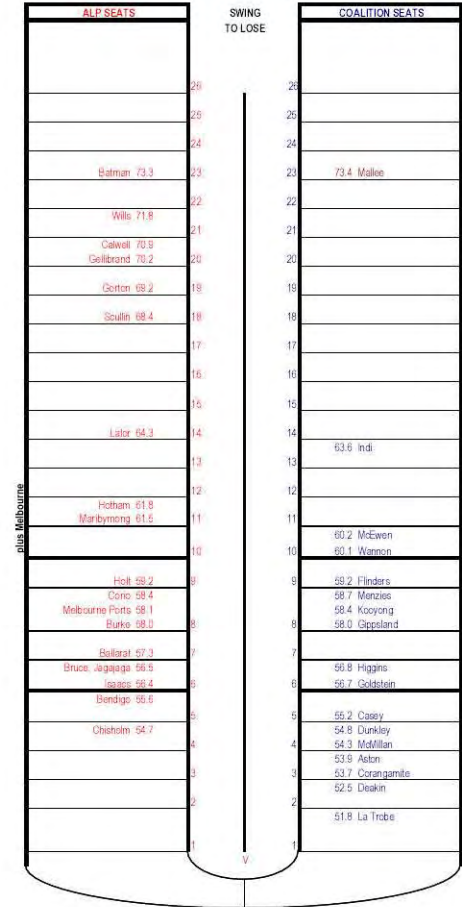
VICTORIA  
PROPOSED DIVISIONS  
Preliminary results from 2010 (no decs)



54.6 VIC 2PP 45.1  
23 ALP seats in total 14 coalition seats in total

SOURCE: my calculations based on data from AEC Election 2010 Virtual Tally Room The Official Results, at <http://tr.aec.gov.au/HouseDivision/Menu-15508-VIC.htm>

VICTORIA  
PROPOSED DIVISIONS  
Averaging the results from 2004 to 2010



52.6 VIC 2PP 47.4  
20 ALP seats in total 17 coalition seats in total

SOURCE: my calculations based on data from AEC Virtual Tally Room pages for the federal elections of 2004, 2007 and 2010 <http://results.aec.gov.au/12246/results/default.htm> [http://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/federal\\_elections/2007/index.htm](http://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/federal_elections/2007/index.htm) <http://tr.aec.gov.au/HouseDivision/Menu-15508-VIC.htm>

PROPOSED DIVISIONS, RESULTS ADJUSTED TO A 50:50 OUTCOME

VICTORIA  
PROPOSED DIVISIONS  
Actual results from 2004  
ADJUSTED TO A 50:50 OUTCOME

ALP SEATS	SWING TO LOSE	COALITION SEATS
27	27	
26	26	
25	25	
24	24	74.2 Mallee
23	23	
22	22	
21	21	
20	20	
19	19	
18	18	
17	17	67.2 Indi
16	16	
15	15	
14	14	
13	13	63.8 McEwen
12	12	
11	11	62.1 Wannon
10	10	
9	9	60.2 Menzies 60.1 Flinders
8	8	
7	7	
6	6	
5	5	
4	4	
3	3	
2	2	
1	1	
Burke 50.3		

VIC 2PP

20 ALP seats in total      17 coalition seats in total

SOURCE: my calculations based on  
The Official 2004 Federal Election Results, at  
<http://res.us.aec.gov.au/12246/res.us/default.htm>

VICTORIA  
PROPOSED DIVISIONS  
Actual results from 2007  
ADJUSTED TO A 50:50 OUTCOME

ALP SEATS	SWING TO LOSE	COALITION SEATS
26	26	
25	25	75.4 Mallee
24	24	
23	23	
22	22	
21	21	
20	20	
19	19	
18	18	
17	17	
16	16	
15	15	
14	14	
13	13	
12	12	
11	11	
10	10	
9	9	
8	8	
7	7	
6	6	
5	5	
4	4	
3	3	
2	2	
1	1	

VIC 2PP

20 ALP seats in total      17 coalition seats in total

SOURCE: my calculations based on data from  
AEC The Official 2007 Federal Election Results, at  
[http://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/federal\\_elections/2007/index.htm](http://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/federal_elections/2007/index.htm)

VICTORIA  
PROPOSED DIVISIONS  
Preliminary results from 2010 (no decs)  
ADJUSTED TO A 50:50 OUTCOME

ALP SEATS	SWING TO LOSE	COALITION SEATS
26	26	
25	25	
24	24	
23	23	
22	22	
21	21	
20	20	
19	19	
18	18	
17	17	
16	16	
15	15	
14	14	
13	13	
12	12	
11	11	
10	10	
9	9	
8	8	
7	7	
6	6	
5	5	
4	4	
3	3	
2	2	
1	1	

VIC 2PP

20 ALP seats in total      17 coalition seats in total

SOURCE: my calculations based on data from  
AEC Election 2010 Virtual Tally Room The Official Results, at  
<http://vtr.aec.gov.au/HouseDivisionMenu-15508-VIC.htm>

VICTORIA  
PROPOSED DIVISIONS  
Averaging the results from 2004 to 2010  
ADJUSTED TO A 50:50 OUTCOME

ALP SEATS	SWING TO LOSE	COALITION SEATS
26	26	
25	25	
24	24	
23	23	
22	22	
21	21	
20	20	
19	19	
18	18	
17	17	
16	16	
15	15	
14	14	
13	13	
12	12	
11	11	
10	10	
9	9	
8	8	
7	7	
6	6	
5	5	
4	4	
3	3	
2	2	
1	1	

VIC 2PP

20 ALP seats in total      17 coalition seats in total

SOURCE: my calculations based on data from  
AEC Virtual Tally Room: pages for the federal elections of 2004, 2007 and 2010  
<http://res.us.aec.gov.au/12246/results/default.htm>  
[http://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/federal\\_elections/2007/index.htm](http://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/federal_elections/2007/index.htm)  
<http://vtr.aec.gov.au/HouseDivisionMenu-15508-VIC.htm>