



**THE FEDERAL
REDISTRIBUTION
NEW SOUTH WALES**

Suggestion 56

Joshua Lucock

11 pages

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Redistribution Committee for NSW
Australian Electoral Commission
Locked Bag 4007
Canberra ACT 2601

Dear Members of the Redistribution Committee for NSW,

Please find enclosed suggestions for the 2023 NSW Federal Redistribution. These suggestions deal with both the boundaries and names of the prospective 46 Commonwealth Electoral Divisions for New South Wales.

Thank you for receiving and considering these suggestions. I wish the committee with the work ahead.

Kind Regards,
Joshua Lucock

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Details of enrolments per proposed division, per SA1 – see attached spreadsheet file:

2023_FedRedistribution_Joshua-Lucock_Divisions-per-sa1

Introduction

The last redistribution, which contracted New South Wales from 48 to 47 Commonwealth Electoral Divisions, commenced in December 2014 and was concluded in February 2016. These names and boundaries have been in place through three federal elections and, in that time, have become highly imbalanced.

The population of New South Wales has continued to decline relative to the rest of the Country, and this now means that the state must lose another division, contracting to 46. While this means that most current divisions are below the current and projected quotas, many divisions in outer metropolitan and inner regional New South Wales are above quota and need to contract.

Population and elector growth in New South Wales has been especially concentrated in outer metropolitan Sydney, with Inner Metropolitan Sydney declining relative to the rest of the state and the country. Major centres in Regional New South Wales have also continued growing at a faster pace, while many country towns have declined in relative or even absolute terms. A notable case of this is in the Hunter, Central Coast and North Coast regions of the state. This part of the state – from the Hawkesbury River to the Tweed River – was where the last Redistribution Committee for NSW abolished the state's 47th division through the effective merger of Hunter and the former division of Charlton. Growth in this part of the state has exceeded the committee's expectations, particularly through 2020-2023, as the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic stalled immigration to Outer Metropolitan Sydney and drove people to leave Inner Metropolitan Sydney for major regional centres.

Going forward, much of the state's elector growth is projected to settle in the Hunter and Central Coast regions, and throughout Greater Western Sydney. In the outer western Sydney seats that are farthest above the Redistribution and Projected Quotas, the rapid pace of growth projected through the rest of the decade creates a challenging task for the Committee. This means that rapidly growing areas will need to be combined with more established areas in ways that will make producing compact boundaries and keeping communities of interest together neatly prohibitively difficult.

Enrolments and Divisions by Region

A better understanding of what needs to be done with this redistribution can be found by breaking the state up into smaller regions.

Hawkesbury to Tweed (10)	1,245,223	1,318,533	29.02%	17.22%	5.89%	10.2902	10.1722
Country Western NSW (5)	588,504	596,082	-13.68%	-40.13%	1.29%	4.8632	4.5987
Southern NSW (5)	617,667	648,156	10.42%	0.04%	4.94%	5.1042	5.0004
Northern Sydney (6)	662,744	677,293	-52.33%	-77.48%	2.20%	5.4767	5.2252
Eastern Sydney (4)	453,190	456,274	-25.50%	-47.99%	0.68%	3.7450	3.5201
Western & Southern Sydney (8)	886,632	978,452	-67.31%	-45.14%	10.36%	7.3269	7.5486
Northwestern Sydney (5)	616,082	703,570	9.11%	42.79%	14.20%	5.0911	5.4279
Southwestern Sydney (4)	496,447	584,195	10.25%	50.69%	17.68%	4.1025	4.5069
New South Wales (47)	5,566,489	5,962,555	-	-	7.12%	45.9999	45.9999

- The Hawkesbury-to-Tweed region, while over quota, is mostly stable and will only require the redistribution of a relatively small number of electors to the Western NSW divisions.
- The Country Western NSW divisions are below quota and shrinking fast. The divisions in this region will need to gain electors from both the Hawkesbury-to-Tweed and Southern NSW divisions.
- The Southern NSW divisions are also stable but will be impacted by the Western divisions shifting toward them. This will cause the flow-on consequence of the Southern divisions shifting into metropolitan Sydney.
- The Eastern Sydney and Western & Southern Sydney regions are each half a seat below quota. Between this, the Southern NSW seats expanding toward southern Sydney, and Southwestern Sydney projected to be half a seat above quota, **the Eastern and Western & Southern Sydney regions will need to be where the net seat loss for the state occurs.**
- Northern Sydney is projected to be nearly 80% short of its sixth quota. With Northwestern Sydney projected to be over 40% above its fifth quota, **a seat will be abolished in Northern Sydney** and effectively replaced by a **new outer northwestern Sydney division.**

- Southwestern Sydney is projected to be 50% above its fourth quota. Like with northern metropolitan divisions, the **abolition of a seat in southern Sydney** will allow the **southwestern region to absorb extra electors and gain a fifth seat.**

Current Divisions

	Enrolments 9-08-2023	Projected 10-04- 2028	Redistribution Quota	Projected Quota	Growth (%)	Current Quotas	Projected Quotas	Within Quota
Hawkesbury to Tweed (10)	1,245,223	1,318,533	29.02%	17.22%	5.89%	10.2902	10.1722	-
Cowper	131,515	135,536	8.68%	4.56%	3.06%	1.0868	1.0456	No
Dobell	119,946	131,442	-0.88%	1.40%	9.58%	0.9912	1.0140	Yes
Hunter	131,588	135,536	8.74%	4.56%	3.00%	1.0874	1.0456	No
Lyne	126,513	132,775	4.55%	2.43%	4.95%	1.0455	1.0243	Yes
Newcastle	123,370	130,623	1.95%	0.77%	5.88%	1.0195	1.0077	Yes
Page	123,663	129,995	2.19%	0.29%	5.12%	1.0219	1.0029	Yes
Paterson	135,332	144,824	11.83%	11.73%	7.01%	1.1183	1.1173	No
Richmond	122,977	129,794	1.62%	0.13%	5.54%	1.0162	1.0013	Yes
Robertson	112,982	125,241	-6.63%	-3.38%	10.85%	0.9337	0.9662	Yes
Shortland	117,337	122,767	-3.04%	-5.29%	4.63%	0.9696	0.9471	No
Country Western NSW (5)	588,504	596,082	-13.68%	-40.13%	1.29%	4.8632	4.5987	-
Calare	122,798	126,537	1.48%	-2.38%	3.04%	1.0148	0.9762	Yes
Farrer	121,734	127,265	0.60%	-1.82%	4.54%	1.0060	0.9818	Yes
New England	115,732	115,345	-4.36%	-11.01%	-0.33%	0.9564	0.8899	No
Parkes	110,690	109,528	-8.53%	-15.50%	-1.05%	0.9147	0.8450	No
Riverina	117,550	117,407	-2.86%	-9.42%	-0.12%	0.9714	0.9058	No
Southern NSW (5)	617,667	648,156	10.42%	0.04%	4.94%	5.1042	5.0004	-
Cunningham	118,123	117,869	-2.39%	-9.07%	-0.22%	0.9761	0.9093	No
Eden-Monaro	116,732	124,402	-3.54%	-4.03%	6.57%	0.9646	0.9597	No
Gilmore	128,991	134,884	6.59%	4.06%	4.57%	1.0659	1.0406	No
Hume	125,549	138,104	3.75%	6.54%	10.00%	1.0375	1.0654	No
Whitlam	128,272	132,897	6.00%	2.53%	3.61%	1.0600	1.0253	Yes
Northern Sydney (6)	662,744	677,293	-52.33%	-77.48%	2.20%	5.4767	5.2252	-
Bennelong	116,790	122,124	-3.49%	-5.78%	4.57%	0.9651	0.9422	No
Berowra	106,739	109,154	-11.79%	-15.79%	2.26%	0.8821	0.8421	No
Bradfield	109,126	109,523	-9.82%	-15.51%	0.36%	0.9018	0.8449	No
Mackellar	111,700	117,968	-7.69%	-8.99%	5.61%	0.9231	0.9101	No
North Sydney	112,630	112,566	-6.93%	-13.16%	-0.06%	0.9307	0.8684	No
Warringah	105,759	105,958	-12.60%	-18.26%	0.19%	0.8740	0.8174	No
Eastern Sydney (4)	453,190	456,274	-25.50%	-47.99%	0.68%	3.7450	3.5201	-
Grayndler	111,079	111,454	-8.21%	-14.02%	0.34%	0.9179	0.8598	No
Kingsford Smith	115,481	120,776	-4.57%	-6.82%	4.59%	0.9543	0.9318	No
Sydney	122,549	121,661	1.27%	-6.14%	-0.72%	1.0127	0.9386	No
Wentworth	104,081	102,383	-13.99%	-21.01%	-1.63%	0.8601	0.7899	No

Western & Southern Sydney (8)	886,632	978,452	-67.31%	-45.14%	10.36%	7.3269	7.5486	-
Banks	108,512	119,557	-10.33%	-7.76%	10.18%	0.8967	0.9224	No
Barton	112,326	121,919	-7.18%	-5.94%	8.54%	0.9282	0.9406	No
Blaxland	110,001	122,692	-9.10%	-5.35%	11.54%	0.9090	0.9465	No
Cook	111,384	125,069	-7.96%	-3.51%	12.29%	0.9204	0.9649	No
Hughes	108,110	120,601	-10.66%	-6.96%	11.55%	0.8934	0.9304	No
Reid	116,485	125,674	-3.74%	-3.05%	7.89%	0.9626	0.9695	Yes
Parramatta	109,049	119,570	-9.89%	-7.75%	9.65%	0.9011	0.9225	No
Watson	110,765	123,370	-8.47%	-4.82%	11.38%	0.9153	0.9518	No
Northwestern Sydney (5)	616,082	703,570	9.11%	42.79%	14.20%	5.0911	5.4279	-
Chifley	126,954	148,639	4.91%	14.67%	17.08%	1.0491	1.1467	No
Greenway	125,882	144,158	4.03%	11.22%	14.52%	1.0403	1.1122	No
Lindsay	127,763	144,334	5.58%	11.35%	12.97%	1.0558	1.1135	No
Macquarie	108,671	117,867	-10.20%	-9.07%	8.46%	0.8980	0.9093	No
Mitchell	126,812	148,572	4.79%	14.62%	17.16%	1.0479	1.1462	No
Southwestern Sydney (4)	496,447	584,195	10.25%	50.69%	17.68%	4.1025	4.5069	-
Fowler	112,414	127,624	-7.10%	-1.54%	13.53%	0.9290	0.9846	Yes
Macarthur	140,280	171,700	15.92%	32.46%	22.40%	1.1592	1.3246	No
McMahon	111,293	125,817	-8.03%	-2.93%	13.05%	0.9197	0.9707	Yes
Werriwa	132,460	159,054	9.46%	22.71%	20.08%	1.0946	1.2271	No

Naming of divisions for prominent persons and deceased Prime Ministers

Over time, the AEC developed a clear policy of preferring to name divisions for prominent persons and former prime ministers. This has led to the AEC increasingly naming divisions for people or Prime Ministers who had no connection in terms of residence, local work, or parliamentary representation to that area and its communities. Examples include the naming in divisions in western and exurban western Melbourne for Bob Hawke, John Gorton, or Malcolm Fraser. In New South Wales, the last Redistribution Committee shunned the opportunity to abolish the name of Gough Whitlam's former electorate of Werriwa – an Indigenous name referring to far-away Lake George – and rename it for the recently deceased Whitlam. Instead, Whitlam was used for the former division of Throsby, far away in the Wingecaribee Shire and southern Illawarra region.

The Committee, and the Australian Electoral Commission more generally, should consider that naming divisions for people or prime ministers so disconnected from the relevant communities of interest undermines the system of representation through single-member electorates by disconnecting people and communities from a sense of place attached to their Commonwealth Electoral Division, their federal parliamentarian, and their representative democracy.

Increasingly, the naming of divisions for prominent persons or recently deceased prime ministers has become an ever-greater source of controversy for the Australian Electoral Commission with each redistribution. The Commission continues to face criticism for allegedly having too many divisions named for prominent white, Anglo-Celtic men, and too few divisions named for prominent women or Indigenous Australians. The naming of divisions for people who were prominent in the colonial and pre-Federation history of Australia has become increasingly controversial for the Commission as the truth of Australia's early colonial history has come to be more faithfully told.

The recent naming of a Victorian division for Prime Minister Bob Hawke became controversial as the Commission had to defend its decision against allegations about conduct in Hawke's private life. This controversy will only grow worse with the Prime Ministers now in the queue for divisions in New South Wales, as their Prime Ministerial records come under greater scrutiny. As things stand, the Commission's policy of naming divisions for Prime Ministers at the first opportunity after that person has died means the Commission now has a queue of six prime ministers – Paul Keating, John Howard, Tony Abbott, Malcolm Turnbull, Scott Morrison, and Anthony Albanese – who will need space made for them. This is becoming increasingly untenable for redistribution committees in New South Wales and will only grow worse.

- This submission suggests that the only effective way for the commission to deal with these issues around naming divisions for recently deceased prime ministers, or lack of female or Indigenous representation, to public satisfaction will be to **gradually stop naming divisions for such prominent people**. The use of names of prominent people or prime ministers should be used far more sparingly going forward, and only for instances where the person had a strong connection to the relevant communities of interest. This would also hold for divisions like Hunter, Macquarie, and Macarthur, which are names synonymous with their communities of interest.
- Going forward, the Commission should instead seek to use names better tied to local communities and **names of prominent geographic features of divisions**.
- Where possible, the Commission should make more effort to use **local Indigenous names for prominent geographic features of divisions**.

Naming of Federation Divisions

In general, the effort of redistribution committees to preserve the names of Federation divisions should be commended. However, there are instances where, such as in Werriwa and Riverina, preserving these names has long ceased to be practical. The projected numbers for this redistribution only compound this. Redistribution Committees in other states have been more willing than in New South Wales to replace unsuitable Federation division names. In Victoria, the AEC has tried twice at consecutive redistributions to abolish Corangamite, with Lake Corangamite no longer being in that electorate. In 2019, the Federation division of Melbourne Ports in Victoria and the 1903 division of Wakefield in South Australia were replaced with Macnamara and Spence, respectively. This should prompt the Redistribution Committee to be more flexible with the names of Federation divisions in New South Wales.

There are specifically three Federation division names the Committee should consider replacing at this redistribution:

- **Riverina** – The division of Riverina was last abolished in 1984 to create Darling-Riverina. Since 1993, it has returned as an electorate based on Wagga Wagga and the Riverina region in country southwestern New South Wales. On both its current boundaries and those suggested for this submission, the electorate would not contain any of the Riverina region and hasn't done so for a decade now.

This submission proposes the removal of the Parkes, Forbes, Weddin, Bland, Temora, Cowra, and Lockhart local government areas from Riverina. These would be replaced by Snowy Valleys and Yass Valley from Eden-Monaro, the former Boorowa LGA from Hume, as well as the Upper Lachlan and Goulburn-Mulwaree LGAs from Hume.

The commission could consider swapping the names of Riverina and Farrer to create more suitable fits. In assuming that the commission would not favour this approach, a new Indigenous and geographic feature-based name is suggested for this division.
- **North Sydney** – the projected enrolment numbers will force the abolition of a division on Sydney's North Shore and the transfer of North Sydney and the North Sydney LGA to the division of Warringah. This will make preserving the name of North Sydney impractical and unreasonable. This submission will suggest that the name of North Sydney be abolished and that the current division of North Sydney be combined with the southern half of Bradfield, taking on that name in the process.
- **Werriwa** – the determination of past redistribution committees to preserve the name Werriwa – believed to be an Indigenous name for Lake George - has long been ridiculous.

The Committee should use this redistribution to finally rip off the figurative band-aid and replace the name of Werriwa. Between the suggested carve-up of southwestern Sydney and the split and renaming of the current division of Whitlam contained in this submission, this submission offers one more opportunity to replace Werriwa and to give the name Whitlam to the division that Gough Whitlam lived in and represented in parliament.

Abolished divisions

- It could be argued that this submission is practically arguing for the abolition of the division of Grayndler in eastern Sydney, however, it is suggested that this division, as well as Barton and Banks, be preserved in a way that, at least in name, abolishes **Blaxland**.
- Between the shifting of seats westward and the suggested northward expansion of Cunningham, **Hughes** is proposed to be abolished as well.
- In northern Sydney, **North Sydney** is abolished and replaced by a new division centred around the Hawkesbury area as well as the northern and exurban Hills suburbs, proposed to be called **Dyarubbin**.

Opportunities to name divisions for Indigenous names of geographic features

Following the suggestions about the problems with naming divisions for prominent individuals and prime ministers, and to make renaming Werriwa more palatable to the Committee, this submission identifies opportunities to rename divisions for local indigenous names of prominent geographic features:

- **Dyarubbin** – the local Dharug-language name for the Hawkesbury River - is proposed as the name for the new division centred around the Hawkesbury River towns and The Hills.
- **Murrumbidgee** is proposed as the name for **Riverina**. This is a more sensible name for this division, relevant as a prominent geographic feature for communities in Wagga Wagga, Gundagai, and the Yass Valley.
- **Cabramatta** – meaning “freshwater grub place” in the Dharug local language of the Cabrogal people of this area – is proposed as the name of a new division in southwestern Sydney which could incorporate Fairfield, Cabramatta, and Liverpool.
- **Awaba** – The Awabakal name for Lake Macquarie, is proposed as the name for the division of **Shortland**, centred on Lake Macquarie.

- **Mulubinba** – an Awabakal name meaning “Place of Sea Fern” and recognised by the City of Newcastle as a dual name for the Newcastle area is proposed as a new name for **Newcastle**.
- **Illawarra** – with the splitting of the current division of **Whitlam**, the eastern end of this division is proposed to be recreated as the division of Illawarra. Illawarra is a Dharawal name synonymous with the region of the Wollongong and Shellharbour LGAs, the Illawarra escarpment, and Lake Illawarra – which is in this proposed division. Illawarra would take the southern part of the Illawarra region. Illawarra was also the name of a Federation division that was used for the first twenty years after Federation and has been used for State divisions in this area as well.
- **Marrong** – the local Dharug language name used by the Cannemegal people for Prospect Hill – is suggested as a new name for the radically redrawn division of **McMahon**.
- **Warrane** is suggested as a new name for **Sydney**, which is redrawn to take in significant parts of Grayndler. Warrane is the local Gadigal name for Sydney Cove.
- **Woronora** is suggested as the new name for **Cunningham** which is drawn to shift far north into the Sutherland Shire. Woronora is a Dharawal name for the Woronora River – a prominent geographic feature of the western and southern Sutherland Shire as well as the northern Illawarra region.

Proposed Divisions

	Enrolled 9-08-2023	Projected 10-04- 2028	Redistribution Quota	Projected Quota	Growth (%)	Current Quotas	Projected Quotas	Within Quota
Awaba	120,624	126,095	-0.32%	-2.72%	4.54%	0.9968	0.9728	Yes
Banks	114,340	128,198	-5.51%	-1.10%	12.12%	0.9449	0.9890	Yes
Barton	117,068	127,585	-3.26%	-1.57%	8.98%	0.9674	0.9843	Yes
Bennelong	122,839	130,118	1.51%	0.38%	5.93%	1.0151	1.0038	Yes
Berowra	125,393	126,216	3.62%	-2.63%	0.66%	1.0362	0.9737	Yes
Bradfield	128,381	128,672	6.09%	-0.73%	0.23%	1.0609	0.9927	Yes
Blaxland	0	0	-100.00%	-100.00%	0.00%	0.0000	0.0000	-
Cabramatta	110,251	125,865	-8.89%	-2.90%	14.16%	0.9111	0.9710	Yes
Calare	125,410	126,799	3.64%	-2.18%	1.11%	1.0364	0.9782	Yes
Chifley	110,554	129,378	-8.64%	-0.19%	17.03%	0.9136	0.9981	Yes
Cook	117,942	132,077	-2.54%	1.89%	11.98%	0.9746	1.0189	Yes
Cowper	128,860	133,103	6.49%	2.69%	3.29%	1.0649	1.0269	Yes
Dobell	116,666	127,859	-3.59%	-1.36%	9.59%	0.9641	0.9864	Yes
Dyarubbin	114,487	133,026	-5.39%	2.63%	16.19%	0.9461	1.0263	Yes
Eden-Monaro	119,521	128,153	-1.23%	-1.13%	7.22%	0.9877	0.9887	Yes
Farrer	124,116	129,621	2.57%	0.00%	4.44%	1.0257	1.0000	Yes
Fowler	109,413	128,667	-9.58%	-0.74%	17.60%	0.9042	0.9926	Yes
Gilmore	120,664	126,479	-0.29%	-2.42%	4.82%	0.9971	0.9758	Yes

Grayndler	125,358	131,766	3.59%	1.65%	5.11%	1.0359	1.0165	Yes
Greenway	113,520	130,997	-6.19%	1.06%	15.40%	0.9381	1.0106	Yes
Hughes	0	0	-100.00%	-100.00%	0.00%	0.0000	0.0000	-
Hume	118,873	130,607	-1.77%	0.76%	9.87%	0.9823	1.0076	Yes
Hunter	127,061	131,199	5.00%	1.22%	3.26%	1.0500	1.0122	Yes
Illawarra	130,276	131,735	7.66%	1.63%	1.12%	1.0766	1.0163	Yes
Kingsford Smith	121,493	128,596	0.40%	-0.79%	5.85%	1.0040	0.9921	Yes
Lindsay	111,713	127,619	-7.68%	-1.54%	14.24%	0.9232	0.9846	Yes
Lyne	126,513	132,775	4.55%	2.43%	4.95%	1.0455	1.0243	Yes
Macarthur	111,926	133,838	-7.51%	3.25%	19.58%	0.9249	1.0325	Yes
Mackellar	123,356	130,208	1.94%	0.45%	5.55%	1.0194	1.0045	Yes
Macquarie	117,710	128,571	-2.73%	-0.81%	9.23%	0.9727	0.9919	Yes
Marrong	114,703	128,616	-5.21%	-0.78%	12.13%	0.9479	0.9922	Yes
Mitchell	119,032	129,124	-1.64%	-0.38%	8.48%	0.9836	0.9962	Yes
Mulubinba	121,530	128,792	0.43%	-0.64%	5.98%	1.0043	0.9936	Yes
Murrumbidgee	130,107	132,783	7.52%	2.44%	2.06%	1.0752	1.0244	Yes
New England	129,599	128,424	7.10%	-0.92%	-0.91%	1.0710	0.9908	Yes
North Sydney	0	0	-100.00%	-100.00%	0.00%	0.0000	0.0000	-
Page	126,318	132,428	4.39%	2.17%	4.84%	1.0439	1.0217	Yes
Parkes	129,587	129,737	7.09%	0.09%	0.12%	1.0709	1.0009	Yes
Parramatta	110,333	127,161	-8.82%	-1.90%	15.25%	0.9118	0.9810	Yes
Paterson	123,272	133,117	1.87%	2.70%	7.99%	1.0187	1.0270	Yes
Reid	129,259	133,255	6.82%	2.80%	3.09%	1.0682	1.0280	Yes
Richmond	122,977	129,794	1.62%	0.13%	5.54%	1.0162	1.0013	Yes
Robertson	119,541	132,298	-1.21%	2.07%	10.67%	0.9879	1.0207	Yes
Warrane	130,457	127,223	7.81%	-1.85%	-2.48%	1.0781	0.9815	Yes
Warringah	131,083	130,127	8.32%	0.39%	-0.73%	1.0832	1.0039	Yes
Watson	114,999	128,595	-4.97%	-0.79%	11.82%	0.9503	0.9921	Yes
Wentworth	127,991	126,404	5.77%	-2.48%	-1.24%	1.0577	0.9752	Yes
Whitlam	110,382	132,476	-8.78%	2.20%	20.02%	0.9122	1.0220	Yes
Woronora	120,991	126,379	-0.02%	-2.50%	4.45%	0.9998	0.9750	Yes
NEW SOUTH WALES	5,566,489	5,962,555	-	-	-	-	-	-

Enrolments per Division per SA1

Details of enrolments per division per SA1, and therefore which statistical areas level 1 are suggested for each division, are outlined in the attached spreadsheet file (i.e., 2023_FedRedistribution_Joshua-Lucock_Divisions-per-sa1) that accompanies this submission.