



# Suggestion 63

Anonymous 3

23 pages

As a resident of Melbourne for 4 decades, and with an interest in geography and psephology, I have been looking forward to making a detailed independent submission to the 23-24 Victorian Federal Redistribution Committee. However, it has been quite disappointing to see the lack of care shown by the ABS and the Committee in the preparation of the enrolment projection figures.

Concerningly, there is a clear systemic fault in the enrolment projection figures which are the foundation for this redistribution, and to draw boundaries based on these figures will lead to significant malapportionment.

So I must begin this submission with an exhortation to the Redistribution Committee to take action, and not to squander the opportunity to draw fair and balanced division boundaries for all Victorians.

## **THE PROBLEM**

To be absolutely frank, when it comes to the enrolment projection figures, someone has f#\$%ed up. Whether this is deliberate action or completely unintentional is immaterial.

I have no interest in developing conspiracy theories, but the Redistribution Committee needs to understand that in the current political climate – where accusations of electoral fraud are in vogue – running a redistribution process on obviously faulty and “bad faith” enrolment projections is not a good look.

It should raise suspicions that a division like Calwell – in Melbourne’s fast growing outer-North – which has grown by 7.16% in the last year alone, is now projected to grow at 1.57% per year to the April 2028 projection date. In comparison, Nicholls – in regional Northern Victoria – which has only grown by 0.40% in the last year, is now projected to grow at 1.63%.

Calwell is actually predicted to lose ground relative to other divisions in Victoria, going from an enrolment deviation of -1.34% in August 2023 to a deviation of -1.47% in April 2028, despite containing a significant number of greenfield housing developments.

The last year has shown divisions growing from between 0.40% to 8.46%, but the projection figures predict growth for all divisions to be within a very narrow range of 1.26% to 2.07%.

This is because 13,187 or 84.74% of the total 15,562 SA1s in Victoria have been assigned the exact same growth rate of 9.75% between August 2023 and April 2028.

This distribution of growth rates is generally at-odds with the cohort-component methodology statement provided by the ABS, and with the enrolment projections used in the concurrent New South Wales Redistribution, reportedly using the same methodology.

One can speculate upon the reasons why this has occurred:

- Someone has run out of time to prepare the enrolment projections and has simply applied a “blanket” rule across the remainder of the projections
- An unintentional software or calculation error has occurred
- Someone has been directed to apply a growth cap of 9.75% across Victoria in order to make it easier to draw divisions in high-growth areas of the state

Whatever the reason, it is hard to agree that the enrolment projections are credible or a suitable foundation for this current redistribution.

The simple fact is, if the Redistribution Committee continues to use the enrolment figures as they stand, there will be a significant degree of malapportionment, and concerningly this will unfairly bias representation towards certain demographics and towards one side of politics.

Furthermore, the use of such projection figures would almost certainly breach the Committee’s obligation under the Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918, section 66.3.a to:

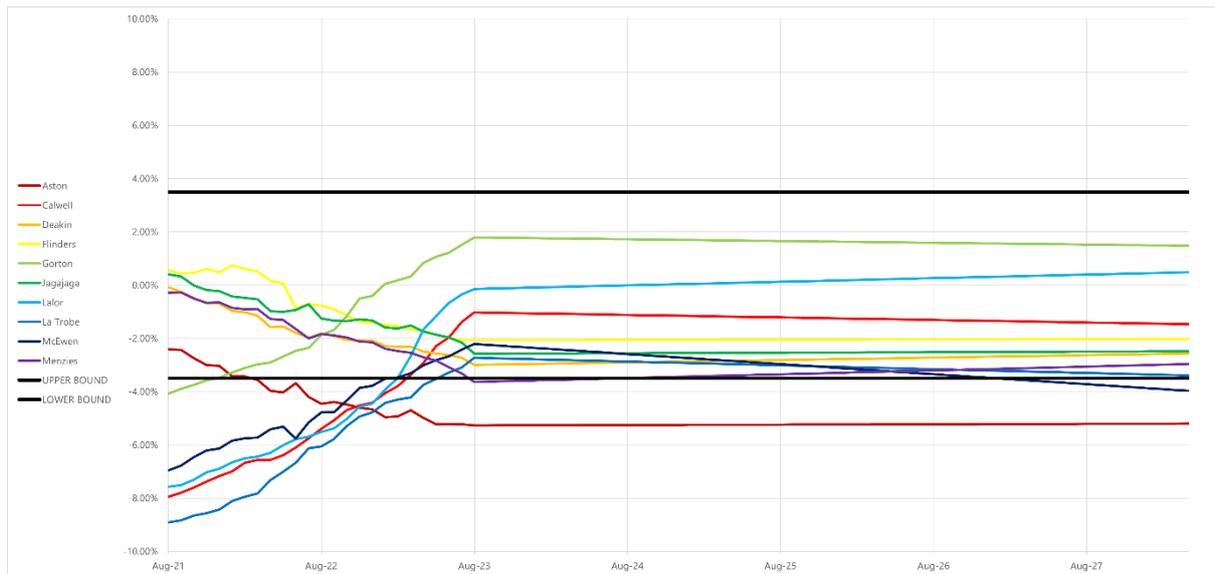
***“endeavour to ensure that, if the State were redistributed in accordance with the proposed redistribution, the number of electors enrolled in each Electoral Division in the State would not, at the projection time determined under section 63A, be less than 96.5% or more than 103.5% of the average divisional enrolment of that State at that time”***

The Committee – if not already – is now well aware of the fact that any drawing of Calwell or Lalor using these figures will almost certainly be beyond the 3.5% tolerance by April 2028, and quite possibly by the end of 2024.

While the Committee maintains impartiality by sourcing enrolment projections from the ABS, it still has a duty to ensure that the figures provided by the ABS are robust enough to conduct a redistribution upon. When almost 85% of the SA1 projections use the same growth rate, this is not the case. These figures have not been prepared with a level of competency or transparency that the community expects for this process.

## **FURTHER ANALYSIS**

To further illustrate the issues with the projection figures, the below graph shows the enrolment deviation (using a 38-division quota) for 5 high-growth and 5 low-growth divisions, over the previous 2 years, and then followed by the enrolment deviation trend that would occur if the provided projection figures were to be used:



Over the last 2 years, the divisions of Gorton, Lalor and Calwell in outer-Melbourne have grown at a significant rate relative to other divisions, however the projected figures assert a complete halt in this trend, with Gorton and Calwell even tipped to decline in relative terms.

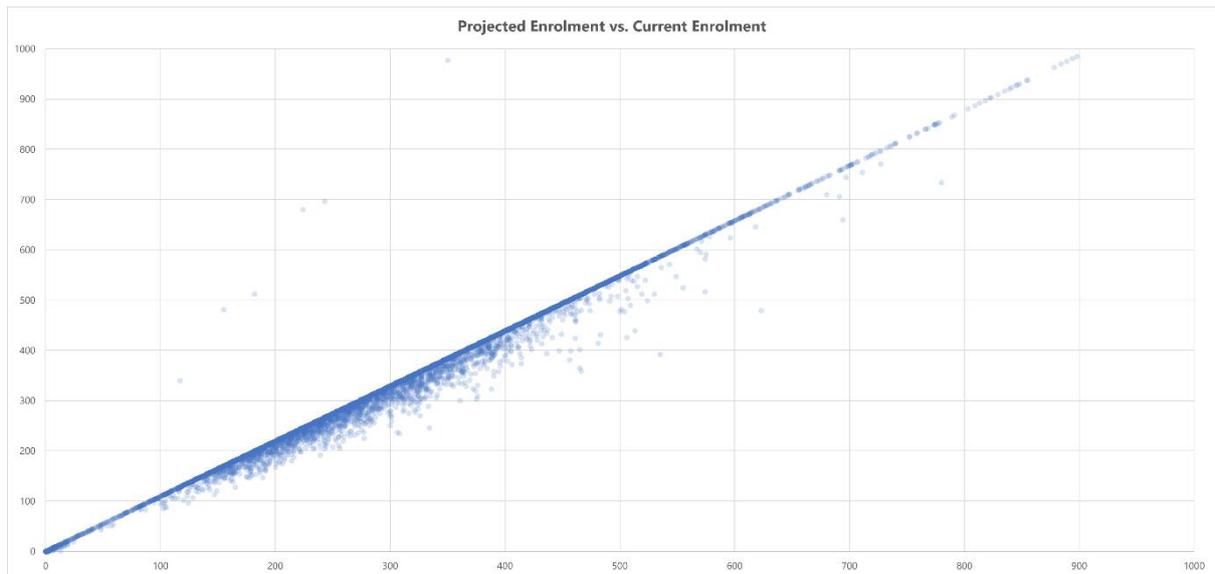
At the other end of the spectrum, Aston and Menzies in Eastern Melbourne have shown a relative decline over the last 2 years but are now both projected to reverse this trend.

Based on the provided figures, the projected growth rate for all 39 current divisions sits somewhere between **7.10%** and **10.52%** across the entire 4.5-year projection period. This is in contrast to Lalor having grown by **7.97%** within the last year, Calwell having grown by **6.89%** within the last year, and Menzies having only grown by **0.29%** within the last year.

Even with the assumption-driven nature of population projection, it would be almost impossible to argue that near-future growth will be almost evenly distributed throughout the entire state. Historical and current trends, and knowledge of Melbourne's outer-suburban growth areas would indicate otherwise. (See

<https://www.theage.com.au/national/victoria/the-melbourne-regions-set-to-grow-up-to-141-per-cent-as-population-booms-20231024-p5eei3.html>)

To further explore the discrepancy shown above, the following graph shows the projected enrolment for each of the 15,562 SA1s in Victoria, mapped against their current enrolments:



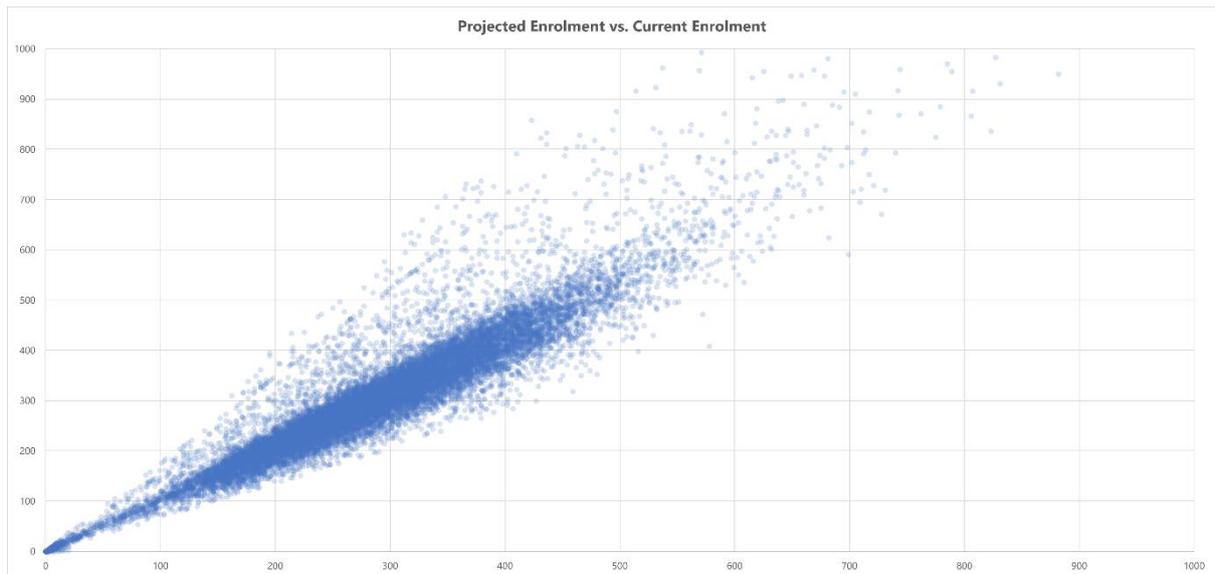
With the exception of 9 SA1s that appear to have been manually adjusted, none of the SA1s have been given growth rates beyond 9.75% over the period between the current enrolment date of 9th August 2023 and the projected enrolment date of 17th April 2028. A noticeable and strong linear feature is present in this graph and reveals that almost 80% of the SA1s across the state have been given the exact same growth rate, with some minor variation accounting for rounding.

Of the 15,562 SA1s provided in the enrolment projections spreadsheet, and which are used to derive total enrolment counts for the 39 Victorian divisions, 13,187 (or 84.74%) of the SA1s have applied the exact same formula to generate the projected enrolment:

*PROJECTED ENROLMENT equals:*

- *CURRENT ENROLMENT times 1.0975*
- *rounded to the nearest whole number*
- *and plus either 0 or 1*

In comparison, the enrolment projection figures currently being used for the New South Wales redistribution look like this:



The New South Wales figures show a far more natural distribution, with no prominent hard-edge or cutoff. This reflects an understanding that suburbs in high-growth outer-suburban areas are likely to be growing at a different rate to those in well-established inner-suburban areas and declining regional areas, and also accounts for all levels of growth in between.

## THE IMPLICATIONS

The relative difference in population growth between divisions is one of the key drivers of the redistribution process. High-growth divisions are meant to shrink, and low-growth divisions are meant to increase in size, so that voters receive as close to equal representation in parliament as possible.

Using enrolment projection figures that effectively give high-growth areas the same rate of growth as low-growth areas means that divisions in high-growth areas will be drawn larger than appropriate and that divisions in low-growth areas will be drawn smaller than appropriate.

If the current set of figures are used to facilitate this redistribution, it is likely that a number of divisions in outer-suburban Melbourne will already be outside of the 3.5% enrolment range by the conclusion of the redistribution process and will be outside of the 10% enrolment range by the April 2028 projection date. This is contrary to the primary goal of the redistribution which is to ensure – to the best of our ability – that all divisions are likely to be within a range of +/-3.5% at the projection date. As mentioned previously, this would put the Committee in breach of its requirements under section 66.3.a of the Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918.

Furthermore, the usage of such projection figures is certain to bias the apportionment of divisions to low-growth areas in Regional Victoria and Melbourne's East at the expense of high-growth areas in Melbourne's suburban fringe. That would very likely provide an uncalled-for benefit to one side of the political spectrum.

In practical terms, the current enrolment projections dictate a 20.5:17:5 split between divisions North and South of the Yarra River. This means that a division must straddle the river with resulting large flow-on effects for division boundaries and electors throughout Greater Melbourne. In contrast, a projection that follows current growth trends would deliver a split far closer to 21:17, meaning that no divisions will need to cross the Yarra in any significant way and that impact of the required seat abolishment would be contained solely South of the Yarra. In effect, Southern and Eastern Melbourne may be gaining an additional 0.5 of a division more than it is numerically entitled to, at the expense of Northern and Western Melbourne. To reiterate, this may assign unnecessary political advantage to certain demographics and political entities.

## **IN CONCLUSION**

I urge the Redistribution Commission to have these enrolment projection figures reviewed – both internally and by the ABS – and refined before the conclusion of the suggestions period. Were the Commission to dismiss this issue as trivial, it would open the AEC to accusations of political bias as the fullness of time reveals the level of malapportionment this redistribution is currently on track to create.

## 2. REDISTRIBUTION PROPOSAL

That the Committee reviews and readjusts the projection figures is the most important suggestion put forward by this submission.

However, the following proposal is an attempt to bridge the gap between the current set of enrolment projections and a more realistic scenario by using the full range of tolerance available.

This proposal aims to minimise disruptive cascading elector transfers that would occur by the unnecessary drawing of a divisions that significantly straddles the Yarra River.

Slow-growing divisions in Regional Victoria and Melbourne's South and East should be targeted towards a deviation of +3% due to their likely overestimation. Similarly, fast-growing divisions in Melbourne's outer-suburban fringes should be targeted towards a deviation of -3% so that they have room to grow beyond the stagnant projections they have been given.

**Hotham** is recommended to be abolished, due to its lack of community of interest and the need to top up divisions in the South and East of Greater Melbourne.

The divisions of Northern Melbourne, particularly **Cooper**, **Scullin**, and **Wills** should be left largely unchanged as they are generally defined by strong LGA and creek borders.

**Calwell** should regain the areas of City of Hume around Tullamarine Airport from **Maribyrnong** which should gain the closely linked parts of **Fraser** across the Maribyrnong.

**McEwen** should consolidate eastward, losing the Calder Freeway corridor to **Bendigo** and **Hawke**, and gaining outer-suburban estates from the north of **Calwell** and **Scullin**.

**Melbourne** should make a small crossing of the Yarra River to take in Docklands from **Macnamara**.

**Higgins** and **Macnamara** should swap territory to both become more focused on cohesive suburban and inner-city communities respectively.

**Aston** should gain the suburbs up to Belgrave from **Casey** which should gain the areas around Emerald-Cockatoo from **La Trobe**.

**Holt** and **La Trobe** should lose their outlying areas, becoming fully focused on Cranbourne and Berwick-Pakenham respectively.

**Kooyong** should become fully conterminous with the City of Boroondara, while **Menzies** should shift southward to fully take in Box Hill.

**Jagajaga** should make a minor crossing of the Yarra River to take in Warrandyte from **Menzies**.

The slow-growing regional divisions of **Bendigo**, **Gippsland**, **Indi**, **Mallee**, **Monash**, **Nicholls**, and **Wannon** should be given as many electors as possible within the range of tolerance available.

## 2.a. WESTERN VICTORIA

### *Ballarat + Corangamite + Corio + Wannon*

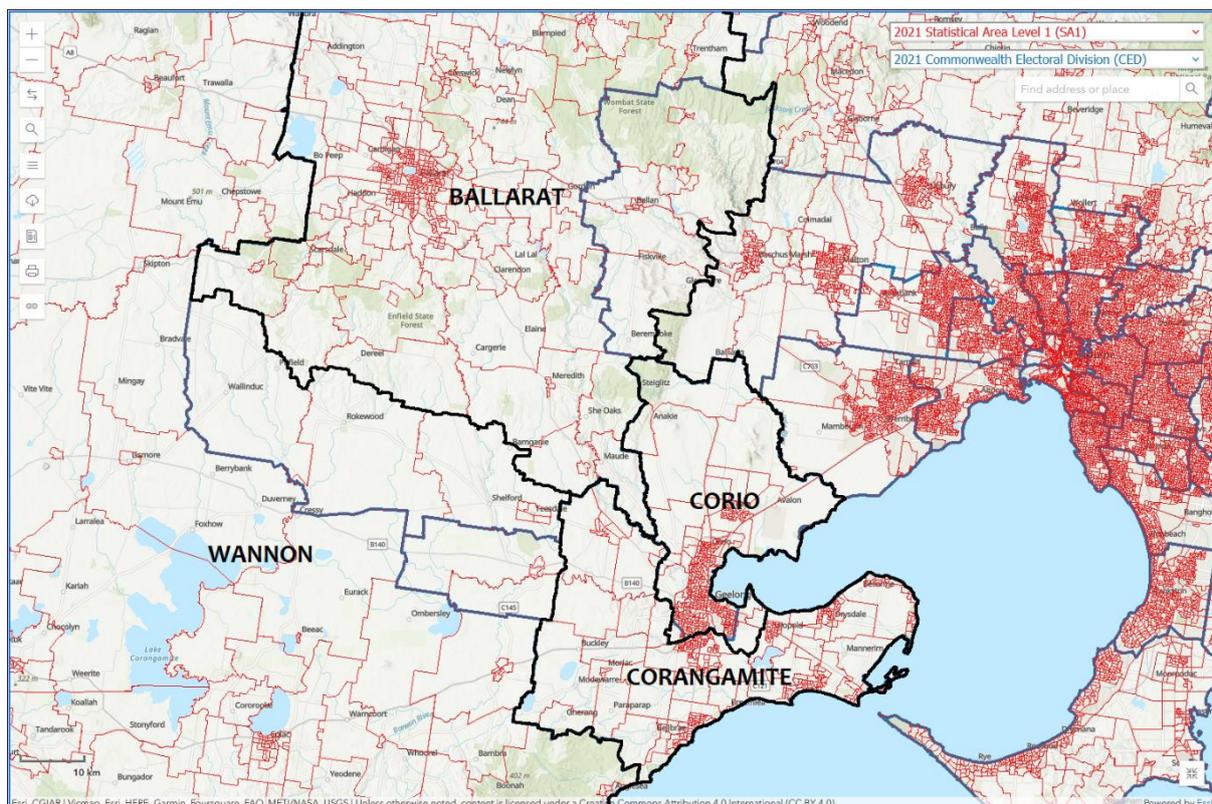
With strong and sensible LGA boundaries for the 4 divisions of Western Victoria, Moorabool Shire is the only obvious place for the region to gain electors. **Ballarat** should gain the majority of Bacchus Marsh Surrounds SA2 from **Hawke**, including Ballan and Blackwood.

**Corangamite** is the only fast-growing division in Regional Victoria, so it should give a small number of electors to **Corio** and **Wannon** to buffer these slow-growing divisions.

At the very least, **Wannon** should gain the localities of Wingeel, Hesse, and Inverleigh from **Corangamite**.

To further top up its electors, **Wannon** should additionally gain the southern localities of Golden Plains Shire from **Ballarat**, along C143 from Mannibadar to Teesdale. Despite introducing an additional split of the Golden Plains Shire, these areas have strong physical similarities and connections to areas currently in **Wannon**.

**Corio** is close to being under quota, so should gain the remainder of the localities of Highton and Wandana Heights, plus the campuses north of Waurn Ponds Creek from **Corangamite**. It should also gain the locality of Moolap from **Corangamite**.



## 2.b. NORTHERN VICTORIA

*Bendigo + Indi + Mallee + Nicholls*

The 4 divisions of Northern Victoria are expected to – if not projected to – grow slowly and should be put close to the upper end of tolerance, however this aim needs to be balanced against the need to not deplete the population of divisions in Melbourne’s Northern Suburbs.

With its stagnant population and strong borders, **Mallee** should be left unchanged.

**Bendigo** is just out of tolerance so should gain Woodend SA2 from **McEwen**.

**Nicholls** needs no changes, but its population is stagnant and it should gain some electors. It cannot realistically extend further into **McEwen** and Mitchell Shire, nor into **Indi** and Strathbogie Shire. Given these constraints, **Nicholls** should gain the parts of **Bendigo** east of the Campaspe River, including Heathcote.

Due to this change, **Bendigo** should also gain Macedon SA2 from **McEwen**.

**Indi** requires no changes, but should transfer Kinglake SA2 to **McEwen** due to its connection to outer-Melbourne.

## 2.c. WESTERN MELBOURNE

*Fraser + Gellibrand + Gorton + Hawke + Lalor + Maribyrnong*

Northwestern Melbourne is Victoria’s fastest growing area and will almost certainly grow faster than the enrolment projections suggest. For this reason, each of the 7 divisions in this area should be set at the low end of tolerance.

With careful drawing of boundaries, **Gellibrand** and **Lalor** can just fit entirely within the Hobsons Bay and Wyndham Council areas.

**Gellibrand** should gain everything east of Skeleton Creek from **Lalor**, with the exception of Truganina – North SA2 which should be transferred to **Lalor**. **Gellibrand** should also gain the remainder of Point Cook. To ensure that both divisions are within tolerance, the part of Werribee South north of Aviation Rd and Duncans Rd should also be transferred to **Gellibrand**.

With the expected loss of territory west of Bacchus Marsh, **Hawke** should gain the closely-connected and similar commuter town of Gisborne from **McEwen**, plus Riddells Creek.

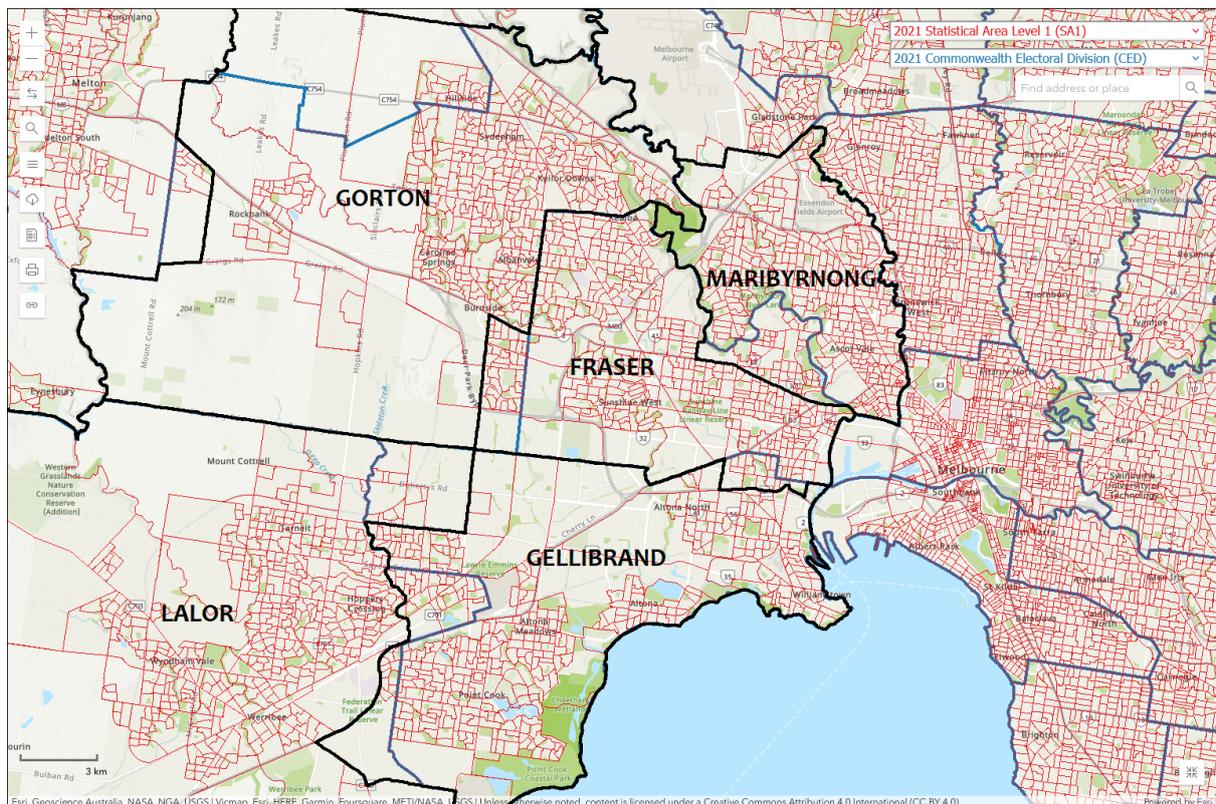
**Hawke** should give the remainder of the suburb of Hillside to **Gorton** in exchange for the part of Thornhill Park west of Paynes Rd.

With the loss of the towns along the Calder Freeway, **McEwen** contracts eastward to become more cohesive division representing the commuter towns on Melbourne’s Northern and Northeastern fringes. It should then gain electors by taking in Kalkallo and Mickleham north of Mt Ridley Rd from **Calwell**.

**Calwell** should then gain the share of Hume Council in **Maribyrnong**, as well as the part of Bulla east of Deep Creek from **Hawke**. This establishes strong boundaries for the division.

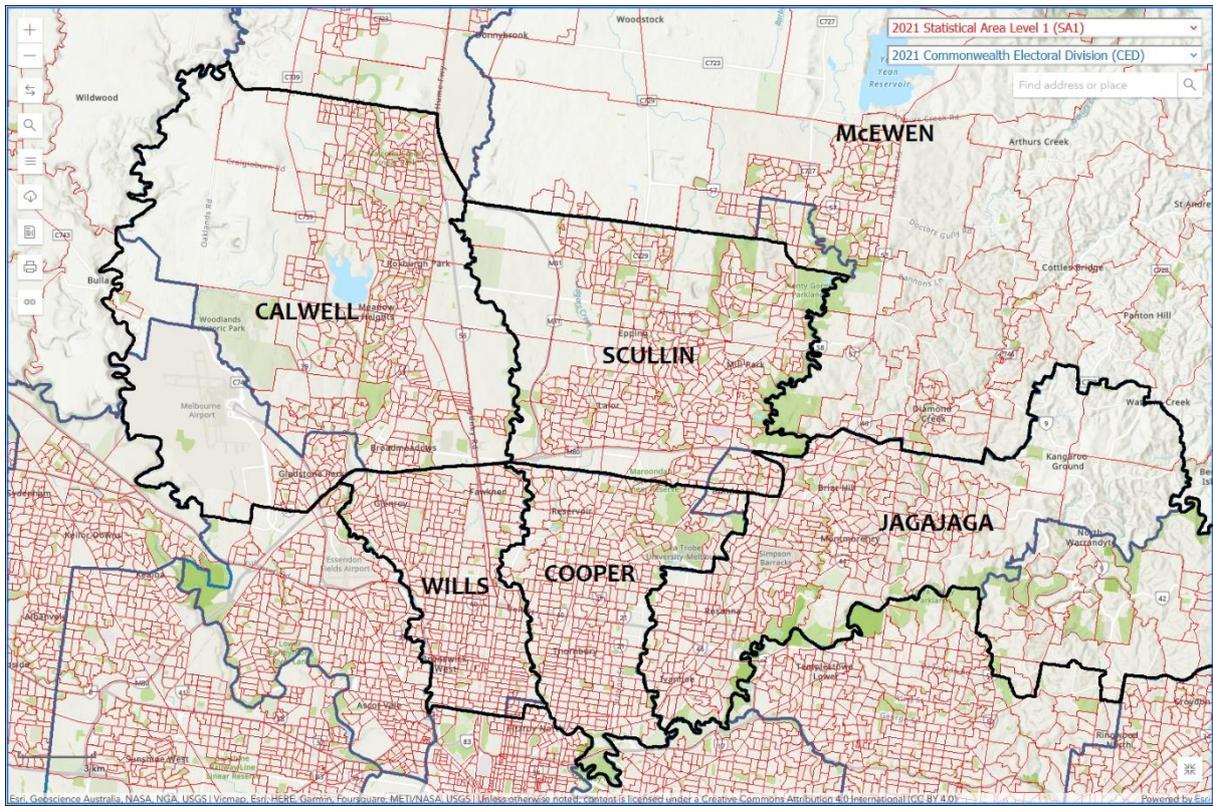
With the loss of suburbs around Tullamarine Airport to **Calwell**, and limited reason to disrupt its strong borders with **Melbourne** and **Wills**, **Maribyrnong** should cross its namesake river to gain the strongly connected suburb of Maribyrnong from **Fraser**, as well as the parts of Footscray, Maidstone, and Braybrook north of Ballarat Rd. This connects the parts of **Fraser** more strongly connected to Avondale Heights, Ascot Vale, and Moonee Ponds, without disrupting **Fraser's** basis as a division centred on Footscray, Sunshine, and St Albans.

**Fraser** should then expand to take in the remainder of Derrimut and the part of Deer Park south of Ballarat Rd from **Gorton**.



## 2.d. NORTHERN MELBOURNE

*Calwell + Cooper + Jagajaga + McEwen + Scullin + Wills*



The 5 divisions of Northern Melbourne tend to have strong LGA-creek borders so require little changes.

**Wills** should gain the remainder of Merri-bek from **Melbourne**.

**Cooper** and **Scullin** both take in parts of Bundoora from **Jagajaga**.

**McEwen** should gain territory from the north of both **Calwell** and **Scullin**.

**Jagajaga** should make a minor crossing of the Yarra River by taking Warrandyte from **Menzies**.

## 2.e. INNER SOUTHERN MELBOURNE

*Goldstein + Higgins + Kooyong + Macnamara + Melbourne*

Unlike the major rivers that distinctly separate the central business districts of Sydney, Brisbane, and Perth from areas on the other side, the Yarra River is a focal point for the city of Melbourne. There is little-to-no difference between the suburbs of Docklands, South Wharf, and Southbank and Melbourne-proper on the north bank.

While the Yarra River maintains a strong boundary between **Melbourne** and **Macnamara** and has never been crossed in this manner, it would be wise to acknowledge the change in structure and demographics of the south bank that make it more-and-more an extension of the CBD itself. The Committee should consider making a small "beach-head" across the river to include Docklands and other areas north of the freeway in **Melbourne**.

Assuming a small movement of **Melbourne** south into **Macnamara**, the 4 divisions of Inner Southeastern Melbourne are at 3.85 quotas and need to gain electors.

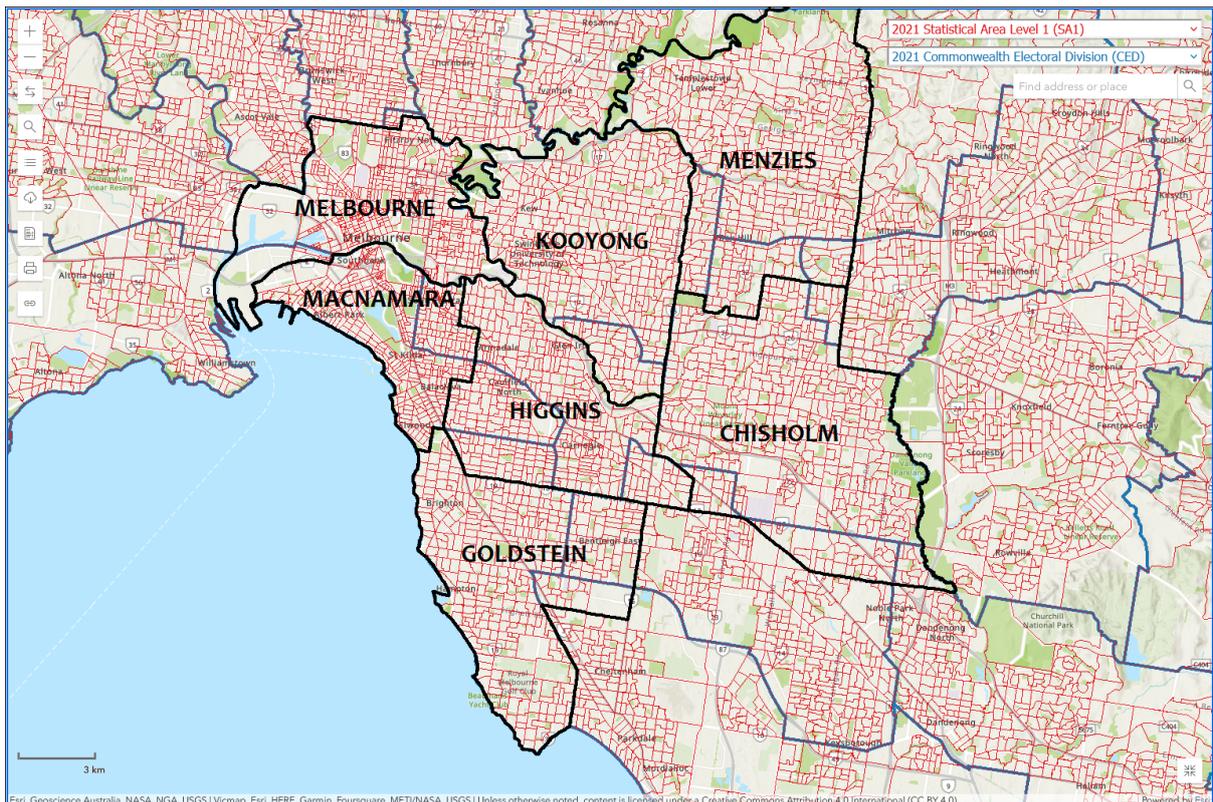
The obvious location for this to occur is the somewhat culturally disconnected western end of **Hotham**. The City of Glen Eira suburb of Bentleigh East has a far stronger connection westwards to the suburbs in **Goldstein** than it does towards Springvale and Noble Park. Additionally, the suburbs of Hughesdale and Oakleigh are well-connected to Carnegie and Murrumbeena in **Higgins**.

The decision around whether to move Caulfield into **Higgins** has been hotly debated in previous redistributions and will continue to be so until this long overdue change is finally made.

The major area of concern has been around how to best unite the significant Jewish community in the area into a single division.

The Jewish community of Melbourne has largely settled in the area roughly corresponding to the City of Glen Eira. This LGA is currently and unfortunately split between 4 divisions. With the movement of Bentleigh East into **Goldstein**, and a further swap of territory between **Higgins** and **Macnamara**, it may be possible to reduce this split to 2 divisions.

As **Goldstein** gains territory from **Hotham**, and with strong borders elsewhere, it will need to shift its northern border southwards. North Rd is a strong and suitable boundary.



## 2.f. EASTERN MELBOURNE

*Aston + Casey + Chisholm + Deakin + Menzies*

**Aston** moves further along the Belgrave line, taking in all suburbs up to and including Belgrave. This is not an ideal split, but the geography of the Yarra Ranges means that borders are generally messy in this area.

**Casey** remains largely unchanged, but takes in the northern hinterland townships of **La Trobe** and **Monash**.

**Menzies** should become properly centred on the Doncaster-Box Hill axis, by losing everything east of Springvale Rd to **Deakin** and **Jagajaga**, and gaining Surrey Hills and Mont Albert from **Kooyong**, Box Hill and Blackburn from **Chisholm** and parts of **Deakin** west of Springvale Rd.

**Chisholm** should shift southward to take in Mulgrave and parts of Clayton from **Hotham**.

**Deakin** should maintain its strong LGA borders with only adjustments to its western end.

## 2.g. SOUTHEASTERN MELBOURNE

*Bruce + Dunkley + Flinders + Holt + Hotham (ABOLISHED) + Isaacs + La Trobe*

**Flinders** should gain a small number of electors by taking Pearcedale – Tooradin SA2 from **Holt** to ease the pressure on this fast-growing division.

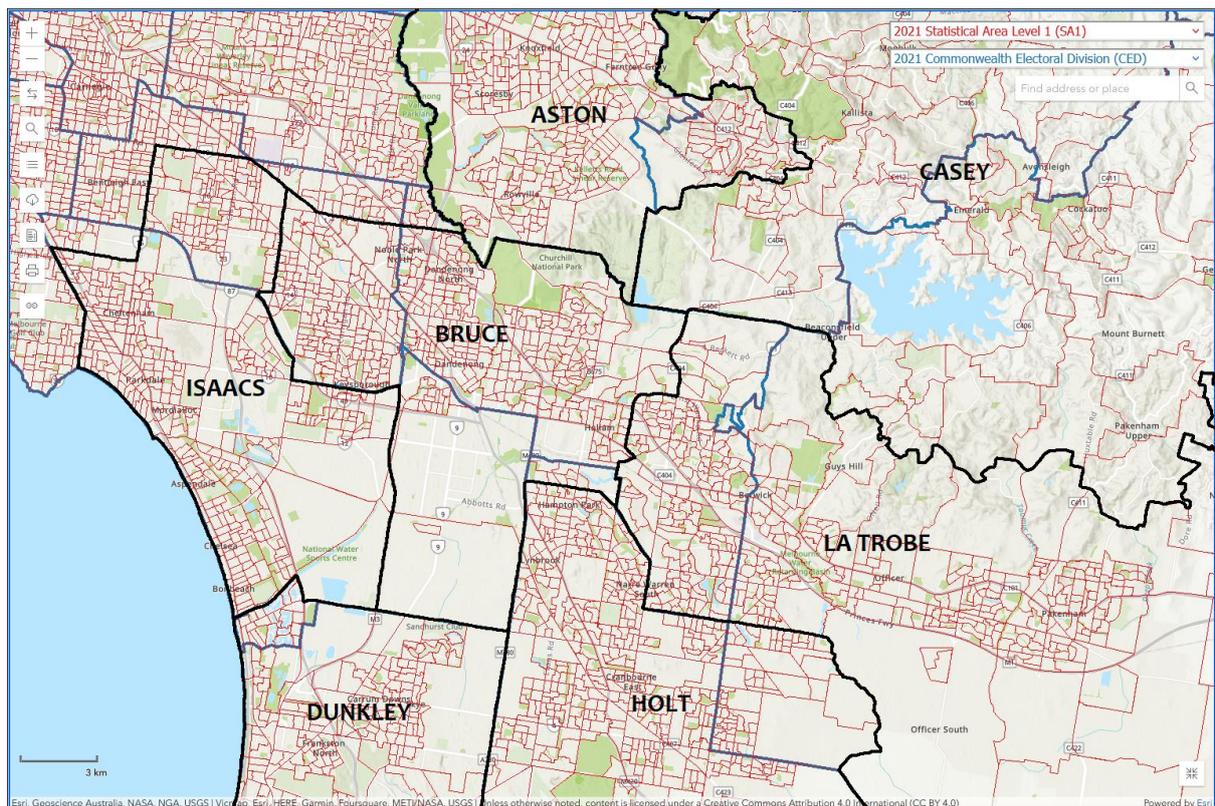
**Dunkley** should gain the parts of Carrum and Patterson Lakes south of Patterson River from **Isaacs**.

**Holt** should be moved away from Western Port and consolidated around Cranbourne, taking Clyde from **La Trobe**.

**Isaacs** currently contains some isolated parts of Greater Dandenong which have little community of interest with the bayside suburbs of Kingston LGA. Where possible, these should be ceded to **Bruce**. It should gain the remainder of Kingston LGA from **Hotham**.

**Bruce** should gain the remainder of Greater Dandenong from **Hotham** and gives everything east of Ernst Wanke Dr to **La Trobe**.

**La Trobe** loses everything north of Pakenham, east of Nar Nar Goon and south of Cardinia, so that it can take in the majority of Berwick Park and Narre Warren from **Bruce**.



## 2.h. EASTERN VICTORIA

### *Gippsland + Monash*

Both of the divisions in Eastern Victoria have strong LGA boundaries and do not require changes, however **Monash** should gain at least a small amount of electors. Furthermore, if **Gippsland** and **Monash** both gain electors, this allows for **La Trobe** to become a fully suburban division based in Berwick and Pakenham.

**Monash** should revert its western boundary to its previous arrangement, except for Cardinia and Officer South which remain in **La Trobe**.

To assist with this, **Monash** should lose the Mount Baw Baw Region SA2 to **Casey** and **Gippsland**.

**Gippsland** may additionally gain Foster or Mirboo North from **Monash** to further boost its elector count.

### 3. SUMMARY OF DIVISIONS

Wannon	129,502	1.78%
Ballarat	124,055	-2.50%
Corangamite	123,937	-2.59%
Corio	125,611	-1.28%
WESTERN VICTORIA	503,105	-1.15%
Mallee	131,342	3.23%
Bendigo	128,129	0.70%
Nicholls	128,102	0.68%
Indi	124,980	-1.77%
NORTHERN VICTORIA	512,553	0.71%
Hawke	123,917	-2.61%
Gorton	123,183	-3.19%
Fraser	125,914	-1.04%
Maribyrnong	123,932	-2.60%
Gellibrand	122,745	-3.53%
Lalor	123,021	-3.31%
WESTERN MELBOURNE	742,712	-2.71%
McEwen	122,005	-4.11%
Calwell	122,878	-3.43%
Wills	125,150	-1.64%
Cooper	124,026	-2.52%
Scullin	122,877	-3.43%
Jagajaga	123,731	-2.76%
NORTHERN MELBOURNE	740,667	-2.98%
Melbourne	123,624	-2.84%
Macnamara	127,161	-0.06%
Kooyong	128,011	0.61%
Higgins	129,221	1.56%
Goldstein	130,199	2.33%
INNER MELBOURNE	638,216	0.32%
Menzies	128,384	0.90%
Chisholm	131,361	3.24%
Deakin	131,087	3.03%
Aston	130,973	2.94%
Casey	131,288	3.18%
EASTERN MELBOURNE	653,093	2.66%

Isaacs	131,515	3.36%
Dunkley	130,865	2.85%
Flinders	131,071	3.01%
Holt	130,991	2.95%
Bruce	131,516	3.36%
La Trobe	129,764	1.99%
SOUTHEAST MELBOURNE	785,722	2.92%

Monash	131,084	3.02%
Gippsland	127,896	0.52%
EASTERN VICTORIA	258,980	1.77%

NORTH & WEST	2,622,661	-1.85%	20.61 quotas – 21 divisions
SOUTH & EAST	2,212,387	2.28%	17.39 quotas – 17 divisions
TOTAL VICTORIA	4,835,048		

#### 4. LIST OF PROPOSED CHANGES

```
#=====#
# WESTERN VICTORIA #
#=====#
if division == "Hawke" and sa2 == "Bacchus Marsh Surrounds" and sa1 not in
["2100908", "2100910"]:
    division = "Ballarat"

if division == "Corangamite":
    if sa2 == "Golden Plains - South":
        division = "Wannon"
    if split and sa2 == "Winchelsea" and sa1 == "2103603":
        division = "Wannon"

    if sa2 == "Highton" and sa1 in ["2104248", "2104247", "2104249",
"2104246"]:
        division = "Corio"
    if sa2 == "Newcomb - Moolap":
        division = "Corio"

if division == "Ballarat":
    if sa2 == "Golden Plains - North" and sa1 == "2101510":
        division = "Wannon"
    if sa2 == "Golden Plains - South" and sa1 in ["2103513", "2103511",
"2103501", "2103514", "2103516", "2103515"]:
        division = "Wannon"

#=====#
# NORTHERN VICTORIA #
#=====#
if division == "Bendigo":
    if sa2 == "Heathcote" and sa1 not in ["2102903", "2102911"]:
        division = "Nicholls"
    if split and sa2 == "Heathcote" and sa1 == "2102911":
        division = "Nicholls"
    if sa2 == "Seymour Surrounds":
        division = "Nicholls"
    if sa2 == "Kyneton" and sa1 == "2103008":
        division = "Nicholls"

if division == "McEwen" and sa2 in ["Woodend", "Macedon"]:
    division = "Bendigo"

if division == "Indi" and sa2 == "Kinglake":
    division = "McEwen"

#=====#
# WESTERN MELBOURNE #
#=====#
if division == "Gellibrand":
    if sa2 == "Yarraville":
        division = "Fraser"
    if sa2 == "Truganina - North" and sa1 not in ["2158602", "2158606"]:
        division = "Lalor"
```

```

if division == "Lalor":
    if sa2 in ["Laverton", "Truganina - South East", "Truganina - South West"]:
        division = "Gellibrand"
    if sa2 == "Werribee - South" and sa1 in ["2136840", "2136829", "2136832",
"2136841", "2136844", "2136831", "2136830", "2136838", "2136833", "2136837"]:
        division = "Gellibrand"
    if split and sa2 == "Werribee - South" and sa1 == "2136842":
        division = "Gellibrand"

if division == "McEwen" and sa2 in ["Gisborne", "Riddells Creek"]:
    division = "Hawke"

if division == "Hawke" and sa2 in ["Hillside", "Fraser Rise - Plumpton"]:
    division = "Gorton"

if division == "Maribyrnong":
    if sa2 in ["Gladstone Park - Westmeadows", "Tullamarine", "Melbourne
Airport"]:
        division = "Calwell"
    if sa2 == "Keilor" and sa1 == "1122805":
        division = "Calwell"

if division == "Fraser":
    if sa2 == "Maribyrnong":
        division = "Maribyrnong"
    if sa2 == "Footscray" and sa1 in ["2134825", "2134829", "2134832",
"2134835", "2134806", "2134805", "2134834", "2134804"]:
        division = "Maribyrnong"
    if sa2 == "Braybrook" and sa1 in ["2134738", "2134715", "2134714",
"2134713", "2134728", "2134712", "2134709", "2134739", "2134747", "2134746",
"2134741", "2134743", "2134742", "2134717"]:
        division = "Maribyrnong"

if division == "Gorton":
    if sa2 == "Derrimut":
        division = "Fraser"
    if sa2 == "Deer Park" and sa1 in ["2156939", "2156905", "2156914",
"2156930", "2156942", "2156902", "2156924", "2156928", "2156919", "2156923",
"2156927", "2156918", "2156937"]:
        division = "Fraser"
    if sa2 == "Deer Park" and sa1 in ["2156932", "2156911", "2156908",
"2156922", "2156935", "2156904", "2156901", "2156946"]:
        division = "Fraser"

if division == "Gorton":
    if sa2 == "Rockbank - Mount Cottrell" and sa1 in ["2135914", "2135922",
"2135923", "2135927", "2135921", "2135939", "2135928", "2135950", "2135920"]:
        division = "Hawke"
    if split and sa2 == "Rockbank - Mount Cottrell" and sa1 == "2135938":
        division = "Hawke"

#=====#
# NORTHERN MELBOURNE #
#=====#
if division == "Calwell":

```

```

        if sa2 == "Mickleham - Yuroke" and sa1 not in ["2144542", "2144526",
"2144521", "2144531", "2144549", "2144509", "2144520"]:
            division = "McEwen"
        if sa2 == "Craigieburn - North" and sa1 == "2144205":
            division = "McEwen"

if division == "Hawke":
    if sa2 == "Greenvale - Bulla" and sa1 == "2124620":
        division = "Calwell"
    if split and sa2 == "Greenvale - Bulla" and sa1 == "2124621":
        division = "Calwell"

if division == "Scullin":
    if sa2 == "Mernda - South":
        division = "McEwen"
    if sa2 == "South Morang - North" and sa1 in ["2143519", "2143503",
"2143510", "2143523", "2143516"]:
        division = "McEwen"

if division == "Jagajaga":
    if sa2 == "Bundoora - East":
        if sa1 in ["2119622", "2119603", "2119602", "2119619", "2119601",
"2119618", "2119616", "2119615", "2119617"]:
            division = "Cooper"
        else:
            division = "Scullin"
    if sa2 == "Watsonia" and sa1 in ["2120413", "2120414", "2120402",
"2120403", "2120409", "2120407", "2120408", "2120422", "2120416", "2120415"]:
        division = "Scullin"

        if sa2 == "Plenty - Yarrambat" and sa1 not in ["2121304", "2121305"]:
            division = "McEwen"

if division == "Menzies":
    if sa2 == "Research - North Warrandyte":
        division = "Jagajaga"
    if sa2 == "Warrandyte - Wonga Park":
        division = "Jagajaga"

#=====#
# INNER MELBOURNE #
#=====#
if division == "Melbourne":
    if sa2 == "Brunswick East":
        division = "Wills"
    if sa2 == "Fitzroy North" and sa1 in ["2114301", "2114302"]:
        division = "Wills"

if division == "Macnamara":
    if sa2 == "Port Melbourne Industrial" and sa1 in ["2151104", "2151103"]:
        division = "Melbourne"
    if sa2 == "Docklands":
        division = "Melbourne"

```

```

if division == "Macnamara" and sa2 in ["Caulfield - North", "Ormond - Glen
Huntly", "Caulfield - South", "Elsternwick"]:
    division = "Higgins"
if division == "Higgins" and sa2 in ["South Yarra - North", "South Yarra - South",
"Prahran - Windsor"]:
    division = "Macnamara"

if division == "Higgins" and sa2 in ["Glen Iris - East", "Ashburton (Vic.)"]:
    division = "Kooyong"

if division == "Goldstein":
    if sa2 in ["Elsternwick", "Caulfield - South"]:
        division = "Higgins"
    if sa2 == "Ormond - Glen Huntly" and sa1 not in ["2118221", "2118222",
"2118223", "2118224", "2118225", "2118201", "2118226"]:
        division = "Higgins"

if division == "Isaacs" and sa2 == "Moorabbin - Heatherton" and sa1 not in
["2119120", "2119121", "2119102", "2119101", "2119103", "2119104", "2119105",
"2119122"]:
    division = "Goldstein"

#=====#
# ABOLITION OF HOTHAM #
#=====#
if division == "Hotham":
    if sa2 == "Hughesdale":
        division = "Higgins"
    if sa2 in ["Bentleigh East - North", "Bentleigh East - South"]:
        division = "Goldstein"
    if sa2 in ["Moorabbin - Heatherton", "Clarinda - Oakleigh South", "Clayton
South", "Clayton - Central"]:
        division = "Isaacs"
    if sa2 in ["Clayton (North) - Notting Hill", "Mulgrave"]:
        division = "Chisholm"
    if sa2 in ["Noble Park North", "Noble Park - East", "Noble Park - West",
"Keysborough - North", "Springvale South", "Springvale", "Dingley Village"]:
        division = "Bruce"

    if sa2 == "Oakleigh - Huntingdale":
        if sa1 in ["2132613", "2132625", "2132620", "2132644", "2132606",
"2132621", "2132622", "2132619", "2132641", "2132617", "2132629", "2132646",
"2132632", "2132642", "2132628", "2132656", "2132655"]:
            division = "Higgins"
        elif sa1 in ["2132605", "2132636", "2132637", "2132638", "2132639",
"2132604", "2132602", "2132635", "2132634", "2132643", "2132607", "2132603",
"2132654", "2132657"]:
            division = "Isaacs"
        else:
            division = "Chisholm"

#=====#
# EASTERN MELBOURNE #
#=====#

```

```

if division == "Kooyong" and sa2 in ["Box Hill North", "Surrey Hills (East) - Mont
Albert"]:
    division = "Menzies"

if division == "Chisholm" and sa2 in ["Blackburn", "Box Hill"]:
    division = "Menzies"

if division == "Menzies":
    if sa2 == "Mitcham (Vic.)":
        division = "Deakin"
    if sa2 == "Donvale - Park Orchards" and sa1 not in ["2126120", "2126119",
"2126118", "2126117", "2126116", "2126138", "2126111", "2126109", "2126106",
"2126139", "2126107", "2126102", "2126101"]:
        division = "Deakin"
    if sa2 == "Nunawading" and sa1 in ["2127108", "2127127", "2127109",
"2127110", "2127113", "2127114", "2127111", "2127112"]:
        division = "Deakin"

if division == "Deakin":
    if sa2 == "Blackburn":
        division = "Menzies"
    if sa2 == "Forest Hill" and sa1 in ["2126901", "2126902"]:
        division = "Menzies"
    if sa2 == "Nunawading" and sa1 in ["2127102", "2127103", "2127126",
"2127129"]:
        division = "Menzies"

    if sa2 == "Blackburn South":
        division = "Chisholm"
    if sa2 == "Forest Hill" and sa1 in ["2126908", "2126922", "2126909",
"2126912", "2126911", "2126910", "2126906", "2126907", "2126904", "2126905"]:
        division = "Chisholm"

if division == "Casey":
    if sa2 in ["Lysterfield", "Upwey - Tecoma"]:
        division = "Aston"
    if sa2 == "Belgrave - Selby" and sa1 in ["2127419", "2127418", "2127421",
"2127408", "2127424", "2127407", "2127428", "2127416", "2127429", "2127430",
"2127420", "2127417"]:
        division = "Aston"

if division == "La Trobe" and sa2 == "Emerald - Cockatoo":
    division = "Casey"

#####
# SOUTHEASTERN MELBOURNE #
#####
if division == "Bruce" and sa2 == "Mulgrave":
    division = "Chisholm"

if division == "Isaacs" and sa2 in ["Noble Park - East", "Dandenong - South"]:
    division = "Bruce"

if division == "Bruce":

```

```

    if sa2 in ["Berwick - North", "Berwick - South West", "Narre Warren South -
East", "Narre Warren South - West"]:
        division = "La Trobe"
    if sa2 == "Narre Warren - South West" and sa1 not in ["2145613", "2145620",
"2145610", "2145632", "2145609", "2145619"]:
        division = "La Trobe"
    if sa2 == "Narre Warren - North East" and sa1 != "2145503":
        division = "La Trobe"
    if sa2 == "Narre Warren North" and sa1 not in ["2129911", "2129918",
"2129912", "2129906", "2129915", "2129905", "2129904", "2129916", "2129917",
"2129903"]:
        division = "La Trobe"
    if split and sa2 == "Narre Warren North" and sa1 == "2129908":
        division = "La Trobe"

if division == "Holt":
    if sa2 == "Hampton Park - West" and sa1 in ["2156224", "2156226",
"2156227", "2156225", "2156211", "2156202", "2156209"]:
        division = "Bruce"
    if sa2 == "Hampton Park - East" and sa1 in ["2156118", "2156113"]:
        division = "Bruce"

if division == "La Trobe" and sa2 in ["Clyde North - South", "Clyde North -
North"]:
    division = "Holt"

if division == "Isaacs" and sa2 == "Carrum - Patterson Lakes" and sa1 not in
["2118527", "2118529", "2118530", "2118516", "2118517", "2118518"]:
    division = "Dunkley"

if division == "Holt" and sa2 == "Pearcedale - Tooradin":
    division = "Flinders"

#=====#
# EASTERN VICTORIA #
#=====#
if division == "La Trobe":
    if sa2 == "Koo Wee Rup" and sa1 not in ["2154809", "2154813", "2154808",
"2154825"]:
        division = "Monash"
    if sa2 == "Bunyip - Garfield" and sa1 not in ["2154709", "2154712",
"2154703", "2154706", "2154705"]:
        division = "Monash"

if division == "Monash":
    if sa2 == "Mount Baw Baw Region":
        if sa1 in ["2107711", "2107705", "2107707", "2107701", "2107706",
"2107720", "2107719"]:
            division = "Gippsland"
        else:
            division = "Casey"

```