



Comment on suggestions 69

Anonymous 4

13 pages

To The Victorian Federal Redistribution Committee,

Eleven days isn't quite enough time to fully review all 63 suggestions, but I would like to submit some comments on general themes raised, overall redistribution strategy, and then briefly upon each of Victoria's 39 divisions in order to assist the Committee with the difficult task posed by this redistribution's enrolment figures.

THE FAULTY ENROLMENT PROJECTIONS

While the enrolment projections indicate a 20.5:17.5 split of divisions Northwest and Southeast of the traditional Yarra River-Great Dividing Range boundary, credible projection figures would have this closer to a 21:17 split. The flaws in the enrolment projection figures are readily apparent and have been noted by a significant number of submissions. It is clear that the enrolment projections should be reviewed in order to ensure that they are free of error or methodological flaws.

Of the 63 submissions, the following have made comment on the quality (or lack thereof) of the enrolment projection figures:

- S32 (Dr Mark Mulcair)
- S35 (Jeff Waddell)
- S36 (D.G. Clarke)
- S57 (Australian Labor Party – Victorian Branch)
- S58 (Peter Mitchell)
- S60 (Dr Charles Richardson)
- S63 (Anonymous 3)

I would like to note to the Committee, that this redistribution is not merely a "box-ticking" exercise. It is a fundamental mechanism for ensuring fair democratic representation. To continue to use obviously flawed enrolment projections out of apathy would constitute a failure of the redistribution process.

As always, paramount importance should be given to 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"

At the end of this document, I have attached a table comparing the ABS-provided enrolment projections with a set of alternative enrolment projections. These enrolment projections take the annual growth rate between July 2022 and July 2023, and then apply it forward to the projection date of 17 April 2028.

The difference between these two sets of projections is stark.

If current divisional growth rates are maintained, the 6 outer-suburban growth divisions of Calwell, Gorton, Holt, La Trobe, Lalor, and McEwen will each have a difference in enrolment deviation of between 11.69% to 27.94%, when compared to their ABS projections. Include Gellibrand and Hawke in this group, and the sum of these differences is equal to 1.3 divisions worth of under-projection. Is it right to allocate outer-suburban electors more than one whole division less than they are entitled to?

It is hard to expect that any drawing of Calwell or Lalor constrained by the current projections will remain within the 3.5% tolerance (or even 10%) required by section 66.3.a, which would put the Committee in jeopardy of breaching their obligations under the Act.

I encourage the Committee to think carefully about how they should continue to conduct this redistribution given the awareness of this issue and the public scrutiny it may generate. Fortunately, the enrolment projections are not immutable. There is nothing that would prevent the Committee from sourcing more robust projections while they draw up their proposed divisional boundaries except for inertia.

I urge the Redistribution Committee to act upon these genuine concerns and to ensure that all Victorians get the fair parliamentary representation they deserve.

ABOLISHING A DIVISION

If we take the projections at face-value for now, there is still a consensus that a division should be abolished somewhere in Southern and Eastern Melbourne. With the exception of McEwen, the present divisions of Northern and Western Melbourne are generally cohesive and strongly defined, and current trends mean that it is almost certain that this area will grow at a faster rate than Southern and Eastern Melbourne.

There is less consensus around which division should be abolished, as this generally flows-on from how the Committee resolves the challenge of having to draw a division that straddles the Yarra River, if it must do so.

Macnamara, Menzies, and Casey have all been suggested for abolishment due to the need for one (or more) of Melbourne, Jagajaga, or McEwen to cross the Yarra boundary. Higgins and Hotham have also been suggested due to their lack of cohesive communities of interest, and due to the need for neighbouring divisions to gain electors. McEwen is the only northern division in that has been recommended, as it contains a wide arc of communities across 4 different transport corridors with very little in common apart from being positioned on Melbourne's northern fringe.

Hotham, like McEwen, contains parts of 4 different local government areas and lacks a cohesive community of interest. Of all the divisions mentioned, it will be the least disruptive to abolish, as it has parts that can be readily and sensibly absorbed by neighbouring Chisholm, Bruce, Isaacs, Goldstein, and Higgins.

CROSSING THE YARRA RIVER

Overall, there are 3 general strategies for resolving the need to cross the Yarra River:

1. Cross the Yarra between Melbourne and Macnamara
2. Cross the Yarra between Jagajaga and Menzies
3. Cross the Yarra between McEwen and Casey

Submissions have noted the similarities and strong connections between the Southbank-South Melbourne area, Melbourne's Central Business District, and other inner-city areas contained in the division of Melbourne. Indeed, the City of Melbourne is the only inner-metropolitan council that crosses the Yarra River. These arguments are compelling, and this is certainly the most sensible area to cross the Yarra River from a community of interest perspective, however the one reservation is that a non-minor transfer of electors would mean disruption to the strong boundaries of Wills and Calwell, or Cooper and Scullin, and also to Macnamara and Higgins. Such a change will almost certainly be reverted at the next redistribution. Thus, while I encourage the Committee to transfer Docklands in particular, and parts of Southbank as required, that they should not make any transfers that push Macnamara further than Prahran, or which pull Wills or Cooper south of Alexandra Parade.

Similarly, there are strong arguments to transfer the Yarra Valley, currently in Casey, into McEwen. I posit that this solution is not particularly beneficial at this point in time. With the rapid growth of the outer-suburban towns of Wallan and Whittlesea, McEwen's destiny is to contract and become the next outer-suburban division rather than a collection of peri-urban areas broadly to the north of Melbourne. Gaining the Yarra Valley would run counter to this goal and would additionally disrupt the well-defined boundary of Casey as a Yarra Ranges Shire division, and of Deakin as a City of Maroondah division.

In light of these constraints, the Committee would do well to take note of the region formed by drawing a line from Diamond Creek to Dandenong South. The 8 divisions intersected by this line (McEwen, Jagajaga, Menzies, Deakin, Chisholm, Hotham, Bruce, and Isaacs), tend to have the weakest and most freely adjustable division boundaries in all of Greater Melbourne. This area should be utilised as the least disruptive channel through which to move electors between Northern Melbourne and Southern Melbourne, as has been done at previous redistributions. In particular, the boundaries that currently split the Box Hill area and City of Whitehorse are generally unsatisfactory and would benefit from a significant readjustment.

To the east of this region, Aston and Casey are effectively conterminous with City of Knox and Yarra Ranges Shire respectively. To the west, Kooyong's position is relatively fixed. In Northern Melbourne, a quadrant of divisions (Calwell, Scullin, Cooper, and Wills) intersected by Merri Creek and the Western Ring Road, as well as local government boundaries, have no need to significantly change.

Thus, the obvious place to cross the Yarra is between Jagajaga (Banyule and Nillumbik) and Menzies (Manningham). There is much precedent for this, both historically and recently at the previous 2 redistributions. North Warrandyte is current paired with Warrandyte in Menzies, with Eltham previously having been placed in Menzies for one election cycle. While

the Yarra would ideally serve as a strong and neat boundary between Jagajaga and Menzies, there is enough similarity between Eltham and Templestowe, or between Heidelberg and Bulleen to consider such a boundary shift between the two divisions. With significant numbers of electors needing to be transferred, between Jagajaga and Menzies is the place to do so.

In my original submission, S63, I noted that it is possible to balance divisions on both sides of the Yarra with the simple transfers of Docklands SA2 to Melbourne and Warrandyte – Wonga Park SA2 to Jagajaga. This would require using the full range of tolerances so that Northern and Western Victoria maintains 21 divisions from 20.61 quotas (with an average deviation of -1.85%), and Southern and Eastern Victoria maintains 17 divisions from 17.39 quotas (with an average deviation of +2.28%). However, this would be far closer to a 21:17 split based on current and expected growth trends.

I understand that the Committee may not wish to use one variety of malapportionment to prevent another variety of malapportionment, so it may prefer a more significant transfer of the parts of Templestowe and Doncaster East north of Reynolds Rd, and the parts of Bulleen west of Thompsons Rd into Jagajaga. Menzies could then shift southwards to unite all of Box Hill and Blackburn, a much-needed change.

In general, the Committee should adopt a minimalist approach to this redistribution. If the enrolment figures are going to be contested, and if Victoria is likely to have its 4th consecutive redistribution in 3 years' time, then it's best to limit changes to what is strictly necessary so that disruption to electors and members of parliament is minimised. If we can reasonably expect that significant transfers across the Yarra (and the resulting flow-on effects) will simply be reverted at that next redistribution, then we should look towards solutions that avoid this.

KEY PRIORITIES FOR THE REDISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE

To summarise, the following should be key priorities for the Redistribution Committee:

1. To maintain integrity, fairness and transparency (and to alleviate the need to draw a division across the Yarra River), conduct a review of the enrolment projections
2. Minimise disruption to established communities of interest by limiting elector transfers, particularly across the Yarra River
3. Rely on the softer interface between Jagajaga and Menzies to transfer electors as necessary, supported by a smaller transfer between Macnamara and Melbourne
4. Abolish the division of Hotham due to its significant lack of community of interest, and its central position in Melbourne's slow-growing Southeast
5. Maintain strong LGA-based divisions including Aston, Casey, Cooper, Deakin, and Wills as much as possible
6. Realign Macnamara as a cohesive inner-city division containing South Yarra and Prahran, and Higgins as a cohesive inner-suburban division containing all of Caulfield

REGIONAL VICTORIA (10 divisions)

Corio *-3.25% projected* *-5.66% on current trend*

The division of **Corio** should gain electors from **Corangamite** and the most sensible gains are Moolap and the remainder of Highton.

Corangamite *+0.41% projected* *+4.52% on current trend*

The division of **Corangamite** should continue to contract towards the Bellarine Peninsula, but only slightly. Inverleigh should be transferred to **Ballarat** or **Wannon**, and Bannockburn should be considered for removal as it is relatively isolated. The return of all or part of the Surf Coast to **Corangamite** is worth considering.

Ballarat *-4.22% projected* *-5.64% on current trend*

The division of **Ballarat** needs to gain electors from **Hawke** and the areas to the west of Bacchus Marsh including Ballan and Blackwood are suitable and sufficient for this.

Wannon *-1.26% projected* *-6.87% on current trend*

The division of **Wannon** should gain electors in Golden Plains Shire from **Ballarat** and **Corangamite** to buffer against low growth potential.

Mallee *+3.23% projected* *-2.75% on current trend*

The division of **Mallee** requires no changes at this point in time.

Bendigo *-3.51% projected* *-9.95% on current trend*

The division of **Bendigo** needs to gain electors and the return of Woodend from **McEwen** is enough, but gaining more of Macedon Ranges Shire may buffer against low growth potential.

Nicholls *-2.36% projected* *-11.51% on current trend*

The division of **Nicholls** should gain electors but lacks suitable opportunities to do so without depleting other low-growth regional divisions. Gaining Kilmore from **McEwen** may be the best option, but Euroa in **Indi**, Romsey in **McEwen**, and Heathcote in **Bendigo** could also be considered as potential gains. **The enrolment projections significantly overestimate the expected enrolment of Nicholls relative to current trends.**

Indi *+0.95% projected* *-4.94% on current trend*

The division of **Indi** requires no changes at this point in time.

Gippsland *-0.36% projected* *-3.80% on current trend*

The division of **Gippsland** requires no changes, however it may assist with the drawing of **La Trobe** by taking a small amount of electors from **Monash** either around Mount Baw Baw, Foster, or Mirboo North.

Monash *-2.71% projected* *-6.35% on current trend*

The division of **Monash** should gain Lang Lang and Koo Wee Rup from **La Trobe** and as much of the Princes Highway towards Nar Nar Goon as can be achieved so that **La Trobe** can focus on the suburban areas of Berwick and Pakenham.

SOUTHERN & EASTERN MELBOURNE (16 divisions)

La Trobe *-3.40% projected* *+12.00% on current trend*

The division of **La Trobe** should ideally aim to lose all of Cardinia Shire outside of Officer and Pakenham to **Casey** and **Monash**, and should gain Berwick and Narre Warren from **Bruce** to become a suburban focused division. *The enrolment projections significantly underestimate the expected enrolment of **La Trobe** relative to current trends.*

Bruce *-1.95% projected* *-4.35% on current trend*

The division of **Bruce** lacks a strong anchoring point and will have to shift eastwards or westwards as required by other divisions. It has the opportunity to unite the majority of Greater Dandenong by making gains from **Hotham** and **Isaacs**.

Holt *-3.51% projected* *+8.17% on current trend*

The division of **Holt** should continue to condense around Cranbourne by retreating from Westernport Bay and gaining parts of Clyde from **La Trobe**. *The enrolment projections significantly underestimate the expected enrolment of **Holt** relative to current trends.*

Flinders *-2.03% projected* *-8.65% on current trend*

The division of **Flinders** would ideally gain Mount Eliza from **Dunkley**, but there is limited benefit to disrupting strong boundaries to gain only part of it. It should instead gain Pearcedale and Tooradin from **Holt**, which can then focus on the Cranbourne area.

Dunkley *-3.64% projected* *-7.78% on current trend*

The division of **Dunkley** needs to gain electors, and shifting its northern boundary with **Isaacs** to the Patterson River is a natural and sensible choice.

Isaacs *-3.03% projected* *-3.37% on current trend*

The division of **Isaacs** is awkwardly positioned between other divisions and appears to be near-impossible to draw into a sensible and a cohesive community of interest, but it should at least lose its share of Dandenong to **Bruce**. With **Goldstein** and **Dunkley** both relatively immovable, **Isaacs** should move northwards into **Hotham** to at least take in the remainder of City of Kingston.

Hotham *+1.35% projected* *-2.09% on current trend*

The division of **Hotham** currently contains 4 distinct local government areas which are more suited for inclusion in the neighbouring divisions of **Chisholm**, **Bruce**, **Isaacs**, and **Goldstein**. Due to its lack of cohesive community of interest and its central location in Southern and Eastern Melbourne, it is a suitable candidate for abolishment.

Goldstein *-4.62% projected* *-6.98% on current trend*

The division of **Goldstein** should move its northern boundary from Glen Huntly Rd to the more suitable North Rd and may gain all or part of Bentleigh East from **Hotham**, as well as parts of **Isaacs** west of Nepean Highway.

Macnamara *-1.95% projected* *-8.74% on current trend*

The division of **Macnamara** should finally swap Caulfield for South Yarra and Prahran in **Higgins** to unite the highly connected and highly urban inner-South. It should also transfer its share of City of Melbourne west of Wurundjeri Way to **Melbourne**, as well as parts of Southbank if possible to do so without requiring further incursion into **Higgins**.

Higgins *-5.96% projected* *-12.70% on current trend*

The division of **Higgins** may require significant change due to opportunities to improve the boundaries of **Kooyong** and **Macnamara**. If it loses South Yarra and Prahran to **Macnamara** and Glen Iris to **Kooyong**, it would be a good opportunity to gain all of Caulfield from **Macnamara** and **Goldstein** to better unite more of Glen Eira alongside demographically similar suburban areas in Stonnington.

Kooyong *-2.19% projected* *-11.99% on current trend*

The division of **Kooyong** should gain electors and has the opportunity to gain the remainder of the Alamein line area from **Higgins** which would unite the City of Boroondara in a single division and establish another strong boundary along Gardiners Creek. *The enrolment projections significantly overestimate the expected enrolment of **Kooyong** relative to current trends.*

Chisholm *-4.63% projected* *-9.05% on current trend*

The division of **Chisholm** lacks a strong anchoring point and will have to shift northwards or southwards as required by other divisions. It should either gain Box Hill entirely or lose the remainder of it to **Menzies**.

Aston *-5.21% projected* *-10.34% on current trend*

The division of **Aston** should continue to maintain its position on the City of Knox and should either gain electors from **Casey** along the Belgrave line, or from **Deakin** in Vermont South.

Casey *-2.51% projected* *-5.63% on current trend*

The division of **Casey** should continue to maintain its position on the Yarra Ranges Shire and should gain the northern hinterland communities of Cardinia Shire from **La Trobe**. It may need to lose some of the Belgrave area to **Aston** so that **Aston** can maintain its own elector numbers.

Deakin *-2.57% projected* *-6.65% on current trend*

The division of **Deakin** should continue to maintain its position on the City of Maroondah and should make use of Springvale Rd and Mullum Mullum Creek as its western boundary with **Menzies** to unite areas of Manningham that have stronger connections to Ringwood than to Doncaster.

Menzies *-2.96% projected* ***-9.69% on current trend***

The division of **Menzies** should shift southwards into **Chisholm** to unite Box Hill and Blackburn with Doncaster but should give its less-suburban parts east of Springvale Rd and Mullum Mullum Creek to **Deakin** and **Jagajaga**. It may need to give parts of Bulleen and Templestowe to **Jagajaga** as required to balance elector numbers between Northern Melbourne and Southern Melbourne.

NORTHERN & WESTERN MELBOURNE (13 divisions)

Jagajaga *-2.49% projected* ***-9.06% on current trend***

The division of **Jagajaga** should be the division that receives the majority of any transfers across the Yarra River (with **Melbourne** in a supporting role) by taking at least Warrandyte from **Menzies**, and the Yarra-adjacent parts of Bulleen and Templestowe as required. It may need to make transfers around Heidelberg West, Bundoora, and Greensborough with **Cooper**, **Scullin**, and **McEwen** to compensate.

Scullin ***-4.89% projected*** *-4.08% on current trend*

The division of **Scullin** should lose the remainder of Mernda to **McEwen** to form a neat northern boundary with **McEwen** and should gain parts of Bundoora and Watsonia from **Jagajaga**.

Cooper ***-4.56% projected*** ***-7.96% on current trend***

The division of **Cooper** should continue to maintain its position on the City of Darebin, by gaining parts of Clifton Hill from **Melbourne**, and parts of Bundoora or Heidelberg West from **Jagajaga** as required.

Wills ***-5.10% projected*** ***-5.76% on current trend***

The division of **Wills** should continue to maintain its position on the City of Merri-bek by gaining the part of Merri-bek in **Melbourne**

Melbourne *-0.84% projected* **-9.99% on current trend**

The division of **Melbourne** should maintain its position north of the Yarra River, topping up **Wills** via Brunswick East and **Cooper** via Clifton Hill as required. Due to strong connections across the Yarra River, it should gain the otherwise isolated Docklands area from **Macnamara**, and as much of Southbank as is workable without shifting **Cooper**, **Wills**, and **Macnamara** from their strong positions. **The enrolment projections significantly overestimate the expected enrolment of Melbourne relative to current trends.**

Maribyrnong **-5.33% projected** **-9.23% on current trend**

The division of **Maribyrnong** has the opportunity to establish stronger boundaries by losing its share of City of Hume to **Calwell** and gaining the locality of Maribyrnong from **Fraser**. It should expand further by taking in more of the City of Maribyrnong from **Fraser** or Keilor from **Gorton**.

Calwell *-1.47% projected* **+21.40% on current trend**

The division of **Calwell** can assist with improving boundaries in Northern Melbourne by regaining the parts of City of Hume in **Maribyrnong** and by losing the outer-suburban estates of Mickleham and Kalkallo, north of Mt Ridley Rd to **McEwen**. **The enrolment projections significantly underestimate the expected enrolment of Calwell relative to current trends.**

McEwen **-3.97% projected** **+10.97% on current trend**

The division of **McEwen** should contract and consolidate towards the outer-suburban growth areas around Wallan and Whittlesea. It will lose at least the Calder Freeway corridor to **Bendigo** and **Hawke**, but it would be ideal to remove Romsey, Lancefield, and the remainder of Macedon Ranges Shire if possible. **McEwen** will retain Nillumbik Shire for now but will be a significantly more compact division with a stronger outer-suburban community of interest, especially with the gain of Mickleham and Kalkallo from **Calwell** and the remainder of Mernda from **Scullin**. **The enrolment projections significantly underestimate the expected enrolment of McEwen relative to current trends.**

Hawke **-6.23% projected** *+1.81% on current trend*

The division of **Hawke** will lose the areas west of Bacchus Marsh to **Ballarat** and should gain the commuter town of Gisborne from **McEwen**. It may gain some or all of the remainder of Macedon Ranges Shire from **McEwen** if necessary. It should also lose the remainder of Hillside to **Gorton**. Proposals to realign **Hawke** and **Gorton** as Calder Freeway and Western Freeway divisions should be given consideration.

Gorton +1.48% projected +21.22% on current trend

The division of **Gorton** will shift as required by changes to **Maribyrnong** and **Fraser**. It should gain the remainder of Hillside from **Hawke** unless otherwise realigned with **Hawke** to become a Western Freeway division. The enrolment projections significantly underestimate the expected enrolment of **Gorton** relative to current trends.

Fraser -2.66% projected -4.25% on current trend

The division of **Fraser** will shift as required by changes to **Maribyrnong** and **Gellibrand**. It may need to gain more of Deer Park and Derrimut from **Gorton**.

Gellibrand -2.55% projected +7.31% on current trend

The division of **Gellibrand** should lose electors as it will gain electors from **Lalor**. It is possible for **Gellibrand** to lose the remainder of City of Maribyrnong to **Fraser** by making some careful border adjustments with **Lalor**. The enrolment projections significantly underestimate the expected enrolment of **Gellibrand** relative to current trends.

Lalor +0.48% projected +28.42% on current trend

The division of **Lalor** should lose as many electors as possible to **Gellibrand**, with Williams Landing and the remainder of Point Cook being the most obvious choices. The enrolment projections significantly underestimate the expected enrolment of **Lalor** relative to current trends.

APPENDIX B: Table of ABS and Alternative Enrolment Projection Figures

Alternative enrolment projection figures are calculated by taking the rate of enrolment growth between 31-Jul-2022 and 31-Jul-2023, and applying the same rate of growth to the enrolment at 09-Aug-2023, for 4 years and 252 days (until 17-Apr-2028):

$$[\text{Annual Rate of Growth}] = [\text{Enrolment at 31-Jul-2023}] \div [\text{Enrolment at 31-Jul-2022}]$$

$$[\text{Projection}] = [\text{Enrolment at 09-Aug-2023}] \times [\text{Annual Rate of Growth}]^{(4 + 252/365)}$$

DIVISION	ENROLMENT (31/07/22)	ENROLMENT (31/07/23)	ENROLMENT (09/08/23)	ABS PROJECTION (17/04/28)		ALT. PROJECTION (17/04/28)		DIFF.
Aston	109,820	110,755	110,768	120,615	-5.21%	115,261	-10.34%	5.14%
Ballarat	111,141	112,862	112,875	121,873	-4.22%	121,311	-5.64%	1.42%
Bendigo	112,822	113,325	113,381	122,771	-3.51%	115,772	-9.95%	6.44%
Bruce	112,515	114,281	114,307	124,753	-1.95%	122,969	-4.35%	2.40%
Calwell	108,040	115,238	115,327	125,369	-1.47%	156,068	21.40%	-22.87%
Casey	114,439	115,616	115,636	124,041	-2.51%	121,321	-5.63%	3.12%
Chisholm	109,367	110,655	110,672	121,345	-4.63%	116,920	-9.05%	4.42%
Cooper	109,348	110,861	110,943	121,431	-4.56%	118,329	-7.96%	3.39%
Corangamite	113,005	116,489	116,531	127,763	0.41%	134,368	4.52%	-4.11%
Corio	112,472	113,970	113,985	123,102	-3.25%	121,283	-5.66%	2.41%
Deakin	112,367	113,666	113,714	123,966	-2.57%	120,013	-6.65%	4.08%
Dunkley	111,499	112,708	112,715	122,613	-3.64%	118,563	-7.78%	4.14%
Flinders	113,819	114,443	114,469	124,658	-2.03%	117,442	-8.65%	6.62%
Fraser	111,018	113,042	113,089	123,858	-2.66%	123,090	-4.25%	1.60%
Gellibrand	108,062	112,790	112,851	123,999	-2.55%	137,954	7.31%	-9.85%
Gippsland	115,224	116,666	116,666	126,776	-0.36%	123,674	-3.80%	3.44%
Goldstein	109,335	111,068	111,083	121,366	-4.62%	119,586	-6.98%	2.36%
Gorton	111,931	118,619	118,708	129,116	1.48%	155,846	21.22%	-19.75%
Hawke	107,406	111,199	111,225	119,315	-6.23%	130,887	1.81%	-8.04%
Higgins	108,713	109,322	109,335	119,660	-5.96%	112,238	-12.70%	6.74%
Holt	108,274	113,139	113,159	122,766	-3.51%	139,066	8.17%	-11.69%
Hotham	115,987	117,658	117,704	128,957	1.35%	125,872	-2.09%	3.44%
Indi	118,151	118,850	118,876	128,444	0.95%	122,211	-4.94%	5.89%
Isaacs	110,808	113,051	113,084	123,385	-3.03%	124,229	-3.37%	0.34%
Jagajaga	113,802	114,343	114,336	124,073	-2.49%	116,908	-9.06%	6.58%
Kooyong	113,635	113,541	113,586	124,455	-2.19%	113,146	-11.99%	9.80%
La Trobe	107,604	113,245	113,306	122,917	-3.40%	143,991	12.00%	-15.40%
Lalor	108,106	116,446	116,506	127,852	0.48%	165,094	28.42%	-27.94%
Macnamara	111,920	112,844	112,881	124,756	-1.95%	117,319	-8.74%	6.79%
Mallee	120,806	121,532	121,563	131,342	3.23%	125,028	-2.75%	5.97%
Maribyrnong	109,130	110,419	110,438	120,461	-5.33%	116,691	-9.23%	3.91%
McEwen	108,720	114,027	114,082	122,185	-3.97%	142,659	10.97%	-14.94%
Melbourne	115,007	115,129	115,139	126,170	-0.84%	115,713	-9.99%	9.15%
Menzies	112,327	112,979	112,994	123,466	-2.96%	116,103	-9.69%	6.72%
Monash	111,926	113,363	113,398	123,796	-2.71%	120,390	-6.35%	3.65%
Nicholls	114,860	114,661	114,691	124,233	-2.36%	113,762	-11.51%	9.15%
Scullin	108,802	111,217	111,244	121,016	-4.89%	123,309	-4.08%	-0.81%
Wannon	115,791	116,471	116,485	125,633	-1.26%	119,729	-6.87%	5.61%
Wills	108,000	110,198	110,228	120,751	-5.10%	121,153	-5.76%	0.66%
TOTAL	4,355,999	4,440,688	4,441,980	4,835,048		4,885,271		
QUOTA (38)	114,632	116,860	116,894	127,238		128,560		