

Western Australian Electoral Distribution Proposed Boundaries by District and Region July 2019

Written objections close 26 August 2019

Final boundaries will be published late November 2019.

Introduction

The *Electoral Act 1907* (the Act) requires that Western Australia's State electoral boundaries be reviewed once in the life of each Parliament.

This Distribution commenced in March 2019 and has been undertaken by three independent Commissioners:

- Hon. Eric Heenan QC, retired Judge of the Supreme Court of Western Australia (Chairperson)
- Mr Tom Joseph, Government Statistician
- Mr David Kerslake, Western Australian Electoral Commissioner

The Act requires the Commissioners to determine a 'relevant day' at an approximate mid-point between the previous and next State general election, at which point a snapshot of the electoral roll is undertaken. The date chosen was 11 March 2019. The review is based on enrolment figures as at this date.

A public consultation process commenced on 30 March 2019 with an invitation for public suggestions published state-wide. To inform this process, enrolment figures, a *Distribution Process Overview* and a Fact Sheet: *Making a Submission* were published on the Distribution Commission website. Fifteen initial suggestions and 24 comments on suggestions were received. All were carefully considered.

In drafting proposed boundaries the Commissioners were also assisted by a computerised Geographical Information System which enables the overlay of enrolment information on population data supplied by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. This system facilitates the precise calculation of elector numbers in every area of the State and the reasonably accurate projection of future enrolment levels. The mapping system can also be overlain with other important information such as roads and rivers, Local Government boundaries and demographic patterns, if necessary drilling down to individual allotments.

The Commissioners wish to thank staff of the Western Australian Electoral Commission who assisted with the detailed mapping and research required, as well as all those persons and organisations who took the time to submit and/or comment on suggestions. Anyone wishing to object to or comment on the proposed boundaries must do so in writing by no later than 5.00 p.m. Monday 26 August 2019. The Commissioners will take all objections into account before making their final determination. Once made, that determination is binding and the boundaries will apply at the next State general election on 13 March 2021.



Mr Tom Joseph Government Statistician

The Hon. Eric Heenan QC, retired Judge of the Supreme Court of Western Australia (Chairperson)

Mr David Kerslake Electoral Commissioner

Rationale for the proposed boundaries

Legislative requirements

The State of Western Australia must be divided into 59 (Legislative Assembly) electoral districts spread across 6 (Legislative Council) electoral regions. Three of the regions must be situated in what is generally referred to as 'the country', with the other three in the Perth metropolitan area.

Section 16H of the Act contains a general description of the Legislative Council regions:

- Three contiguous regions (together generally co-extensive with the metropolitan area of Perth) called the North Metropolitan Region (an area generally to the north of the Swan River); the South Metropolitan Region (an area generally to the south of the Swan River); and the East Metropolitan Region (which includes the hills and foothills of the Darling Escarpment).
- The Mining and Pastoral Region, consisting of complete and contiguous districts which together form an area that is remote from Perth and in which the land use is primarily for mining and pastoral purposes.
- The Agricultural Region, consisting of complete and contiguous districts that together form an area that is generally south, or south and west, of and adjacent to the Mining and Pastoral Region and in which the land use is primarily for agricultural purposes.
- The South West Region (a region that includes coastal and forest areas in the south-west of the State).

Except for these general descriptions the Act does not prescribe where the boundaries between the six electoral regions are to be set or how many districts should be in each region. This is for the Commissioners to determine. The Act does specify, however, that the three metropolitan regions should have 'approximately' the same number of districts and that electoral districts must be wholly within the boundaries of their corresponding Legislative Council region.

Prescribed enrolment in each district

The Act requires the Commissioners to calculate the Average District Enrolment (ADE) across all Legislative Assembly districts as at the 'relevant day'. The total number of electors on the State electoral roll as at 11 March 2019 was 1,626,793. Divided by 59 (the total number of Legislative Assembly districts) this resulted in an ADE of 27,573. With the one exception set out in the next paragraph, the number of electors in each district must be within 10% (plus or minus) of this figure. For this Distribution this means that enrolment figures in each district must not exceed 30,330 or be lower than 24,816 electors.

The exception referred to applies to electorates which exceed 100,000 square kilometres in geographical area. In accordance with section 16G(3) such districts are subject to a *Large District Allowance* (LDA), calculated as 1.5% of the number of square kilometres in the district. This figure is added to the number of actual electors to arrive at the total enrolment figure. Thus, a district of 200,000 square kilometres in area would have 3000 'notional' electors added.

In these, and only these, districts the boundaries must be set so that the sum of actual electors and the applicable LDA is within minus 20% and plus 10% of the ADE. For this Distribution the number of actual and 'notional' electors combined must therefore be no more than 30,330 and no less than 22,058.

Other factors to be considered

Section 16I of the Act sets out a range of other factors which the Commissioners must take into account including:

- Communities of interest
- Land use patterns
- Means of communication, means of travel and distance from the capital
- Physical features
- Existing local government boundaries
- The trend of demographic changes.

There is no legislative guidance as to the relative importance of these factors. In practice they can apply in varying ways. For example, major transport routes can serve to divide communities in some circumstances yet unite them in others. Land use patterns may be distinctive or mixed. Local government and locality boundaries, sometimes cited as an indicator of community of interest, may be diminished in importance over time through the construction of adjoining housing corridors or by the construction of major thoroughfares. Even existing State electoral boundaries become less of a marker where major population growth has taken place since the previous Distribution. Where practicable the Commissioners may have regard to anticipated future trends, where population growth over time may push a district outside of the limits that applied at the relevant day. It is also important to note the flow on or 'domino' effect that the application of numerical requirements in one district can have on surrounding districts. For example returning District 'A' to numerical compliance may not simply be a matter of adding electors to or taking them from the adjoining district 'B'. There are quite likely to be flow on effects for 'C', 'D', and so on.

A factor which the Commissioners consciously do not consider is the potential political ramifications of the boundaries they propose. The draft proposals have been formulated on an entirely non-partisan basis. In the final analysis, the paramount consideration is the requirement for electoral numbers to comply with the legislated limits.

Dividing the State

In a report of this nature it is not practicable to provide detailed reasoning for every single proposal. As an over-arching comment the Commissioners note that 11 electoral districts were outside of the permissible limits as at the relevant day, as depicted in the following table.

Table 1: Districts outside the permitted tolerance range

Region	District	VFADE^
Agricultural	Moore	-12.21%
Mining and Pastoral [^]	Kimberley#	-21.70%
East Metropolitan	Darling Range	19.37%
·	Midland	10.49%
	Swan Hills	26.44%
	West Swan	10.66%
North Metropolitan	Butler	24.56%
·	Perth	10.45%
South Metropolitan	Baldivis	22.00%
·	Jandakot	13.32%
South West	Dawesville	12.60%

[^] Variation From Average District Enrolment (VFADE) at 11 March 2019 – includes large district allowance. # Includes LDA 6,315.

Enrolment levels in a number of other districts were within close proximity of the allowance limits.

Table 2: Boundaries within 2.5% of the upper or lower limit

Region	District	VFADE^
Agricultural	_	_
Mining and Pastoral [^]	North West Central	-19.59%
East Metropolitan	_	_
North Metropolitan	Burns Beach	8.64%
South Metropolitan	_	_
South West	Mandurah Riverton Willagee	9.89% -9.05% -9.24%

[^] VFADE at 11 March 2019 includes large district allowance.

Together these tables demonstrate that a reasonably wide level of change to existing boundaries was unavoidable.

Apportionment of metropolitan and country districts

The first important issue for the Commissioners to contemplate was whether the existing balance of country and metropolitan districts (16 country, 43 metropolitan) should be maintained or varied.¹

The Commissioners considered that any comparison of overall country and metropolitan enrolment levels should bear in mind the special provisions which Parliament has enacted for districts which are large in geographic area. Districts with an LDA can be expected to have a smaller number of actual electors than others. When those country districts without an LDA are compared with metropolitan districts there is little difference in the overall average enrolment (28,234 country; 28,529 metropolitan). This difference is not considered sufficient to warrant a change to the current apportionment of districts between country and metropolitan regions.² The Commissioners' proposals also do not contemplate a change to the existing number of districts with an LDA (six in all).

Naming conventions

At the 2015 Distribution the (then)
Commissioners proposed to move away progressively from the convention of naming districts after localities, instead drawing upon the names of prominent historical figures. The rationale was that the use of a locality name would necessitate a change of district name in the event that the locality was subsequently moved out of the district as a result of future boundary adjustments.

That proposal received very little support at that time. Although public comment on district names was again invited at the 2019 Distribution, only one respondent suggested a change to the existing naming convention. Noting the apparent sentiment, the Commissioners propose to continue past practice of predominantly using locality names.

Variation in district enrolments

As indicated above, the Act allows enrolment in a given district to be up to 10% above or below the LDA or in certain districts up to 20% below. Wherever possible the Commissioners have sought to fix boundaries with elector numbers well within the specified range. There are, however, instances where enrolment numbers have had to be set closer to the margins in order to respect communities of interest or Local Government boundaries, or to set clearly identifiable boundaries.

¹ The Commissioners have no power to change the number of districts above or below 59.

² This is consistent with public submissions: while one suggestion included districts that traversed the Perth metropolitan boundary, none explicitly advocated a change in the current balance of metropolitan and country seats.

Legislative Assembly country districts

Districts in the Mining and Pastoral Region

As at the relevant day total enrolment in the Kimberley district (actual electors plus LDA) was minus 21.7%, less than the permitted minimum. The Commissioners accept public suggestions that the most practicable solution is to add a portion of the Shire of East Pilbara to the Kimberley district, which for the most part will increase 'notional' rather than actual electors.

Having ceded part of the Shire of East Pilbara to Kimberley, the district of Pilbara will still sit comfortably within the permitted limits and no further change is therefore proposed for that district.

Noting that the enrolment level in Kalgoorlie currently sits at +1.38% the Commissioners consider that no change is required for that district. Two suggestions proposed that the localities of Laverton and Leonora be transferred to North West Central, but these localities appear to share a greater affinity with Kalgoorlie. The Commissioners also were not persuaded by a proposal to add to Kalgoorlie the shires of Yilgarn and Westonia, considering that those shires share a stronger community of interest with the district of Central Wheatbelt.

In North West Central the number of actual electors as at the relevant day was quite low. The Commissioners propose, therefore, to transfer the township of Kalbarri to North West Central from the district of Moore. This is considered the best available way to redress the imbalance when compared with other districts that have an LDA.

Table 3: Mining and Pastoral Districts - Number of electors per proposed district

District	Electors (after proposed boundary changes)	Large District Allowance (LDA)	Electors (including LDA after proposed boundary changes)	Variation from ADE [‡] 11 March 2019
Kalgoorlie	19,622	8,332	27,954	1.38%
Kimberley	15,410	8,032	23,442	-14.98%
North West Central	10,904	12,275	23,179	-15.94%
Pilbara	21,750	4,383	26,133	- 5.22%

[‡] Average District Enrolment.

Districts in the Agricultural Region

In the Agricultural Region enrolment levels (inclusive of any applicable LDA) are below the state average in every district, as illustrated below.

Moore -12.21%
 Geraldton -6.16%
 Central Wheatbelt -0.72%
 Roe -1.78%

The district of Geraldton is currently centred on the city which bears the same name. Suggestions put forward for this district included no change; adding the remainder of Greater Geraldton; and adding other adjacent localities as well. On balance, and despite its below average enrolment, the Commissioners consider that enrolment levels across the Agricultural Region as a whole can be accommodated without the need to alter Geraldton district boundaries.

In the district of Moore elector enrolment as at the relevant day was below the permissible minimum and will be reduced further by the proposed transfer of Kalbarri to North West Central. It is therefore proposed to transfer to Moore the shires of Goomalling, Wongan-Ballidu and Dowerin from Central Wheatbelt.³

To balance elector numbers in Central Wheatbelt the Commissioners propose to add the shires of Kulin, Wickepin and Cuballing from the district of Roe. This will be balanced in turn through Roe gaining the Shire of Jerramungup from Albany, with only a marginal impact on the latter's elector numbers.⁴

Table 4: Agricultural Districts - Number of electors per proposed district

District	Electors (after proposed boundary changes)	Large District Allowance (LDA)	Electors including LDA after proposed boundary changes	Variation from ADE [‡] 11 March 2019
Central Wheatbelt	25,458	1,532	26,990	-2.11%
Geraldton	25,874	_	25,874	-6.16%
Moore	25,297	_	25,297	-8.25%
Roe	24,545	1,575	26,120	-5.27%

[‡] Average District Enrolment.

³ At -8.25% the proposed enrolment level is comparatively low but the addition of further districts from Central Wheatbelt would remove the latter's LDA or (through a flow on effect) remove the LDA in the district of Roe, resulting in one or the other falling outside the permissible limits. An alternative put forward by WA Labor, extending Moore southwards to incorporate part of the Perth metropolitan area, would not be reflective of communities of interest.

⁴ This transfer was suggested in proposals from WA Labor and Mr David Walsh. This shire is currently in the South West Region but was formerly part of the Agricultural Region.

Districts in the South West Region

The most far reaching change of all suggestions for the South West Region was a proposal from the Liberal Party of WA to transfer the Shire of Collie to the Agricultural Region. The Commissioners consider, however, that the shire's economic and social ties lie more to the west, as suggested by Mr Peter Rundle MLA for Roe, WA Labor and the Shire of Collie itself.

Mr David Walsh also suggested a quite far reaching change for the South West Region, with two electoral districts centred on the City of Bunbury. The Commissioners do not consider such a degree of change to be necessary at the present time, given that most districts in the South West Region currently sit well within the prescribed enrolment limits.⁵ Proposed changes in this region are limited to the extent necessary to balance numbers in the districts of Dawesville and Mandurah⁶ inclusive of flow on effects.

Two alternatives were canvassed in suggestions for Dawesville: transfer all or part of the locality of Dudley Park to the Mandurah district, or an area of mainly acreage development south of Dawesville to the district of Murray Wellington. In anticipation of future growth the Commissioners favour both proposals. The clearest available boundaries have been proposed in the Dudley Park area. It is also proposed to transfer to Murray Wellington the localities south of Dawesville known as Clifton, Herron and Bouvard.

To balance the transfer of part of Dudley Park to Mandurah, the Commissioners propose to transfer the localities of Barragup and Furnissdale to Murray Wellington, as canvassed in a number of submissions.

The above-mentioned additions to Murray Wellington require that it cede electors elsewhere in order to remain within the permissible limits. The Commissioners considered but were not swayed by a WA Labor suggestion for a district that spans the metropolitan boundary in this area, noting that it is desirable (albeit not mandatory) for metropolitan regions to be generally co-extensive with the metropolitan area of Perth. In preference, it is proposed to transfer the locality of Roelands to the district of Collie Preston, which in turn requires adjustments to that district's boundaries with Bunbury, Vasse and Warren Blackwood respectively. The changes proposed for Vasse and Warren Blackwood are relatively minor. The proposed change to the boundary with Bunbury will result in more of the locality of Bunbury being within the district which bears that name.

- ⁵ Albany -0.84%; Warren Blackwood +1.37%; Vasse +5.81%; Collie Preston +4.77%; Bunbury +2.54%.
- ⁶ Dawesville +12.6%; Mandurah +9.89%.
- Yee, for example, suggestions from the WA Liberals and the City of Mandurah and comment from Mr Jeff Waddell. As noted by the City of Mandurah, Dudley Park was transferred from Mandurah to Dawesville at the 2007 Distribution.
- ⁸ Suggested by The Nationals.
- ⁹ Section 16H of the Act.

Table 5: South West Districts - Number of electors per proposed district

District	Electors (after proposed boundary changes)	Variation from ADE [‡] 11 March 2019
Albany	26,600	-3.53%
Bunbury	29,392	6.60%
Collie-Preston	29,588	7.31%
Dawesville	29,374	6.53%
Mandurah	29,434	6.75%
Murray-Wellington	28,967	5.06%
Vasse	29,287	6.22%
Warren-Blackwood	28,531	3.48%
Total	231,173	

[‡] Average District Enrolment.

Metropolitan districts

The review of metropolitan district boundaries was primarily influenced by the substantial population growth at the northern and southern fringes, which was a feature of the previous Distribution and has continued unabated.

Districts in the North Metropolitan Region

The Commissioners propose that the North Metropolitan Region should continue to contain 14 districts, although the amendment of district boundaries will necessitate adjustments to the boundary with the East Metropolitan Region.

At the northern perimeter of the metropolitan area the district of Butler (+24.56% as at the relevant day) requires substantial change.¹⁰ In keeping with their preference, if possible, to avoid districts that span the metropolitan boundary, the Commissioners propose to make a series of boundary adjustments to the south of Butler, beginning with the transfer of Quinns Rocks to the adjacent district of Burns Beach.

In turn, Burns Beach will cede the locality of Iluka to Joondalup, along with part of the locality of Joondalup (bringing the whole of the City of Joondalup into the district which bears its name). These proposals align with a number of public submissions.

Joondalup will cede the suburbs of Mullaloo and Beldon to the district of Hillarys, with the whole of the suburb of Sorrento then being transferred to Carine. This approach was preferred to an alternative of splitting the locality of Sorrento between adjoining districts.

To balance elector numbers in Carine the locality of North Beach will be transferred to Scarborough along with part of Gwelup (uniting the latter locality in the one district). Further adjustments are proposed for the boundary between Scarborough and Churchlands to bring those districts into line with numerical requirements. The flow on effect influenced the proposed addition of part of City Beach to the district of Cottesloe.

To address excess elector numbers in the district of Perth, public submissions strongly favoured the transfer of the suburb of West Perth to the district of Nedlands. The Commissioners concur. No other change is proposed for Nedlands or Perth.

With an enrolment 5.88% below the ADE, the district of Kingsley is within the prescribed limit but well below the overall metropolitan average. Having considered different suggestions for this district the Commissioners propose to transfer the locality of Hamersley from the district of Balcatta. Elector numbers in Balcatta will be balanced by transferring the locality of Westminster from the district of Morley, which will accommodate necessary changes further to the east, through a flow on effect.

The Commissioners concur with a number of suggestions that communities of interest will be well served by transferring Banksia Grove and Mariginiup to Wanneroo from the East Metropolitan district of West Swan, where less than optimal boundaries were caused by the uneven spread of elector numbers at the 2015 Distribution. Balancing elector numbers in Wanneroo necessitates the transfer of the localities of Hocking and Pearsall to the adjacent district. The Commissioners propose to join these localities with Madeley, Darch, Landsdale and Alexander Heights to form a district called Kingsway, a locality which forms a hub for commercial and sporting activity in the area and which lends its name to a thoroughfare which traverses the district. Some of these areas were formerly part of the district of Girrawheen. That locality will now lend its name to a district immediately to the south (see below).

¹⁰ A minimum reduction of 4000 electors to be under the +10% upper limit.

¹¹ The submission from Mr D McLeod sets out a well-argued case for this proposal.

Table 6: North Metropolitan Districts - Number of electors per proposed district

District	Electors (after proposed boundary changes)	Variation from ADE [‡] 11 March 2019
Balcatta	28,284	2.58%
Burns Beach	28,200	2.27%
Butler	28,799	4.45%
Carine	29,754	7.91%
Churchlands	28,417	3.06%
Cottesloe	29,433	6.75%
Hillarys	28,930	4.92%
Joondalup	28,171	2.17%
Kingsley	29,573	7.25%
Kingsway*	28,944	4.97%
Nedlands	29,036	5.31%
Perth	29,055	5.38%
Scarborough	29,272	6.16%
Wanneroo	29,481	6.92%
Total	405,349	

Average District Enrolment.

^{*} Substantially corresponds to the district boundaries of Girrawheen as drawn at the 2015 Distribution.

Districts in the East Metropolitan Region

The Commissioners propose that the East Metropolitan Region should continue to have 14 districts.

A stand out feature of the existing region is the fact that three districts, West Swan, Swan Hills and Darling Range, each cover an extensive area and either divide communities of interest (as with the Shire of Mundaring) or join together communities which have little in common (for example the locality of Banksia Grove in West Swan). Enrolment in all three districts is also above the permitted maximum, in two instances markedly so. In addition to the requirement to balance excess elector numbers the Commissioners also sought to give appropriate recognition to existing communities of interest.

The district name of Girrawheen will be retained but will be allocated to the district immediately to the south (formerly known as Mirrabooka), which will also incorporate the localities of Marangaroo, Koondoola, Mirrabooka, Balga and part of Dianella.

A range of approaches was considered for the district of Morley. One option considered was that Morley should extend westwards to the locality of Noranda and then north to Ballajura, but with this option numbers dictated that Ballajura would ultimately be split along an imprecise boundary. In preference, the Commissioners propose that Morley continue eastwards to cross the Tonkin Highway with Beechboro Road as its new eastern boundary.

The transfer of electors to Morley from Bassendean will be balanced by the inclusion of the localities of Bennett Springs and Caversham, the latter serving to reduce elector numbers in Midland which at +10.49% were above the permitted maximum. The Commissioners agree with a comment by Dr Mark Mulcair that it is desirable for Midland to be united around its urban area.

There are several factors that point to the desirability of uniting the localities of Aveley, Belhus, Ellenbrook and The Vines in a single district but this proved not to be possible because of elector numbers. It is proposed, therefore, that Aveley and Belhus should be combined with the locality of Ballajura.

The district of Swan Hills will extend from the locality of Bullsbrook to the Great Eastern Highway east of Mundaring, bringing that district's enrolment within the prescribed limits.

It is proposed that Kalamunda extend to include the locality of Mundaring (uniting it in a single district) and extend eastwards as far as Reservoir and Pickering Brook, bringing its enrolment to +4.75% (from -2.48%). Notably, this proposal also serves to reduce the size of Darling Range, an amorphous metropolitan district which currently begins in Mundaring and winds its way to the locality of Keralup in the south west of the metropolitan area. Darling Range, previously well in excess of the prescribed enrolment maximum will now sit at 5.80%, only slightly in excess of the overall metropolitan average.

No changes are proposed for the districts of Armadale, Belmont, Forrestfield, Maylands, Mount Lawley or Thornlie.

Table 7: East Metropolitan Districts - Number of electors per proposed district

District	Electors (after proposed boundary changes)	Variation from ADE [‡] 11 March 2019
Armadale	29,460	6.84%
Bassendean	28,337	2.77%
Belmont	27,832	0.94%
Darling Range	29,171	5.80%
Forrestfield	27,120	-1.64%
Girrawheen*	28,888	4.77%
Kalamunda	28,883	4.75%
Maylands	27,967	1.43%
Midland	29,320	6.34%
Morley	28,768	4.33%
Mount Lawley	28,133	2.03%
Swan Hills	28,405	3.02%
Thornlie	28,445	3.16%
West Swan	28,723	4.17%
Total	399,452	

[‡] Average District Enrolment.

^{*} Substantially corresponds to the boundaries of the former district of Mirrabooka.

Districts in the South Metropolitan Region

The Commissioners propose that the South Metropolitan Region should continue to have 15 districts.

Two issues stand out in this region. Firstly, enrolment in the district of Baldivis is well above the permitted maximum and cannot be addressed without major flow on effects. Secondly, even for districts that are within tolerance, elector numbers fluctuate from well above to well below the ADE.

At the southern fringe of this region the Commissioners consider that the district of Warnbro can continue unchanged. At +6.46% enrolment is only slightly above the metropolitan average. The Commissioners have also already explained that they would prefer not to create any district which spans the metropolitan boundary.

The district of Baldivis, however, currently sits at +22%. The Commissioners consider that the necessary reduction in elector numbers can be accommodated by transferring electors to the districts of Rockingham and Kwinana, with flow on adjustments. It is proposed that the localities of Bertram and Leda be ceded to Kwinana and part of the locality of Cooloongup to Rockingham. This will increase Rockingham's enrolment from the present -1.69% to +1.46%.

An important consideration for the district of Kwinana, from the Commissioners' perspective, was the desirability of uniting the localities of Atwell and Success. Although the two sit on opposite sides of the Kwinana Freeway, they form a relatively close community of interest. With their mutual proximity to Cockburn Central, the Commissioners consider that they fit best in the district of Cockburn. This change will assist in balancing the increase of elector numbers in Kwinana which will result from the transfer of the localities of Bertram and Leda.

With the acquisition of Atwell, Cockburn will need to shed significant elector numbers elsewhere. Submissions from some political parties favoured the transfer of at least some of the locality of Spearwood to Willagee. The Commissioners consider that there is merit in this approach, which also bolsters elector numbers in Willagee (-9.24% currently). The area of Spearwood proposed to be transferred contains sufficient electors to allow the transfer of the locality of Murdoch and part of Kardinya to Bateman as suggested in some submissions (taking that district's enrolment from -6.67% to +6.51%), noting also that future growth in the district is unlikely to keep pace with other parts of the metropolitan area.

Elector numbers in Fremantle (currently +7.39%) and Bicton (-5.71%) can be better balanced by uniting the whole of the locality of East Fremantle in Bicton.

Further to the east, at -9.05% the district of Riverton currently sits very close to the permitted minimum. The Commissioners propose to transfer part of the locality of Leeming east of Karel Avenue from the district of Jandakot, supplemented by the addition of a small part of the locality of Riverton which currently sits in the district of Cannington. This will bring Riverton's enrolment to +2.21% and unite the whole of the locality of Riverton in the district which bears its name. Jandakot will be brought within tolerance at +4.45%.

The reduction in elector numbers in Cannington will be balanced by adding from Victoria Park that part of the locality of Wilson which lies south of Leach Highway. Elector numbers in Victoria Park will be balanced through a small adjustment to its boundary with South Perth in the Kensington area. The Commissioners consider that the part of Kensington proposed to be transferred fits readily in either district.

The district of Southern River is proposed to remain unchanged.

Table 8: South Metropolitan Districts - Number of electors per proposed district

District	Electors (after proposed boundary changes)	Variation from ADE [‡] 11 March 2019
Baldivis	29,212	5.95%
Bateman	29,367	6.51%
Bicton	26,959	-2.23%
Cannington	27,704	0.48%
Cockburn	28,620	3.80%
Fremantle	28,651	3.91%
Jandakot	28,799	4.45%
Kwinana	26,527	-3.79%
Riverton	28,181	2.21%
Rockingham	27,975	1.46%
South Perth	28,405	3.02%
Southern River	27,919	1.26%
Victoria Park	27,114	-1.66%
Warnbro	29,353	6.46%
Willagee	27,173	-1.45%
Total	421,959	

[‡] Average District Enrolment.

Legislative Council regional boundaries

As previously stated, the Act stipulates that the State must be divided into six Legislative Council regions but does not specify how many Legislative Assembly districts should be in each region. The Commissioners' proposals do not contemplate any change in the number of districts currently in each region, as reflected in the following table.

Table 9: Districts per Legislative Council Region

Region	District	Total Districts
Mining and Pastoral	Kalgoorlie	4
	Kimberley	
	North West Central	
	Pilbara	
Agricultural	Central Wheatbelt	4
	Geraldton	
	Moore	
	Roe	
South West	Albany	8
	Bunbury	
	Collie-Preston	
	Dawesville	
	Mandurah	
	Murray-Wellington	
	Vasse	
	Warren-Blackwood	
North Metropolitan	Balcatta	14
	Burns Beach	
	Butler	
	Carine	
	Churchlands	
	Cottesloe	
	Hillarys	
	Joondalup	
	Kingsley	
	Kingsway*	
	Nedlands	
	Perth	
	Scarborough	
	Wanneroo	

^{*} Substantially corresponds to the boundaries of Girrawheen as drawn at the 2015 Distribution.

Region	District	Total Districts
East Metropolitan	Armadale	14
	Bassendean	
	Belmont	
	Darling Range	
	Forrestfield	
	Girrawheen*	
	Kalamunda	
	Maylands	
	Midland	
	Morley	
	Mount Lawley	
	Swan Hills	
	Thornlie	
	West Swan	
South Metropolitan	Baldivis	15
	Bateman	
	Bicton	
	Cannington	
	Cockburn	
	Fremantle	
	Jandakot	
	Kwinana	
	Riverton	
	Rockingham	
	South Perth	
	Southern River	
	Victoria Park	
	Warnbro	
	Willagee	

^{*} Substantially corresponds to the former district of Mirrabooka.

An outline of each proposed Legislative Council region can be found in the maps section of this report.

Conclusion

All told the boundary adjustments proposed by the Commissioners are substantial, with only 10 of the State's 59 districts (2 in the country and 8 in the metropolitan area) remaining unchanged.

Arriving at this point posed many challenges for the Commissioners. Wherever possible they have endeavoured to avoid including quite different land use areas in the same district. The district of Geraldton is a case in point. Although the district would have benefited from an increase in elector numbers, this could only have been achieved by including the whole of Greater Geraldton, combining distinctively different urban and rural land use patterns.

In other instances, however, community of interest considerations are counterbalanced because the available alternatives do not permit compliance with legislated enrolment limits. For example, the Commissioners noted above the factors favouring the unification of Ellenbrook, The Vines, Aveley and their immediate surrounds within the one district, but the pattern of elector numbers across the North and East Metropolitan Regions would have resulted in undesirable outcomes elsewhere.

In other parts of the metropolitan area the divergence in elector numbers between certain districts was dictated by the need for clearly recognisable boundaries. The adjoining districts of Bicton (-2.23%) and Bateman (+6.51%) are a good illustration. Another example of variation in enrolment

levels can be seen in the adjoining districts of Armadale and Southern River (+6.84% and +1.26% respectively). The Commissioners considered minor changes to better balance numbers between the two, but noted that as it stands the district of Armadale precisely follows the city boundaries. There is also merit in maintaining the stability of existing boundaries where possible.

At the 2015 Distribution the uneven spread of population growth throughout Western Australia resulted in the creation of two additional districts in the country of such size that they attracted Large District Allowances (taking the total to six in all). That continues to be the case. Any reduction in the number would have required the collocation of areas which do not share any appreciable community of interest.

The Commissioners wish to acknowledge once again the efforts which both individuals and organisations have made to contribute to the Distribution process.

The next step is for interested persons to lodge comments on or objections to the proposals contained in this publication. Objections must be in writing, may relate to proposed boundaries, names or other relevant matters, should contain clear and concise explanations and reasoning, and must be received by 5.00 p.m. on Monday 26 August 2019. All objections will be made publicly available after the closing date on the Office of the Electoral Distribution Commissioners' website and at the premises of the Office of the Electoral Distribution Commissioners.

The Commissioners will consider all public comment and may, as a result of agreement with objections or for other good reason, publish final boundaries that vary from these proposals. The final boundaries, to be published by the end of November 2019, will apply for the next State general election, anticipated to be held in March 2021. Any by-elections that are required before then will be conducted in accordance with the 2015 boundaries.

L'e M. deeman

The Hon. Eric Heenan QC, retired Judge of the Supreme Court of Western Australia (Chairperson)

Mr David Kerslake Electoral Commissioner

Mr Tom Joseph Government Statistician

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