



# Report of the Federal Electoral Boundaries Commission for the Province of

# **Nova Scotia**

Published pursuant to the *Electoral*Boundaries Readjustment Act



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# **Table of Contents**

Introduction	4
The Proposal	6
Public Feedback and Consultation	9
Written submissions	9
Public hearings	9
Conclusion	13
Redistribution is more than a "numbers game"	13
Effective representation	13
A fifth urban riding	14
Riding-specific determinations	15
Looking Ahead	18
Acknowledgements	19
APPENDIX – Maps, Boundaries and Names of Electoral Districts	21
Nova Scotia	30
Halifax	31

# Introduction

By Order in Council dated November 1, 2021, the Federal Electoral Boundaries Commission for the Province of Nova Scotia (the Commission) was established pursuant to the *Electoral Boundaries Readjustment Act*, R.S.C. 1985, c. E-3 (the Act).

The Commission is comprised of three members: Dr. Louise Carbert, Dr. David Johnson and Justice Cindy A. Bourgeois. Both Dr. Carbert and Dr. Johnson are political science professors, at Dalhousie University and Cape Breton University, respectively, and were appointed by the Speaker of the House of Commons. Justice Bourgeois sits on the Nova Scotia Court of Appeal and was appointed by the Chief Justice of Nova Scotia. The Commission is assisted in its work by its Secretary, Ms. Carol Moulaison.

The role of the Commission is, in response to the 2021 decennial census, to examine and readjust the boundaries of the federal electoral districts (also known as constituencies or ridings) within the province. There are currently 11 electoral districts, and that remains unchanged.

The 2021 decennial census documented the population of the province as 969,383. Dividing the total population by 11, gives an average or "electoral quota" of 88,126 people in each district. Section 15 of the Act says that the number of people in each electoral district must correspond as closely as is reasonably possible to that electoral quota. In attempting to achieve that goal, the Commission must consider two factors:

- 1. The community of interest or community of identity in or the historical pattern of an electoral district in the province; and
- 2. A manageable geographic size for districts in sparsely populated, rural or northern regions.

Those factors can also provide justification to depart from the electoral quota in an electoral district. However, the Act provides that, except in extraordinary circumstances, the population in the electoral district must remain within 25% more or 25% less of the electoral quota. For the Commission's work, that means an electoral district can have no fewer than 66,095 people and no more than 110,158, unless there are extraordinary reasons to depart from that variance.

In conjunction with the Act, the Commission's decisions must also be guided by the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, particularly section 3, which guarantees Canadian citizens the right to vote in federal and provincial elections. This right has been interpreted by the Supreme Court of Canada in a manner that sets constitutional criteria for the drawing of electoral boundaries. In what is known as "the *Carter* decision", the Supreme Court said the right to vote means the right to "effective representation," not just an equality of voting power. The Court ruled "effective representation" requires "relative parity of voting power." Absolute equality of population size among electoral districts is not required. However, deviations from equality resulting in "relative parity of voting power" for the purpose of accommodating geography, community of interest or minority representation must be "justified on the ground that they contribute to better government of the populace as a whole." In other words, the variation from the electoral quota established under the Act must be justified.

# **The Proposal**

The Commission received the 2021 decennial population figures on February 9, 2022, and immediately began its review, guided by the above principles. As a preliminary matter, the Commission considered whether there were any "extraordinary circumstances" that might require or justify any of the 11 electoral districts falling outside of the plus or minus 25% range. The Commission determined there were no extraordinary circumstances, and, as a result, all ridings in the province are required to have a population no lower than 66,095 people and no higher than 110,158.

The Commission began its review by considering the population in each of the 11 electoral districts following the last redistribution in 2012 and comparing it to the population as shown in the 2021 decennial census. A table was created to show the change in population as well as the variation from the electoral quota for the 11 ridings. It was included in the Commission's Proposal published in the *Canada Gazette* and on the Commission's website (redistribution2022.ca) and is reproduced below:

Table 1 – Federal Electoral Districts – Census Population 2011 and 2021				
Electoral District Name	After Redistribution 2012 (Electoral Quotient 83,793)		Prior to Redistribution 2022 (Electoral Quotient 88,126)	
	2011 Population	2011 Variation	2021 Population	2021 Variation
Cape Breton—Canso	75,247	-10.20%	71,380	-19.00%
Central Nova	74,597	-10.98%	73,188	-16.95%
Cumberland—Colchester	82,321	-1.76%	82,014	-6.94%
Dartmouth—Cole Harbour	91,212	+8.85%	96,165	+9.12%
Halifax	92,643	+10.56%	107,010	+21.43%
Halifax West	87,275	+4.16%	111,944	+27.03%
Kings—Hants	83,306	-0.58%	87,744	-0.43%
Sackville—Preston— Chezzetcook	85,583	+2.14%	89,524	+1.59%

Table 1 – Federal Electoral Districts – Census Population 2011 and 2021				
Electoral District Name	After Redistribution 2012 (Electoral Quotient 83,793)		Prior to Redistribution 2022 (Electoral Quotient 88,126)	
	2011 Population	2011 Variation	2021 Population	2021 Variation
South Shore—St. Margarets	92,561	+10.46%	94,482	+7.21%
Sydney—Victoria	73,328	-12.49%	72,361	-17.89%
West Nova	83,654	-0.17%	83,571	-5.17%
Total	921,727		969,383	

Having considered the population changes, the Commission was of the view that existing electoral boundaries required alteration. The Commission observed that:

- The province recorded a population increase of 47,656 since the 2011 decennial census.
- There was a significant increase in population in urban Halifax and its outlying areas.
   The riding of Halifax increased in population by 14,367 in the last decade, and Halifax West accounted for over 50% of the province's growth, with an increase in population of 24,669.
- Although other rural constituencies showed smaller decreases in population, Cape Breton—Canso (a decrease of 3,867), Central Nova (a decrease of 1,409) and Sydney—Victoria (a decrease of 967) have shown the greatest decreases.
- One electoral district, Halifax West, exceeded the permissible 25% variance (+27.03%).
   In addition, several other ridings, based on the new population data, had variances approaching the upward limit.

The Commission undertook a process of reconsidering all the existing boundaries, with the aim of bringing most of the 11 ridings within a closer population range. This resulted in several significant shifts in the existing boundaries. The details were published in the Commission's Proposal, with the resulting population variances included in Table 2 of that document. It should be noted that, in addition to changes to the geographical boundaries, several name changes were proposed.

Table 2 – Population Information As It Would Be After the Proposed Boundary Readjustments (Electoral Quota 88,126)

Electoral District Name	After Redistribution in 2022 (Electoral Quota 88,126)	
	2021 Population	Variation
Acadian Shore—Shelburne	89,956	+2.08%
Cape Breton—Antigonish	84,999	-3.55%
Cumberland—Colchester	82,014	-6.94%
Dartmouth—Cole Harbour	93,622	+6.24%
Halifax	97,243	+10.35%
Halifax West	90,917	+3.17%
Kings—Hants	87,409	-0.81%
Pictou—Eastern Shore—Preston	88,398	+0.31%
Shubenacadie—Bedford Basin	91,176	+3.46%
South Shore—St. Margarets	91,288	+3.59%
Sydney—Victoria	72,361	-17.89%
Total	969,383	

## **Public Feedback and Consultation**

As noted above, the Commission's Proposal was published in the *Canada Gazette* and is available on the Commission's website. In addition, notice of the Proposal and the schedule of public hearings were given as required in the Act.

#### Written submissions

Immediately following the publication of the Proposal, the Commission began to receive a significant volume of telephone and email enquiries. Many individuals who reached out to the Commission were of the belief that the notice published in provincial newspapers was in fact the complete Proposal. As such, the Commission received complaints regarding the visual clarity of the new boundaries being proposed and the lack of justification for the alterations. The Commission regularly redirected such enquiries to its website where the Proposal, including maps of the existing and proposed boundaries, could be easily accessed. It is clear from the written submissions received that many submitters did take the opportunity to review the Proposal, although it was also evident that many did not.

The Commission received in excess of 1,000 submissions in various forms. Submissions ranged from short emails to detailed written submissions with maps showing alternate boundaries. One community-based campaign resulted in hundreds of postcards being sent to the Commission expressing opposition to a particular boundary change being proposed. All submissions were reviewed and considered by the Commission. Despite the volume, the Commission Secretary made every effort to acknowledge receipt of the submissions received.

## **Public hearings**

Nine public hearings were held throughout the province. To encourage and facilitate public involvement, the Commission scheduled the hearings during evening hours. For the first time, the Commission also scheduled a hearing in virtual format, again to enhance the opportunity for public engagement. The Commission required those wishing to present at a hearing to give notice of their wish to do so, as well as to advise of any accommodations that would be required. To ensure the venues could accommodate all who wished to attend, the Commission also requested those wishing to observe the public hearings to also give notice in advance of their anticipated attendance.

Notwithstanding many individuals attending hearings who had not provided notice of their intent to do so, the Commission was able to accommodate all present in terms of both seating and being given an opportunity to express their views.

#### The schedule of hearings was as follows:

Location	Date of hearing	Presenters
Sydney	May 30, 2022	6
Antigonish	May 31, 2022	13
Truro	June 1, 2022	16
Kentville	June 6, 2022	9
Yarmouth	June 7, 2022	5
Bridgewater	June 8, 2022	11
Cole Harbour	June 13, 2022	18
Lower Sackville	June 14, 2022	13
Virtual hearing	June 27, 2022	13

The Commission was pleased to hear three of the above presentations in French.

#### **Themes**

A number of themes emerged from the feedback received. Some were general in nature, while others were more specific. Much of this feedback is reflected directly or indirectly in the Commission's final conclusions, and, as such, it will be helpful to outline the more dominant themes expressed to us.

#### With respect to more general observations, the Commission noted in particular:

- People do not like change. Repeatedly the sentiment "if it is not broken, don't fix it!" was communicated in the feedback. It was repeatedly asserted that change to existing boundaries should only occur where it is necessary.
- There is a strong sense of history throughout the province. There is a clear desire, especially in rural areas to have particular counties remain together in the same electoral districts, "as they have since Confederation."
- Many submissions suggested the Commission had placed undue weight on attempting to minimize the variance between the electoral districts to the detriment of other factors such as community of interest, language and geographical considerations. This was perceived to result in unnecessary or ill-informed changes being proposed based solely on "a numbers game."

- The Commission was encouraged to keep in mind that "effective representation" may require different considerations in different areas of the province and that it does not mandate similar populations across all 11 electoral districts. For example, rural ridings are typically large in geographic size, causing challenges with effectively representing their residents (such as dispersed communities and uncertain Internet access). It was submitted that this provides justification for lower populations being viewed as acceptable where it is more difficult for a member of Parliament to effectively represent their constituents.
- The four urban electoral districts within the Halifax region continue to experience substantial growth in population. This is demonstrated by the four ridings being consistently above the electoral quota and the pattern of their boundaries being pushed into semi-rural areas in an attempt to lower the variance in comparison with other ridings in the province. Based on the existing population and the growth that will continue, it was suggested that a fifth riding should be shifted to the urban Halifax area.

Many of the written submissions and representations offered at the public hearings focused on changes being proposed in relation to particular electoral districts. This included the following views:

- Cape Breton should be divided into two electoral districts, one urban, reflecting "industrial" Cape Breton, and the other, more rural, not as proposed by the Commission.
- Cape Breton should constitute one riding not the present two. This would eliminate the
  encroachment of the second proposed riding (Cape Breton—Antigonish) into the
  mainland.
- The Commission erred when it removed Antigonish County from what is now the current Central Nova riding, joining it with a large portion of Cape Breton. Its shared community of interest with Pictou County required a continuation of the two neighbouring counties being represented by the same member of Parliament.
- Conversely, the Commission was also advised that Antigonish County shared a strong community of interest with Cape Breton and received support for the boundaries remaining as established in the proposed Cape Breton—Antigonish riding.
- In addition to the concern regarding the county of Antigonish being excluded from the newly proposed electoral district of Pictou—Eastern Shore—Preston, many questioned the inclusion of the communities of Preston, East Preston and North Preston in what is an otherwise predominantly rural constituency. Many suggested that the Prestons shared no commonality with the other communities in the proposed Pictou—Eastern Shore—Preston riding and belonged in an urban constituency.
- The Commission's inclusion of Enfield, Elmsdale, Lantz and a portion of Milford into Pictou—Eastern Shore—Preston attracted significant criticism. Historically, these areas have been part of the Kings—Hants riding. Feedback in both written form and at public hearings demonstrated the consistent view that the Commission's proposal had failed to recognize the importance (politically, socially, and economically) of keeping "the Corridor" area of the Municipality of East Hants intact and part of the Kings—Hants electoral district.

- The Commission proposed to remove Shelburne County from the existing South Shore—St. Margarets electoral district and to add it to the newly constituted Acadian Shore—Shelburne riding. Significant opposition to this change was received, most arguing that Shelburne shared a stronger community of interest and historical ties with the "South Shore" in comparison with Yarmouth, the surrounding Acadian communities and communities in the Annapolis Valley. Further, the Commission was warned the proposed change may have a negative impact on Acadian communities, in particular, in terms of ensuring effective representation and protection of this linguistic minority.
- It was not only what the Commission had proposed to remove from South Shore—St. Margarets that garnered strong feedback. Given the growth in Halifax, the Commission proposed adding the southern coastal areas of that riding to South Shore—St. Margarets. Specifically, the communities on the lower part of the "Sambro Loop" (Herring Cove, Portuguese Cove, Sambro, Williamswood and Harrietsfield) were added to the newly redistributed South Shore—St. Margarets riding. The Commission heard, resoundingly, that the proposed redistribution served to arbitrarily divide the Sambro Loop area, placing residents of this community in two different electoral districts. Many presenters highlighted that the proposal served to isolate the southern area of the Sambro Loop. Although geographically contiguous with the remainder of the riding, constituents in the area would be required to drive through the Halifax riding to access the remainder of the South Shore—St. Margarets constituency.
- The Commission's decision to add the Eastern Passage area into the Dartmouth—Cole Harbour was viewed positively. Under the boundaries established in 2012, Eastern Passage, Cow Bay and Rainbow Haven were included in the Sackville—Preston—Chezzetcook electoral district but were geographically separated from the remainder of that constituency. The Commission's proposed addition of the Eastern Passage area to the Dartmouth—Cole Harbour riding eliminated the area's geographical separation and coincided with the view the area is more closely associated with Dartmouth than the Eastern Shore.
- It was evident residents of the Eastern Passage area were not the only ones who felt a close affiliation with the Dartmouth—Cole Harbour constituency. In its Proposal, the Commission had made significant changes to other boundaries of the riding. In particular, Wallace Heights, Port Wallace, Tam O'Shanter Ridge and the Burnside Industrial Park were removed from Dartmouth—Cole Harbour and included in the newly constituted riding of Shubenacadie—Bedford Basin. The Commission was advised there is a strong identity associated with the former City of Dartmouth, and dividing neighbourhoods, which historically fell within it, between two electoral districts was negatively received. Residents of these areas advised the Commission they do not view themselves as sharing a community of interest with residents of Bedford or Sackville and wished to remain part of the Dartmouth—Cole Harbour electoral district.

# Conclusion

As will be demonstrated herein, the Commission has made a number of changes to the initial Proposal. To explain how the Commission reached its final conclusions, it is helpful to begin with an explanation of how we approached our work. We will begin with broader principles adopted (or rejected) by the Commission, and then proceed to our riding-specific determinations.

## Redistribution is more than a "numbers game"

The Commission accepts there is validity to the view, expressed in the public feedback, that we placed undue reliance on seeking to decrease the variance between the 11 electoral districts in the Proposal. In saying this, the Commission is mindful there are commissions elsewhere in the country that have adopted the view that the variance between ridings should be no more than 10%, or even less. There is also support in the academic literature for closing the gap and moving away from the wide variance of plus or minus 25% permitted by law. While we respect these views, the Commission has concluded we should not apply such an approach within the Nova Scotian context, notably due to our geography and historic patterns of settlement.

Since the arrival of the earliest Europeans, settlement in the province has been predominantly adjacent to the coastline and in-land water sources. This has resulted in much of the interior of the province being lightly populated. The geography of the province, combined with the settlement patterns, makes unworkable an approach that focuses on obtaining close equivalency of population among the 11 electoral districts. As one presenter said, taking the view that all ridings should be within a pre-determined percentage of variation, "would be like fitting a square peg in a round hole." In our deliberations, the Commission was mindful of balancing all of the considerations mandated by law and did not view itself as having a primary goal of minimizing the variance among ridings.

## **Effective representation**

Every citizen is constitutionally guaranteed the right to "effective representation." As will be recalled from the *Carter* decision, the right to vote found in the Charter does not mandate absolute equality of voting power but "relative parity." The Commission accepts that "effective representation" is not absolutely tied to the number of persons in an electoral district.

The role of a member of Parliament is to effectively represent their constituents. How a member undertakes that responsibility, however, and the challenges involved in doing so, may vary greatly. The Commission was pleased to receive representations from seven sitting

parliamentarians, all of whom provided valuable information not only with respect to their particular constituencies but also regarding how they undertake their responsibilities.

The Commission accepts that members of Parliament in rural electoral districts face challenges that are different from those of their urban counterparts. Rural ridings, because of their lower populations, are geographically large, some with challenging terrain. Services such as a reliable Internet connection, cell phone reception and public transit—which facilitate the ability of constituents to readily engage with their representatives in urban areas—simply do not exist in many rural regions of the province. We acknowledge this poses practical difficulties for members of Parliament representing rural ridings. The Commission is mindful that expanding the geographic area of a rural electoral district in an attempt to bring it closer to the electoral quota may have negative consequences for the ability of a representative to effectively serve their constituents. In other words, in a rural riding, a member of Parliament may be challenged to effectively represent a geographically dispersed population of 70,000, whereas their colleague in an urban riding may readily provide effective representation to 100,000 or more constituents. The acceptance of this proposition provides support for wider population variances between urban and rural constituencies being justified and in accordance with the fundamental goal of "effective representation."

## A fifth urban riding

The proponents of adding a fifth riding in the Halifax area made a compelling argument based on the growing population of the Halifax Regional Municipality. In short, approximately 42% of the province's population resides within this urban area, yet it only accounts for 4 of the 11 electoral districts. Proponents say adding a fifth riding is not only justified but **required** by a numerically strict application of the principles governing redistribution.

The population data speaks for itself, and the Commission takes no issue with the proposition that a fifth urban riding would have the numeric effect of bringing those district populations closer to the provincial quota (albeit overshooting somewhat to the low side). However, as noted above, achieving relative voting parity and ensuring effective representation is more than a "numbers game." We respectfully disagree that the addition of a fifth riding in the Halifax region (and the resulting net loss of a riding elsewhere in the province) is required in the present circumstances.

It is acknowledged that, in the Commission's final report, the four most highly urbanized ridings are all well above the electoral quota of 88,126. However, all electoral districts, urban and rural, are within the acceptable variance of plus or minus 25%. We are satisfied the higher populations of the four urban ridings do not prohibit their residents from being effectively represented by their members of Parliament. It should be remembered that the Commission's mandate is to consider whether the entirety of the province is being effectively represented. (Recall our reservations about the potential negative impacts of further expanding the size of rural ridings.) We are satisfied that, notwithstanding the higher populations demonstrated in the four urban electoral districts, the redistribution in this final report will not jeopardize the effective representation of their residents.

## **Riding-specific determinations**

Early in our deliberations, the Commission was able to readily identify several riding-specific changes that would be implemented in our final report. Based on the feedback received, we were satisfied that:

- The East Hants "Corridor" should not be divided, as was initially proposed. The
  Commission accepts that the community of interest in this area strongly supports the
  area remaining together and as a part of the Kings—Hants riding. This change has been
  implemented in our final redistribution.
- Preston, North Preston and East Preston should be in a riding associated with the Halifax Regional Municipality. The Commission had two choices in this regard. The Prestons could be added to the Dartmouth—Cole Harbour riding; or it could remain affiliated with the Fall River and Sackville area, as they have been since the 2012 redistribution (Sackville—Preston—Chezzetcook).
- Shelburne County will be returned to the South Shore—St. Margarets electoral district. The Commission accepts the view that this region shares a stronger community of interest with the area identified as the "South Shore." The Commission was equally influenced by the concerns expressed in relation to the impact of the addition of this predominantly anglophone population to the effective representation of the Acadian linguistic minority in the formerly proposed Acadian Shore—Shelburne riding.
- The "Sambro Loop" area will be returned to the Halifax electoral district. The
  Commission accepts that the proposed boundary served to practically divide this area
  from the remainder of the South Shore—St. Margarets riding, a factor not sufficiently
  considered in our Proposal.
- The Eastern Passage area should not be geographically separated from the rest of its electoral district. Accordingly, it will remain in the Dartmouth—Cole Harbour riding as the Commission originally proposed.

Other decisions were not so easily made and required more in-depth consideration and deliberation, notably the boundaries of the electoral districts (or district) in Cape Breton, the placement of Antigonish County, and the constitution of Dartmouth—Cole Harbour:

- The Commission was intrigued with the suggestion of a single Cape Breton riding encompassing the entirety of the island. We undertook the exercise of calculating the population of a single Cape Breton Island electoral district. It became apparent that this was presently not an option, as the population variance was well in excess of the allowable +25%.
- The Commission also explored whether it was feasible to divide Cape Breton Island into two electoral districts without the necessity of having one of the ridings extend into the mainland. Again, the Commission undertook population calculations, which quickly demonstrated that placing two ridings entirely within Cape Breton was not possible, as both would fall well below the permissible -25% variance. This meant that one of the electoral districts in Cape Breton would also need to serve areas of the mainland (as has been the case since the 2003 representation order).

- The Commission agrees Cape Breton should have an urban riding and spent considerable time debating the location of its boundaries. The newly created Sydney—Glace Bay, incorporating "industrial" Cape Breton is the result.
- Notwithstanding public input suggesting the Commission should keep Pictou and Antigonish Counties together in a single electoral district, we have determined all of Antigonish County should be included with Guysborough and rural Cape Breton in the newly named Cape Breton—Canso—Antigonish electoral district. As noted earlier, the Commission also received feedback in support of such a division. We are satisfied that, although there is a connection between the communities of Antigonish and Pictou counties, the same can be said for the Canso Strait area.
- As noted earlier, the Commission received strong public feedback for retaining Dartmouth—Cole Harbour in the configuration established by the 2012 redistribution. However, maintaining the status quo was simply not an option. We have already explained why the Eastern Passage area geographically belongs in the riding. Some suggested Preston, East Preston and North Preston shared a close community of interest with Cole Harbour and also belonged in the electoral district. Further, as we already set out, the Commission received many complaints about its proposal to remove former City of Dartmouth neighbourhoods from the riding. However, keeping all of these areas in the electoral district created a variance well beyond the permissible +25%. The Commission was faced with some difficult decisions, as noted below.
- Although acknowledging the close connection between the Prestons and Cole Harbour, the Commission determined these communities should continue in a riding with a similar makeup as what had been implemented in the 2012 redistribution (the newly named Sackville—Bedford—Preston).
- The Commission prepared a number of boundary scenarios in relation to the Dartmouth neighbourhoods in an attempt to respect, as much as possible, the public feedback received. Areas were added and removed from adjacent ridings to find a resolution. The Commission's final determination sees some areas in contention (Burnside and much of Windmill Road) remain outside the constituency. However, several neighbourhoods have been added back to Dartmouth—Cole Harbour, as requested. Ultimately, the boundaries established for the electoral district produces a variance of +18.95%, making Dartmouth—Cole Harbour the most populated riding in the province. The Commission has a level of discomfort with this outcome. However, our attempts to lower the riding's variance by moving population to neighbouring districts, only served to push those ridings into the same elevated variance range.

At the conclusion of our deliberations and based upon the above considerations, the Commission has finalized the boundaries and names of the 11 electoral districts. The legal descriptions and maps for each follow at the end of this report. The population data for the ridings, the deviations from the electoral quota (88,126), as well as the names of the ridings are presented in the following table.

Riding name	Population	Deviation
Acadie—Annapolis	76,252	-13.47%
Cape Breton—Canso—Antigonish	75,141	-14.73%
Cumberland—Colchester	82,014	-6.94%
Dartmouth—Cole Harbour	104,825	+18.95%
Halifax	98,885	+12.21%
Halifax West	99,228	+12.60%
Kings—Hants	95,063	+7.87%
Pictou—Eastern Shore	76,210	-13.52%
Sackville—Bedford—Preston	100,416	+13.95%
South Shore—St. Margarets	79,130	-10.21%
Sydney—Glace Bay	82,219	-6.70%

# **Looking Ahead**

The above table summarizes the Commission's conclusions and is based on the current population distribution in the province. It is anticipated the past and current trend of significant growth in the areas in and around Halifax will continue in the future. As such, it is highly likely that by the time of the next redistribution, the four most urban ridings will be approaching or exceeding a +25% variance. More rural ridings will likely continue to decrease in relative population, pushing their respective electoral quotas closer to -25%.

Although it will be for the next Commission to determine, the argument for a fifth Halifax area riding will only strengthen. Depending on the variation from the electoral quota at that time, it may be required in order to maintain all 11 electoral districts within the permitted range. We say this not to influence future decision-makers but to point out that significant change to the province's rural ridings may be unavoidable; and that historic redistributions may have to give way to novel approaches to providing effective representation to all Nova Scotians. The next Commission may need to take a fresh approach to laying out the province's electoral districts.

# **Acknowledgements**

The redistribution process undertaken by the Commission has been difficult. However, notwithstanding the challenges inherent in balancing the required legal principles with the desires of the public, the process has been thoroughly rewarding and enjoyable.

The Commission sincerely thanks those individuals and groups who took the time to consider the Proposal and give constructive feedback. Although not all the views expressed have found their way into this final report, all were given serious consideration. Many were debated, vigorously at times, by the Commission members in reaching our final boundary conclusions.

It was particularly heartening to attend public hearings where, despite there being strong vocal opposition to aspects of the Proposal, those in attendance expressed their views respectfully, and often with typical Nova Scotian grace and good humour. The Commission is grateful for the reception it received from hearing attendees and participants throughout the province.

The Commission also expresses its gratitude to its only employee, Ms. Carol Moulaison. As Commission Secretary, Ms. Moulaison single-handedly fielded an unexpected volume of calls and emails while efficiently organizing the mountain of submissions received. With a smile, she kept the Commission organized and on track and served as our unfailingly professional and friendly liaison with the public.

We also wish to thank the staff of Elections Canada for the administrative, technical, and geographical support received. Geography Specialists Kathryn Gallacher and Karen Ennis were invaluable to our work as was the Elections Canada management team who provided essential guidance while diligently respecting the Commission's fundamental independence.

Finally, as Chair, I would like to take the opportunity to express my gratitude to my fellow Commissioners. It has been a pleasure to work with Professors Carbert and Johnson. Their good humour, expertise and diligence made the redistribution process an enjoyable and educational experience. I am grateful for their willingness to participate in this important democratic exercise. Ultimately, it is Nova Scotians who are the beneficiaries of their professionalism and commitment to the redistribution process.

#### Dated at Halifax, Nova Scotia, this 4th day of November, 2022.

The Honourable Justice Cindy A. Bourgeois

Chair, Federal Electoral Boundaries Commission

for the Province of Nova Scotia

Louise Carbert

Cars

Member, Federal Electoral Boundaries Commission

for the Province of Nova Scotia

**David Johnson** 

Member, Federal Electoral Boundaries Commission

for the Province of Nova Scotia

# **APPENDIX** – Maps, Boundaries and Names of Electoral Districts

There shall be in the Province of Nova Scotia eleven (11) electoral districts, named and described as set out below, each of which shall return one member.

In the following descriptions:

- (a) any reference to "street," "avenue," "road," "drive," "connector," "extension," "highway," "river," "stream," "brook," "channel," "cove," "arm," "bay," "lake," "harbour," "transmission line" or "railway" signifies the centre line unless otherwise described;
- (b) wherever a word or expression is used to denote a territorial division, such word or expression shall indicate the territorial division as it existed or was bounded on the first day of January 2021;
- (c) reference to "counties" for inclusion in an electoral district signifies that all cities, towns, villages and Indian reserves lying within the perimeter of the counties are included unless otherwise described;
- (d) all offshore islands are included in the landward district unless otherwise described;
- (e) all First Nation territories lying within the perimeter of the electoral district are included unless otherwise described;
- (f) the translation of the terms "street," "avenue" and "boulevard" follows Treasury Board standards, while the translation of all other public thoroughfare designations is based on commonly used terms but has no official recognition; and
- (g) all coordinates are in reference to the North American Datum of 1983 (NAD 83).

The population figure of each electoral district is derived from the 2021 decennial census.

## Acadie—Annapolis

(Population: 76,252) (Map 1)

#### Consists of:

- (a) the counties of Annapolis, Digby and Yarmouth; and
- (b) that part of the County of Kings lying westerly of a line described as follows: commencing at a point where Turner Brook flows into the Bay of Fundy at approximate latitude 45°08'38"N and longitude 64°50'14"W; thence southeasterly along said brook to Long Point Road; thence generally southerly along said road to Highway 221; thence southwesterly along said highway to the continuation of Long Point Road; thence generally southerly along said road to Highway 1 (Evangeline Trail); thence westerly along said highway to Aylesford Road; thence generally southerly, southeasterly and southerly along said road to the southerly limit of said county.

## Cape Breton—Canso—Antigonish

(Population: 75,141) (Map 1)

#### Consists of:

- (a) the counties of Antigonish, Inverness, Richmond and Victoria;
- (b) the Municipality of the District of Guysborough; and
- (c) that part of the Cape Breton Regional Municipality lying southerly and westerly of a line described as follows: commencing at a point in the Cabot Strait on the northerly limit of said regional municipality at approximate latitude 46°10'41"N and longitude 59°45'09"W; thence generally southwesterly and westerly along said strait and Morien Bay (passing through the channel at Phalens Bar) to the mouth of Black Brook Morien; thence generally westerly along said brook to Morrison Brook; thence generally westerly along said brook to an unnamed road at latitude 46°06'20"N and longitude 59°55'47"W; thence westerly in a straight line to a point in John Allen Lake at latitude 46°07'01"N and longitude 59°58'42"W; thence westerly in a straight line to the intersection of Broughton Road and an unnamed road at latitude 46°07'06"N and longitude 59°59'42"W; thence generally westerly along said unnamed road and Cowbay Road to a power transmission line at latitude 46°07'29"N and longitude 60°07'19"W; thence generally southwesterly along said transmission line to a transmission line at latitude 46°03'27"N and longitude 60°11'57"W; thence southerly and westerly along said transmission line to a transmission line at latitude 46°02'59"N and longitude 60°12'22"W; thence southwesterly along said transmission line to a transmission line at latitude 45°59'41"N and longitude 60°16'29"W; thence generally northwesterly along said transmission line to Portage Brook; thence generally northeasterly along said brook to Blacketts Lake; thence generally northeasterly along said lake and the Sydney River to Highway 125 (Peacekeepers Way); thence northwesterly and northerly along said highway to a point at latitude 46°11'16"N and longitude 60°18'13"W; thence

northwesterly in a straight line to a point on an unnamed road at approximate latitude 46°11'32"N and longitude 60°18'36"W; thence northwesterly along said unnamed road and Ross Road to Johnstons Brook; thence northeasterly and generally northwesterly along said brook to Mirror Cove; thence northerly and northeasterly along said cove and St. Andrews Channel to the Little Bras d'Or Channel; thence generally northerly along said channel to its mouth in the Cabot Strait; thence northerly in a straight line to a point on the northerly limit of said regional municipality at latitude 46°20'12"N and longitude 60°16'16"W.

#### **Cumberland—Colchester**

(Population: 82,014) (Map 1)

Consists of the counties of Colchester and Cumberland.

#### **Dartmouth—Cole Harbour**

(Population: 104,825) (Map 2)

Consists of that part of the Halifax Regional Municipality described as follows: commencing at a point in the Halifax Harbour at approximate latitude 44°33'43"N and longitude 63°30'00"W; thence generally northwesterly along said harbour (passing to the west of McNabs Island and to the east of Georges Island) to the A. Murray MacKay Bridge (Highway 111); thence northeasterly and generally easterly along said bridge and Highway 111 (Highway of Heroes) to Highway 118; thence northerly along said highway to a point on the highway situated to the west of Lake Charles at approximate latitude 44°42'55"N and longitude 63°33'15"W; thence easterly in a straight line to a point in Lake Charles at latitude 44°42'55"N and longitude 63°32'51"W; thence northeasterly in a straight line to the mouth of Barrys Run at Lake Charles at approximate latitude 44°42'57"N and longitude 63°32'45"W; thence generally easterly along said run to Highway 107 (Forest Hills Extension); thence southeasterly along said highway to Highway 7 (Main Street); thence northeasterly along said highway to a power transmission line (933 Main Street) situated approximately 200 metres east of Riley Road; thence southerly along said transmission line to an unnamed brook flowing southerly from Broom Lake; thence generally southerly along said brook to Cole Harbour at approximate latitude 44°40'25"N and longitude 63°27'47"W; thence generally southeasterly along said harbour to a point in the Atlantic Ocean at latitude 44°35'32"N and longitude 63°21'48"W; thence westerly in a straight line to the point of commencement.

#### **Halifax**

(Population: 98,885) (Map 2)

#### Consists of:

(a) that part of the Halifax Regional Municipality described as follows: commencing at a point in the Atlantic Ocean on the southerly limit of said regional municipality at approximate latitude 44°25'20"N and longitude 63°42'19"W; thence northeasterly in a straight line to a point in Pennant Bay at approximate latitude 44°27'19"N and longitude 63°41'01"W; thence northeasterly in a straight line to the mouth of an unnamed stream at Pennant Bay at approximate latitude 44°28'02"N and longitude 63°40'19"W; thence northeasterly in a straight line to the mouth of the Pennant River at the northwesternmost extremity of Grand Lake; thence generally northwesterly along said river to the easterly shoreline of Ragged Lake; thence generally northwesterly along said shoreline to the Pennant River at approximate latitude 44°30'30"N and longitude 63°39'27"W; thence generally northerly along said river. The Two Lakes and the Pennant River to an unnamed brook at approximate latitude 44°31'35"N and longitude 63°39'12"W; thence northerly in a straight line to the northwesternmost extremity of Narrow Lake at approximate latitude 44°34'30"N and longitude 63°40'40"W; thence northerly in a straight line to the intersection of Mills Drive and Prospect Road (Highway 333); thence generally northerly along said road to St. Margarets Bay Road (Highway 3); thence generally easterly along said road to Chebucto Road at the Armdale Rotary; thence northeasterly along said road to Philip Street; thence northwesterly along said street to the intersection of Leppert Street and an unnamed service lane; thence northwesterly and northeasterly along said service lane to Mumford Road; thence northwesterly along said road to East Perimeter Road; thence northeasterly and northerly along said road to Bayers Road (Highway 102); thence northeasterly along said road to Connaught Avenue (Highway 111); thence northwesterly and northerly along said avenue to Windsor Street; thence northwesterly along said street to Bedford Highway (Highway 2); thence westerly along said highway to its intersection with the Bedford Highway off-ramp situated north of Main Avenue; thence northwesterly in a straight line to the southernmost shoreline of Fairview Cove at approximate latitude 44°39'49"N and longitude 63°37'51"W; thence northerly in a straight line to a point in Bedford Basin at latitude 44°41'33"N and longitude 63°38'16"W; thence generally southeasterly along said basin. The Narrows and Halifax Harbour (passing to the east of Georges Island and to the west of McNabs Island) to a point in the Atlantic Ocean on the southerly limit of said regional municipality at latitude 44°33'43"N and longitude 63°30'00"W; thence generally southerly and westerly along said limit to the point of commencement; and

(b) Sable Island.

#### **Halifax West**

(Population: 99,228) (Map 1)

Consists of that part of the Halifax Regional Municipality described as follows: commencing at a point in St. Margarets Bay on the westerly limit of the Halifax Regional Municipality at latitude 44°35'24"N and longitude 63°59'50"W; thence generally northeasterly along said bay, Head Harbour and Head Bay to the mouth of the Northeast River; thence northerly along said river to St. Margarets Bay Road (Highway 3); thence generally southeasterly along said road to Hammonds Plains Road (Highway 213); thence generally northeasterly along said road to Stillwater Lake; thence generally northerly along said lake to the mouth of the East River at approximate latitude 44°43'31"N and longitude 63°50'51"W; thence generally easterly along said river to a point at latitude 44°43'43"N and longitude 63°49'37"W; thence southeasterly in a straight line to a point at latitude 44°43'41"N and longitude 63°49'34"W; thence northeasterly in a straight line to a point at latitude 44°44'26"N and longitude 63°48'37"W; thence southeasterly in a straight line to the intersection of Yankeetown Road and Hammonds Plains Road; thence easterly along Hammonds Plains Road to the northwesterly boundary of Wallace Hills Indian Reserve No. 14A; thence northeasterly and southeasterly along the northwesterly and northeasterly boundaries of said Indian reserve to Hammonds Plains Road; thence generally easterly along said road to Highway 102 (Bicentenial Highway); thence southwesterly, southerly and southeasterly along said highway to Hemlock Ravine; thence northeasterly along said ravine to the Bedford Basin; thence generally easterly along said basin to a point at approximate latitude 44°41'33"N and longitude 63°38'16"W; thence southerly in a straight line to the southernmost shoreline of Fairview Cove at approximate latitude 44°39'49"N and longitude 63°37'51"W; thence southeasterly in a straight line to the Bedford Highway (Highway 2) offramp situated north of Main Avenue: thence easterly along said highway to Windsor Street: thence southeasterly along said street to Connaught Avenue (Highway 111); thence southerly and southeasterly along said avenue to Bayers Road (Highway 102); thence southwesterly along said road to East Perimeter Road; thence southerly and southwesterly along said road to Mumford Road; thence southeasterly along said road to an unnamed service lane situated northwesterly of Leppert Street; thence southwesterly and southeasterly along said service lane and Philip Street to Chebucto Road; thence southwesterly along said road to St. Margarets Bay Road at the Armdale Rotary; thence generally westerly along said road to Prospect Road (Highway 333); thence generally southerly along said road to Mills Drive; thence southerly in a straight line to the northwesternmost extremity of Narrow Lake at latitude 44°34'30"N and longitude 63°40'40"W; thence southerly in a straight line to the mouth of an unnamed brook and the Pennant River at approximate latitude 44°31'35"N and longitude 63°39'12"W; thence generally southerly along said river, The Two Lakes and the Pennant River to the easterly shoreline of Ragged Lake at approximate latitude 44°30'30"N and longitude 63°39'27"W; thence generally southeasterly along said shoreline and the Pennant River to the northwesternmost extremity of Grand Lake; thence southwesterly in a straight line to the mouth of an unnamed stream at Pennant Bay at approximate latitude 44°28'02"N and longitude 63°40'19"W; thence southwesterly in a straight line to a point in Pennant Bay at latitude 44°27'19"N and longitude 63°41'01"W; thence southwesterly in a straight line to a point in the Atlantic Ocean on the southerly limit of said regional municipality at latitude 44°25'20"N and longitude 63°42'19"W; thence generally westerly and northerly along the southerly and westerly limits of said regional municipality to the point of commencement.

## Kings—Hants

(Population: 95,063) (Map 1)

#### **Consists of:**

- (a) the County of Hants; and
- (b) that part of the County of Kings lying easterly of a line described as follows: commencing at a point where Turner Brook flows into the Bay of Fundy at approximate latitude 45°08'38"N and longitude 64°50'14"W; thence southeasterly along said brook to Long Point Road; thence generally southerly along said road to Highway 221; thence southwesterly along said highway to the continuation of Long Point Road; thence generally southerly along said road to Highway 1 (Evangeline Trail); thence westerly along said highway to Aylesford Road; thence generally southerly, southeasterly and southerly along said road to the southerly limit of said county.

#### Pictou—Eastern Shore

(Population: 76,210) (Map 1)

#### Consists of:

- (a) the County of Pictou;
- (b) the Municipality of the District of St. Mary's; and
- (c) that part of the Halifax Regional Municipality lying easterly of a line described as follows: commencing at the intersection of the northerly limit of said regional municipality with Highway 102 (Veterans Memorial Highway); thence southerly and southwesterly along said highway to an unnamed brook at approximate latitude 44°50'47"N and longitude 63°34'13"W; thence southerly along said brook to Holland Brook; thence generally southerly along said brook to Soldier Lake; thence generally southerly along said lake to a point at approximate latitude 44°48'18"N and longitude 63°34'15"W; thence easterly in a straight line to a point in Three Mile Lake at latitude 44°48'33"N and longitude 63°29'39"W; thence easterly in a straight line to a point at latitude 44°48'31"N and longitude 63°25'52"W; thence southerly in a straight line to a point at latitude 44°44'03"N and longitude 63°24'22"W; thence easterly in a straight line to the northerly production of Walker Street; thence southerly along said production, Walker Street, Bell Street and Mineville Road to Highway 107; thence generally westerly along said highway and Highway 7 (Main Street) to a power transmission line (933 Main Street) situated approximately 200 metres west of Westphal Way; thence southerly along said transmission line to an unnamed brook flowing southerly from Broom Lake; thence generally southerly along said brook to Cole Harbour at approximate latitude 44°40'25"N and longitude 63°27'47"W; thence generally southeasterly along said harbour to a point in the Atlantic Ocean at latitude 44°35'32"N and longitude 63°21'48"W.

#### Sackville—Bedford—Preston

(Population: 100,416) (Map 1)

Consists of that part of the Halifax Regional Municipality described as follows: commencing at the intersection of the northerly limit of said regional municipality with Highway 102 (Veterans Memorial Highway); thence southerly and southwesterly along said highway to an unnamed brook at approximate latitude 44°50'47"N and longitude 63°34'13"W; thence southerly along said brook to Holland Brook; thence generally southerly along said brook to Soldier Lake; thence generally southerly along said lake to a point at approximate latitude 44°48'18"N and longitude 63°34'15"W; thence easterly in a straight line to a point in Three Mile Lake at latitude 44°48'33"N and longitude 63°29'39"W; thence easterly in a straight line to a point at latitude 44°48'31"N and longitude 63°25'52"W; thence southerly in a straight line to a point at latitude 44°44'03"N and longitude 63°24'22"W; thence easterly in a straight line to the northerly production of Walker Street; thence southerly along said production, Walker Street, Bell Street and Mineville Road to Highway 107; thence generally westerly along said highway and Highway 7 (Main Street) to Highway 107 (Forest Hills Extension); thence northwesterly along said highway to Barrys Run at approximate latitude 44°43'01"N and longitude 63°31'51"W; thence generally westerly along said run to Lake Charles; thence westerly in a straight line to a point in Lake Charles at latitude 44°42'55"N and longitude 63°32'51"W; thence westerly in a straight line to a point on Highway 118 at latitude 44°42'55"N and longitude 63°33'15"W; thence southerly along said highway to Highway 111 (Highway of Heroes); thence northwesterly, westerly and southwesterly along said highway and the A. Murray MacKay Bridge to the Halifax Harbour; thence generally northwesterly along said harbour and the Bedford Basin to a point at latitude 44°41'33"N and longitude 63°38'16"W; thence generally westerly to the mouth of the Hemlock Ravine: thence southwesterly along said ravine to Highway 102 (Bicentennial Highway): thence northwesterly, northerly and northeasterly along said highway to Hammonds Plains Road (Highway 213); thence generally westerly along said road to the northeasterly boundary of Wallace Hills Indian Reserve No. 14A; thence northwesterly and southwesterly along the northeasterly and northwesterly boundaries of said Indian reserve to Hammonds Plain Road: thence westerly along said road to Yankeetown Road; thence northwesterly in a straight line to a point at latitude 44°44'26"N and longitude 63°48'37"W; thence southwesterly in a straight line to latitude 44°43'41"N and longitude 63°49'34"W; thence northwesterly in a straight line to a point in the East River at latitude 44°43'43"N and longitude 63°49'37"W; thence generally westerly along said river to the northernmost point of Stillwater Lake; thence northwesterly in a straight line to the mouth of Pockwock River at Wrights Lake; thence northerly in a straight line to the westernmost extremity of Ponhook Cove along its westerly shoreline in Pockwock Lake; thence generally northerly along the westerly shoreline of said lake to the northerly limit of said regional municipality; thence generally northeasterly along said limit to the point of commencement.

## South Shore—St. Margarets

(Population: 79,130) (Map 1)

#### Consists of:

- (a) the counties of Lunenburg and Shelburne;
- (b) the Regional Municipality of Queens; and
- (c) that part of the Halifax Regional Municipality lying westerly and northerly of a line described as follows: commencing at the intersection of the northerly limit of said regional municipality with the westerly shoreline of Pockwock Lake; thence generally southerly along said shoreline to the westernmost extremity of Ponhook Cove in Pockwock Lake; thence southerly in a straight line to the mouth of the Pockwock River at Wrights Lake; thence southeasterly in a straight line to the mouth of East River at the northernmost extremity of Stillwater Lake; thence generally southerly along said lake to Hammonds Plains Road (Highway 213); thence southwesterly along said road to St. Margarets Bay Road (Highway 3); thence generally northwesterly along said road to the Northeast River; thence southerly along said river to Head Bay; thence generally southwesterly along said bay, Head Harbor and St. Margarets Bay to the westerly limit of said regional municipality at approximate latitude 44°35'24"N and longitude 63°59'50"W.

## Sydney—Glace Bay

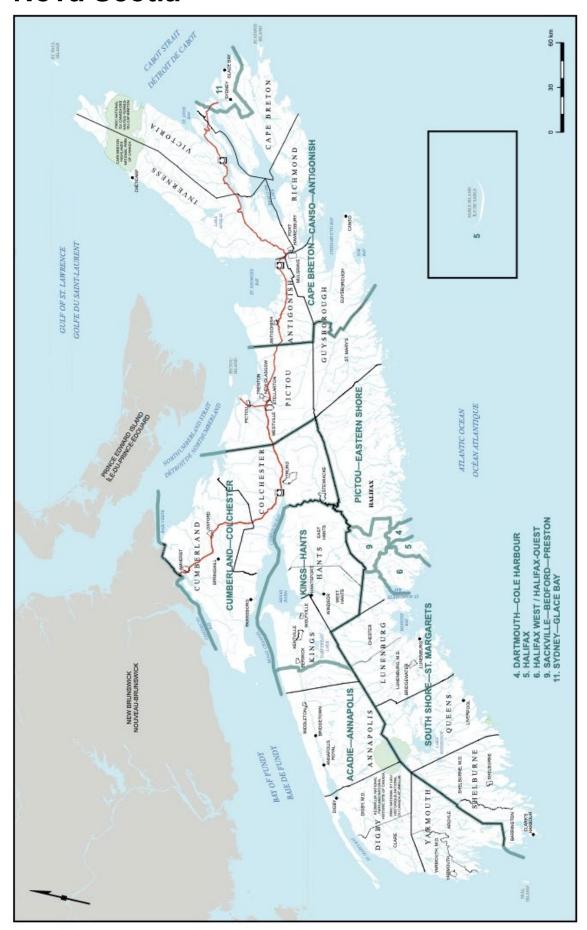
(Population: 82,219) (Map 1)

Consists of that part of the Cape Breton Regional Municipality described as follows: commencing at a point in the Cabot Strait on the northerly limit of said regional municipality at approximate latitude 46°10'41"N and longitude 59°45'09"W; thence generally southwesterly and westerly along said strait and Morien Bay (passing through the channel at Phalens Bar) to the mouth of Black Brook Morien; thence generally westerly along said brook to Morrison Brook; thence generally westerly along said brook to an unnamed road at latitude 46°06'20"N and longitude 59°55'47"W; thence westerly in a straight line to a point in John Allen Lake at latitude 46°07'01"N and longitude 59°58'42"W; thence westerly in a straight line to the intersection of Broughton Road and an unnamed road at latitude 46°07'06"N and longitude 59°59'42"W; thence generally westerly along said unnamed road and Cowbay Road to a power transmission line at latitude 46°07'29"N and longitude 60°07'19"W; thence generally southwesterly along said transmission line to a transmission line at latitude 46°03'27"N and longitude 60°11'57"W; thence southerly and westerly along said transmission line to a transmission line at latitude 46°02'59"N and longitude 60°12'22"W; thence southwesterly along said transmission line to a transmission line at latitude 45°59'41"N and longitude 60°16'29"W; thence generally northwesterly along said transmission line to Portage Brook; thence generally northeasterly along said brook to Blacketts Lake; thence generally northeasterly along said lake and the Sydney River to Highway 125 (Peacekeepers Way); thence northwesterly and northerly along said highway to a point at latitude 46°11'16"N and longitude 60°18'13"W; thence northwesterly in a straight line to a point

on an unnamed road at approximate latitude 46°11'32"N and longitude 60°18'36"W; thence northwesterly along said unnamed road and Ross Road to Johnstons Brook; thence northeasterly and generally northwesterly along said brook to Mirror Cove; thence northerly and northeasterly along said cove and St. Andrews Channel to the Little Bras d'Or Channel; thence generally northerly along said channel to its mouth in the Cabot Strait; thence northerly in a straight line to a point on the northerly limit of said regional municipality at latitude 46°20'12"N and longitude 60°16'16"W; thence generally easterly along the northerly limit of said regional municipality to the point of commencement.

## Map 1

# **Nova Scotia**



## Map 2

## Halifax

