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Volume 24 2/2005

The Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia was established in 1971. Previously, some of the functions were carried out through the Social Science Research Council of Australia, established in 1942. Elected to the Academy for distinguished contributions to the social sciences, the 410 Fellows of the Academy offer expertise in the fields of *accounting, anthropology, demography, economics, economic history, education, geography, history, law, linguistics, philosophy, political science, psychology, social medicine, sociology and statistics*.

The Academy's objectives are:

- to promote excellence in and encourage the advancement of the social sciences in Australia;
- to act as a coordinating group for the promotion of research and teaching in the social sciences;
- to foster excellence in research and to subsidise the publication of studies in the social sciences;
- to encourage and assist in the formation of other national associations or institutions for the promotion of the social sciences or any branch of them;
- to promote international scholarly cooperation and to act as an Australian national member of international organisations concerned with the social sciences;
- to act as consultant and adviser in regard to the social sciences; and,
- to comment where appropriate on national needs and priorities in the area of the social sciences.

These objectives are fulfilled through a program of activities, research projects, independent advice to government and the community, publication and cooperation with fellow institutions both within Australia and internationally.

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President's column

In recent months the energies of the Academy have been spread in a number of directions. These have included representation of the interests of the social sciences in policy forums, furthering our international connections, supporting our regular workshop, policy and research programs, and preparing for the quinquennial review of the performance of the Academy by the Department of Education, Science and Training (DEST), which provides our principal source of funding. In addition, the important and demanding process of electing new Fellows comes to a peak in these months, at least for the Secretariat.



Representation

As I recounted in my last report, the Academy made an extensive submission to the NHMRC/AVCC review of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans. It was one of about 160 submissions, which are currently being digested prior to a revised second draft being released. I am reliably informed that the Academy submission was considered to be outstanding, and made a most valuable contribution. This was very pleasing to hear, and I would like again to thank the authors of our submission - Nic Peterson, Robert Cribb, Don Byrne, Robert Gregson, Conal Condren and Duncan Ironmonger. You can read this excellent submission on the Academy website.

The Academy accepted an invitation from DEST to continue its participation in the development of a revised framework for the evaluation of research contributions, by universities and other publicly-funded research institutions. At the final consultation phase, attended by all the members of the review committee, the Academy was represented by me and our 2004 Early Career Scholar, Alex Bellamy. Alex was able to bring a fresh perspective that drew very much on the experience of a young and highly productive scholar, in contrast with many of the others present, who are now in senior university leadership roles.

The Academy also drew outside its Fellowship to provide a powerful voice to represent the social sciences in consultations on the National Collaborative Research Infrastructure Strategy. The social sciences are usually left out of the loop when large scale, shared research infrastructure is being considered. But we decided to make a case for serious funding of shared data archives as an important resource that is unlikely to be financed in any other way. We were most ably represented by Dr Deborah Cobb Clark (Australian National University) and Dr Mark Western, (University of Queensland). Despite their strong representation, we did not make a great deal of headway. But it was an important first step into a domain that until now has not considered the social sciences as having large research infrastructure needs. We were lucky to have two such experts arguing our case.

International connections

In June we signed an agreement with the Vietnamese Academy of the Social Sciences. This was the culmination of discussions that have been ongoing since 2003. In that year, a delegation led by Leon Mann and comprising me, Peter Saunders and Marcia Neave, visited Hanoi. We had formal discussions about the

nature of an exchange relation and gave a series of lectures to cognate areas of VASS. Draft versions of an agreement were then exchanged and it is very satisfying to be able to report that this process has now culminated in a new formal exchange agreement. The agreement emphasises the intent of supporting active research collaboration and assisting the development of more junior scholars. The signed agreement was personally delivered to VASS by Margot Prior, who has close and continuing contact with the psychologists there. The first exchange under this agreement will comprise a visit by two scholars from VASS in August, to learn more about experimental psychology. They will be assisted in their itinerary and visits by Leon Mann and Margot Prior and join the Academy Executive for dinner.

We are also hoping to call for applications very soon, under the newly signed exchange with our counterpart in India, the Indian Council of Social Science Research. India is to host the annual meeting of the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils (AASSREC), of which we are a member, in November 2005. At this meeting, we will assume responsibility for the AASSREC secretariat.

In establishing and maintaining these exchange relationships, the Academy looks to make connections that go beyond those that naturally flow from individual scholarly networks. We are also keen that these relationships go beyond formal visits by officers of the Academies, to stimulate and support new scholarly collaborations among Fellows and their counterparts. We have made a deliberate decision to improve our connections with Asian neighbours. It has been possible to provide some modest financial support to these new agreements, because of our enhanced funding from DEST under the HEIP grant.

Leon Mann has led these initiatives, as Chair of our International Committee, with excellent assistance from other people on that committee, and from the Secretariat.

Publications

At the Australian Social Policy Research Conference in July, I had the pleasure of launching *Rethinking Wellbeing*, edited by Lenore Manderson. The book is the outcome of an ARC Learned Academies grant, which brought together authors who are key practitioners and theorists from a variety of disciplines, including anthropology, demography, sociology, economics, and psychology. It questions conventional ways of thinking about wellbeing, exploring current international discourse related to defining, structuring and contextualising wellbeing, and reflects on notions of social connectedness, social wellbeing, social and cultural capital, positive health, capability and resilience.

The Academy is proud to have published *Donald Thomson: the man and scholar*. The book was launched at Museum Victoria, where the Academy was represented by Leon Mann. It is a beautiful publication, edited by Bruce Rigsby and Nicolas Peterson. It celebrates the work of a remarkable anthropologist, naturalist, journalist and 'photographer of brilliance', who died in 1970. It reproduces rare and exceptional photographs of Aboriginal people going about their daily lives in traditional communities, mainly in Cape York, Arnhem Land and the Central Desert. Thompson took over 10,000 photographs and gems from his collection make this a stunning and inspiring book. To quote Lindy Allen, one of the contributors, 'The collection is undoubtedly the most extensive visual record of Australian Aboriginal people's lives taken by any one person.' The high quality of the publication is a credit to our Secretariat, in particular Mark Pinoli who was responsible for layout and design.

Review

All of the four Learned Academies and their coordinating group, the National Academies Forum, receive an annual grant-in-aid from the Commonwealth Government. This is subject to review each five years and such a review is to be conducted in 2005. Minister Nelson has appointed a Review team comprising Professor Bruce Alberts (outgoing President of the US National Academy of Sciences); Mr John Ralph AC (Deputy Chair of Telstra Corporation) and Professor John Hay AC (Vice-Chancellor of the University of Queensland). The US National Academy of Sciences covers all the main intellectual disciplines, including behavioural and social sciences. Professor Hay has a Humanities background, in particular English Literature. We are pleased that this is a well-balanced and high quality review panel.

The Terms of Reference for the review are as follows:

The Review of the four Learned Academies, and of their joint consultation and coordination mechanism, the National Academies Forum (NAF), will assess the performance of the Academies in promoting and advancing their respective fields of endeavour, supporting their international affiliations and providing independent expert advice to government, and consider how they can most effectively discharge these roles in the future.

In particular, the Review will:

- a) Evaluate the efficiency and effectiveness of the Academies in carrying out their distinctive mandates in the natural and social sciences, the humanities, and the technological sciences and engineering;*
- b) Examine the value and performance of the Academies, and of the National Academies Forum, as sources of independent expert advice to Government on matters related to their respective fields of expertise;*
- c) Consider and advise on the scope for new or expanded roles for the individual Academies, and for the National Academies Forum, in meeting the needs of Government in line with the objectives of the Learned Academies Grant Program; and*
- d) Assess and recommend on the level of funds needed to meet Government and community expectations of the Academies under the Learned Academies Grant Program.*

The Academy will prepare a written submission, based around the terms of reference, by 24 August. I, together with our Executive Director and one or two other Fellows of the Academy, will then meet with the Review Committee on the weekend of 17-18 September, to discuss our submission. The Committee has until the end of October to present its report.

It hardly needs to be said that this is a very important review for the Academy. All Fellows are warmly invited to make any suggestions that they think will be helpful in the preparation of our submission.

Sue Richardson

Nomads?: On the Move in Australia

Australians on the Move: Trends and emerging issues

Graeme Hugo

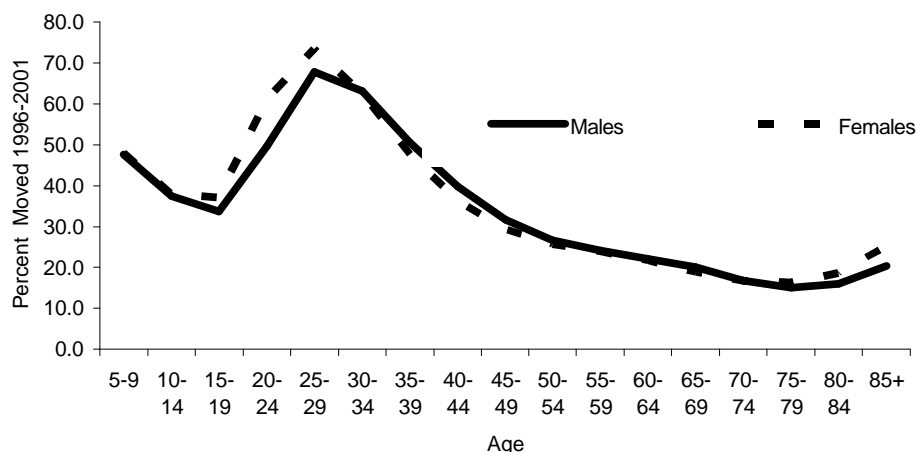
Australians are among the most residentially mobile national populations in the world with 17 per cent of the population moving house each year and 42.3 per cent each five years.¹ Moreover there are increasing levels of non permanent circulation within Australia² and of Australians moving overseas.³ The spatial patterning of internal migration within Australia is fairly well known but the causes shaping it and the social, economic and environmental implications remain little explored and understood. Data on population mobility will always be partial since they can only capture a subset of the movement which is actually occurring. In Australia the main source of information is the quinquennial population census which asks questions on people's place of residence five years and one year before the enumeration date. Moreover, data on people who are not at their usual place of residence on the night of the census give some insights into non permanent migration. While partial, the census data provide important insights into Australian population mobility. This paper briefly outlines some of the major patterns evident in Australian internal migration and some of the emerging issues relating to it.

Who moves?

Like all population movement, Australian internal migration is selective of particular groups in the population. Figure 1 shows that changing house is highly selective of young adults. Obviously this is a stage of the life cycle when considerable movement associated with leaving the parental home, entering higher education, entering the labour market, forming relationships, etc, occurs. It will be noticed that moves tend to occur at an earlier age for women than men. There are also slight upturns in the profile at the youngest and oldest ages reflecting on the one hand movement of dependent children with their young adult parents and on the other the moves associated with house downsizing and moving in with children or institutionalisation in the oldest ages. In some countries a secondary peak occurs around age 60 reflecting migration associated with retirement involving downsizing or movement to a resort-retirement location. While this is not currently evident in the Australian profile, there is speculation that as baby boomers move into these age groups there may be such a development. Nevertheless, in Australia the extent to which Australians move house tends to decline from the late 20s to the early 70s age groups, with little difference between males and females.

Figure 1: Australia: Percentage of the Population who Moved Between Statistical Local Areas, 1996-2001

Source: ABS 2001 Population Census



There are other forms of selectivity. For example, residential mobility is positively associated with level of education since labour markets for more highly educated groups are often national and international. In connection with this there are variations between occupational groups in their propensity to move. The least mobile are farmers, as is to be expected, given that they have significant 'location specific capital'. More skilled groups tend to have higher mobility. In the past it has been considered that employed persons are mobile while unemployed groups are not. However, in Australia there is evidence that the unemployed are prepared to move to seek out work in other labour markets with the unemployed having higher rates of mobility than the employed. Some 23 per cent of Australians were born overseas so it is interesting to observe differences between migrant groups with respect to mobility. While there is variation between different groups, the pattern is for most immigrant groups to be more mobile in their early years in Australia but for their mobility to converge toward that of the majority population over time. This is to be expected since migration in the early years of settlement is associated with the adjustment process. Indigenous mobility patterns are quite distinctive with 25.3 per cent moving every year compared with 18.4 per cent of all Australians. It is clear that non permanent movement is more significant among the indigenous population and that its spatial patterning is different from that of the total population.⁴

There are also differences in propensity to move according to living situation. Couple families with dependent children are less mobile than singles, people in group households, couples and one parent families. Life cycle events such as divorce, separation or the death of a partner can often result in migration. Similarly, married persons are less likely to move than those who are separated, divorced or never married. Adults with children are less likely to move than those without children.

Where do they go?

The majority of moves made by Australians are over short distances and hence do not necessarily involve the breaking of social and economic relationships. Table 1

shows that only 4.8 per cent of all Australians moved between states over the 1996-2001 intercensal period. Clearly the majority of moves are over a short distance and do not involve movement to new labour markets or the rupturing of social bonds. Indeed some 13.6 per cent of all Australians moved within their statistical local area. The numbers in Table 1 need to be supplemented with the information that 661,388 persons or 3.7 per cent of all Australians in 2001 were overseas at the time of the 1996 census and 677,660 (3.9 per cent) were temporarily outside of their SLA of residence on the night of the census.

Table 1: Australia: Address of Persons Aged 5+ in 1996 Compared With Address in 2001

Source: ABS 2001 Population Census

	Number	Per cent
Same address	9,006,048	58.6
Same SLA	2,091,786	13.6
Within State	3,540,001	23.0
Interstate	739,128	4.8
Total	15,376,963	100.0

Considering first the interstate level, Table 2 shows that a spatial shift has occurred in Australia's postwar population away from the southeastern states to the northern and western parts of the country. In 1947 the states of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania accounted for 78.4 per cent of the national population, but by 2001 they had 68.7 per cent of the total. On the other hand, Queensland increased its share from 14.6 per cent to 18.7 per cent and Western Australia from 6.6 per cent to 9.8 per cent. This has been a function of structural change in the Australian economy in the last 30 years with the southeastern states being heavily reliant on manufacturing and suffering due to the loss of jobs in this sector.

Table 2: Australia: Distribution of Population Between States and Territories, 1881-2001

Source: Rowland 1982, 25; ABS 2003a⁵

	1881	1947	2001
New South Wales	33.3	39.4	33.8
Victoria	38.3	27.1	24.7
Queensland	9.5	14.6	18.7
South Australia	12.3	8.5	7.8
Western Australia	1.3	6.6	9.8
Tasmania	5.1	3.4	2.4
Northern Territory	0.2	0.1	1.0
Australian Capital Territory	0.0	0.2	1.6
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number (million)	2.2	7.6	19.4

While much of the shift in interstate distribution has been due to interstate population movements, it is also due to a propensity for immigrants to settle in particular states. Immigrants have settled disproportionately in New South Wales and Victoria and been an influential factor in shaping the distribution of the national population.⁶ The patterns of interstate migration for 1996-2001 are shown in Figure 2 and a strong pattern of reciprocity in interstate migration is evident. The net migration for each state over the last 35 years is shown in Table 3. There are some interesting elements of both continuity and change. In New South Wales there has been a consistent pattern of net migration losses over the entire period, although this has been counterbalanced by a substantial net gain of overseas migrants. It is noticeable, however, that the net loss in the 1950s was only two thirds the size of that in the 1980s. The pattern for Victoria is similar to New South Wales up to 1996, but in 1996-2001 there was a small net gain after heavy net migration losses for the previous three decades, especially in 1991-96. This was associated with a major change in direction of the state's economy during the 1990s. After a period of economic downturn following the collapse of some important state economic institutions, the state government adopted an aggressive approach to restructuring the local economy, favouring the growth of a range of tertiary activities.

Figure 2: Australia: Interstate Migration Flows, 1996-2001

Source: ABS 2001 Census

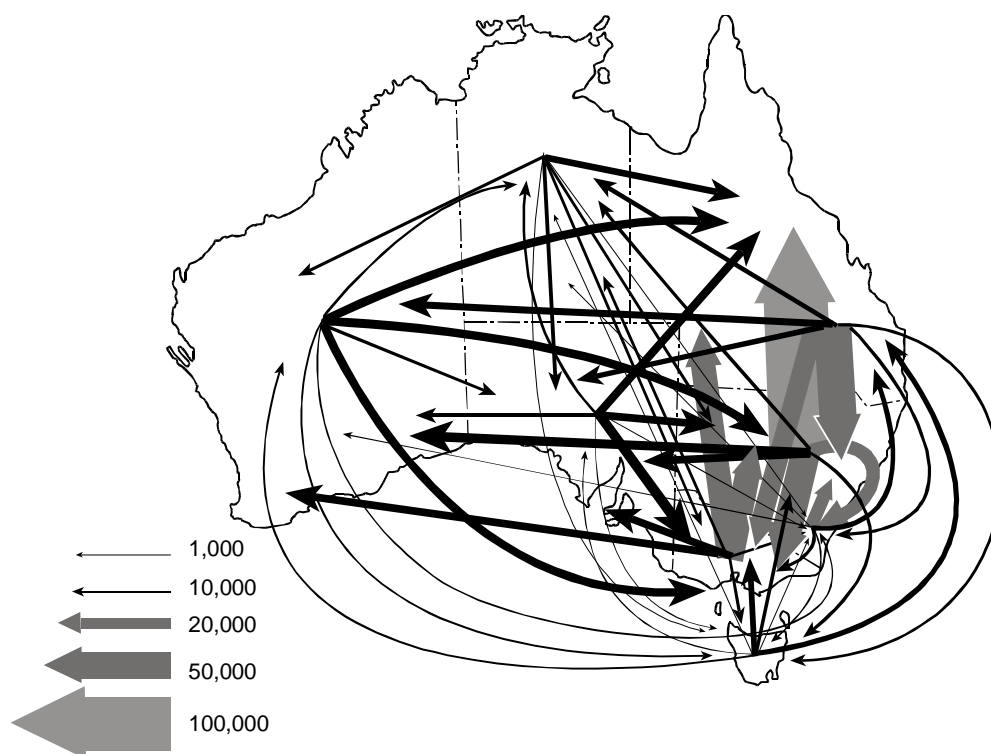


Table 3: Australia, States and Territories: Net Interstate Migration, 1996-71 to 1996-2001

Source: Bell and Hugo (2000); ABS Unpublished data⁷

Interval	State/Territory							
	NSW	Vic	Qld	SA	WA	Tas	NT	ACT
1966-71	-20,069	-26,848	15,388	-16,865	22,564	-6,810	8,816	23,824
1971-76	-74,010	-38,736	65,438	6,247	19,625	-4,044	-875	26,357
1976-81	-24,470	-55,420	83,558	-14,809	10,597	-4,515	4,458	601
1981-86	-61,736	-39,431	87,802	-8,679	15,703	-2,107	3,665	4,783
1986-91	-93,444	-44,751	124,799	-4,282	16,166	-175	-3,650	5,337
1991-96	-58,796	-78,628	145,459	-18,291	17,281	-6,251	-670	-104
1996-2001	-59,760	7,189	82,382	-10,588	2,584	-13,067	-5,573	-3,187

The patterns in Queensland are interesting since while it dominates the gains in 1996-2001 that gain is at its lowest level since 1971-76 and is less than two thirds the size of the intake in the previous intercensal period. Moreover net interstate migration gain in Western Australia is lower than at any time in the previous three decades. Hence it seems that the 1996-2001 period has seen a reduction in the gradient of net internal migration flows to the north and west in Australia. The net outflow from South Australia reduced in 1996-2001 and that out of the ACT, the Northern Territory and Tasmania increased. In all three the net losses were at higher levels than at any stage in the last three decades.

A second level to examine internal migration is within states. Of particular significance here is the movement between metropolitan and non metropolitan areas. What has been the role of internal migration in population growth in the metropolitan and non-metropolitan sectors?

Table 4 presents data on the contribution of intrastate and interstate migration to the population in the metropolitan and non-metropolitan sectors of the Australian states. The data have to be interpreted carefully because of boundary changes to metropolitan areas over the 35 year period depicted,⁸ but some interesting patterns are shown.

In analysing the trends in intrastate migration up to 1991, Bell⁹ comments that the most striking feature 'is the consistent trend towards reduced net gains or increased losses from each capital city to its respective non-metropolitan area'. This pattern appears to have changed significantly in the 1991-96 and 1996-2001 periods. In the two largest states, New South Wales and Victoria, there was a substantial reduction in the net losses from Sydney and Melbourne to their respective non-metropolitan areas. That in New South Wales was halved and that in Victoria reduced from -29,118 to -4,264 in 1991-96 and -2,035 in 1996-2001. Undoubtedly there has been an increase in the availability of jobs in Melbourne and Sydney over recent years. In Sydney the lead up to the 2000 Olympics was influential while Melbourne experienced an increase in jobs associated with a strong shift in state government

policy. In Queensland there was a reversal of net losses in Brisbane to net gains in the 1990s. The net gains of Adelaide and Perth from their corresponding non-metropolitan areas increased between 1986-91 and 1991-2001. So far as intrastate migration is concerned, there was a migration exchange between metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas favouring the latter only in New South Wales and Victoria and this is less than in 1986-91.

Table 4: Net Interstate and Intrastate Migration, Capital City Statistical Divisions and Non-Metropolitan Areas, Six States, Australia, 1966-71 to 1996-2001

Source: Bell and Hugo 2000, 96; ABS 2001 Census (unpublished data)¹⁰

Year	Metropolitan			Non-Metropolitan			Metropolitan Share of Interstate Gain or Loss (%)
	Intrastate	Interstate	Total	Intrastate	Interstate	Total	
New South Wales							
1966-71*	-5,714	-4,609	-10,323	5,714	-15,460	-9,746	23.0
1971-76	-22,429	-48,373	-70,802	22,429	-25,530	-3,101	65.5
1976-81	-34,045	-23,849	-57,894	34,045	-388	33,657	98.4
1981-86	-26,652	-37,658	-64,310	26,652	-22,370	4,282	62.7
1986-91	-67,348	-71,374	-138,672	67,348	-22,120	45,238	76.3
1991-96	-33,659	-30,136	-63,795	33,659	-28,090	5,569	51.8
1996-2001	-34,811	-23,437	-58,248	34,525	-36,313	-1,788	47.9
Victoria							
1966-71	20,998	-11,162	9,836	-20,998	-15,686	-36,684	41.6
1971-76	-5,865	-24,900	-30,765	5,865	-13,832	-7,967	64.3
1976-81	-18,514	-36,993	-55,507	18,514	-18,456	58	66.7
1981-86	-26,481	-27,335	-53,816	26,481	-12,243	14,238	69.1
1986-91	-29,118	-29,756	-58,874	29,118	-14,995	14,123	66.5
1991-96	-4,264	-45,118	-49,382	4,264	-31,024	-26,760	59.3
1996-2001	-2,035	13,054	11,019	1,842	-7,005	-5,103	65.1
Queensland							
1966-71	13,456	4,076	17,532	-13,456	11,312	-2,144	26.5
1971-76	6,718	30,760	37,478	-6,718	34,640	27,922	47.0
1976-81	-2,481	31,011	28,530	2,481	52,445	54,926	37.2
1981-86	-9,811	29,064	19,253	9,811	58,957	68,768	33.0
1986-91	-3,035	45,752	42,717	3,035	79,047	82,082	36.7
1991-96	1,899	54,021	55,920	-1,899	88,142	86,243	38.0
1996-2001	18,869	33,813	52,682	-19,291	48,367	29,276	41.1
South Australia							
1966-71	9,362	-10,926	-1,564	-9,362	-5,939	-15,301	64.8
1971-76	5,900	8,423	14,323	-5,900	-2,232	-8,132	136.1
1976-81	2,375	-6,042	-3,667	-2,375	-8,746	-11,121	40.9
1981-86	1,651	-3,848	-2,197	-1,651	-4,628	-6,279	45.4
1986-91	3,902	-644	3,258	-3,902	-3,638	-7,540	15.0
1991-96	4,815	-13,904	-9,089	-4,815	-4,117	-8,932	77.2

1996-2001	5,698	-8,634	-2,976	-5,890	-1,900	-7,790	82.0
Western Australia							
1966-71	15,187	12,526	27,713	-15,187	10,038	-5,149	55.5
1971-76	15,881	17,094	32,975	-15,881	2,513	-13,368	87.2
1976-81	6,722	11,844	18,566	-6,722	-1,365	-8,087	113.0
1981-86	7,347	14,773	22,120	-7,347	877	-6,470	94.4
1986-91	4,576	12,884	17,460	-4,576	3,282	-1,294	79.7
1991-96	6,534	12,467	19,001	-6,534	3,852	-2,682	76.4
1996-2001	6,620	3,524	10,144	-6,843	-986	-7,769	78.1
Tasmania							
1966-71	3,396	-3,074	322	-3,396	-3,736	-7,132	45.1
1971-76	3,370	-798	2,572	-3,370	-3,221	-6,591	19.9
1976-81	-56	-2,384	-2,440	56	-2,182	-2,126	52.2
1981-86	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
1986-91	3,731	-493	3,238	-3,731	318	-3,413	281.7
1991-96	2,982	-2,706	276	-2,982	-3,291	-6,273	45.1
1996-2001	3,801	-6,115	-2,314	-3,863	-6,966	-10,829	46.7

* As defined at the 1971 census which excluded the then Outer Sydney SD

na - Not available.

There are some differences in pattern with respect to age, as is evident in Table 5. This shows that there are 1.57 million moves in or out of Australian capital cities to achieve a net redistribution of only 11,906 persons. This means that the efficiency of migration redistribution into Australian capitals is very low (0.76 per cent). It is interesting, however, that there is net in-migration to capitals in only one age group – young adults and adolescents aged 15-24. The efficiency of redistribution of this age group is moderately high (28.3 per cent). The largest net loss is around retirement age where there is again a moderate efficiency of redistribution (26.4 per cent).

Table 5: Australian Capital Cities : Internal Migration By Age 1996-2001

Source: 2001 Australian Census, unpublished data

Age Group	In-migration	Out-migration	Net Migration
5-14	112,988	119,886	-6,898
15-24	188,963	105,531	+83,432
25-54	412,108	431,764	19,656
55-74	60,257	103,378	43,121
75+	18,476	20,327	-1,851
Total	792,792	780,886	+11,906

Turning to the situation within non metropolitan Australia, centres with relatively rapid growth are clustered around the nation's largest cities and strung along the eastern and southwestern coasts. On the other hand, the wheat-sheep belt area tends to have

urban places which are experiencing decline. In the more remote areas there is a greater variation with some centres recording growth and others decline. The patterns of migration in non metropolitan Australia are well exemplified in the case of New South Wales depicted in Table 6 which shows the in, out and net migration for 1996-2001 in Sydney and three non-metropolitan zones parallel to the coast together with the number of immigrants who arrived between 1996 and 2001. In the growing coastal areas there were 18,848 recent immigrants but 189,227 immigrants had moved in from elsewhere in Australia and there was a net internal migration gain of 31,053. The pattern of net internal migration loss increases with distance from the coast and the number of recent immigrants decreases. This mix of interstate and international migration contribution to growth is indicative of patterns across Australia.

Table 6: New South Wales: Regions, Internal Migration 1996-2001 and Immigrants Who Arrived in Australia Between 1996 and 2001

Source: Unpublished data from 2001 Australian Census

	Internal Migration 1996-2001			Immigrants Arrived
	In	Out	Net	1996-2001
Sydney	175,732	233,685	- 57,953	233,685
Coastal NSW	189,277	158,174	+ 31,053	18,848
Central NSW	91,899	95,028	- 3,129	6,315
Western NSW	40,489	66,292	- 25,803	2,498

Within Australia's large urban areas there has also been substantial change. While it is an overgeneralisation, the main pattern of population change in the postwar years, at least until the 1980s, was the classical 'doughnut' pattern with population decline in inner and middle suburbs grading to moderate population growth in the middle suburbs and rapid growth on the urban fringe. This pattern of migration to peripheral areas of cities continues, albeit at a lesser rate than in the past. Young people have moved into inner city areas over much of the postwar period but traditionally have moved toward the periphery when beginning family formation. However, there is now a greater complexity of patterns with inner and middle suburbs attracting significant numbers of younger couples and families. Hence, areas of net in-migration in the cities are now dispersed throughout the metropolitan area and not just concentrated in the periphery (Figure 3).

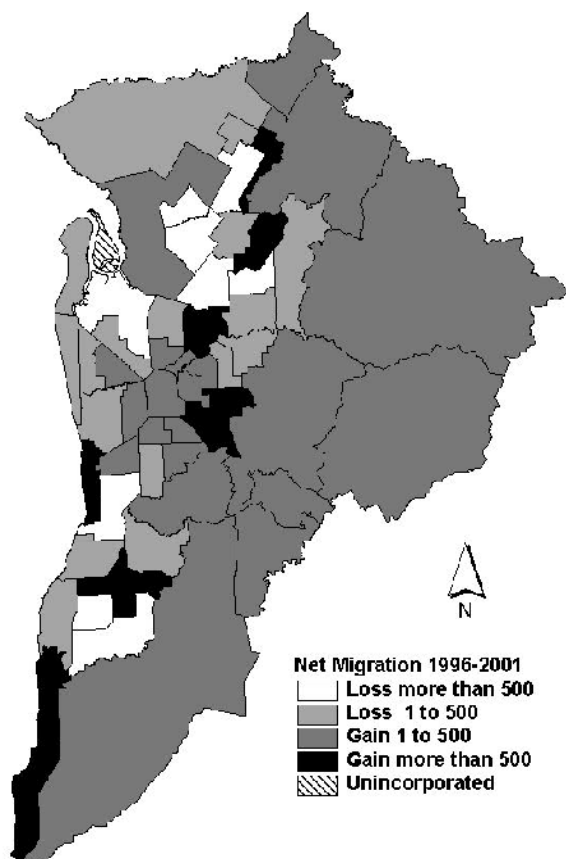
Some internal migration issues

Internal migration, together with where new immigrants from overseas settle, is the major cause of differences between different parts of Australia in population growth or decline. The five yearly censuses allow accurate measurement of the patterns of migration but between censuses the ABS makes quarterly estimates of interstate migration using Medicare change of address information.¹¹ The rate of growth of the population of a state is of considerable significance, not least since the Grants Commission allocation of Federal funds to states and territories amounts to several thousand dollars per person per year. Not surprisingly, there is considerable sensitivity to trends in population increase and especially to the net internal migration

component of that since it is arguably the component in which there is the greatest degree of estimation error.

Figure 3: Adelaide: Intra Urban Net Migration by SLAs, 1996-2001

Source: ABS Census 2001



In recent years some states have developed population policies which seek to influence internal migration trends. For example, the Victorian Government's (2004) Population Policy includes strategies relating to interstate migration and regional migration. With respect to the former it has a strategy 'to maintain and increase our gains from Interstate Migration', especially younger people through fostering continued economic and employment growth.¹² With respect to regional population there are specific targets to achieve annual regional (ie, outside of Melbourne) growth of 1.25 per cent per annum by 2006 and for the provincial population to grow to 1.75 million by 2025. The Policy focuses on four key strategies to stimulate and manage growth - driving new investment and jobs, increasing awareness of job opportunities, investing in infrastructure and restoring services in regional Victoria.¹³ Some Victorian regional communities also have initiated strategies to retain people and attract migrants from outside.¹⁴ South Australia too has strategies to attract people from interstate including attracting expatriates from the State to return.¹⁵

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In Australia attention has been focused on the 'sea change' phenomenon whereby there has been an influx of people into non metropolitan coastal communities on the east, southeast and southwestern parts of the continent. Indeed some commentators¹⁶ have depicted this as a 'third Australia' differing fundamentally from rural and urban living. However, as Burnley and Murphy¹⁷ point out, it is not just these coastal areas which have experienced population growth but also other high amenity areas away from the coast but within reasonable distance of major cities – the so called 'hill change' or 'tree change' phenomenon. There are a number of issues which arise from this. Firstly, it is apparent that there is an increasing polarisation within non metropolitan Australia between these growing non metropolitan areas in the coastal, near metropolitan and amenity-rich ecological favoured areas on the one hand and the inner wheat sheep belt and remote pastoral zone on the other. The first is characterised by booming local economies and population growth and the second by stagnation and decline of population and services. The population in and out movement patterns associated with both types of areas are quite different as are the pressing policy issues in each type of area. To what extent is the 'sea change' associated with unfavourable environmental impacts such as alienation of limited arable land for production, disturbance of fragile coastal ecologies, increased fossil fuel consumption because of larger community and other travel distances, waste disposal issues and higher per capita costs of service provision? How will regional authorities in growing areas be able to cope with the needs of rapidly expanding populations while in declining areas how can an adequate range of services be maintained for those remaining behind?

The divergence between 'inner' and 'outer' non metropolitan Australia is evident in Table 7 which shows that population growth over the last decade has been concentrated in the most accessible part of the nation.

Table 7: Population Change – 1991 to 2001

Source: ABS 2003b, 8¹⁸

Remoteness Area	2001 '000	Change Since 1991(a) %
Major Cities	12373.3	12.9
Inner Regional	3872.7	14.3
Outer Regional	1,978.5	4.9
Remote	334.7	-0.2
Very Remote	201.1	4.5
Australia(b)	18,769.2	11.9

(a) Based on 2001 Remoteness Areas

(b) Includes persons in Migratory category

Moreover, Table 8 shows that there is a significant redistribution of population occurring toward the less remote non metropolitan areas through internal migration. It is sometimes assumed that the in-migration to sea change areas is made up overwhelmingly of 'urban refugees' from the nation's major cities. However, at the 2001 census under one third of new residents were from a capital city, the largest

proportion (42 per cent) came from a large regional population centre and 27 per cent came from a country area. The bulk (78 per cent) had moved within a state or territory.¹⁹

Table 8: Australia: Internal Migration by ARIA Category, 1996 to 2001

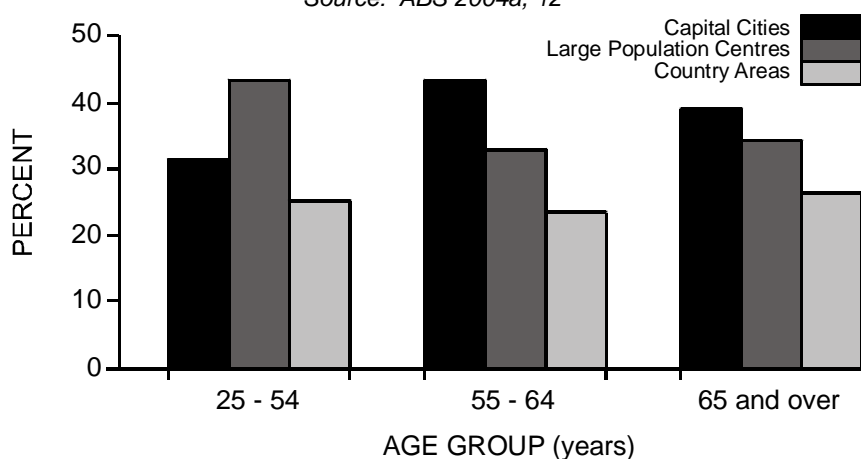
Source: ABS 2001 Census

ARIA Category	In-migrants	Out-migrants	Net Migration
Major Cities	562,262	519,691	42,571
Inner Regional	528,997	464,268	64,729
Outer Regional	259,359	313,944	-54,585
Remote	58,029	82,268	-24,239
Very Remote	28,997	44,030	-15,033
Undefined, no usual address, Migratory	28,216	41,659	-13,443

It is interesting in Figure 4 that the origins of new residents to sea change areas are differentiated by age. Working age in-migrants are more likely to have come from regional centres and recent and impending retirees aged 55-64 and retirees 65+ are more likely to come from capital cities.

Figure 4: High Growth Coastal Regions of Australia: Origins of Inmigrants, 1996-2001

Source: ABS 2004a, 12²⁰



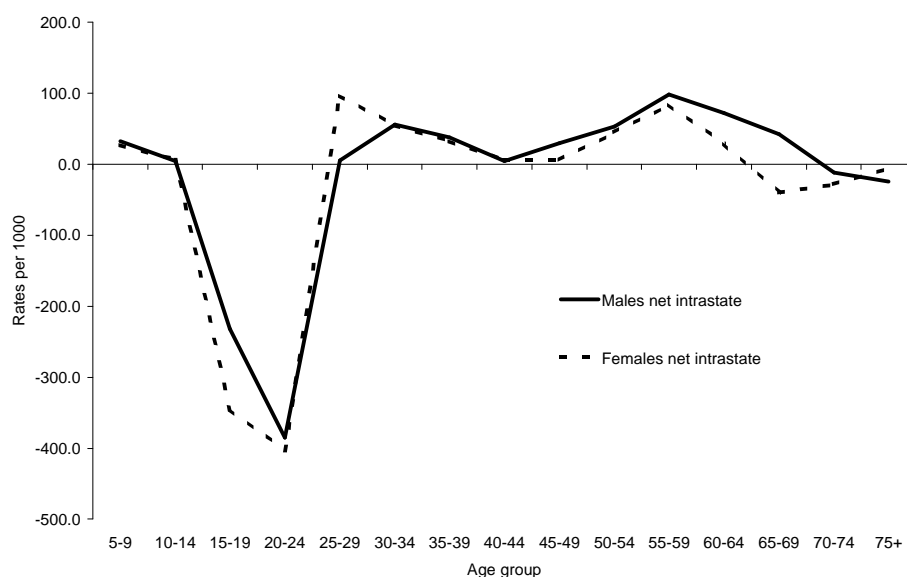
Internal migration is important not only because it influenced the growth or decline in the numbers of people in particular parts of Australia but also because it changes the composition of the population at origin and destination because migrants are never representative of the populations they leave or join. Hence, a small net migration may have a disproportionately large effect if the in-migrants differ from the out-migrants.

For example, the fact that out-migration in non metropolitan areas is selective of young adults who move toward large urban centres has meant that only 11.5 per cent of rural populations in Australia are aged 15-24 years while 14.2 per cent of capital city populations are in those age groups.²¹

The fact that in-migration and out-migration flows can differ substantially in their composition is well illustrated in the migration being experienced across much of the wheat belt area of Australia. Figure 5, for example, depicts the age sex specific patterns of net migration in the non-metropolitan Statistical Division of Yorke-Lower North in South Australia over the 1996-2001 period. It will be noted that there is a substantial net outflow of young adults. This is a clear pattern of school leaver age groups moving to large urban areas in order to obtain higher education or to gain a job in a much larger and more diverse labour market than is available in their home region. This pattern of out migration of youth is a longstanding one in Australian regional areas.²² Similarly, the greater number of females than males in this movement has been a consistent feature over the last four decades. The fact that even fast growing non-metropolitan areas cannot offer the post-school education and variety of job opportunities that are available in the capital cities means that even these areas are losing population aged in their late teens and early 20s. There is little chance that there will be any significant reversal of this trend toward a net loss of young adults. The key question really is: To what extent can conditions be created to encourage some of these young people to come back to settle in non-metropolitan Australia after completing their education and gaining experience in metropolitan centres? This flow already exists in some areas, as is evident from Figure 5. A long term feature of migration in regional areas is a net migration gain in the late 20s and 30s age group. This is a function of the following elements:

**Figure 5: Yorke and Lower-North Statistical Division:
Intrastate Net Migration, 1996-2001**

Source: ABS unpublished census migration data 2001



- A return flow of some young people once they have completed their education in the city;
- Young people, especially women, some of them returnees, moving in to marry a local; and/or
- In-movement of young adults (often families) as part of their career advancement in teaching, banks, stock and station agents, police, the health system, et. – the group known as the 'floating population'.

These flows already exist and any attempt to increase in-movement to regional areas would attempt to encourage and enhance this movement.

One substantial change in the last decades has related to the 'floating population' referred to above. Studies in the 1970s²³ found that the movement of these groups into rural communities was crucial to their social capital. While the floating population only stayed for a short period before being transferred, they were often leaders in a great deal of local sporting, community, social, cultural and voluntarism volunteerism in country communities. Moreover, in the past they were replaced by people with similar characteristics. However, with greater centralisation of services, the 'floating population' is increasingly moving between regional cities and not country towns. The result has been a significant loss to smaller rural communities which is not only demographic but has a disproportionate impact on vibrancy of life in those communities.

Although Australia has an extensive literature on internal migration, one area, which has gained little attention, is the extent to which poverty is influenced, and is influenced by, mobility. There is much evidence in OECD nations described by Smeeding and Gottschalk²⁴ as:

a hollowing out of the middle of the [income] distribution marked by an increasing fraction of the population both in upper and lower income groups relative to overall median income.

This growing social polarisation has also been experienced in Australia. Harding²⁵ points out that:

From 1982 to 1996-97, the average income of the most affluent 10 per cent of Australians increased by almost \$200 a week. This was three to six times more than for those at the middle and bottom of the income distribution. So although on average everyone was better off, the gap between middle Australians and those at the top increased.

This social polarisation may have an important spatial dimension, ie, there is a distinction between areas with 'haves' and those with 'have nots.' This spatial polarisation has been noted, especially in Australian cities²⁶ but also has been identified in non-metropolitan Australia.²⁷ Harding²⁸ found that:

... household incomes in the most affluent five postcodes in Victoria rose by almost 20 per cent from 1986 to 1996, while those in the five poorest Victorian postcodes fell by 10 per cent. An income chasm is growing between the inner metropolitan cities and those living in the outer metropolitan areas. The gap is also increasing between those living within and outside the cities, while South Australia and Tasmania lag far behind the other states.

However, the role that internal migration plays in influencing the spatial concentration of poverty in Australia remains largely unknown. Internal migration can influence income levels in particular areas in two types of ways:

- Selective out-migration of high income households and individuals reduces average income levels while that of low income groups will have the opposite effect.
- Selective in-migration of high income households and individuals raises average income levels while that of low income groups will have the opposite effect.

Population mobility is a major factor in the spatial distribution of poverty²⁹ and equally in contributing toward per capita income growth in areas.³⁰ Hence understanding of the processes of population movement in both metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas, and especially of their relationship with income levels in those areas and the incidence of poverty, is an important prerequisite for developing policies and programs to alleviate poverty on the one hand; and on the other, to develop strategies to enhance income levels of populations living in poor areas.

There has been only limited examination of migration and income effects in Australia. The major work has been by Wulff and Bell³¹ (1997), based on the 1991 Population Census internal migration data and the 1992 ABS Family Survey, and examines the migration patterns of low income groups. This had a number of important findings including the fact that those receiving unemployment benefits and sole parent pensions (SPPs) have higher mobility than those in paid work. They found that spatial patterns of net migration gain and loss differed markedly between employed workers and the unemployed, there were net out-movements of low income groups from Sydney and Melbourne and net gains in many non-metropolitan regions. Somewhat earlier Hugo postulated a welfare-led hypothesis to assist in the explanation of counter-urbanisation in Australia.³² This suggests that a significant component of population growth in Australian non-metropolitan areas is due to the immigration, and retention, of low income groups. An important element in this movement is of people receiving some form of transfer payments from government which are equally available across the entire nation and totally portable, and a major attraction is the cheaper cost of living, especially cheaper housing.³³ The significance of differential housing affordability in this process was underlined by the survey work of Burnley³⁴ in the north east of NSW. Using 1991 census internal migration data, Hugo and Bell³⁵ have demonstrated that low income earners have played a major role in the process of counter-urbanisation in Australia, whereas in Sydney there were net migration gains of high income earners but net migration losses of all lower income groups. More recently a new data source has been developed to shed light on this issue. This is a longitudinal data set of clients of the Commonwealth Department of Family and Community Services (FACS) and its potential for analysis of the internal migration of pension and other transfer recipients has been demonstrated by Morrow.³⁶ This shows that more disability support pensioners (DSPs) leave capital cities than move to them and there are net gains of the group in particular areas, especially coastal NSW and southern Queensland.

Does poverty influence propensity to move? Research in the United States³⁷ has indicated that there is little difference in the overall level of mobility of the poor and non-poor or in the distances that they are prepared to move. However, it has been found that they are more likely to move from cities to rural areas than better off people and this has contributed to the increasing poverty rate in rural counties. Nord,

Luloff and Jensen found that migration patterns of both the poor and non-poor consistently reinforced pre-existing poverty concentrations and they make the provocative argument that 'to a large extent, spatial concentrations of poverty persist not because of the unwillingness of the poor to migrate out of high poverty areas but rather because of their propensity to migrate into such areas'.³⁸ Their finding that there is a 'spatial sorting' of poor and non-poor in all migration streams needs to be tested in the Australian context since it has important theoretical as well as policy implications.

Data from the 1996 census presented in Table 9 show that there is little variation between income groups in overall mobility. In relation to the 1996 census migration data, Bell and Hugo³⁹ indicate that

At ages 40 to 65, people on incomes of less than \$300 per week display marginally higher rates of movement than those on higher incomes, and for those aged 70 and over the difference is accentuated with a clear, inverse relationship between mobility and income. Among young adults, however, the sequence is reversed: high income earners aged under 30 exhibit higher rates of movement than their lower income counterparts, and the difference is especially pronounced at ages 15-24.

Table 9: Australian Mobility Rates by Type of Move and Level of Weekly Income Among People 15+, 1995-1996

Source: Derived from Bell and Hugo 2000, 52⁴⁰

Personal Income (A\$ per Week)	Did Not Move (%)	Within LGA (%)	Within State (%)	Interstate (%)	Total Moved (%)
299 or less	82.7	7.0	8.3	2.0	17.3
300 - 599	79.0	8.3	10.7	2.0	21.0
600 - 999	81.3	6.4	10.1	2.2	18.7
1,000+	84.0	5.3	8.2	2.5	16.0
Total	81.5	7.2	9.2	2.1	18.5

Moreover, the table shows that lower income groups show a greater propensity to move shorter distances and the higher income groups tend to move longer distances.

In the United States there is growing recognition of the significance of migration of the poor as an influence upon the level and spatial distribution of rural poverty. On the one hand, it has been convincingly demonstrated that the poor, less educated and least skilled are under-represented among the people leaving depressed rural areas.⁴¹ On the other hand, there is also some evidence of the poor being an important element in urban to rural migration.⁴² In a case study of a depressed rural community in New York, Fitchen⁴³ shows that this community has become a migration destination for migrants from both urban and other rural areas, causing dramatic increases in the poverty rate, welfare rolls and service needs.

To what extent do census migration data confirm that there is reverse income selectivity in metropolitan to non-metropolitan migration and positive selectivity in the reverse flow?

Table 10 shows net migration data between Sydney and non-metropolitan NSW for the 1991 and 1996 censuses and a clear pattern is in evidence indicating that the non-metropolitan areas are gaining lower income migrants but losing higher income ones.

Table 10: Non-Metropolitan Areas of New South Wales: Net Migration With Sydney by Income, 1986-1991 and 1991-1996

Source: Hugo and Bell (1998); Bell and Hugo (2000)⁴⁴

1986-1991		1991-1996	
A\$ per Year (Household)	Net Migration	A\$ per Week (Personal)	Net Migration
0 - 15,999	+23,640	299 or less	+27,231
16,000 - 29,999	+22,217	300 - 599	-454
30,000 - 49,999	+11,492	600 - 999	-1,586
50,000+	-159	1000+	+14

Some of the most interesting work on poverty and mobility has been carried out by Morrow.⁴⁵ He has utilised the Department of Family and Community Services (DFaCS) Longitudinal Data Set (LDS) which tracks recipients of welfare payments over the period 1995-1999 and found that welfare recipients had lower than average annual rates of moving, although those on unemployment benefits moved at higher rates than either single parent pension or disability support pension recipients (Table 11). This might seem at odds with the findings of others⁴⁶ reported earlier, but their study was not of all movement but that between regions. This suggests that the poor make fewer housing adjustments than the better off within communities and tend to have a higher propensity than high income groups to move between labour and housing markets.

Table 11: Australia: Annual Mobility Rates of Selected Groups

Source: Bell and Hugo (2000); Morrow (2000)⁴⁷

Population Group		Mobility Rate Per Annum (%)
Unemployment Benefit Recipients (UBR)	(1996-1997)	15.4
Single Parent Pension (SPP)	(1996-1997)	12.9
Disability Support Pension (DSP)	(1996-1997)	7.6
All Persons 5+	(1995-1996)	18.3
Workforce	(1995-1996)	19.4

Morrow also found that mobility rates among welfare recipients decreased as unemployment levels in regions increased.⁴⁸ Poor areas with high unemployment tend to become 'poverty traps' with some poor people unable to move because they cannot realise the capital they have invested in the community, or cannot compete for housing in better off areas. It would seem that we can recognise two important groups among the unemployed:

- (a) Those who respond to unemployment by moving to another labour market where they perceive they have a better chance of getting a job.
- (b) Those who are trapped in poor areas by owning a house or having access to cheap rental property and are constrained from moving by location specific capital considerations and/or by a fear of not being able to compete effectively for a job elsewhere and obtain equivalent housing elsewhere.

Morrow also investigated regional variants in mobility rates and found that there was only minor variation between different settlement types in the mobility of welfare recipients, although the highest rates are in the rural and remote areas.⁴⁹

There is little research that has been undertaken on the migration of the poor within Australia's major cities where the majority of people in poverty live. Maher found that intra-urban mobility rates (age standardised) rose with income, perhaps reflecting the greater constraints on lower income groups which greatly restrict the areas in cities where they can pay for housing.⁵⁰ Table 12 shows that this pattern was evident in both Sydney and Melbourne at the 1991 census. There is a pressing need for this research to be updated and extended, given the massive changes which have occurred in Australian cities since then.

**Table 12: Intra-Urban Migration in Sydney and Melbourne
by Income, 1986-1991**

Source: Maher and Whitelaw (1995), 89⁵¹

Income Group (A\$ per annum)	Per cent Intra-Urban Migrants	
	Sydney	Melbourne
<16,000	22.6	22.4
16,000 - 29,999	29.2	27.8
30,000 - 49,999	31.5	31.8
50,000+	30.3	30.5
Total	28.5	

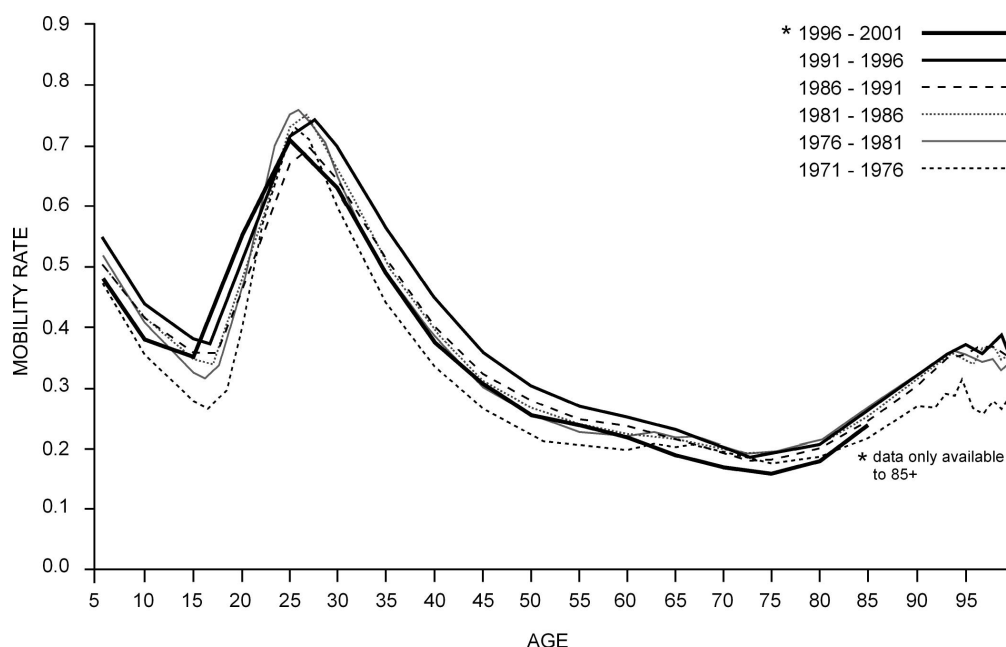
One feature of Australian internal migration since census data was first collected at the 1971 population census has been the high degree of consistency in the shape of the age profile of movement, as is evident in Figure 5. Bell and Hugo⁵² noted the major changes as being a significant rise in mobility rates among adults aged 25-64, children, teenagers and the extreme aged together with an 'ageing' of the profile with peak mobility rising from age 25 to 27. Nevertheless, there is little evidence of intergenerational changes in patterns of mobility as new generations move into particular life cycle stages. Some 28 per cent of Australians are baby boomers and as

they move into the retirement ages the question arises as to whether they will be more mobile in those age groups than earlier generations have been.

Figure 6 shows that persons aged in their 50s and 60s in Australia have had the lowest levels of mobility of all age groups over the last 25 years. There is some speculation that baby boomers may behave differently. Will a higher proportion of them opt for the 'sea change'? Will a higher proportion trade down from their family house in the middle and outer suburbs to a smaller unit in the more closely settled coastal or inner suburbs of cities? This 'generational' approach to studying internal migration is one area which has not been undertaken in the Australian context.

Figure 6: Australia: Mobility Rates by Age, 1971-76 to 1996-2001

Source: Bell and Hugo (2000): 24 and ABS 2001 Census⁵³



Conclusion

Writing six decades ago, Griffith Taylor argued that Australia's future population distribution would be similar to that of 1860 when much of the arable land of the country had been settled.⁵⁴ His prediction has been largely borne out since there has been little change in the pattern of heavy concentration in a few capital cities and along the eastern, southeast and southwest coasts. This lack of change in the broad structure of population distribution seems at odds with the fact that Australia has one of the highest rates of internal migration in the world. Certainly much of the movement is over short distances and there is a great degree of counterbalancing of flows. However, one could contend that in fact there has been considerable and continuing realignment of populations within the broad structure of coastal and capital city concentration. Internal migration, however, is not only a significant instrument of demographic change producing substantial regional differences in rates of population

growth and decline; it has important social, economic, environmental and political implications of which little is currently known. It is important that our understanding of the nature, drivers and impact of that movement be both deepened and widened.



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Tasmania's Turnaround?
Migration in the Apple Isle
Natalie Jackson

Across the decade June 1992 - September 2002, Tasmania's population was buffeted by consistent quarterly net migration losses. In four of those years (1997-2000) the losses translated into absolute decline, as the net outflow of migrants exceeded even the gain coming from natural increase. The situation was widely viewed with alarm, and a flurry of population 'strategies' was developed.¹

Arguing that the cause of population decline was Tasmania's poor economic performance over the 1990s,² the Bacon (Labour) Government embarked on an intensive marketing exercise designed to attract migrants to Tasmania and boost business confidence. Among areas to receive special assistance were tourism, the arts, business and investment missions both nationally and overseas, and labour market competitiveness.³ Slowly the number of jobs on offer began to increase, and both the migration loss and one of its main drivers, high unemployment, began to reduce. From late 2001 the changing economic situation was given added impetus by the national housing boom, which everywhere saw increased competition for properties and demand for related tradesmen. In Tasmania particularly the widely advertised 'lowest housing prices *vis-à-vis* best water views in the nation' attracted much interest, and mainland buyers began to snap up the bargains and in many cases to move across the strait. Tasmania's relative housing affordability was later identified by the Government as the primary driver of interstate arrivals.⁴

By 2002 both migration and total population growth were again positive. Since then Tasmania's 'return to growth' has been loudly and 'satisfyingly' proclaimed.⁵ During the year ended December 2003, net migration skyrocketed to 3,860, the largest gain since 1951 and indeed the fifth largest gain across the previous 100 years. In the year to December 2004 the gains continued, albeit at a decelerating rate, but still delivering a net 1,876 migrants to the population (see Appendix 1). Are Tasmania's 'population problems'⁶ thus solved?

Unfortunately for those who have become addicted to population growth, this paper contends that Tasmania's population 'woes' are far from being resolved. Instead, migration is adding to 'the problem'. The paper first outlines Tasmania's migration history, and then turns to what these dynamics have done to Tasmania's age structure (the proportion of the population to be found in each age group). A brief discussion of the relative roles of migration and natural increase in generating Tasmania's population growth for the past several decades follows, and the analysis concludes with an outline of the changes in these dynamics that would be needed in order to ensure medium- to long-term growth into the future. We do not let the matter rest there, however. Instead we propose an urgent shift away from the current preoccupation with migration and its effects on population size, to a reconceptualising of what growth might mean for Tasmania in the context of population ageing.

Tasmania: historical components of change

Pre-empting the discussion to be continued later in this paper, Figure 1 shows the components of Tasmania's annual population change across the past century. Four main periods of net migration growth can be readily detected, one in each of the immediate postwar years (the latter over an extended period), one in the 1980s, and the one occurring at present. The 64 years of net migration loss experienced by

Tasmania across the century can also be readily observed, especially the sustained losses of the past decade. However for most of the century - especially the 1960s, 70s and 80s - it can be seen how the natural increase component acted to offset those losses to deliver overall net gains. We will return to this issue later.

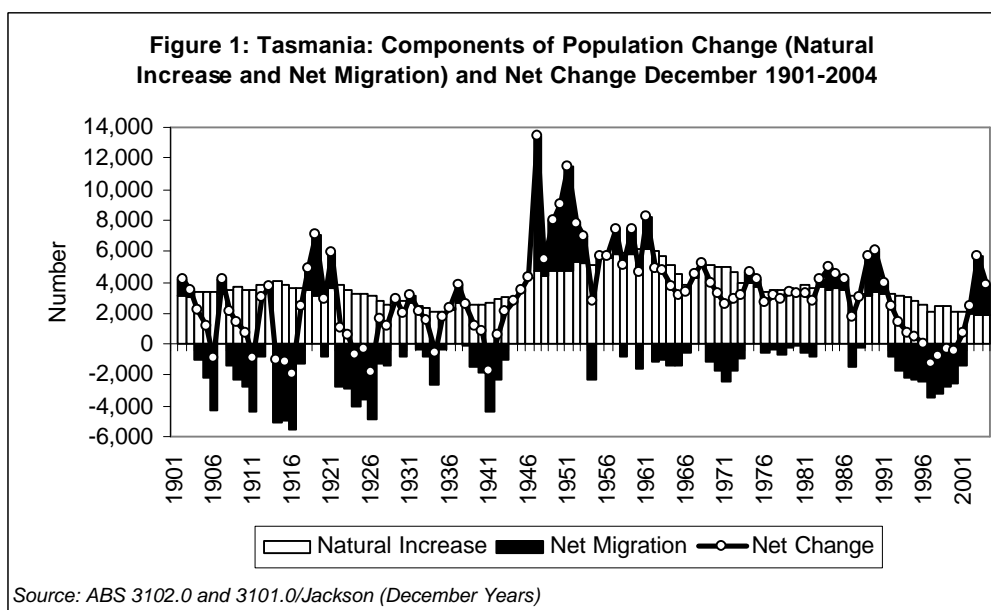
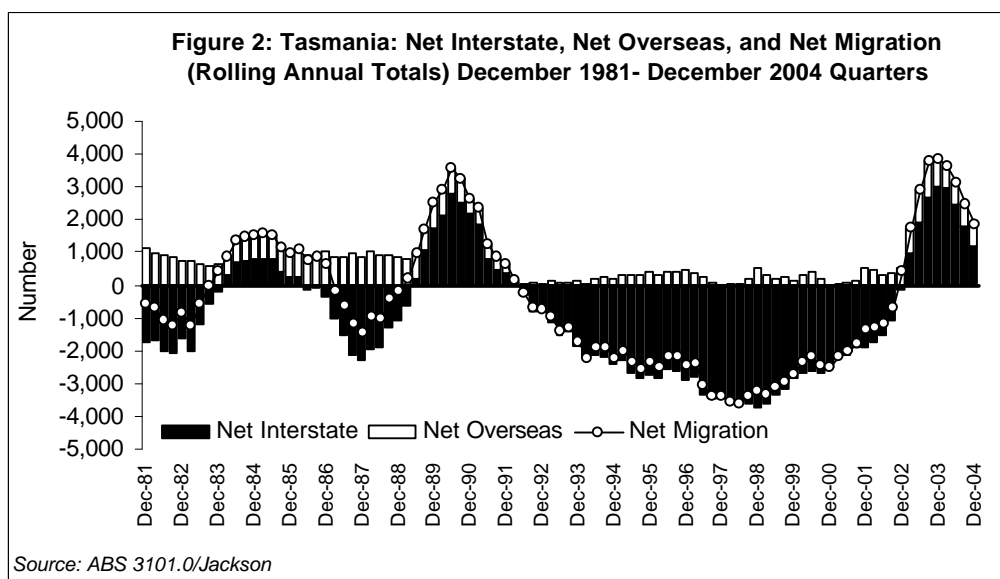


Figure 2 focuses on Tasmania's experience of migration over the past 25 years only, this time showing the relative contributions of interstate and overseas migration. Clearly, international migration has played a relatively minor role in the state's growth; instead it is interstate migration that has long controlled Tasmania's migration outcomes. Notably, the present period of gain may have peaked, with numbers for the December 2004 year having fallen to half those of 12 months earlier.⁷

Also notable is that the net numbers shown here conceal vastly greater flows in each direction (averaging 10,250 interstate arrivals and 11,600 departures for each year across the period shown here) which have undoubtedly contributed to the state's economic growth. Arguably, if we were to reconceptualise what is meant by 'growth', this 'population churning' (termed 'turnover' by the ABS) would be a better focus than its net outcome. On this index Tasmania has among the highest per capita levels in Australia.

Tasmania's relatively light experience of international migration has its sequel in its relatively small overseas-born population, accounting for some 10 per cent of the state's population compared with 23 per cent at the national level. Further, this relative deficit has a compounding effect via the mechanism known as chain migration, whereby people of similar nationalities tend to follow those who have settled ahead of them. In Tasmania's case there is only minor evidence of these 'ethnic magnets' along the lines enjoyed by the nation's larger cities. That said, it should not be overlooked that Tasmania's international migration is consistently

positive; the number of years that Tasmania has experienced a net international loss can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Currently also, Tasmania is enjoying a sizeable increase in the number of migrants from the 'new' sending countries, especially the African continent, and this occurrence contains much promise for the future.

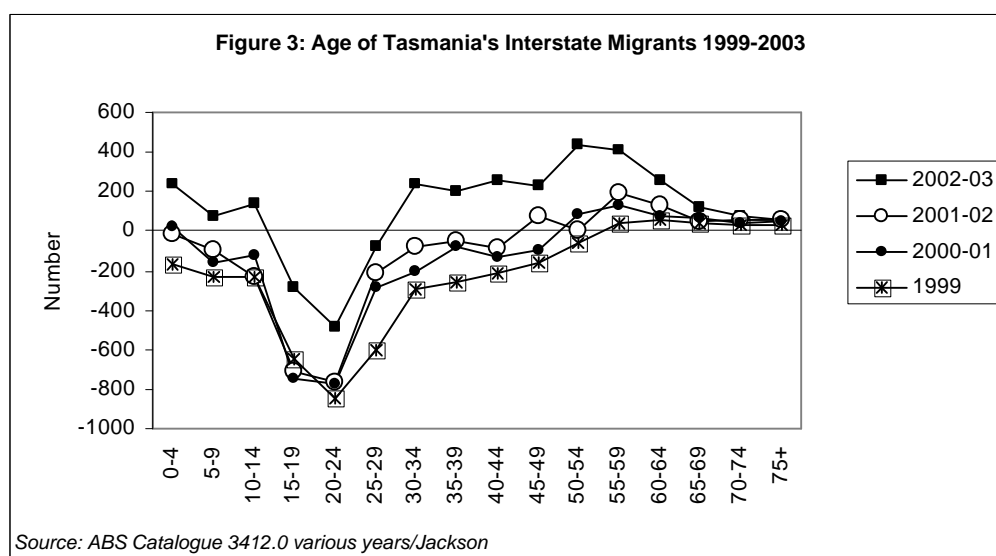


Let us turn now to the issue of age structure, first in terms of the age distribution of migrants themselves, and then in terms of their impact on Tasmania's age structure. Historically, the relatively youthful age of Australia's international migrants - most of whom are in the 20-40 year age groups - has been seen as a positive for Australia, and for many years was assumed to significantly offset population ageing.⁸ While this association has now been strongly refuted⁹ there is as yet minimal acknowledgment that interstate migration could be having exactly the opposite effect.

Figure 3 shows the age distribution of Tasmania's net interstate migrants for the years 1999-2003. The loss of people at the younger ages - albeit at a declining rate in each successive year - and gain at older ages is marked. This remains true even for the June 2003 year when Tasmania recorded a net interstate gain of 1,895 persons. In that year, Tasmania experienced a net gain of 2,750 persons aged 0-14 and 30 years and above, but a net loss of 855 persons at ages 15-29. Of the total net gain, 1,850 were thus above age 40. The loss at 15-29 years meant that the gain below age 40 was reduced to a mere 45 persons.

On the positive side, the net gain of some 937 persons aged 30-49 appears to be related to the gain of 457 persons aged 0-14, who presumably did not arrive on their own. One could presume that the latter are the children of the former. It is this type of analysis of Tasmania's migration patterns, *not* the current preoccupation with net numbers, which may hold a key to turning the situation around.

The extent to which the age-specific pattern for 2002-03 may have continued in the 2004 year cannot be shown here because the data (by age) are not yet available. However one thing is certain; Tasmania's migration patterns of recent years have been reducing its proportion of young people and adding to its old, and thus accelerating its structural ageing. The argument is supported in the patterns underlying these trends, which are almost the mirror image of those at national level. Tasmania's outward bound migrants are typically younger than their counterparts elsewhere, while its inward bound migrants are typically older. The net outcome is that the median age of Tasmania's migrants is generally the oldest in the country.¹⁰



What have these age-specific migration patterns done to Tasmania's age structure? According to Jackson and Kippen,¹¹ by 2001 they had caused a concomitant hollowing out of the age structure across the ages 18-38 years, and a small but significant addition at older ages. Figure 4 compares the age structures for 1991 and 2004. Over the period Tasmania lost a net 25,000 people aged 18-38 years. While a small portion of this loss will be due to declining fertility across the 1960s, 70s and 80s (when the current 18-38 year olds were born), the bulge below those ages reinforces the argument that the bite in the age structure is primarily due to migration. Indeed it is worth noting that at 1.97 births per woman, Tasmania's current Total Fertility Rate remains the second-highest in the country.

Jackson and Kippen¹² argued that Tasmania is thus experiencing 'premature' structural ageing which is not caused by its primary harbinger, low/falling fertility, but rather by its age-specific migration patterns. Far from migration 'solving' Tasmania's population 'problem', it is actually a major cause of it.

The 'problem' is compounded because the loss of people at the key reproductive ages has also removed the children they would have had and/or have taken with them. The effect can be observed at the base of the age structure for 2004 where a

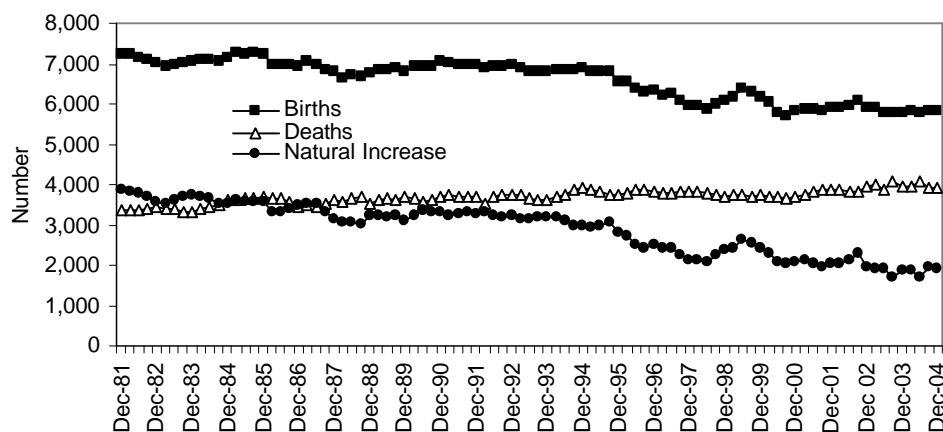
significant contraction is taking place. In reality the 2002 Tasmanian birth rate (1.969) was higher than it was in 1991 (1.906), so the contraction is not caused by overall falling fertility. Rather, its cause is the migration-driven deficit of people of reproductive age in the population.

Figure 4: Tasmania's Age-Sex Structure 1991 and 2004



Declining numbers of births mean a decline in the contribution of that component to natural increase. Tasmania's natural increase peaked in 1961, when births (8,962) outnumbered deaths (2,789) by almost 6,200. Currently natural increase is around 1,900. Figure 5 shows these trends across the past 25 years; it is clear that natural increase is diminishing rapidly, and that declining birth numbers are its main driver.

Figure 5: Tasmania: Births, Deaths, Natural Increase (Rolling Annual Totals) December 1981- December 2004



Source: ABS 3101.1/Jackson

This trend comes at a time when natural increase is falling everywhere of course, although at the present time in Australia the main driver of this trend is not declining birth numbers *per se* (which at the national level have remained surprisingly static over the past three decades) but increasing numbers of deaths. The increase in the number of deaths is a perfectly explainable phenomenon, but one which many still encounter with surprise. Certainly people are living longer than ever before, but they still cannot live forever. As population numbers grow, so too do the numbers of deaths. As numerical population ageing (the absolute increase in the numbers of elderly) unfolds, the numbers of deaths will accelerate. By contrast, the (nationally) declining birth rate only recently began to translate into a reduction in the number of births, because, due to a perverse phenomenon known as the 'momentum effect',¹³ the number of people at reproductive age has continued to grow. The size of the resulting birth cohort is the combined effect of the birth rate per woman and the number of women (and men) of reproductive age. In Tasmania that combination is becoming equally perverse.

We return now to comments made earlier in relation to Figure 1, where it could be seen that natural increase has been the main contributor to Tasmania's growth, not only across the past century, but increasingly across recent decades. Figure 6 places that component of growth in stark contrast to the situation for Australia's other states and territories. Nationally, natural increase has accounted for around 60 per cent of growth over the past three decades. In Tasmania it has contributed 119 per cent - in other words it has been substantially 'covering' the loss from net interstate migration. Again Tasmania's relatively small but nevertheless consistent contribution from international migration can be seen. While the projected forthcoming loss of natural increase from all states and territories (eg, Australia from the mid 2030s) will present all regions with a major challenge, that challenge will be extreme in Tasmania. Moreover, Tasmania's natural increase is declining at a substantially greater rate than indicated in the Australian Bureau of Statistics' 'high' variant projections, which projected for 2004 a natural increase of 2,100.¹⁴

In sum then, Tasmania's 'population problems' have not been turned around with the recent return to net migration gain. Instead, these gains have largely exacerbated the problem, because older migrants (while very welcome) do not replicate the characteristics and possibilities of the youth they replace.

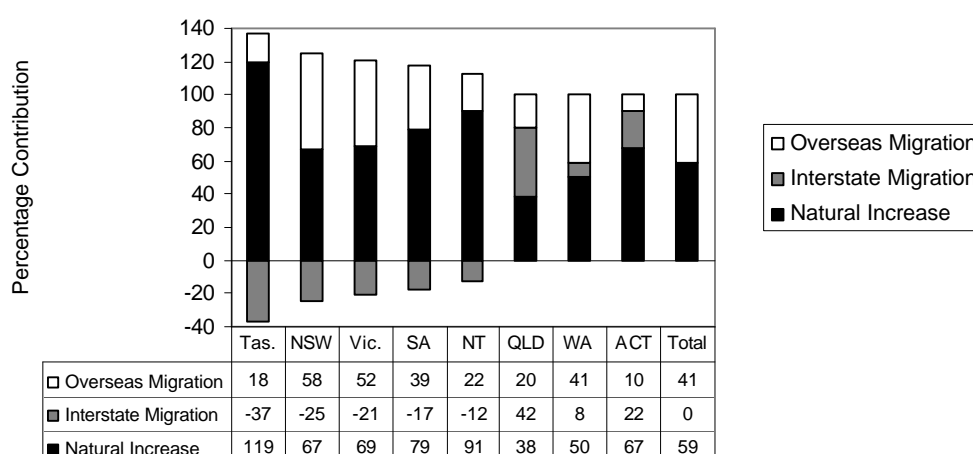
What demographic changes might assist in remedying the situation? Obviously a sudden influx of around 25,000 people aged 18-38 years would be very helpful. However, given that this is highly unlikely, it is worth speculating on the circumstances which might produce change.

In 2001 a set of 18 projections was developed by Jackson and Kippen.¹⁵ Of these, if their underlying assumptions were to prevail, 16 would deliver population growth to Tasmania. Eight of the projections were based on combinations of annual net migration (ANM) and fertility scenarios ranging from a constant ANM gain of 1,000 and TFR of 1.65 (Scenario 8), to net migration of 4,000 per annum and a TFR of 1.8 (Scenario 1) (in all cases life expectancy at birth was assumed to improve at around 1 year for every three years projected, and the migration and fertility assumptions were assumed to be achieved by 2009 and then remain constant).

Under the (arguably improbable) 'high variant' Scenario 1, Tasmania's population would pass the 600,000 mark around 2020, 700,000 by the 2040s and reach 1 million

by the century's end. Under the somewhat more achievable 'medium variant' Scenario 8, the population would peak at 530,000 around 2035, and thereafter begin a very slow decline to around 480,000 by the end of the century.

Figure 6: Components of Population Change (Percentage Contribution), Australia's States and Territories 1972-2004



Source: ABS Demographic Trends, Catalogues 3102.0 and 3101.0, various (June) years /Jackson

Conversely the population could be kept at a constant size of around 470,000 (as it was in 2001) with a long term birth rate of 1.65 if ANM could be kept in the vicinity of 1,400 from the time that natural decline begins (expected sometime in the 2020s), while a population of 500,000 could be achieved by 2019, with very modest but consistent ANM gains (between 40 and 450) and TFRs between 1.8 and 1.6 (Series 14-16). However in all cases where ANM was 1,000 or below, the inexorable nature of structural population ageing would see numbers peak and begin to decline within a few decades. It is worth recalling here the data shown in Figure 1: Tasmania has rarely achieved ANM gains of 1,000 or more, having done so only five times since 1961 (inclusive of the last two years).

Given that migration cannot actually solve the 'problem' of structural population ageing¹⁶ and that the populations of all developed countries are projected to peak and/or decline over the first half of the 21st Century, even with substantial migration gains¹⁷ might it not be better for Tasmania - currently Australia's second oldest but fastest-ageing state - to 'bite the bullet' and begin to look at population 'growth' in a different way?

To reiterate an earlier point; Tasmania's population churning or turnover is relatively high. In the June 1998 year, when net migration troughed at -3,594, population turnover was in the vicinity of 6.3 per cent (around 29,707 'movements'); in 2001-02, when the losses ceased, it was 7 per cent, or 33,239 movements.¹⁸ In both years Tasmania's turnover was the second-highest of the states. According to the ABS

these flows can have considerably greater social and economic implications for states and territories than their net effects.¹⁹ Given that most movers are adults, that is a sizeable number of people selling, buying or renting homes, purchasing household goods, requiring local services and so on. (These numbers of course do not include tourists, whose positive impact on local economies is already well understood.) What is needed is some research on the economic impact of turnover. Imagine for example that Tasmania did indeed achieve a net migration gain of 1,000 per year, generated by 2,000 arrivals and 1,000 departures. How would the impact on the economy of a mere 3,000 movements per year compare with its present 30,000 plus?

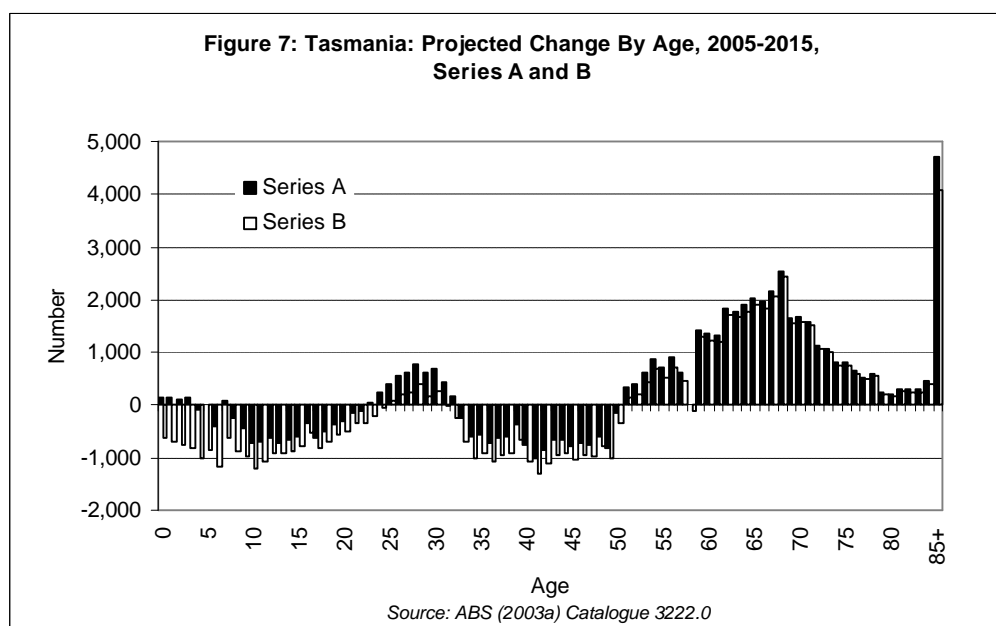
Such a perspective might also persuade us to ask why population growth *per se* is so important. The classic answer that population growth stimulates the economy would suddenly seem questionable (this is not to deny that larger populations can have improved economies of scale). Indeed aside from the recent influx of home buyers having a sizeable impact on Tasmania's economic growth, the Tasmanian government would seem to argue the opposite; that it is economic growth that draws (or at least, retains) population.²⁰

But to return to the question; another answer is probably closer to the truth. This answer concerns federal to state and local government fiscal transfers. Currently these transfers reward population growth.²¹ However these are precisely the sort of policies that the United Nations Population Division²² was referring to when it argued that the emerging situation - of global population ageing and a shift from natural and absolute growth to decline - requires objective and comprehensive reassessments of many long established economic, social and political policies and programs. The argument particularly exhorts policy makers to look at the principles on which their current policies are based. Many were developed at a time when natural increase was booming; that is no longer the case and it is highly unlikely that there will be a return to high levels of natural increase, at least in the short- to medium-term, for most developed countries (the United Nations latest fertility assumptions posit a long-term global convergence to a TFR of 1.85, a level above the present but well below that required to replace the population.²³) Instead, while populations are unlikely to grow very much, they will certainly age.

Let us imagine then that for Tasmania, population growth *per se* may soon be a thing of the past.²⁴ But what about growth by age? Figure 7 gives these data for the following decade according to the ABS 'high' and 'medium' variant projections.²⁵ The former (Series A) assumes an annual net migration gain of 490 (all international; interstate migration is assumed to be zero) and the birth rate rising to 2.03. The latter (Series B) assumes an annual net migration loss of 1,100 (390 international less 1,500 interstate) and the birth rate remaining around 1.81. For Series A, life expectancy at birth is assumed to continue to increase at a constant rate, while for Series B it is assumed to continue to increase but at a decelerating rate. As Figure 7 indicates, there is really little overall difference between the two outcomes (albeit the loss at the very youngest ages is substantially greater under Series B).

Clearly, even if the high variant assumptions prevail, numbers at the younger ages will still decline: virtually all growth will occur at the older ages. It is also worth reflecting on the fact that the picture looks remarkably similar irrespective of state or territory, the only difference being the time frame until the numbers at the younger ages begin to decline. There is, however, much potential in the growth promised at

the older ages. Numbers there are already rising rapidly, and, looking further ahead than the data in Figure 7, in Tasmania alone will average some 10,000 additional 65+ year olds every five years for the next 30 years. This is growth.



Let us forget the 'problems' that population ageing will bring for a moment and turn to their positives. These numbers will generate an entire industry of new opportunities; most of the jobs associated with an ageing population will not be able to be shipped offshore, as currently occurs with manufacturing.²⁶ Unemployment is broadly anticipated to fall,²⁷ and indeed in Tasmania the Pearson's Correlation Coefficient ('r')²⁸ between the declining ratio of labour market entrants to exits and the unemployment rate over the period 1991-2001 was 0.93 – a tantalising glimpse of what may lie ahead (ie, continued declines in unemployment as the ratio of labour market entrants to exits becomes negative, expected in Tasmania between 2010-2012). Related to this, the increasing numbers of initially 'young elderly' (early retirees) contain even more promise. Next year across Australia there will be around 66,000 more 65+ year olds than there are this year. The following year there will be around 72,000 more. By 2012 the annual increment will rise to 140,000 and it will hover around that level for the following two decades. This is growth. Across the OECD countries over the next 25 years, 70 million people are projected to retire. This is growth.

As the nation's first (or second) state projected to reach zero growth (the other is South Australia), Tasmania has the opportunity to see a large proportion of these people visit the State. The enormous increase in leisure ships calling into Tasmanian ports over the past few years is just the tip of the iceberg. Imagine the demand for people in the 'accommodation, cafes and restaurants', 'culture and recreation' and 'retail' industries - to say nothing of the construction industry - if those numbers were

to increase by a factor of ten or even five. It may be entirely achievable if we change our view of what constitutes population growth and consider the bounties that might be enjoyed from 'Claytons' growth: the population growth you have when you are no longer having growth.²⁹ A concerted program actively pursuing Australia's and the world's forthcoming retirees could in fact see the stimulation to Tasmania's economy that was theorised in the State Government's 2003 Population Strategy. It is not inconceivable that conventional population growth would then - at least for a short time - follow, as insufficient workers to provide those goods and services drive a reversal of Tasmania's youthful migration losses.

Summary:

This paper has outlined Tasmania's recent 'return to population growth' but has shown that the age distribution of its migrants has in fact accelerated the pace of Tasmania's structural ageing. Given that all populations are ageing, but not as rapidly as Tasmania's, it is proposed that the state should cease to look at migration as 'the answer'. Instead, the paper proposes that a type of 'Claytons' growth might be pursued. Drawing on the Australian idiom 'the drink you have when you are not having a drink' it is proposed that a concerted program to attract the world's (and Australia's) increasing millions of early retirees to visit these shores could in fact see the stimulation to the economy that was the focus of the State Government's 2003 Population Strategy. Success in this endeavour may then see Tasmania return to conventional population growth, at least for a time, as tourism-related employment grows and Tasmania's youthful migration losses reverse.



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**Appendix 1: Tasmania: Migration: Rolling Annual Totals
December 1991 - December 2004**

	Net Interstate	Net Overseas	Total Migration
Dec-91	371	286	657
Mar-92	62	74	136
Jun-92	-289	36	-253
Sep-92	-797	80	-717
Dec-92	-811	40	-771
Mar-93	-1128	162	-966
Jun-93	-1494	103	-1391
Sep-93	-1428	107	-1321
Dec-93	-1874	119	-1755
Mar-94	-2265	55	-2210
Jun-94	-2107	192	-1915
Sep-94	-2165	268	-1897
Dec-94	-2428	212	-2216
Mar-95	-2312	284	-2028
Jun-95	-2656	310	-2346
Sep-95	-2870	278	-2592
Dec-95	-2731	406	-2325
Mar-96	-2869	331	-2538
Jun-96	-2590	398	-2192
Sep-96	-2617	419	-2198
Dec-96	-2922	455	-2467
Mar-97	-2778	372	-2406
Jun-97	-3325	254	-3071
Sep-97	-3466	70	-3396
Dec-97	-3411	-3	-3414
Mar-98	-3623	53	-3570
Jun-98	-3633	39	-3594
Sep-98	-3592	179	-3413
Dec-98	-3735	513	-3222
Mar-99	-3645	327	-3318
Jun-99	-3317	171	-3146
Sep-99	-3167	230	-2937
Dec-99	-2846	115	-2731
Mar-00	-2671	297	-2374
Jun-00	-2632	435	-2197
Sep-00	-2681	208	-2473
Dec-00	-2533	-8	-2541
Mar-01	-2239	37	-2202
Jun-01	-2136	101	-2035
Sept-01	-1898	120	-1778
Dec-01	-1886	529	-1357
Mar-02	-1743	465	-1278
Jun-02	-1512	307	-1205
Sept 02	-1082	376	-706
Dec-02	-117	525	408
Mar-03	951	809	1760
Jun-03	1895	1014	2909
Sep-03	2702	1110	3812
Dec-03	3035	825	3860
Mar-04	2970	646	3616
Jun-04	2475	638	3113
Sep-04	1789	645	2434
Dec-04	1171	705	1876

Source: ABS Catalogue 3101.0

- ¹ In 2001 the Government of Tasmania released a publication entitled *Population. An Information Paper on State Government Policy*. This document was largely in response to a challenge from the Opposition Liberal party, which in 2000 had released an election-oriented population strategy which included a Baby Bonus. Until the release of the Liberal Party's paper, the incumbent Labour (Bacon) Government had strongly eschewed any need for a population 'policy'.
- ² *Ibid.*: 12, 18. In particular the Government drew attention to the strong correlation between interstate departures and the state/mainland employment growth differentials, and between employment growth and population growth.
- ³ *Ibid.*: 19. The Government's 'Industry Development Plan' was introduced earlier, in late 1998.
- ⁴ Government of Tasmania (2003). *Tasmania's Population 2003. An Information Paper on Recent Trends and State Government Policies*, Hobart. Relative housing availability was highlighted as the only variable that was strongly correlated with interstate arrivals (others modelled were a range of economic and employment indicators including employment, participation rates, unemployment rates, private investment, average weekly earnings, and job vacancies).
- ⁵ Crean, David (2003). *Sharing the Rewards*. Annex to the Tasmanian Budget 2003-2004, Tasmania, Government Printer.
- ⁶ Jackson, Natalie and Rebecca Kippen (2001). 'Whither Tasmania? A note on Tasmania's population "problem".' *People and Place* 9, 1: 27-37.
- ⁷ Australian Bureau of Statistics (various years) *Australian Demographic Statistics*. Catalogue 3101.0.
- ⁸ For example, Withers, Glen (1999). 'A younger Australia?' *Discussion Paper* 63, Public Policy Program, Australian National University.
- ⁹ Kippen, Rebecca (1999). 'A note on ageing, immigration and the birth rate.' *People and Place* 7, 2: 18-22; also Kippen, Rebecca and Peter McDonald (2000). 'Australia's population in 2000: the way we were, and the ways we might have been.' *People and Place*. 8, 3: 10-17.
- ¹⁰ For example, Australian Bureau of Statistics (2003a) *Migration 2000-01 and 2001-02*. Catalogue 3412.0: 65.
- ¹¹ Jackson and Kippen (2001) *op cit*.
- ¹² Jackson and Kippen *ibid*.
- ¹³ The momentum effect is the growth potential contained within the age structure, even after the fertility rate falls to exact replacement level of 2.1 births per women, or lower. In Australia's case the number of men and women currently in the reproductive ages remains large, due to the combined effects of the fertility rates and numbers of birth parents when they themselves were born, and also in part to migration.
- ¹⁴ Australian Bureau of Statistics (2003b). *Population Projections 2002-2101*, Catalogue No. 3222.0: 156. Tasmania's natural increase is currently on a par with the ABS' medium variant projections.
- ¹⁵ Jackson and Kippen *op cit*: 32-33.
- ¹⁶ Kippen and McDonald *op cit*.
- ¹⁷ United Nations (2000). 'Replacement Migration.' Population Division. Department of Economic and Social Affairs. United Nations Secretariat.
- ¹⁸ Australian Bureau of Statistics (1999). *Migration 1997-98*. Catalogue 3412.0: 32, also *op cit*: 84).
- ¹⁹ Australian Bureau of Statistics (1999) *ibid*: 31.
- ²⁰ Government of Tasmania *op cit*.

- ²¹ Jackson (forthcoming). 'Some considerations of regional population ageing and local government funding' (under consideration for publication in *Journal of Population Research*) (available at <http://www.taspop.tasbis.com>).
- ²² United Nations *op cit*: 4.
- ²³ United Nations (2005). *World Population Prospects. The 2004 Revision. Highlights*. Population Division. Department of Economic and Social Affairs. United Nations Secretariat: 21.
- ²⁴ This is not to say that some sub-regional areas may not experience a degree of growth.
- ²⁵ Australian Bureau of Statistics (2003b) *op cit*: 146.
- ²⁶ McDonald, Peter and Rebecca Kippen (2001). 'Strategies for labour supply in sixteen developed countries 2000-2050'. *Population and Development Review* 27, 1: 1-32.
- ²⁷ Productivity Commission (2004). *Economic Implications of an Ageing Australia*, Draft Research Report, Productivity Commission, Canberra, xxvii. See also Jan Kuné (2003). *On Global Aging. Old-Age Income Systems in the EU and Other Major Parts of the World*. Physica-Verlag: Heidelberg.
- ²⁸ The Pearson's Correlation Coefficient measures the strength of a linear relationship between two trends. An index of 1.0 would indicate perfect linearity (both trends moving in the same direction), while an index of -1.0 would indicate that as one trend increased, the other decreased. Tasmania's 'r' of 0.93 for unemployment and the labour market entry/exit ratio indicates a very strong relationship; however this is not to imply that demographic forces are the only factors having an impact on unemployment. They are not. See Natalie Jackson and Bruce Felmingham (2005). 'Population Ageing in Tasmania's Local Government Areas. A Community-Level Perspective', ARC-Linkage Research Report (available at <http://www.taspop.tasbis.com>).
- ²⁹ Clayton's was a non-alcoholic beverage launched in Australia during the 1970s as 'the drink you have when you are not having a drink' (in other words, 'not the real thing'). In the present context it is an argument that the State Government's view that 'economic growth precedes population growth' may well be the answer. If the focus were on, for example, tourism, rather than migration, it might not be long before migration followed.



Myths about Migration in Queensland:

Are they fact or fiction?

Ross Barker and Alison Taylor

Queensland has been Australia's fastest growing state in percentage terms, and often in numerical terms, since the 1980s. This growth has largely been driven by migration, mostly interstate migration, but in more recent times overseas migration has contributed an increasing share. There are a number of common myths concerning migration to and from Queensland, fuelled in part by sensationalist media coverage and limited analyses of short-term trends. This paper will discuss four of these common myths or perceptions about migration and Queensland. The accuracy of each myth is discussed in terms of the latest trends focussing principally on interstate and intrastate patterns of migration.

Four myths are addressed in turn:

1. Queensland has consistently grown from migration, mainly from Sydney and Melbourne;
2. All of Queensland is growing from migration;
3. Queensland attracts mainly older migrants, often semi-retired or retired; and
4. Queensland is losing its well-educated people in professional jobs to other locations.

Why consider these myths?

Patterns of migration over recent decades have resulted in significant changes in the distribution of Australia's population. Large net interstate migration losses to Tasmania and South Australia have resulted in considerable political attention and the subsequent development of policy responses. Population declines in many parts of regional Victoria have led to the introduction of a population policy in the form of a target growth rate by the Bracks government. Similarly, concern over the large numbers of overseas migrants moving to Sydney has resulted in calls by the New South Wales government for a reduction in the planned overseas migration program intake in an effort to lessen Sydney's growth pressures.

Queensland's experience of migration has differed somewhat in that it has been the destination for many of the movers from within Australia. This trend has been attributed to a pattern of movement referred to in the United States of America as 'sunbelt migration' as people flee towards warmer climates from so-called 'rustbelt' areas. However, this broad conceptualisation obscures the myriad 'push' and 'pull' reasons causing people to move, as well as the more subtle patterns of source and destination locations, the particular characteristics of those that move and the impact on the effected communities.

There are five important reasons why popular myths about Queensland migration need to be either dispelled or proven by careful analysis of the available data. First, an appreciation of the scale of migration flows is essential to effectively plan for the future. In Queensland, migration is the most important component of population growth and looks set to continue in this role in the future. Second, economic development in the form of establishing businesses in the new economy industries is a component of Queensland's 'Smart State' policy. This approach requires an appropriate pool of labour, labour that may be required to move to the location of the

business. In addition, industrial growth demands an influx of labour into key locations, causing population movements with significant impacts on the labour market.

Third, there are some significant social outcomes of migration. Migration has long been viewed as a social right, however, it is clear that for some households and groups in the population, moving is not undertaken by choice and can possibly result in social and economic disadvantage. In addition, the movement of people with particular characteristics, either into or out of an area, can have important localised consequences on the demand for services and facilities as well as on housing affordability, business viability and opportunities. Fourth, the impact in some communities of rapid population growth, due primarily to migration, can be difficult to manage. The provision of basic infrastructure in these communities can lag considerably behind need as councils struggle to meet the range of demands. Evidence of the concern with this issue is the formation of a task-force of so-called 'sea change councils' to lobby for additional assistance in managing such growth in many of Queensland's and Australia's coastal communities. Finally, the pattern of population redistribution has important ramifications not only for managing current sustainability issues, but also in planning for longer-term sustainability in terms of achieving the best economic, social and environmental outcomes for Queensland's communities.

Migration measures, limitations and data sources

Migration can be measured in a number of ways, but the two most common forms of data measure changes of residence either as transitions or as events.¹ In Australia, Population and Housing Census data is transitional data in that it compares place of usual residence at the time of enumeration with that of some earlier date, typically one or five years previously. In contrast, event data is commonly associated with population registers of the type maintained in Scandinavia and the Netherlands.

Migration data from the Census have a number of limitations, the most serious of which are the failure to identify multiple and return moves and migrants who are born or die within the transition period. Other limitations of the data include:

- Characteristics of migrants are those reported at the time of the Census, even though they may have been different at the time of the move;
- Skewing by underenumeration (the net undercount for Queensland in 2001 on a place of usual residence basis was 68,500); and
- The impact of non-response to questions (in 2001 nearly 167,000 Queenslanders did not respond to the usual residence five years ago question, resulting in a non response rate of 5 per cent, up from 4.6 per cent to 1996.²

In this paper, data are restricted to those persons who, for example, stated both their 1996 and 2001 statistical divisions of usual residence in Queensland and stated that they moved over this period. These data excluded persons who did not state their usual residence in 1996 or gave no usual address. Most of the data in this paper have been sourced from specially commissioned matrix tabulations of 1996 and 2001 Census data.

Despite these limitations, migration data sourced from the Census has real value. In particular, its detailed spatial coverage and the range of socio-economic attributes of the population that are available are significant advantages. Thus, the Census results provide a rich source of data that can be analysed to identify the nature, scale and

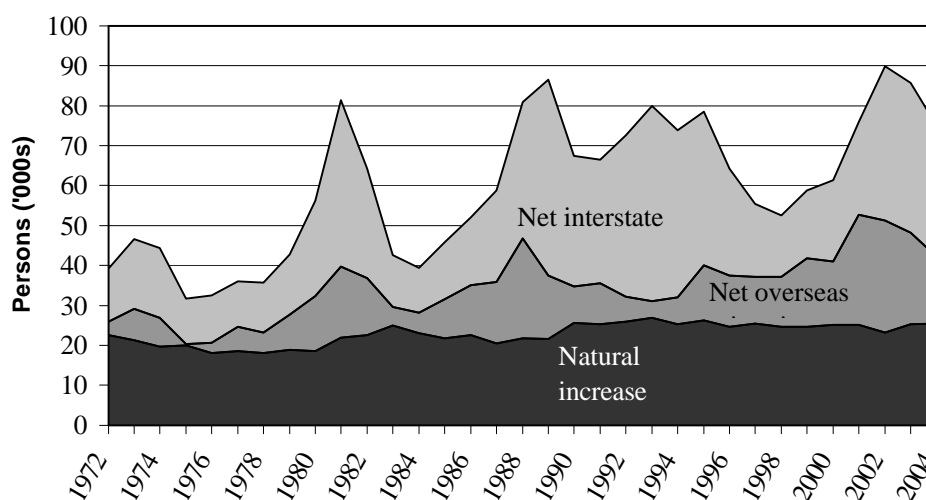
impacts of the considerable migration flows occurring in Australia, at the state, regional and local levels.

The other main source of migration data used in this paper are figures published by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) on the level of annual interstate migration movements. These figures are based on two key indicators of migration movements in Australia: dwelling approvals and Medicare change of address details.

Myth number one: Queensland has consistently grown from migration, mainly from Sydney and Melbourne

Media reports on migration to Queensland tend to use terms like 'the northern explosion', 'the new gold rush' or 'travelling north'. These terms suggest a consistent flow of people pouring across the state border year in, year out. Others have tried to relate the movement of people to worsening conditions in Australia's two largest cities, Sydney and Melbourne. Issues such as rising house prices, increasing congestion, the lack of job opportunities, the high cost of living, pollution and stress have all been suggested as reasons for a steady flow of people moving to Queensland.

Figure 1: Components of Population Change, Queensland, 1973 to 2004



Source: ABS, Australian Demographic Statistics, Cat. No. 3101.0

In reality, the contribution of migration to total population growth in Queensland over recent decades has fluctuated considerably (Figure 1). In 1984, net migration (net interstate and overseas migration combined) accounted for 13,230 people or just 35 per cent of Queensland's total population growth. Only five years later in 1989, net migration jumped to represent 76 per cent of population growth with 68,840 people added to the population. The latest published figures from the ABS show that in recent years net migration slowed to 49,620 people or 66 per cent of the state's population growth during the year to December 2004.³

The significant fluctuations in interstate and overseas migration levels can be linked to major events in Queensland, or economic factors evident at the time in the southern states of Australia, particularly New South Wales and Victoria. For example, the pronounced peak in net interstate migration in the early 1980s can be partially attributed to the holding of the Commonwealth Games in Brisbane in 1982 as well as significant upward movement of house prices in Sydney and Melbourne. Similarly, a further peak in total net migration in 1988 and 1989 (of 59,230 and 64,840 respectively), can be connected to the staging of the successful World Expo '88 in Brisbane, an event which dramatically raised the profile of Brisbane and South East Queensland (SEQ) both in Australia and overseas. House prices in Sydney and Melbourne also surged during these two years.

Economic factors contributing to high levels of interstate migration to Queensland in past years have included the abolition of death duties in Queensland in the late 1970s and the collapse of financial institutions in Victoria and South Australia in the early 1990s. In more recent years, the upturn in migration (in 2002 to 2003) can be linked to the significant increase in house prices in Sydney and Melbourne and, by comparison the undervalued housing market in SEQ. Since 2003, real estate prices in SEQ have risen at a faster rate than for any other metropolitan region in Australia to the extent where the affordability level as measured by the Housing Industry Association – Commonwealth Bank affordability index for Brisbane is at a record low. As housing affordability declined in Queensland, the total net migration to Queensland (of which SEQ represents between 75 and 85 per cent) dropped from 66,590 in 2002 to 49,260 in 2004 and is expected to fall further in 2005. This can be attributed to prospective interstate movers more carefully assessing the financial implications of moving to Queensland following the narrowing of the differential in house prices between key source locations and metropolitan Queensland (particularly coastal SEQ) and, in some cases, choosing not to move.

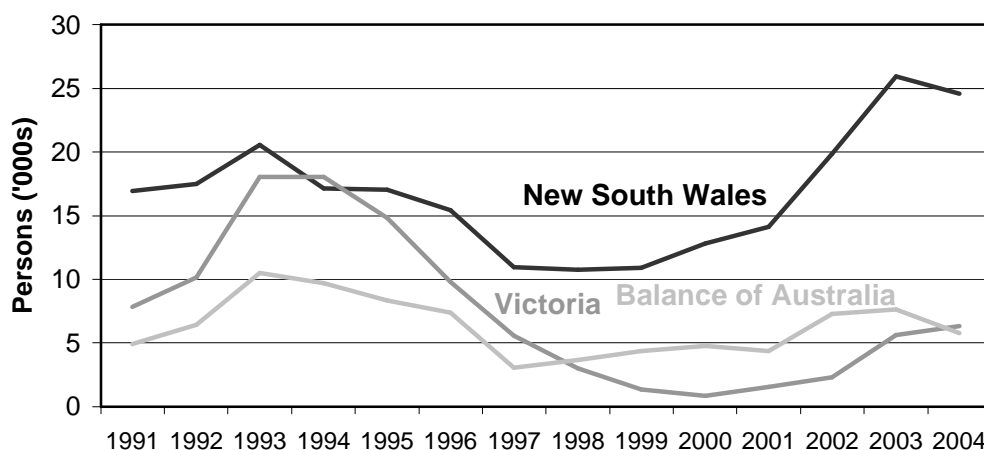
Since the 1960s, New South Wales has dominated both as a source of migrants moving to Queensland and as a destination for people moving away from Queensland. New South Wales also consistently makes the largest contribution to the net interstate gain to Queensland.⁴ More recent published data from ABS on annual interstate movements add weight to the significant contribution made by New South Wales to all aspects of Queensland's interstate migration patterns (Figure 2).

Net interstate migration gains from New South Wales to Queensland were relatively high in the early 1990s at around 20,000 people per annum. The net gains then declined during the late 1990s to between 10,000 and 11,000 people each year, before climbing strongly to reach nearly 26,000 people in 2003.⁵

In contrast, net migration gains from Victoria to Queensland peaked in the early to mid 1990s (at 18,100 people per annum in 1994) and have since slumped to just over 5,000 people in 2004. The total net gain from Victoria over the 1991 to 1996 period amounted to 50,500 people. These higher net gains in the early 1990s, have been attributed to what has been colloquially termed the 'Kennett factor', resulting in high numbers of movers out of Victoria. After the election of the Kennett government in 1992, there was a period of considerable job shedding in the public sector following the rationalisation and privatisation of a number of Government services.⁶ Lower gains by Queensland in the second half of the 1990s, declining to less than 1,000 people by the year 2000 can, in turn, be partly attributed to return migration by these earlier 'economic refugees'. The total net gain from Victoria over the five years to

2001 was only 21 per cent of the size of the net gain in the previous intercensal period and amounted to 10,700 people. As a result, there has been a historic reversal of long standing net migration losses in Victoria, a position that has been maintained in more recent years.⁷

Figure 2: Net Interstate Migration Gain to Queensland, years ending June 1991 to 2004



Source: ABS unpublished data

Since 1991, Queensland has also recorded a net gain through interstate migration with other states or territories. However, this movement accounted for a relatively minor share of Queensland's total interstate migration ranging between 14.6 per cent in 1997 to 26.3 per cent in 1999.

The perception that most people moving to Queensland come from Sydney and Melbourne does not stand close scrutiny. Data from the 2001 Census show that Sydney Statistical Division (SD) contributed 22,720 people (or 44 per cent of the total from New South Wales) to Queensland's net interstate gain over the preceding five years. This means that the majority of movers came from non-metropolitan New South Wales. In the case of Melbourne SD, the contribution was 3,640 people, accounting for only 34 per cent of the total from Victoria. Thus, the majority of the net gain from each of these States was from regional areas rather than Sydney and Melbourne as is commonly perceived.

We can therefore conclude that Queensland's growth from interstate migration has not been consistent over recent decades. The net gain has fluctuated considerably in terms of total numbers and also in its contribution to overall population growth. The 1996 to 2001 period was low in terms of interstate migration flows and resultant net movement to Queensland. Interstate migration flows to and from Queensland between 1996 and 2001 were the lowest for the past 25 years. In contrast, during the previous intercensal period (1991 to 1996) Queensland's net interstate migration based on Census data was 76 per cent higher than in the subsequent five-year period.

Despite the periodic shocks in migration to Queensland, the northern drift is most readily understood by reference to large-scale structural effects that have gathered pace since the 1970s, especially the restructuring of the Australian economy, micro-economic reform and the ageing of the population.⁸ In addition, major events have impacted on the flows.

While New South Wales and Victoria have been the most significant source states for interstate migrants to Queensland over past years, it is clear that the majority of movers from these states actually come from regional areas rather than the respective capital cities. As such, we can say Queensland has grown strongly from migration but this growth has been variable. Most migrants have come from regional New South Wales and, to a lesser degree, regional Victoria. Sydney SD was the source of just less than half the net interstate gain to Queensland from New South Wales between 1996 and 2001 while Melbourne SD, was the source of only 34 per cent of the net gain from Victoria.

Myth number two: all of Queensland is growing from migration

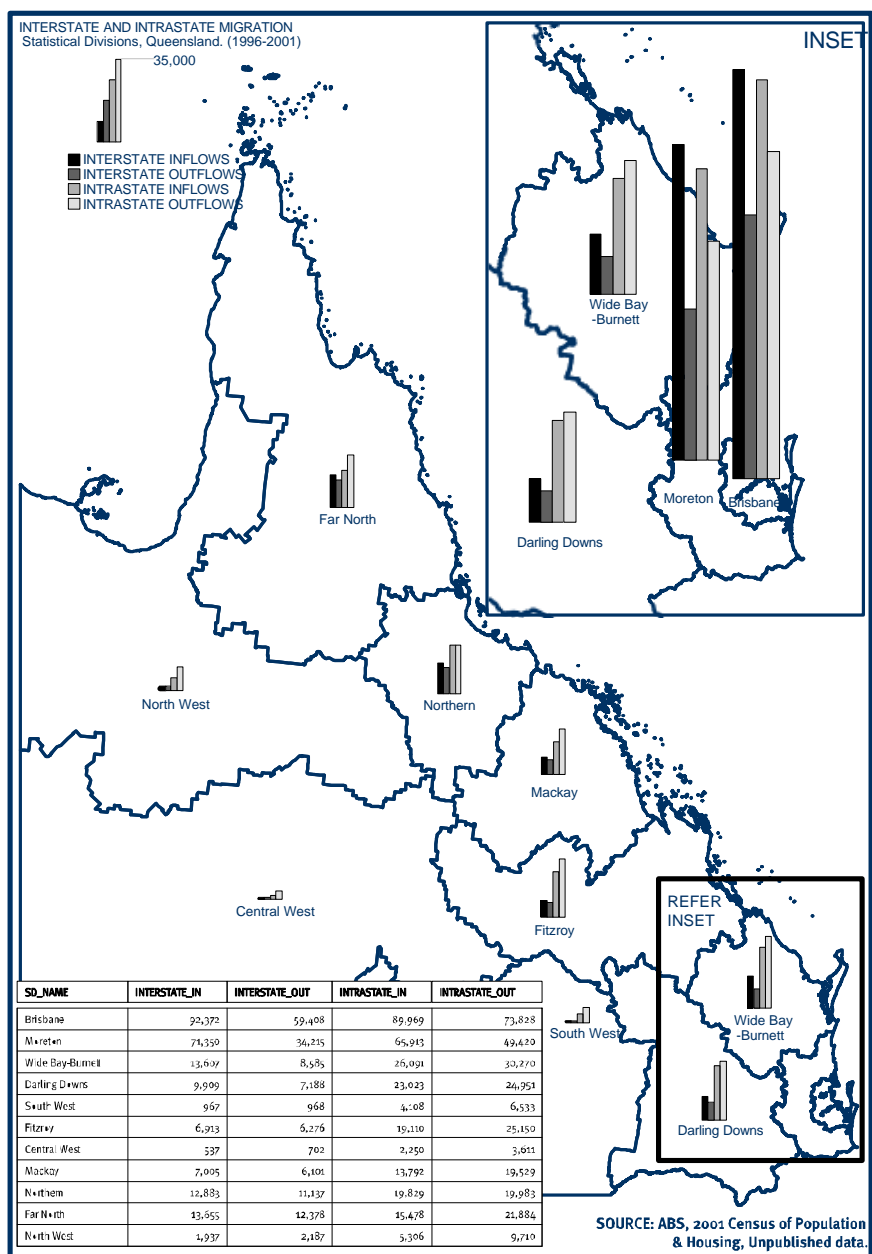
Commentators often refer to Queensland's growth from migration with the suggestion that the whole State is benefiting from positive net gains from interstate and overseas movement. In particular the recent attention given to the 'sea change' phenomenon, fuels this myth by implying that all of coastal Queensland is growing as a result of disenchanted escapees from Sydney and Melbourne. In order to either prove or dispel this myth, the patterns of spatial distribution at a regional and local level must be appreciated.

An examination of data, based on place of usual residence five years before the 2001 Census, shows the strong pull of SEQ for interstate movers. Over the 1996 to 2001 period, SEQ (comprising Brisbane and Moreton SDs) completely dominated net interstate migration gains to Queensland capturing 85.5 per cent of the State's total net gain (Figure 3). This was considerably higher than the region's share of Queensland's population in 2001 (65.4 per cent). Similarly, over the previous intercensal period (1991 to 1996) SEQ accounted for three quarters (75.3 per cent) of the State's total net gain from interstate migration.

Areas outside SEQ also felt the impact of net interstate migration gains over the five years to 2001 but to a much lesser degree than in the southeast corner of the State. The region with the next highest net gain from interstate migration after SEQ, was Wide Bay / Burnett SD with 5,020 people or 6.1 per cent of Queensland's total. This region adjoins SEQ to the north. Darling Downs SD, adjoining SEQ to the west, followed with 2,720 people or 3.3 per cent of the net interstate gain to Queensland. This further emphasises the spatial concentration of net interstate migration gains in the southeast corner of the State.

Over the 1996 to 2001 period, modest net gains from interstate migration were also recorded for Northern (1,746 people), Far North (1,277 people), Mackay (904 people) and Fitzroy SDs (637 people). In these SDs, smaller net gains in population were due to outflows being relatively higher in relation to inflows (outflows exceeded 85 per cent of inflows in all cases) (Figure 3). This meant that for every ten interstate migrants to these Regions, more than eight people moved away to interstate locations. As a result, relatively small net gains were achieved compared to the total gross migration flows.

Figure 3: Interstate and intrastate migration Statistical Divisions, Queensland, 1996-2001



Source: ABS, 2001 Census of Population and Housing, unpublished data

By comparison, the outflows from SEQ were smaller in relation to inflows as the push factors proved to be less significant than in regional areas. For example, for every ten people who moved to Brisbane SD from interstate between 1996 and 2001, only 6.5

persons moved in the opposite direction, while in Moreton SD less than half the number of people moved interstate compared with the number of people who migrated to that region from interstate locations.

Brisbane and Moreton SDs attracted the highest interstate inflow of the Queensland regions (92,000 and 71,000 people respectively), reflecting the major pull factors SEQ has for interstate migrants. Key pull factors include perceived better opportunities for employment and perceived improvement in the quality of life including climate and related outdoor living, cheaper housing and natural amenity (beaches and mountains). Three other coastal regions of Queensland, Wide Bay / Burnett, Far North and Northern, also attracted between 12,000 and 14,000 people from interstate between 1996 and 2001; an indication that the sea change phenomenon did indeed gain further momentum in its impacts on coastal Queensland during these years.

It is interesting to note however, that Queensland's coastal regions outside SEQ captured a larger share of the State's net migration gain between 1991 and 1996 than during the subsequent intercensal period. While this was due in part to stronger impact of SEQ's pull factors during the latter part of the 1990s, it is also counter to the popular notion of the recent significance of the sea change movement to non-metropolitan coastal Queensland. Analysis of components of population change data since 2001 does suggest however, that regional coastal Queensland is again attracting a larger level of net interstate migration.

In relation to people leaving Queensland for interstate locations over the five years to 2001 Brisbane SD lost about 59,000 people and Moreton SD lost approximately 34,000 people. Smaller outflows resulted in more than 12,000 people leaving Far North SD and 11,000 people leaving Northern SD to move interstate. As indicated previously, a considerable volume of inwards and outwards flows led to a very low net interstate migration gain in most coastal regions outside SEQ. This is a common situation throughout Australia where the migration exchange between regions often results in relatively low net gains or losses.

This analysis of patterns of interstate migration suggests that the frequent attribution of growth in coastal Queensland to the so-called sea change movement is somewhat simplistic. Use of this term ignores the significant outflow from many regional centres and the large amount of gross movement occurring in many locations. Certainly, 'sea changers' are likely to be an element of those moving into coastal Queensland. The low migration effectiveness in relation to the high migration gross flows apparent in many areas of Queensland is however, evidence of a more complicated network of inflows and outflows based on a range of push and pull reasons.

While Queensland has recorded sizeable net gains from interstate migration in recent decades, it is also necessary to appreciate the patterns of spatial distribution that have resulted from intrastate migration. In contrast with interstate exchange, only two regions in Queensland experienced a net gain between 1996 and 2001 as a result of movement to and from other locations in the State. Moreton SD recorded the largest net intrastate gain (16,490 people) closely followed by Brisbane SD (16,140 people). All other regions sustained net losses in population due to movement within Queensland over the five years to 2001. The highest net intrastate loss occurred in Far North SD (6,410 people) closely followed by Fitzroy SD (6,040 people) and Mackay SD (5,740 people). Perhaps sea change does not affect Queenslanders in

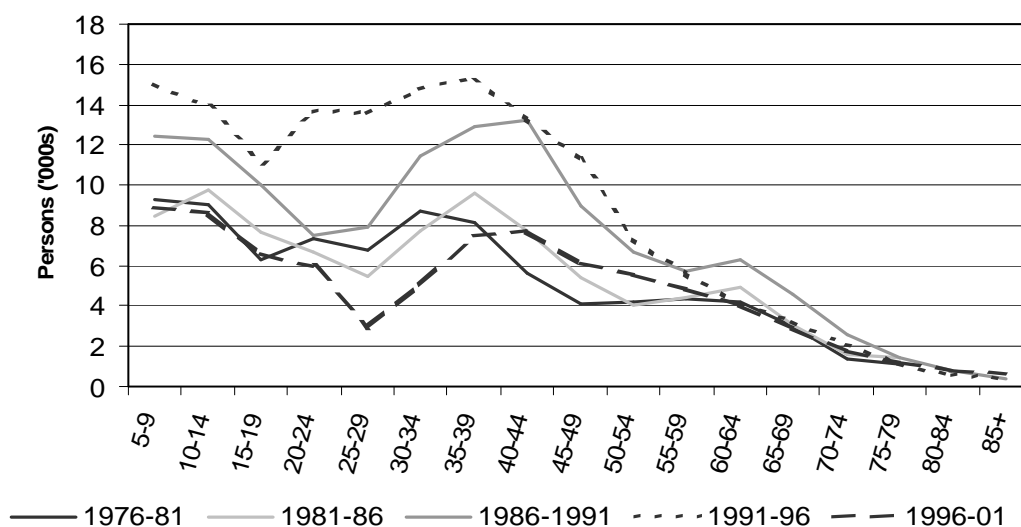
the same way as it does for people living in comparatively colder and less attractive interstate locations.

In relation to the perception that all of Queensland is growing from migration, an analysis of patterns of interstate and intrastate migration shows that the impacts are variable throughout Queensland's regions. While most of the coastal regions have grown from interstate migration this is not the case for intrastate migration flows where the result has often been a net loss. In addition, Western Queensland has recorded substantial losses due to migration over the past decade. Net migration losses to the three Western SDs in the 1991 to 1996 period amounted to nearly 12,100 people while in the following intercensal period (1996 to 2001) the net losses slowed slightly, but remained high relative to population size at 8,600 people.

Myth number three: Queensland attracts mainly older migrants, often semi-retired or retired

Research shows that long distance migration is highly selective regarding age or, more specifically, stage in the life cycle.⁹ Since the days of the abolition of death duties, Queensland has been cast as a haven for retirees. There is a popular misconception by many in the general public and the media that Queensland attracts mainly older migrants, particularly those who have retired or semi-retired. However, analysis of Census data since 1976 for each intercensal Census period shows that the available evidence does not support this perception.

Figure 4: Net Interstate Migration by Age, Queensland, 1976 to 2001



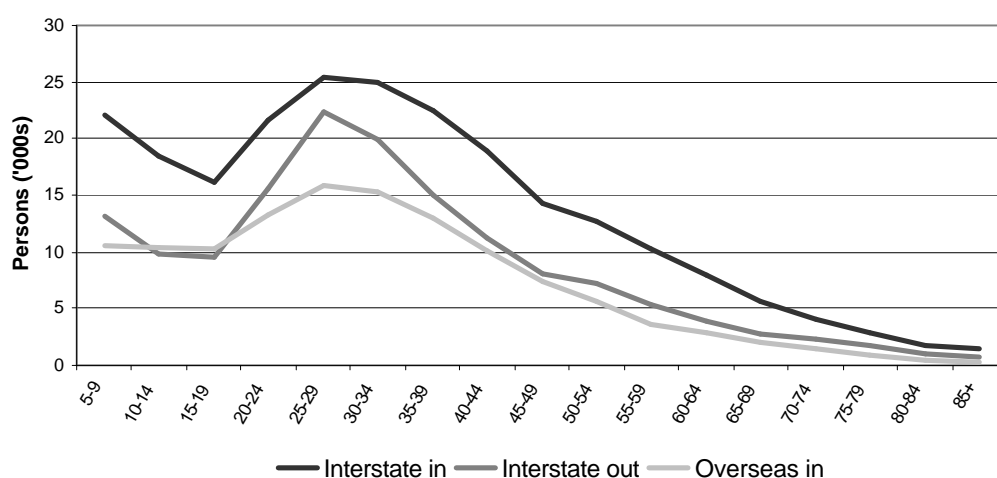
Source: ABS unpublished Census data

While people aged 60 years or more have accounted for an increasing share of the net interstate gain to Queensland since 1976, they still represent less than 15 per cent of that gain. People aged 60 years and over represented 11.6 per cent of the net interstate migration gain to Queensland in the period 1976 to 1981, 12.5 per cent between 1981 and 1986, 12.9 per cent in 1991 to 1996 and 14.1 per cent in 1996 to 2001 (Figure 4).¹⁰ By way of comparison, the proportion of the State's estimated

resident population aged 60 years and over ranged from 13.8 per cent in 1981 to 16.1 per cent in 2001.

The age profile of Queensland's net interstate migration since the 1970s has been dominated by adults in the 30 to 44 years age group and their dependent children in the 5 to 14 years age group, with a considerable tapering off as age increases. It is important to note that the age profile of both interstate inflows and outflows is somewhat different from the age profile of net interstate migration (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Overseas inflow and interstate inflow and outflow, Queensland, 1996 to 2001



Source: ABS 2001 Census data unpublished

Interstate inflows to Queensland between 1996 and 2001 exceeded outflows in every age group. Persons aged 25–34 years dominated both the inflows and the outflows, with the 20–24 years and 30–34 years age groups also important. A secondary peak in the profile occurred for children aged 5–9 years accompanying their parents.

These peaks are consistent with life cycle events that influence migration. For example the higher propensity for young adults aged between 25–34 years to move occurs when they are most mobile, seeking employment advancement or forming households. The lower propensity for the age group 15–19 years to move may relate to parents not wanting to move while their children complete secondary education. The age profile of people moving from overseas is more evenly spread across the age groups up to 44 years, although as for interstate inflows, the peak again occurs in the ages 25–34 years (Figure 5).

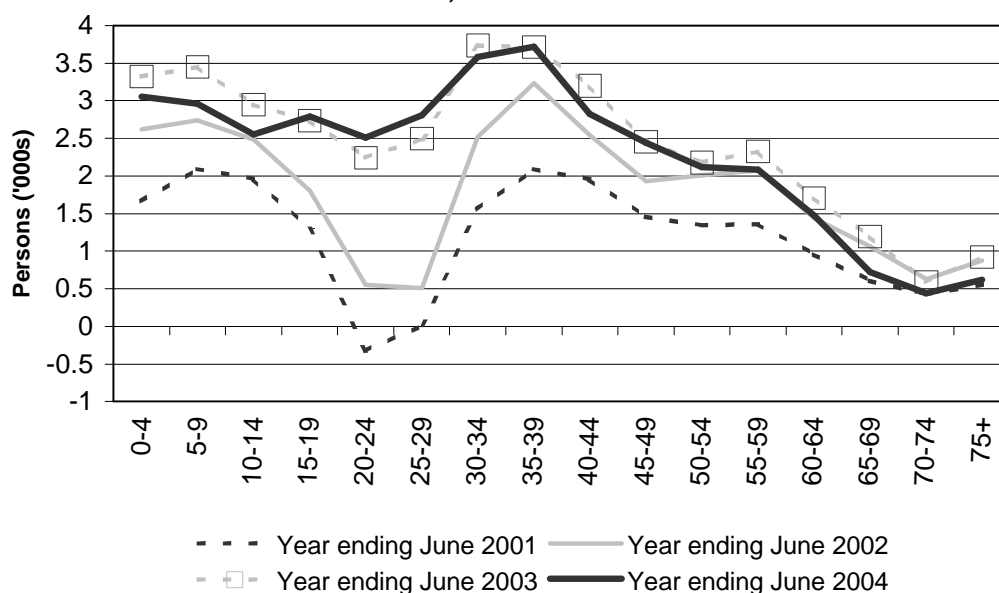
Within Queensland, regional areas tend to lose young people to either metropolitan Queensland or interstate locations. Far North SD experienced net intrastate losses in all five-year age groups between 1996 and 2001 with the greatest losses in the 15 to 24 years age group (2,029 people) and the 25 to 44 years age group (2,011 people). These losses were mainly to SEQ reflecting the attraction of the metropolitan area in terms of education and employment opportunities. Similarly, in the Mackay SD the largest losses were in the 15–24 years age group (2,291 people), again reflecting the pull of Brisbane for education and employment. The 1996 to 2001 period was also a

time of considerable rationalisation and job shedding in the coal mining industry, which contributed to the outflows of people in their twenties, thirties and forties from both Mackay and also Fitzroy SDs.

The only coastal region that did not record a net interstate migration loss in this 15 to 24 years age group over the 1996 to 2001 period was Northern SD, the location of a major university and defence force establishment at Townsville. The twin cities of Townsville and Thuringowa (Townsville Region) attracted a sizeable net gain of 2,600 young people aged between 15 and 24 years from all regions in Northern and North West Queensland over the five years to 2001. This net gain emphasises the strong pull factors of the growing Townsville Region with regard to post-secondary and tertiary education and job opportunities.

Despite this gain from surrounding regional areas, the Townsville Region showed a net loss of more than 600 young people to Brisbane City. This illustrates the greater pull of the metropolitan centre with its extensive range of educational and work opportunities combined with a perceived desirable lifestyle.

Figure 6: Interstate net migration by age, Queensland, years ending June, 2001 to 2004



Source: ABS unpublished data

Analysis of more recent migration data for Queensland based on Medicare changes of address for the year ending June 2001 through to June 2004 shows that the proportion of net migration aged 60 years and over has declined from 16.1 per cent in 2001 to 8.9 per cent in 2004 (Figure 6). Over the same period the level of net interstate migration increased from 20,000 people to 36,700 people. A possible reason for the significant decline in the proportion of older migrants could relate to the strengthening employment market in Queensland over this period. Between June 2001 and June 2004, Queensland's unemployment dropped from 8.6 per cent to 5.7 per cent of the labour force. Over the same period the number of new jobs created

rose from 10,500 in the year ending June 2001 to 77,800 by the year ending June 2004.¹¹ The unemployment rate has subsequently dropped even further to 4.7 per cent by 2005; currently the lowest level for any state in Australia.

Further evidence of the improving job market in Queensland since 2001 can be seen by considering interstate migration of the working age population. In the year to June 2001, the data show a net loss of 300 young people in the 20–29 years age group. By the year ending June 2004, there had been a dramatic turnaround with that age group recording a net gain to Queensland of over 5,300 people. The 30–39 years cohort showed a doubling in the net interstate migration gain, from 3,650 in the year ending June 2001 to 7,300 people by the year ending June 2004. Smaller, but still significant, increases were also recorded for the older working age groups between 40 and 54 years. Complementing this strong growth was an increase in the number of dependent children, growing from 5,700 to 8,600.

Thus, we can conclude that Queensland does not attract mainly older migrants. In reality, since 1976 the age profile of interstate migrants has been dominated by working age people in their late twenties, thirties, early forties and their dependent children. It is true however, that certain coastal locations in Queensland; for example, the Sunshine Coast and Hervey Bay do attract more older people. Despite this, even in these areas the age cohort over 50 years does not dominate the net migration profile.

Myth number four: Queensland is losing its well-educated people in professional jobs to other locations

Over past years, some concern has been expressed that the people leaving Queensland are causing a 'brain drain'. The perception is that people with high career aspirations need to leave Queensland for appropriate jobs and experience. Allied to this perception is the idea that Queensland attracts a disproportionate share of unemployed people, those not in the labour force, a lower share of knowledge-based workers and less qualified people.

An examination of the occupational characteristics of interstate migrants over the intercensal period 1996 to 2001 shows that there were gains in every occupation. (Note that the occupational structure analysed in this section applied on the Census date, 7 August 2001, and was not necessarily the same as at the time of the person's move.) Clerical and service workers (11,300 people or 41.4 per cent) of the total net interstate gain of employed persons dominated. The next largest broad occupational group was associate professionals (3,700 people or 13.6 per cent) closely followed by tradespersons and related workers (3,600 people or 13.3 per cent) and labourers and related workers (3,200 people or 11.8 per cent). Intermediate production and transport workers (2,800 or 10.2 per cent) and managers, administrators and professionals (2,700 or 9.8 per cent) also featured in the net gain.

The managers, administrators and professionals occupational category was the only one comprising a higher proportion of the interstate outflow than for the interstate inflow (32.4 per cent of those moving out compared with 26.5 per cent of those moving in). This suggests that in 2001, Queensland did not possess the critical mass in these occupations to hold highly qualified people in the State. This is no doubt partly related to the very few national head offices of public companies located in Brisbane, as measured by Business Review Weekly's Top 500 public companies listing.

About half (47 per cent) of the managers, administrators and professionals moving out of Queensland between 1996 to 2001, moved to New South Wales, while 48 per cent of managers and professionals who moved to Queensland came from New South Wales. While Queensland recorded a net gain of 1,500 managers, administrators and professionals from New South Wales, the State recorded a net loss of nearly 600 people in this category in exchange with Victoria.

Balancing this loss, a higher proportion of people moving to Queensland from overseas (30.8 per cent) were in the managers, administrators and professionals category compared with the proportion moving to Queensland from interstate (26.5 per cent). This was in contrast with all other occupations (except labourers and related workers), where people from overseas were under-represented compared with the inflow from interstate. The higher percentage of managers and professionals in the overseas inflow reflects the Federal Government's increasing emphasis on the skilled component of the migration program. An unknown component in the migration equation is the number of people in the various occupational categories that moved overseas. Anecdotal evidence suggests that this is a relatively common practice particularly for younger professionals.

The disproportionately high level of the interstate outflow from Queensland comprising managers, administrators and professionals is supported by analysis of the qualifications of interstate migrants. Queensland experienced a net interstate migration loss of 2,400 people qualified at the postgraduate and higher degree level over the 1996 to 2001 period. Heavy losses were incurred to New South Wales (2,300 people) and Victoria (1,250 people) further supporting the proposition that there were insufficient jobs in Queensland for the most qualified group in the workforce compared with the concentration of head office functions located in Sydney and Melbourne. Queensland did however receive a net inflow of 1,160 postgraduate and higher degree graduates from the remainder of Australia.

In marked contrast to highly qualified graduates, Queensland showed a substantial net gain from other Australian states and territories of 12,600 graduates with bachelor degrees. Graduates from New South Wales (8,500 people) and Victoria (3,600 people) dominated this gain. Nevertheless the largest net interstate migration gain for any broad type of qualification was at the certificate level (21,800 people), which aligns with the strong gains from net interstate migration for advanced clerical and services workers and tradespersons and related workers.

Thus, the available evidence in relation to interstate migration shows that Queensland recorded a net gain in each of the occupational categories and confirmed that the myth of a brain drain in the State cannot be substantiated. Despite the net gain in each category, the clerical, sales and service worker occupations dominated, while people who were employed as managers, administrators or professionals represented only a relatively small share.

The small net loss of those with postgraduate or higher degree qualifications during the five years to 2001 was to some degree compensated for by a substantial net gain of people with bachelor qualifications. Given Queensland's recent emphasis on 'Smart State' initiatives and the establishment of new industries such as biotechnology and nanotechnology, the results from the 2006 Census will be closely scrutinised to determine if there has been a change in the share of the net gain made up by people with higher qualifications.

The consequences of migration in Queensland

Large net gains due to migration contribute to high population growth rates. For much of Queensland, especially coastal Queensland, population growth due to migration has significantly outweighed growth due to natural increase over the past decade. These locations of high growth also contain high levels of biological diversity, fragile coastal environments and are experiencing pressures from a growing tourism industry. As such, sustainable development in these areas represents an ongoing challenge.

Not all of Queensland is growing due to migration. In those areas experiencing a loss of population due to migration, the viability of some services could become an even more significant issue. In such areas, the loss of services can lead to further outflows and a self-sustaining cycle of decline.

The composition of migration flows to Queensland over recent decades (dominated by young workers and their families, clerical, sales and service workers and those with bachelor degrees) is somewhat at odds with common perceptions that migrants to Queensland are older and the State is losing its well qualified, professional workers. The latest indications are that earlier net losses of young people have been reversed in recent years as metropolitan Queensland has become more cosmopolitan in nature and job opportunities across the State have increased.

It is likely however, that young people will always be attracted to large cities in other areas and to experience the options, particularly in overseas locations, of combining employment with opportunities for travel. Perhaps of greater concern, is Queensland's continuing ability to attract these people back to the State, along with their enhanced experience and assets. Their potential contribution to the future of Queensland's communities and economy is currently somewhat undervalued but should be given increased consideration. Appropriate policy responses may be required as the competition for international migrants increases in a world of looming skill shortages.



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Internal Migration and Australia's Agricultural Regions

Matthew Tonts

Introduction

Over the past 40 years, many of Australia's inland agricultural areas have experienced steady population decline, largely as a result of structural adjustment in agriculture, policy reform, service and infrastructure rationalisation, and diminishing employment opportunities.¹ Not surprisingly, this outflow of people from inland regions has been of considerable interest to social scientists. In simple terms, the research on this theme falls into two broad strands. The first is a body of work that focuses on the processes underpinning the movement of people to and from rural areas, including analyses of structural change, lifestyle preferences, and the role of government policy.² The second examines the implications of migration on the social and economic characteristics of rural areas, including demographic structure, economic activity, service provision, and social relations.³ Central to much of this research is also a focus on the role of time and space. Patterns of rural migration have varied considerably over time in terms of the direction of population movement and the underlying causes. Migration is also an inherently geographical process, which is shaped by the economic, social, political and environmental characteristics of multiple locations.

This paper provides a brief overview of the patterns and processes of migration affecting two inland agricultural regions: the Wimmera-Mallee in Victoria, and the Wheatbelt in Western Australia. These regions are typical of extensive inland agricultural regions across Australia. The paper begins by exploring the general economic, social and political trends in these regions and how these have shaped patterns of migration. It argues that the main factors driving out-migration include economic adjustments in the agricultural sector, technological change and social preferences. The paper concludes by reflecting on some of the strategies that governments and communities have adopted as part of efforts to reverse or at least slow patterns of out-migration.

Patterns of internal migration in rural Victoria and Western Australia

Victoria and Western Australia demonstrate patterns of internal migration similar to those apparent in the rest of the country, with coastal, peri-urban and high amenity areas recording in-migration, and inland areas generally suffering out-migration. These trends are evident in Figures 1 and 2, which demonstrate the spatial dimensions of migration in both States. In Victoria, those areas experiencing in-migration tend to be confined to within 150 kilometres of Melbourne. While many coastal Statistical Local Areas (SLAs) have experienced in-migration, those that are more than 150 kilometres from Melbourne have generally experienced decline. For much of the traditional agricultural 'heartland' of the State, Western Victoria, the pattern is one of almost uniform out-migration. This is not a new phenomenon, and was reported as early as the 1940s.⁴

Similar trends are also evident in southern Western Australia. For those SLAs within 100 kilometres or so of Perth, including inland agricultural areas such as the Avon Valley, the pattern is generally one of net in-migration. The migration of people to the coast both north and south of Perth is apparent, as is the movement of people to some of the scenic inland areas of the South West and Great Southern. The expansion of tourism, hobby farms, viticulture and a range of other niche agricultural

enterprises have been important contributors to this growth. As with Victoria, almost all of the inland agricultural regions of Western Australia have experienced out-migration and a longstanding pattern of population decline.⁵

Figure 1: Net Migration in Victoria, 1996-2001⁶

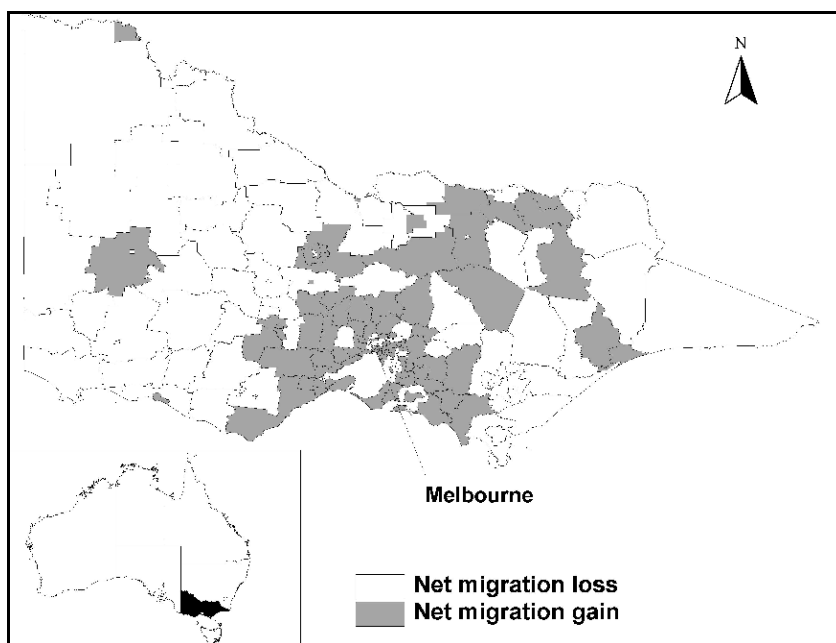
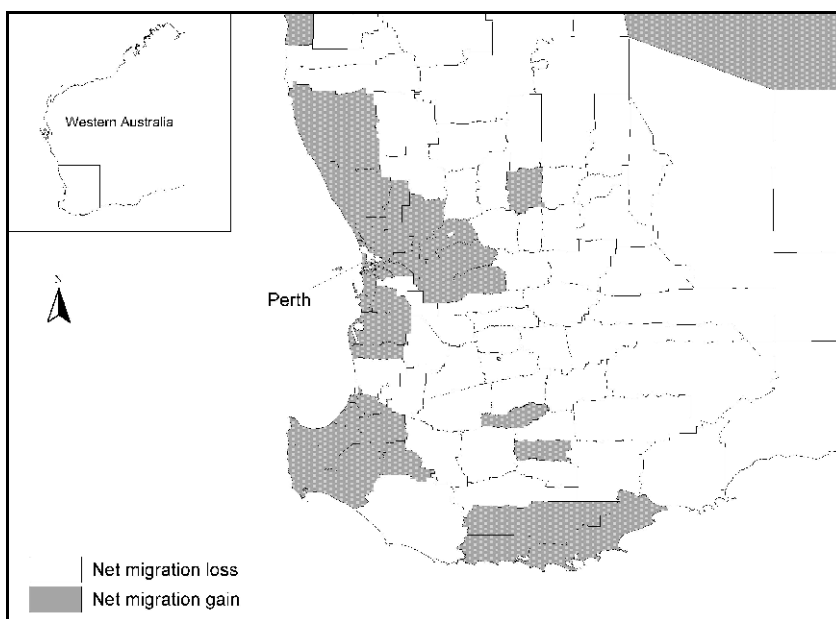
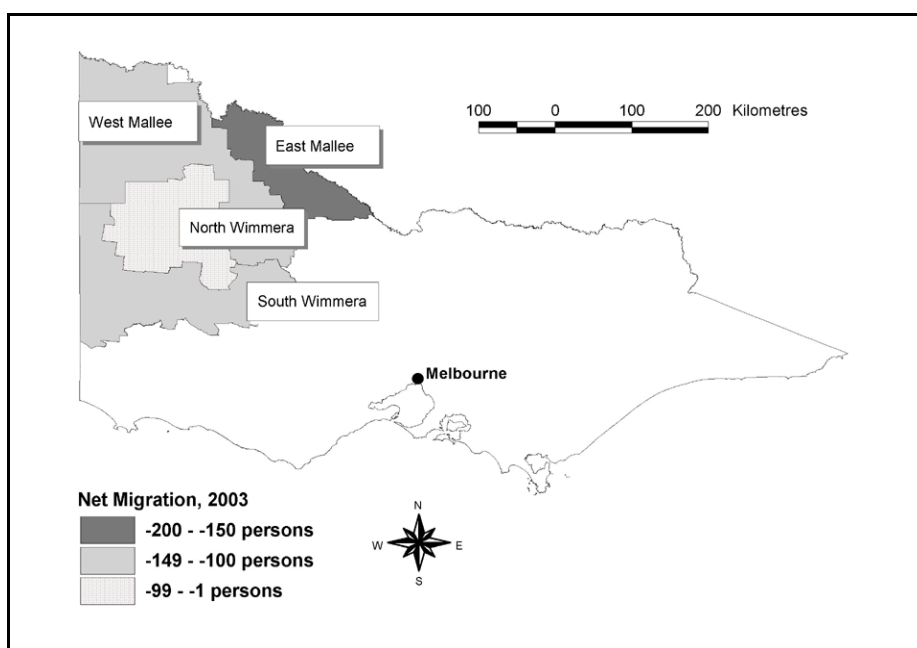


Figure 2: Net Migration in Western Australia, 1996-2001⁷



At the regional level, the Wimmera-Mallee in Victoria and the Wheatbelt in Western Australia⁸ provide useful insights into the types of changes affecting inland agricultural regions across Australia. In 2003, for example, all subdivisions in the Wimmera-Mallee (Figure 3) and the Wheatbelt (Figure 4) recorded net out-migration, with all but one experiencing a net loss of more than 100 people. The out-migration of people from the Wimmera-Mallee and the Wheatbelt is reflected in longer-term population statistics. Between 1991 and 2001, the general trend within the regions was one of population decline (Table 1). In the Wimmera-Mallee, the population decreased from 98,449 to 92,370 over this period, a fall of 6.6 per cent, while in the Wheatbelt the population fell from 69,845 to 66,730, a decrease of 4.5 per cent. The only subdivision to experience growth was Avon, which has a number of local government areas on the outer fringes of Perth's growing commuter belt.

Figure 3: Net Migration in North-Western Victoria, 2003⁹



Agricultural adjustment and migration

The pattern of migration from the Wimmera-Mallee and the Wheatbelt is, in large part, due to the adjustments in the agricultural sector. Both of these regions owe their agricultural origins and settlement structure to large-scale state sponsored development schemes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁰ The preference of governments in both states was for the establishment of small 'yeoman' farms and a relatively dense pattern of rural settlement. The outcome was relatively rapid population and economic growth.¹¹ While occasional economic downturns (such as the 1890s depression in eastern Australia) interrupted this growth, the massive investment of both public and private capital in rural areas underpinned a sustained movement of people into farming and related service activities. The influx of new residents during this period fuelled an ongoing cycle of population growth, whereby

the growing demand for goods and services created new job opportunities, which in turn led to yet more people migrating to rural regions.¹²

Figure 4: Net Migration in Western Australian Wheatbelt, 2003¹³

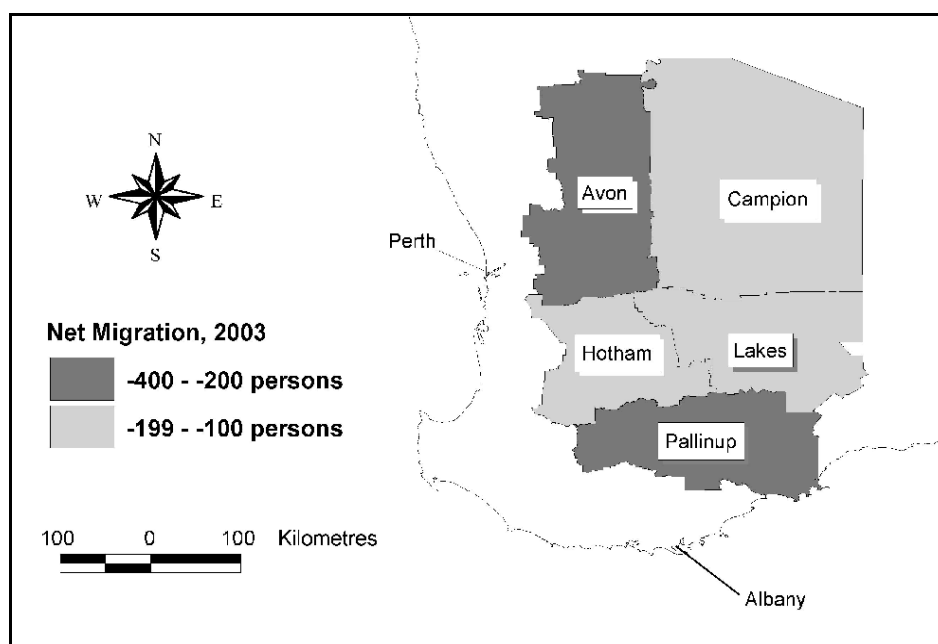


Table 1: Population Change in Selected Inland Statistical Subdivisions, 1991-2001¹⁴

	1991	1996	2001	% Change, 1991-96	% Change 91-01
Victoria					
West Mallee	13,653	12,373	11,173	-9.4	-9.7
East Mallee	33,092	32,314	32,104	-2.4	-0.6
North Wimmera	16,016	14,876	14,033	-7.1	-5.7
South Wimmera	35,688	35,256	35,060	-1.2	-0.6
Total	98,449	94,819	92,370	-3.7	-2.6
Western Australia					
Avon	25,428	26,291	26,801	3.4	1.9
Campion	12,022	12,177	10,912	1.3	-10.4
Hotham	14,531	14,053	13,279	-3.3	-5.5
Lakes	5,336	5,175	4,584	-3.0	-11.4
Pallinup	12,528	12,087	11,154	-3.5	-7.7
Total	69,845	69,783	66,730	-0.1	-4.4

However, as in other Australian agricultural regions, the story has not been one of sustained growth. Changing economic conditions, new technologies, and government policy reforms have been responsible for major flows of population out of agricultural areas. Of particular importance has been the intersection of government policy and economic conditions. The initial focus of governments on establishing small farms meant that many of the properties allocated to new residents were often too small to be viable given the prevailing economic and environmental circumstances.¹⁵ Cost-price pressures, together with relatively difficult environmental conditions, meant that once individual farmers took up land, there was an almost immediate pressure to expand the size of properties by purchasing neighbouring farms. This process of farm amalgamation and expansion was most significant at times of economic stress. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, for example, many farmers left the industry, allowing wealthier (or more risk tolerant) neighbours to take up additional land and increase the size and efficiency of their operations.¹⁶

While the departure of farmers from the industry is more frequent during economic crises, it is important to recognise that it has been an ongoing process in rural Australia for more than a century. In the period between 1996 and 2001, for example, the number of broadacre farms in both the Wimmera-Mallee and the Wheatbelt fell by more than five per cent, with some subdivisions experiencing declines of more than 8.5 per cent (Table 2). The trends affecting these two regions are not isolated, and mirror trends at the national level. Between 1960 and 2001, the total number of farms in Australia fell from around 201,000 to a little over 100,000.¹⁷

Table 2: Number of Broadacre Farms in Selected Inland Statistical Subdivisions 1996-2001¹⁸

	1996	2001	Absolute Change, 1996-01	% Change 96-01
Victoria				
West Mallee	1,169	1,121	-48	-4.1
East Mallee	1,221	1,114	-107	-8.8
North Wimmera	1,291	1,240	-51	-4.0
South Wimmera	1,702	1,589	-113	-6.6
Total	5,383	5,064	-319	-5.9
Western Australia				
Avon	1,364	1,291	-73	-5.4
Campion	888	811	-77	-8.7
Hotham	1,109	1,055	-54	-4.9
Lakes	706	651	-55	-7.8
Pallinup	1,109	1,055	-54	-4.9
Total	5,149	4,869	-280	-5.4

The reasons for farm amalgamation have changed little over the past century, with economic pressures often forcing smaller producers out of agriculture, providing opportunities for remaining farmers to take up more land. The most significant factor

contributing to the exit of farmers from the industry has been an ongoing cost-price squeeze, with real farm input costs rising steadily and commodity prices remaining stable or even declining. In some areas, these economic problems have been compounded by successive droughts, which have often led to lengthy periods of virtually no income for people living on farms, and reducing incomes for those sectors dependent on agriculture.

The economic pressures facing farmers have occurred alongside major policy reforms, as the protective mantle under which agriculture had operated has been gradually deregulated and the industry exposed to global economic forces. These policy reforms have been quite deliberately aimed at removing inefficient farmers from the industry and increasing the productivity of Australian agriculture. Indeed, the Commonwealth government's Rural Adjustment Scheme was a core part of a strategy designed to encourage smaller farmers to leave agriculture in order to make way for larger operators. The message to farmers was clear: 'Get big, or get out'.

The economic and policy changes affecting agriculture have been coupled with changing agricultural technology. Indeed, the adoption of new farm technologies has not only enabled farmers to increase the size of their holdings and reduce labour costs, but has also increased per unit area returns. During the first half of the twentieth century, for example, the increasing use of tractors, trucks and tractor drawn implements, in addition to the advances made in animal nutrition and crop fertilisers, all contributed to rapid improvements in agricultural productivity. The role of technology has continued to be significant over the past few decades, with the development of larger more sophisticated equipment, improvements in the scientific basis of farming, and the widespread adoption of biotechnologies.

Not surprisingly, the impact of decreasing farm numbers and lower labour requirements is reflected in the workforce statistics for both regions. In the Wimmera-Mallee of Victoria, the total number of people employed in agriculture fell from 11,218 to 11,075 between 1996 and 2001; a decrease of 1.3 per cent. A more serious contraction was recorded in the Western Australian Wheatbelt, where employment in agriculture fell from 11,850 to 10,781 over the same timeframe; a fall of 9.0 per cent. Labour force statistics also highlight the dependence of the economies of these regions on farming, with 27.2 per cent of the total labour force in the Wimmera-Mallee and 35 per cent of the labour force in the Wheatbelt employed in agriculture.

The reduction in farm numbers and labour has had three main implications for the population structure of the two case study regions. First, for every farm enterprise that is sold, there is a strong likelihood that the families running these operations will migrate to other areas in search of different lifestyle and employment opportunities.¹⁹ Second, the reduction in demand for farm labour in the case study regions means that people formerly employed in agriculture need to find alternative sources of work.²⁰ Given the narrow economic base of these regions, few alternatives often exist locally, forcing ex-farm workers (and their families) to migrate to locations with improved employment opportunities. Third, the reduction of people living and working on farms has eroded local and regional economic activity and, ultimately, contributed to further out-migration from country towns.²¹

Non-agricultural contributors to migration

In addition to the adjustments in the agricultural sector, there are also a range of changes occurring 'beyond the farm gate' that have contributed to out-migration from inland agricultural regions. Perhaps one of the most significant has been substantial improvements in transport technology. In the case of the Wheatbelt, Roy Jones²² has argued that the increasing use of private motor vehicles and better road construction after the Second World War rendered many smaller settlements economically obsolete, since farmers and other residents could easily bypass them in favour of the greater variety and price competitiveness of services and amenities in the larger towns. This was also pointed out by Geoffrey Bolton,²³ who suggested more than 40 years ago that the shift from the 'horse and cart' to the motor vehicle effectively trebled the range of Australian country towns. As a result, 'the leading town in any district tended to forge rapidly ahead at the expense of its neighbours'.²⁴ These improvements in transport also encouraged industry and services to locate in larger towns and regional centres, where economies of scale could be achieved and wider hinterlands served.²⁵ When combined with the reduction in the number of farmers and labourers in rural areas, this simply made many businesses and services in smaller towns redundant. Thus, instead of the production of goods and the provision of services being dispersed across a series of small centres serving local areas, most economic activity in rural areas (apart from primary production) has become increasingly concentrated in the larger regional towns. Other trends, such as e-commerce, are also beginning to affect rural areas, with traditional local services such as banks, stock and station agents, and fuel suppliers supplanted by the greater competition available by using the internet. The loss of such local services obviously has the potential to reduce employment opportunities and contribute directly to out-migration.

These changes in service provision have also been affected by reforms in public sector service and infrastructure delivery. Prior to the 1970s, government policy had tended to emphasise a degree of socio-spatial equity in service and infrastructure provision, largely as part of the wider rural development agenda.²⁶ However, in recent decades the emphasis has tended to shift towards a greater role for market forces in the allocation of public goods. For many rural communities with small and often declining populations this has resulted in the rationalisation or withdrawal of key services.²⁷ Needless to say, the loss of staff from these services also contributes to the process of out-migration and population decline. The loss of key services and infrastructure has the potential to further marginalise vulnerable groups, such as the elderly and indigenous people, for whom migration to a new location might not necessarily be a realistic option.²⁸ Moreover, the absence of basic services and infrastructure has also had the effect of making many towns less attractive to both existing residents and potential newcomers.

This latter point helps to highlight the role of social needs in shaping migration patterns. While economic, technological and political factors are important, it is also clear that the lifestyle preferences and access to social opportunities have long been significant in influencing migration in agricultural regions.²⁹ The education, recreation and leisure opportunities and socio-cultural diversity available in larger urban centres have often been seen as 'pull factors' drawing people away from agricultural regions. These considerations are particularly evident amongst people aged between 15 and 24. In addition to the range of social and educational opportunities available to young

people in cities and regional centres, research by James³⁰ suggests that there is also a culturally embedded 'rite of passage' associated with leaving a country town.

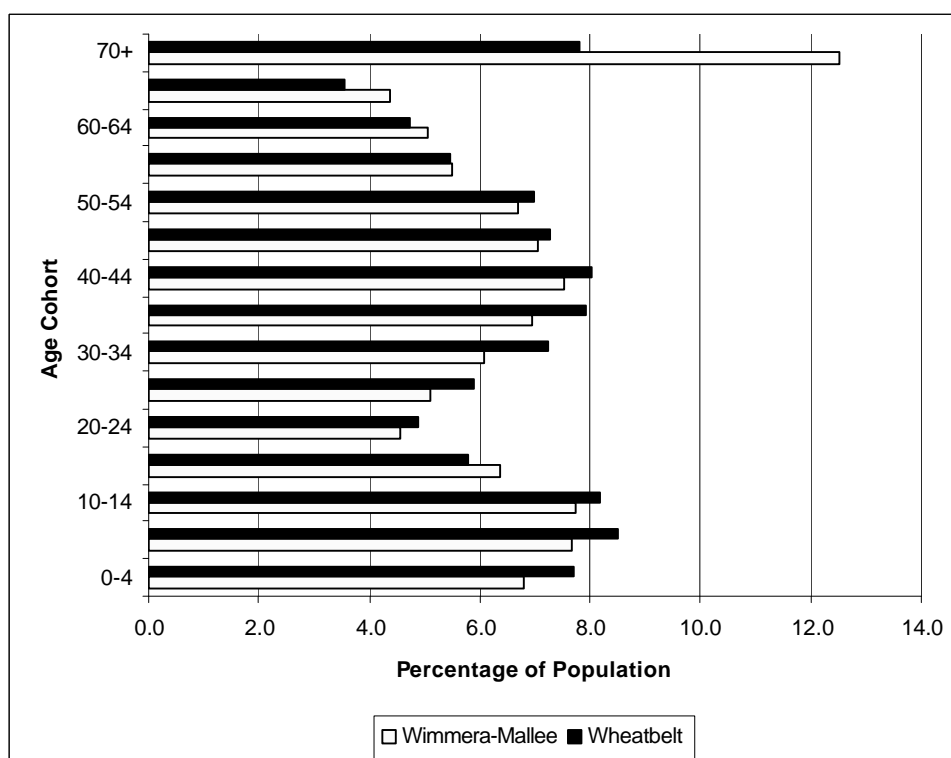
While age specific migration data were not available for this particular study, Figure 5 provides some clues as to the characteristics of those leaving the two regions. One of the most striking features of the data presented in this Figure is the loss of people between the ages of 15 and 30. There are at least three significant implications associated with the out-migration of these younger age cohorts. First, it has the potential to lower the rate of natural population increase by removing at least part of the potential child bearing/raising component of the population. As such, natural population increase is unlikely to act as a counterweight to out-migration. Second, it has the potential to slow local economic growth, since this age cohort tends to spend, rather than save, relatively high proportions of their income. Those in their mid to late 20s are also important drivers of the rental and owner-occupier housing markets, and their absence can have direct impacts on the land economy of rural areas. Third, the loss of young people, particularly those in their late 20s, can rob communities of potential leaders and innovators and, consequently, can undermine community vitality and even hinder the emergence of creative regeneration strategies.

While the under-representation of young people in Figure 5 is particularly notable, so too is the reverse situation shown in the proportion of people over the age of 70. In the Wimmera-Mallee, for example, more than 12 per cent of the population is aged 70 or more. This perhaps suggests that older cohorts represent one of the less mobile components of the population of inland rural communities. This is in contrast to other regions, where the movement of older people from cities to smaller coastal settlements is a particularly important trend.³¹ The *in situ* ageing of the population in agricultural regions clearly has important implications for welfare policy, community services, health care, and housing. However, rather than be viewed as entirely problematic, there are considerable positives associated with the growth of this component of the population, including the ongoing presence of social support networks, the economic contribution of the aged to country towns, and the maintenance of local 'social memory' and sense of community. Indeed, some communities in the Western Australian Wheatbelt see the aged as an important economic and social resource, and have made active attempts to retain aged people, and even attract older residents from elsewhere using lower living and housing costs as key components of their marketing strategies. Of course, one of the problems facing this age group has been the gradual erosion of services in many rural areas, especially the loss of basic health care and welfare facilities.

Perhaps some of the most serious impacts of out-migration are on local social and cultural networks, structures and institutions. In both the Wimmera-Mallee and Wheatbelt, the loss of people has undermined the viability of, *inter alia*, voluntary organisations (eg, the Country Women's Association), churches, and sporting clubs. Recently, the State Government of Victoria published an atlas showing the demise of country football teams across the State, with large numbers of teams in the Wimmera-Mallee region collapsing as people left the region.³² Such was the concern of the Victorian Government that a Parliamentary Inquiry into the state of country football was established in 2003, focusing on the impact of demographic change on the viability of clubs and associations.³³ Another recent study conducted in the Wimmera pointed to the collapse of local country fire services as a result of farmer out-migration, and the growing sense of isolation felt by those who remain.³⁴ Similar

trends have also been reported across the Western Australian Wheatbelt.³⁵ The demise of organisations such as country sporting clubs as a result of population decline not only helps to undermine local sense of community, but also removes opportunities for social interaction and engagement.³⁶ The impact of this on the wellbeing of the remaining residents can be significant.

Figure 5: Age Profile of the Case Study Regions³⁷



Reversing the flow?

It is also important to stress that out-migration is not characteristic of all rural communities, even in the Wimmera-Mallee and the Wheatbelt. Too many recent accounts of rural Australia have emphasised decline and crisis, overlooking the geographically complex and diverse nature of change. Furthermore, broad regional level analyses often mask significant local trends that run counter to broader patterns of decline. Lifestyle related migration, new rural industries, and successful local strategies have seen some localities in the two case study regions experience population growth.³⁸ Often, this in-migration has little or nothing to do with agriculture, and is more oriented towards the use and attraction of high amenity environments, low land costs, or the availability of local natural or other resources. However, it is important to recognise that the general trend across inland regions remains one of out-migration and population decline.

Over the past decade, this problem has received increasing attention from Commonwealth and State governments. Spurred on by the regional electoral

backlash of the late 1990s, governments of all persuasions began to recognise the social, economic and political implications of the emerging demographic divide between growing coastal and urban areas, and declining inland regions. While it is clear that governments are not about to re-embark on major employment or infrastructure programs in order to rejuvenate declining regions, a number of remedial strategies have emerged.

At the Commonwealth level, these strategies have tended to focus on enabling communities and regions to identify and meet their own development needs. In other words, the emphasis is on self-help, with the Commonwealth providing education and training schemes, limited seed funding for new businesses and initiatives, indigenous development programs, and direct financial support in certain areas of basic service shortfall, particularly in the area of health care. There has also been a degree of targeted assistance in those areas facing short or medium term economic crisis, such as the sugar industry, although the extent to which this is driven by electoral realities or a broader set of policies aimed at promoting regional development is rather unclear. It is, however, evident that the Commonwealth has shifted from the 'hands-off' approach of the initial years of the Coalition government, and recognised that there is a need for some Federal involvement in regional policy.

At the State government level, there is generally a more direct involvement in tackling the issue of out-migration and population decline in agricultural regions. In Western Australia, for example, the State government supports nine regional development commissions to promote economic growth and social development in non-metropolitan areas. One of these, the Wheatbelt Development Commission, has a range of programs designed to foster population growth and in-migration in an area where out-migration and population decline are widespread. The Commission's programs include support for small and medium enterprise, regional branding and marketing schemes, indigenous development initiatives and strategic regional research.

As is the case at the Commonwealth level, however, the emphasis in State policy is on rural communities helping themselves. In many cases, declining rural communities have been extremely proactive. In the Wheatbelt, for example, communities have experimented with free land grants for newcomers, industrial infrastructure development, staging major cultural events, and main street beautification strategies. At the same time, some communities have done very little to tackle the problem of out-migration. Much of the evidence suggests that successful strategies depend on leadership, local social and economic resources, and a degree of luck.³⁹ Even then, the structural determinants of out-migration often prove difficult to overcome, particularly in the medium or longer term. Rural Australia is littered with examples of small towns that, for a short time at least, were examples of 'best practice' in rural revitalisation, only to slip back into decline as a result of the deeper structural forces operating against them at global and national levels. This is not to say that the fate of country towns and inland rural areas are necessarily pre-determined, but simply to point out that the challenges facing those areas hoping to slow or reverse out-migration are not insignificant.

Conclusion

The loss of people from inland agricultural regions is a longstanding process that has the capacity to directly impact on the wellbeing of remaining residents. People living

in declining regions are being affected by problems such as service withdrawal, fewer employment opportunities, and the disintegration of social networks. Consequently, there are serious concerns that these declining areas may linger on as little more than pockets of chronic socio-economic disadvantage.⁴⁰ The challenge is to ensure ongoing accessibility to basic services and social opportunities for people who still call these areas home. This is particularly important given that out-migration and decline is a quite slow process. Indeed, rural communities, and the social institutions within them, have a habit of hanging on, even in the face of longstanding patterns of population decline. Indeed, the trends in rural Australia bear strong resemblances to parts of the United States, where more than 30 years ago American sociologist and geographer Glenn Fuguitt concluded:

As one who has studied small towns and villages for a number of years, I am struck by the fact that they prevail despite most people's efforts to write them off. They may not perform the same functions as previously; they may in fact serve as little more than population nodes; they may even lose considerable population; but somehow they stay in there for census after census. This was poignantly expressed by the headline of a recent newspaper: 'Small Town Dies, but Life Goes On...'.⁴¹



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- ¹ For example, see Cocklin, C and Dibden, J (eds) (2005). *Sustainability and Change in Rural Australia*, UNSW Press, Sydney; Gray, I and Lawrence, G (2001). *Futures for Regional Australia: Escaping Global Misfortune*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; Pritchard, W and McManus, P (eds) (2000). *Land of Discontent: The Dynamics of Change in Rural and Regional Australia*, UNSW Press, Sydney.
 - ² For example, see Hugo, G and Smailes, P (1992). 'Population dynamics in rural South Australia', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 8: 29-51; Burnley, I and Murphy, P (2002). 'Change, continuity or cycles: the population turnaround in New South Wales', *Journal of Population Research*, 19: 137-152; Hugo, G (2005). 'The state of rural populations', in Cocklin and Dibden *op cit*: 56-79.
 - ³ For example, see McKenzie, F (1994). 'Population decline in non-metropolitan Australia: impacts and policy implications', *Urban Policy and Research*, 12: 253-263; Smailes, P (1997). 'Socio-economic change and rural morale in South Australia, 1982-1993', *Journal*

- of *Rural Studies* 13: 19-42; Tonts, M (2000). 'The restructuring of Australia's rural communities', in Pritchard and McManus, *op cit*: 52-72.
- ⁴ McIntyre, A and McIntyre, J (1944). *Country Towns of Victoria*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
- ⁵ Tonts (2000) *op cit*.
- ⁶ Based on Australian Bureau of Statistics (2004), *Integrated Regional Database*, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra.
- ⁷ Based on Australian Bureau of Statistics (2004), *Integrated Regional Database*, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra.
- ⁸ The area identified as the wheatbelt here does not conform to the Western Australian government's formal delineation of the Wheatbelt Region for planning and development purposes. Rather, it incorporates a group of Statistical Subdivisions that are dominated by extensive grain production, were part of the original government wheatbelt land settlement policies, and which conforms to more traditional delineations of the region as outlined in Glynn, S (1975). *Government Policy and Agricultural Development*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands.
- ⁹ Based on Australian Bureau of Statistics (2004), *Integrated Regional Database*, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra.
- ¹⁰ See Powell, J (1988). *The Historical Geography of Australia: The Restive Fringe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- ¹¹ *Ibid*; Glynn (1975) *op cit*.
- ¹² Sorensen, A (1993). 'The future of the country town: strategies for local economic development', in Sorensen, AD and Epps, R (eds) *Prospects and Policies for Rural Australia*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne: 220.
- ¹³ Based on Australian Bureau of Statistics (2004), *Integrated Regional Database*, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra.
- ¹⁴ Based on Australian Bureau of Statistics (2004), *Integrated Regional Database*, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra.
- ¹⁵ In Western Australia, for example, the *Homesteads Act, 1893* provided land grants of up to 160 acres, while the *Land Act, 1898* provided grants of up to 1000 acres.
- ¹⁶ See Bolton, G (1994). *A Fine Country to Starve In* (Second Edition), University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands; Snooks, GD (1974). *Depression and Recovery in Western Australia, 1928/29-1938/39: A Study in Cyclical and Structural Change*, University of Western Australia Press, Perth.
- ¹⁷ Lawrence, G (2005). 'Globalisation, agricultural production systems and rural restructuring', in Cocklin and Dibden *op cit*: 104-120.
- ¹⁸ Based on Australian Bureau of Statistics (2004), *Integrated Regional Database*, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra.
- ¹⁹ McKenzie (1994), *op cit*.
- ²⁰ Taylor, M (1996), 'Agriculture in recession: the regional performance of Australian broadacre livestock farming', *New Zealand Geographer*, 52: 46-55.
- ²¹ Stayner, R (2005). 'The economics of rural communities', in Cocklin and Dibden *op cit*: 104-120.
- ²² Jones, R (1993). 'Country town survival: some Anglo-Australian comparisons', in Wilson, MR (ed) *Proceedings of the Prairie Division, Canadian Association of Geographers*, Department of Geography, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon: 1-19.
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- ²⁴ *Ibid*: 17
- ²⁵ McKenzie (1994), *op cit*.
- ²⁶ Tonts, M and Jones, R (1997). 'From state paternalism to neoliberalism in Australian rural policy: perspectives from the Western Australian wheatbelt', *Space and Polity*, 1: 171-190.

- ²⁷ Tonts (2000) *op cit.*
- ²⁸ McKenzie (2000) *op cit.* Alston, M (2005). 'Social exclusion in rural Australia', in Cocklin and Dibden *op cit.* 157-170.
- ²⁹ Haslam-McKenzie, F (2000). 'Where do people fit in the rural equation?', in Pritchard and McManus *op cit.* 73-89.
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- ³⁵ Tonts (2000) *op cit.*; Haslam-McKenzie, F (1999). *The Impact of Declining Infrastructure in Rural Western Australia*, Rural Industries Research and Development Corporation, Canberra.
- ³⁶ Smailes (1997) *op cit.*; Tonts, M (2005). 'Competitive sport and social capital in rural Australia', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 21: 137-149.
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- ³⁸ Burnley and Murphy (2004) *op cit.*
- ³⁹ Sorensen, A and Epps, R (1996). 'Community leadership and local development. Dimensions of leadership in four Central Queensland towns'. *Journal of Rural Studies* 12: 113-125.
- ⁴⁰ Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission (HREOC) (1998). *Bush Talks*, Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission, Sydney.
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Sea Change, Social Change?
Population Turnaround in New South Wales
I H Burnley

Introduction

A phenomenon occurring in several Western countries since 1970 has been the more rapid growth of non-metropolitan populations than that of major cities. Australia has not been immune to this population turnaround, notably in coastal eastern Australia, and in peri-metropolitan areas. This has meant net internal migration gains to these rapidly growing regions. In the international literature, there are various terms for this phenomenon: sunbelt migration, counterurbanisation, rural renaissance, turnaround migration, and more popularly in Australia, 'sea change' and 'downshifting'.

This paper concentrates on the population turnaround in New South Wales: migration to relatively low density areas in places of environmental amenity - primarily coastal but also peri-metropolitan locales and some inland rural retreat environments. It examines whether this growth of non metropolitan migration in the last 35 years was a distinct break from the past, what made it possible, the complexities in motivation for moving and possible future trends. Sources include sample surveys¹ censuses including internal migration matrix tape data, and personal contacts.

Most labels obfuscate the understanding of the phenomenon. 'Sunbelt' migration implies environmental factors for leaving certain climes, and is broad enough to include migration to large cities such as Brisbane and the Gold Coast. This in some respects parallels the movement from the 'snowbelt' in the USA to Florida and increasingly, Arizona, but overgeneralises movement in New South Wales (NSW). 'Counterurbanisation' is a misnomer, for while the movement avoids high density environments and involves movement down the urban hierarchy, it is still urban, and in some ways, suburban, in the NSW context. The movement may be 'countermetropolitan' in that it involves population deconcentration on a large scale. 'Rural renaissance' was a term used in the 1980s² when it became apparent that small town and bounded rural localities in parts of the coastal zone and in some inland areas were growing rapidly. It was not farm populations that were growing although there was 'rural retreat' movement. The problem in Australia is that many bounded rural localities (ABS categories) are in fact non-agricultural and urban (the ABS threshold for urban centres having been 1,000 persons). The rural, non-farm population is poorly delineated in the Australian census.

This author prefers the term 'population turnaround' for the processes underway. This involves the deconcentration of national population, and somewhat slowing population centralisation processes, which had intensified between 1900 and 1970, except during serious economic recessions. The term includes net gains from internal migration and also natural increase in 'turnaround' localities. The natural increase reflects the fact that young people migrate to turnaround localities and that in NSW, net migration gain volumes *below* retirement age have been considerably larger than those in the elderly age range (Table 1).³ The turnaround was not a mass exodus from large cities. Instead there were increases in net internal migration losses to non-metropolitan areas in some metropolitan cities, reflecting a relative shift in the volume of in- and out-migration.

Table 1: Net internal migration by age in coastal SLAs of NSW 1996-2001

SLA	5-14	15-24	25-34	55 and over	total net migration
North Coast					
Tweed A (a)	881	201	2443	3380	6005
Tweed A (b)	334	-658	956	264	896
Byron C (a)	500	-432	1582	56	1706
Ballina	707	-610	1694	717	2508
Pristine Waters (Nymboida)	99	-164	165	23	123
Macleay (A)	222	-381	686	692	1219
Nambucca (A)	61	-566	109	372	-24
Bellingen (A)	66	-519	169	59	-225
Coffs HarbourA (a)	565	-460	1112	1090	2307
Coffs HarbourA (b)	256	-499	668	217	642
Grafton (C)	-6	-526	-242	43	-731
Hastings (A)	749	-157	1885	1897	4374
Hastings (B)	550	-668	1343	1066	2291
Kempsey(A)	-36	-794	335	347	-148
Taree (C)	426	-1319	391	599	97
Great Lakes (A)	303	-458	1262	1945	3052
Totals	5677	-8010	14558	12767	24992
South Coast					
Shoalhaven (A)	-33	-127	268	545	653
Shoalhaven (B)	1346	-348	3768	3042	7778
Eurobodalla (A)	255	-613	1280	1447	2369
Bega Valley	237	-742	-849	770	1114
Totals	1805	-1830	6135	5804	11914

Source : Internal migration matrix tapes, 2001 census.

Dimensions of the turnaround in NSW

Between 1971 and 2001, the population of the non-metropolitan coastal regions of New South Wales increased by 460,000 persons, while that of the peri-metropolitan fringes of Sydney, Newcastle and Wollongong grew by 250,000, altogether accounting for 32 per cent of population growth in NSW.⁴ Peri-metropolitan is defined here to include the statistical local areas (SLAs) of Blue Mountains, Hawkesbury, Wollondilly, Gosford and Wyong (which are within the Sydney statistical division) and Wingecarribee, all within 140 km of the Sydney CBD; Port Stephens (60 km north of Newcastle) and Kiama (south of Wollongong). The coastal turnaround regions are the Mid and North Coast sea-bounded local government areas extending from Great Lakes Shire to the Queensland border; and the areas from Shoalhaven south of Kiama to the Victorian state border.

The rates of growth in the north coastal SLAs had averaged around one per cent or less in the 1950s and 1960s, and 0.5-1.0 per cent on the south coast. Almost all this growth was natural increase, for net migration losses in the young adult age range had compensated for net migration gains at older ages which did take place in some areas. Between 1971 and 1991, however, rates of growth in most north coastal SLAs averaged 2-3 per cent, and between 1.5-2.5 per cent in the 1990s, the later return to slower rates reflecting a lessening of internal migration net gains and also larger base populations.⁵

The third most important presence of the population turnaround was manifest in scattered inland areas which were more rural in aspect and where rural retreating and hobby farms were important, and some retirees and younger affluent people were attracted to small towns nearby. These were areas of high environmental amenity on the Northern and Southern Tablelands, on the southwestern slopes, and in rural areas around several inland regional cities, notably Albury, Orange and Tamworth.

Shires recently affected by rural retreating and rural-residential developments (homes on 2-5 hectare allotments) were Yarrowlumla (surrounding Canberra), Mulwaree Shire (Southern Tablelands), the south western slopes (Gundagai, Crookwell and nearby localities), Mudgee and vicinity, the Upper Hunter, and areas near the Snowy Mountains (Jindabyne, Eucumbene). The population growth in these places was much less than in the first two regional categories.⁶ The growth rates were also less because of strong net-migration losses in school leaver and young adult ages, in common with the 'non-turnaround' inland areas.

Conceptual aspects of the turnaround in NSW

In the 1970s, non-metropolitan populations in parts of the USA, the United Kingdom, Belgium, northern France and Australia tended to grow faster than that of metropolitan areas.⁷ In America, it was assumed that 'footloose industries' and post-Fordist industrial processes allowed a dispersion of some types of production to smaller urban centres or rural areas.⁸ Indeed, in northeastern NSW, cultural production industries evolved, with early inputs from the counter-cultural and alternative lifestyle movements of the 1970s.⁹ However, manufacturing growth was limited in turnaround areas of NSW. In the coastal turnaround areas as defined above, the manufacturing workforce in total increased by only 5,000 persons between 1971 and 1986.

Much of the movement down the urban hierarchy which comprised the bulk of the turnaround migration in the USA (counterurbanisation) was urbanisation nevertheless,¹⁰ and this was also the case in NSW.¹¹ While lifestyle factors were key drivers of the turnaround as in the USA, it appears that restructuring in employment in metropolitan NSW was a lesser push factor than in the USA. In continental Europe, growth of locationally advantaged small centres in the overlapping hinterlands of large cities had particular force.¹² In Britain, the search for a 'rural idyll' on the metropolitan fringe, in inland rural localities and some coastal areas, has been explained by change to a post-production rural social and economic system.¹³ Long distance commuting by fast transit also contributed. Another study in Britain found that strong economic factors were associated with the deconcentration of population, with faster economic growth among rural manufacturing and service firms.¹⁴ In the USA, there is evidence of migration of poor persons to rural areas already experiencing poverty.

In NSW, environmental amenity and lifestyle factors, in relation to demographic change were found to be influential in a number of empirical studies.¹⁵ However, welfare-led migration¹⁶ has been documented, with low income household movement to coastal areas,¹⁷ although volumes of in-movement of poor people to Sydney almost equalled outflows in the early 2000s.¹⁸ Nevertheless, it is likely that in recessionary periods, as in the early 1990s, the out-migration from Sydney of disadvantaged persons may have been much stronger than inflows, and that a larger relative share of the outflow to turnaround areas comprised less affluent persons.

Despite the impact of amenity-led migration to turnaround regions, for 25 years rural Australia has been impacted by a series of crisis conditions brought about by natural events, political decisions and adverse terms of trade for export dependent staple products. While these impacts occurred in some coastal areas, arguably the population turnaround is producing two sharply differentiated zones within rural Australia: between coastal (advantaged) and inland (disadvantaged) populations.¹⁹ Yet on the NSW coast, there are high levels of unemployment and associated low incomes. Within the population turnaround, social class has differentiated sub regions to a considerable extent, and also families and communities within sub-regions.²⁰ Within the turnaround in NSW, there has been wider diversity of socioeconomic status within in-migrants than that, for instance, in the United Kingdom.²¹ There are affluent communities and also welfare-led migration, the latter in part reflecting housing costs in large cities.²² The portability of welfare benefits has facilitated the movement of poorer people.

Economic factors in migration

Coastal areas

Discussion of welfare migration leads to consideration of economic factors in turnaround population growth. Many retirees have portable benefits (transfer payments) such as superannuation and investments, sufficient to support them without working. They can afford to patronise restaurants, basic and non-basic retailing and recreational businesses.

Growth in real wages and the acquisition of family wealth in the long post-War economic boom allowed the accumulation of wealth in the form of second homes, (sometimes modest fibro holiday houses) which became attractions for numbers of middle aged for more permanent living. Many were built in peri-metropolitan areas and more distant coastal localities. While Sydney (and Melbourne and Brisbane to a lesser extent) were the origins of the holiday home owners, and also of the later turnaround migrants, people from inland regional cities and more affluent farming areas acquired coastal holiday homes in the 1950s and 1960s. Like their metropolitan counterparts, they later took up permanent residence in their holiday homes, often converting them to more substantial residences. This stimulated local industries wherein tradesmen and other workers undertook conversions and built new homes, and such developments encouraged the growth of small local building supply and materials industries.

Retirement migration from the 1970s stimulated the demand for retailing, commercial and health professional services. The services in turn were provided by workforce age persons who either migrated with their children or began their families in the turnaround regions. This then created a demand for schools and other services which further stimulated opportunities for educational and other professionals, many of whom came with young children or added to their families in the turnaround areas.

In some coastal centres, such as Byron-Ballina, Coffs Harbour and Port Macquarie, domestic tourism grew and this provided employment in the hospitality and retail industries. Some tourists became residents, and aspects of development are associated with the tourism industry in several coastal centres. Indeed, the term 'tourism urbanisation' was coined by Mullins²³ more particularly for Queensland's Gold Coast (involving international and domestic tourism), but this region extends

across the state border to Tweed Heads. In this way, the mixed amenity-led and tourism growth in the coastal zone generated a demand for employment.

Burnley and Murphy²⁴ found in their sample survey conducted in Ballina-Byron and adjacent areas, and in the Coffs Harbour region, that one third of men primarily migrated to the North Coast for work-related reasons, and entrepreneur and small business person migration occurred. Almost as many listed amenity as the major reason for movement, with employment then being a subsidiary factor. Work was less important in moving to the South Coast. Cheaper housing was a key issue for an important minority of migrants, particularly on the South Coast.

The question arises: if employment is important in migration to the coastal regions, and if a considerable component of the in-migration is comprised of self-funded retirees, why have unemployment levels been documented at double the national employment rates in censuses since the early 1980s? First, welfare migration has been an element in the turnaround movement for two decades, particularly in the case of out-movement from Sydney. Much of this migration has been for cheaper housing costs, with persons trading-off regular ties with friends and associates.²⁵ Yet many transferees who have been on disability benefits, unemployment and supporting family benefits have been unable to find work in the coastal zone, either when benefits permit this, or even require it. This long term welfare migration is indicated in the higher proportions of single parent families in the migration flows, and in the population counts at successive censuses.

Second, there has been considerable youth unemployment, through movement to the coast for lifestyle and beach culture reasons, and also sizeable *in situ* entrance of local school leavers into the labour market, such persons often being the offspring of parents who migrated earlier to the coast. The nature of economic growth in the turnaround regions is not such that it can readily absorb local school leavers and this is why many move to Sydney or Brisbane. While TAFE colleges and branches of new universities (for example, a campus of Southern Cross University at Coffs Harbour) have been established in several coastal centres, the limited range of courses available means that many young people, wishing to pursue a tertiary education, leave.²⁶ Third, the tourist component of the economy in several turnaround localities means that many jobs are seasonal and that many are unemployed in the off-season. Fourth, many wishing to move beyond low-paid service employment in tourism into tourism-related career structures also leave.

Uncertainties are associated with the turnaround migrations as reflected in house tenure data from the 1996 and 2001 censuses. Only half of in-movers to coastal zone SLAs were in the owner-buyer market. Proportions of owners and buyers together were 60 per cent among people aged over 45 and only 32 per cent amongst those aged 25-39 in 2001.²⁷ While trading down (from more expensive owner-occupier metropolitan housing to less expensive non-metropolitan dwellings) has taken place, many moved as renters, even among older age groups. And while numbers had previous community links in the coastal zone, or holiday homes, many rented some years after arrival. Some may have left open the option of returning to a major city. Furthermore the larger coastal centres such as Port Macquarie and Coffs Harbour experience career-cycle migration²⁸ and some may wish to advance careers in one of the metropolitan cities. In sum, considerable population turnover occurred in coastal

turnaround areas, and in lifetime migration, failed expectations and economic uncertainty may have contributed to this phenomenon.

Peri-metropolitan areas

The peri-metropolitan areas differed from the coastal areas in that persons could potentially commute to metropolitan Sydney, to Newcastle or Wollongong. Burnley and Murphy²⁹ in their sample of 600 persons in the Blue Mountains and Southern Highlands (Bowral, Mittagong and adjacent areas), found that 60 per cent of the survey respondents who were in the workforce commuted to Sydney - many to the western suburbs but an appreciable number to the CBD and lower North Shore. Those of workforce age who moved to the peri-metropolitan regions were less motivated to migrate for work reasons and more motivated by environmental amenity. The term environmental amenity here comprises perceptions of aesthetic attributes, 'natural landscapes', 'rural aspects', low density and related factors.

Commuting was also revealed in 2001 census journey to work data, with strong flows south to Sydney from Gosford, to Newcastle from Wyong, and to Sydney from the Blue Mountains (and Southern Highlands). Peri-metropolitan residence and commuting have been facilitated by the decentralisation of employment within Sydney and the extension of freeways. White collar and skilled manual workers availed themselves of superior, low-cost housing with arboreal and rural aspects, and less congested environments in which to raise children. A trade-off, for those prepared to commute some distance was acquiring more land and pleasurable habitations, similar to trade-offs by earlier generations with movement into suburbia in Sydney. Welfare migration to cheaper rental housing also took place in the Central Coast and Blue Mountains. Some peri-metropolitan movement accompanied the rejuvenation of old towns, such as Katoomba, Leura, Wentworth Falls and Blackheath in the outer Blue Mountains, and Mittagong, Moss Vale and Bowral in the Southern Highlands, and many movers had strong ideals about heritage values for town and rural landscapes.

Almost 40 per cent of the workforce in Burnley and Murphy's survey³⁰ found work in the peri-metropolitan areas. A sizeable proportion of the remainder were early retirees and the 'young-old' who moved for amenity reasons, many having been home-owners in Sydney while others had relocated several times within the peri-metropolitan zone. More affordable owner-occupier housing was also a factor in migration. Sydney was more dominant in migration origins to peri-metropolitan than to coastal regions.

Cycles in the turnaround?

There have been fluctuations in turnaround migration in several countries (including, for instance, France). In the USA, Brown *et al*³¹ found that the directions of net migration switched from non-metropolitan deconcentration in the 1970s to metropolitan concentration in the 1980s and back to deconcentration in the 1990s. The causes of these shifts were thought to involve structural reconfiguration of economic activities and residential preferences that were tied more closely to quality of life considerations. Fulton and Fuguitt³² examined net migration reversals and found that in the 1970s there were gains and increased retention of the young and better educated in non-metropolitan areas, as occurred in parts of coastal eastern Australia.³³ During the 1980s, however, there were net migration losses in non-metropolitan areas of the USA especially among the young and better-educated.³⁴ In the 1990s, the overall pattern in the USA became one of non-metropolitan gains, or

reduced loss, with the greatest increases among high status groups which experienced the greatest declines in the 1980s.

Table 2: Net intrastate migration to the balance of NSW from Sydney statistical division 1971-76 to 1996-2001

Period	Persons aged over 5	% of base population
1971 - 76	-22,303	-0.81
1976 - 81	-35,516	-1.20
1981 - 86	-26,652	-0.87
1986 - 91	-65,880	-2.10
1991 - 96	-43,912	-1.30
1996 - 01	-32,410	-0.90

Source: internal migration matrix tapes, 1976, 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001 censuses.

Note: The turnaround is understated here because some of the peri-metropolitan turnaround occurs within Sydney statistical division (parts of Gosford, Wyong, Outer Blue Mountains, and Wollondilly and Hawkesbury SLAs)

There were also fluctuations in NSW in the 30 years from 1978. Some may relate to boom-bust sequences in Sydney's economy³⁵ and alternating tendencies for concentration and deconcentration of economic activity in Sydney and non-metropolitan NSW.³⁶ In the 1970s and 1980s, internal migration from Sydney was correlated with high rates of overseas migration to Sydney. These relationships were probably related to higher levels of economic growth in Australia and corresponding elevated levels of regional growth.³⁷ This apparent association with immigration lessened in the late 1990s when immigration increased and net internal migration losses to Sydney decreased. In contrast with the USA, the population turnaround never went into reverse, although there were substantial fluctuations (See Tables 2 and 3).

The reasons for the fluctuations in NSW were complex: changing age structures in metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas, family formation variations, workforce migrants arriving to provide services for earlier retirees, and cohort ageing of young people. Ageing in turnaround areas contributed to the lessening of net migration gains in the 1990s in two ways: first, return migration of some people aged over 75 to metropolitan areas to access higher order health services and to be near families; and second, many young persons born in the coastal zone reached school leaving age in the 1990s and moved out (Table 1). Migration flows from the metropolitan areas lessened in the late 1990s although those from inland areas continued.

The future?

Is the turnaround coming to a standstill? The answer is, no. Retirement migration has not ended and as the 'baby boom' generation goes into early old age, the volume of retirees could increase between 2006 and 2016, even if migration rates decline slightly. Second, the house cost differential between Sydney and turnaround areas is likely to continue, even though there were strong increases in house prices in coastal areas in the late 1990s. Third, migration of workforce age persons (and their families)

providing wider services will probably continue for some time. Fourth, patterns of economic growth in Sydney and other metropolitan areas are likely to be similar to those of the last ten years.

Table 3: Estimated total net migration in the NSW coastal zone by sub-region, 1971- 2001

Region	1971-76	1976-81	1981-86	1986-91	1991-96	1996-01	Total
Richmond-Tweed	11,900	19,250	13,950	21,790	17,290	15,400	98,680
Mid-North Coast	16,800	26,550	23,350	27,070	19,950	16,290	130,010
South Coast	9,360	16,100	15,050	20,410	14,100	13,450	88,470
Total	37,160	61,900	52,350	69,270	51,340	45,140	317,160

Source: Censuses-estimated resident populations: ABS vital statistics.

Note: Net migration was estimated by the vital statistics method.

Table 4: Population projections for population turnaround SLAs and percentages of persons aged over 65, 2001-2031

Region	Year				Per cent over 65		
	2001	2011	2021	2031	Change		
					2001-31	2001	2031
Mid Nth Coast/							
North Coast	461,320	533,530	592,770	650,530	189,210	20	36
South Coast	152,300	177,960	202,340	226,100	73,800	20	34
Peri-metropolitan	596,180	670,260	745,370	819,380	223,200	17	26

Note :Base data comprise estimated resident populations by age and sex, electronic delivery, ABS catalogue no.3235.1.55.001

Assumptions: 40 per cent of the population growth in metropolitan Sydney occurring within established areas as in 2001; net migration as in the 1990s.

Source: (1) Census, 2001;(2) Transport and Data Centre, NSW. Population Projections, 2001-31, Version 1.2; March, 2005, Department of Infrastructure, Planning and Natural Resources, NSW State Government, Sydney.

Table 4 summarises recent ABS population projections undertaken for the NSW Department of Infrastructure, Planning and Natural Resources. These SLA projections have been aggregated into three categories: the North and South Coastal regions; peri-metropolitan areas; and, scattered inland areas. Some peri-metropolitan growth is actually in the Sydney statistical division eg, Gosford, Wyong and the Blue Mountains, and others are on the Southern Highlands, in Kiama south of Wollongong and in the Lower Hunter. While rates of population growth on the coast are expected to decline over 30 years, the proportion of elderly will increase significantly, from the already elevated level of 20 per cent in 2001, compared with 12 per cent in Sydney, to around 36 per cent on the North Coast in 2031, compared with about 18 per cent in Sydney. The reasons for the marked increase of the elderly are threefold: continuing

retirement and pre-retirement migration; the ageing of the *in situ* population including those at present in the workforce who stay; and the net migration losses of school leavers and young adults. There could be variations in the proportion of over 65s from as low as 24 per cent in Nymboida and Byron to as high as 38 per cent in Tweed, Maclean, and Hastings Shires on the North Coast and Eurobodalla Shire on the South Coast.

The increase in the proportion of the elderly in the peri-metropolitan areas will be less than in coastal areas, because more younger and middle-aged migration has and will take place, and relatively less elderly migration. There could be variation from as low as 18 per cent in Wollondilly SLA to up to 30 per cent in Gosford and vicinity.

Discussion and conclusion

While Sydney was an important source of turnaround migrants, on the far South Coast, Melbourne and inland areas featured prominently; on the Mid-North Coast, Sydney was dominant followed by inland NSW; on the far North Coast, Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane have featured in migrant origins. This points to wider social and information networks in the migration process.

The turnaround was not a clear break from the past. Elites favoured particular localities for summer homes from the late 19th century, eg, Nelson Bay, Hawks Nest, Byron Bay and Shoalhaven Heads on the coast, and Leura, Bowral, Kurrabung and Dural in the peri-metropolitan region. Later, other holiday homes used in summer vacations led to some permanent residence in the 1950s and 1960s. Sample survey analysis³⁸ indicated that those in turnaround regions, irrespective of recent migration history, showed a lifetime of successive movements: interregional; to and from metropolitan areas and overseas; and less than 20 per cent of all adult interviewees grew up in turnaround areas.

However, there were some distinctive recent trends. First, the emergence of numerous small towns from bounded rural localities and 'rural balance' populations, as indicated in successive censuses from the late 1970s, especially on the North Coast. Second, new populations and growth in historic resource exploitation towns and in areas experiencing structural change in agriculture on the far North Coast, Bega Valley, and the Southern Tablelands. This involved rural-residential development, and intensive plantation agriculture in some instances (eg, the Byron-Ballina hinterland). Third, the emergence of important urban complexes of some size: Hastings Shire (Port Macquarie) and Coffs Harbour, which on conservative estimates are likely to exceed 100,000 and 90,000 people respectively, by 2031. The demand and supply of health and community services increased considerably, and with the ageing of populations in association with inadequate public transport in many coastal areas and less familial support, there will be issues with ageing populations in the future.

Has the turnaround meant social change? Some mobility was indirectly a consequence of the changing nature of generations in Australian society, their spacing and birth rate declines. Linked with this, over the last 40 years a significant proportion of the population, through increasing affluence, were able to exercise more locational and environmental choices in where to live. These choices were also available, to an extent, to the poor. Choice variations were greater than what may have been predicted from traditional economic models. Changing personal aspirations about life and livelihood were also involved and this was in part related to

rising real wages and social constructions of what were rural and beach milieux, and aesthetics of the sea, riverine or 'natural' environments. The migration may have reflected a declining need – with increased ease of communication such as the Internet - for face-to-face family ties and wider aspirations on the part of a much larger middle class, albeit a more differentiated one, than hitherto. Paradoxically perhaps, what emerged was a form of linear suburbanisation and a number of medium density residential developments. But in NSW at least the movement was about a strong *rejection* of high density residential environments,³⁹ conventional tourist developments (although not eco-tourism), and perceptions of crime and negative externalities in large cities. For some, cheaper housing costs in the context of high environmental amenity were drawcards, while for others senses of place-amenity for raising children or moderately active retirements were also attractive.



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South Australia – the ‘regional’ advantage

Ann Johnson

Introduction

Most people are aware of humanitarian and family migration and the benefits and issues associated with them. Communities also benefit greatly from the attraction of skilled and business migration. These migrants bring with them a range of attributes including: professional and business skills, capital, investments and savings as well as an optimistic and entrepreneurial attitude which serves to revitalise and enhance the community.

Graeme Hugo argues that with 23 per cent of its population being born outside Australia, the issue of where migrants settle in Australia is of considerable economic, social and demographic significance. Moreover, because migrants have increasingly concentrated in particular parts of the country, the impact of immigration is very uneven.¹ This impact is evident in the utilisation of services, accommodation, education and infrastructure, and places a greater demand on those areas in which migrants settle. It is understandable that migrants tend to settle where there are employment and business opportunities, where they have support (family or friends), a history of migration from their home country or where their community ties are strong, indicating the importance of support networks and settlement assistance in influencing the choice of destination.

The responsibility for developing the migration program for Australia and the eligibility criteria rests with the Commonwealth, currently undertaken by the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA). States and Territories do not have a direct role to play in setting these policies and do not have the power to select migrants outside of the criteria set by DIMIA.

However, from both the State and Commonwealth perspectives, as migrants and their children make up over 40 per cent of the national population, where they settle has an important impact on population distribution.² States therefore have a significant interest in where migrants settle – for South Australia, for example, a keen interest in attracting them; and for New South Wales, on the other hand, a long history of discouraging them from settling in Sydney. States have therefore sought a role in influencing where migrants settle.

South Australia's population share has decreased from 9.2 per cent in 1971 to 7.9 in 2001 and arrivals from overseas from 4.5 per cent in 1996 to 4.1 per cent in 2001. It is evident that South Australia does not receive anywhere near its population share of migrants. While traditionally, NSW, Victoria and Western Australia have received most of the migrants, Queensland has increasingly become significantly more attractive to migrants.³

The late 1990s saw a significant increase and renewed interest in regional development issues in Australia. Two major types of differing regional patterns were identified: one in the growing regional areas along the east coast, in the south east and in the peri-urban areas within and immediately beyond the commuting range of the largest cities; and another between the eastern mainland states and WA on the one hand and SA, Northern Territory and Tasmania on the other. The substantial and widening income gap and the population dimension brought about a strong perception of the need to arrest the flow of population out of these latter areas.⁴ Hugo argued

that State Government assistance to migrants could be highly effective in making that State a major destination for migrants, as it had been in the 50s and 60s.⁵

In May 1996, a working party on regional migration was established involving Commonwealth, and State and Territory, Ministers for immigration and multicultural affairs who examined ways to increase the proportion of migrants in regional Australia. Two initiatives were developed under what came to be known as the State Specific Regional Migration Schemes (SSRMS), which will be discussed later. These schemes were established to address population dispersal issues (and population deflection) as well as the diminishing of suitably qualified and experienced skilled labour to fill skilled vacancies.⁶

Linked to the SSRMS were the definitions of which jurisdictions could be included and which could opt out of participation. One definition of 'regional' excluded the major capital cities and areas such as the Gold and Sunshine Coasts, Newcastle and Wollongong, but included Melbourne. Another definition of 'regional' was 'regional or low population growth metropolitan area of Australia' which excludes the major capital cities but includes Adelaide, Darwin and Hobart. The significance of this inconsistency of definition will be demonstrated later.

South Australia

The ageing population of South Australia, the low fertility rate and the net migration loss to the State is widely acknowledged. The Government of South Australia moved towards the development of formal policies to address these issues. In March 2004, the State Government of South Australia launched 'Prosperity Through People – A Population Policy for South Australia'.⁷ 'The policy calls for joint government and community action to build a *'skilled, prosperous and sustainable South Australia that supports its people in their career, lifestyle, and settlement choices*. It is a policy for the State to aim at:

- Maintaining its current national population share;
- Effectively doubling its current population rate; and
- Achieving a population of 2 million by mid-century'.

The population policy identified net migration (international and interstate) as one of the three factors that determine population size and structure. The migration targets set were, by 2008:

- Increasing five-fold or better the number of business migrants;
- Doubling or better the intake of independent skilled migrants; and
- Increasing to at least 10 per cent the share of humanitarian migrants.

As migrants under the family categories are usually influenced by the residence of their sponsoring families, this group of migrants can be difficult to persuade to move to a particular jurisdiction. In addition, the Commonwealth Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) will be bringing in a two-stage visa for migrants sponsored by relatives under the Skilled Designated Area Sponsored (SDAS) category.

In the years leading up to 1997, industry leaders in SA brought to the Government's attention that candidates with suitable skills to fill vacancies were becoming scarce and that their businesses were being impeded through the lack of capacity for them to expand. Migration to South Australia had also been well below its population share.

In 1997, the Government of SA established a Task Force to look at other ways of alleviating this problem and attracting more migrants to the State. The outcome was the establishment of 'Immigration South Australia', a policy which aimed to attract skilled independent migrants (eg, subclass 136) who did not require sponsorship from family or State and could settle anywhere in Australia. It was decided at the time that this might be the group of migrants who could be persuaded to consider SA as a migration destination if appropriate services were available to help them settle, as this kind of migrant usually has no family or support in Australia. Migration under the independent skilled – subclass 136 category⁸ is dependent upon the principal applicant meeting DIMIA's basic criteria on age (under 45), possessing at least vocational English language skills and having a skilled occupation identified by DIMIA on their Skilled Occupations List (SOL). The 'Pass Mark' has varied over the years and was raised to 120 on 1 July 2004. These migrants are not sponsored by any Australian entity and are eligible to settle anywhere in Australia permanently. They and their family members (who have migrated with them) receive all the benefits of an Australian resident and can apply for citizenship if they wish after two years of residence.

Since then, much has been developed to foster this and other schemes as outlined below.

Current program

A continuous dialogue occurred between (DIMIA) and States/Territories (including Immigration SA) for the development of migration schemes in which States/Territories could participate, and therefore influence where the migrants settled. To this end, States worked with DIMIA to develop regional migration schemes aimed at dispersing migrants from the more populated areas of Sydney, Wollongong and Newcastle and the bigger capital cities.

SA has welcomed all the State-specific regional migration schemes developed by DIMIA and has been a major user since their inception.

Skilled migration

Regional Sponsored Migration Scheme

One of the first of these regional migration schemes was the Regional Sponsored Migration Scheme (RSMS). Through this option, employers could sponsor a suitably qualified candidate from overseas if the skills were not readily available within the local (SA) labour market. An employer would make a firm job offer to the candidate, of at least two years. The applicant would arrive and work for the employer for the duration of the contract or longer. Immigration SA's role was to certify that the skills were not readily available locally and that the positions could be filled from overseas. In some instances, evidence of labour market testing was necessary before certification was granted. The State now had some influence in bringing those with targeted skills into the State, and also having some power in keeping them.

The RSMS category is not points-tested and an applicant can be overseas, or already in Australia as the holder of a temporary visa. All areas of Australia have appointed Regional Certifying Bodies (RCB) except Brisbane, the Gold Coast, Newcastle, Sydney, Wollongong, Melbourne and Perth. RCB have the authority to ascertain that the position being filled cannot be filled by a suitably qualified candidate within their local labour market. This gave Adelaide, as a capital city, an advantage over Melbourne and Sydney.

In 2001, the policy was modified when visa cancellation was introduced. Candidates who did not make a genuine effort to complete the period of employment provided for under the two year employment contract offered, could have their visas cancelled. This strengthened the visa's capacity to retain the migrant in the desired jurisdiction and to achieve targeted skills needs.

South Australia's participation in the RSMS Scheme

RSMS	2004-05	2003-04	% Variation
Total number of cases Certified	505	264	91.29%
Total number of people represented by cases	1200	704	70.45%
Average salary	\$55,508	\$60,985	-8.98%

Regional 457 Visa

In 2002 the Temporary Regional 457 visa was introduced to assist regional employers who cannot meet skills shortages from the local labour market. Under the terms of this policy, employers who do not meet the minimum salary and skill level gazetted by DIMIA can seek exemption from these by applying to Immigration SA for certification of their nomination of suitably skilled overseas candidates to fill vacancies. This provides for lower thresholds to the general migration criteria and directs migrants to specific areas to meet specific skills needs. This option allows an employer to nominate a suitably qualified applicant (non-resident but in some instances may already be in Australia), on a temporary or even a working holiday visa. Similar conditions apply to the RSMS and form the pathway to a permanent visa if the applicant so desires. This visa category applies to the entire state of SA, including the capital, Adelaide.

South Australia's participation in the Regional 457 Visa

Regional 457 cases	2004-05	2003-04	% Variation
Total number of regional 457 cases certified	151	24	529.17%
Total number of people represented by cases	230	41	460.98%

State/Territory Nominated Independent Scheme

1997 also saw the introduction of another regional migration scheme. As a result of challenges within industry of not having suitably qualified personnel to fill skilled vacancies, the State/Territory Nominated Independent Scheme (STNI) was developed where State/Territory governments could nominate suitably qualified candidates who possess skills which were in demand or in shortage in their jurisdiction. To satisfy this criteria, applicants must:

- Satisfy DIMIA's basic requirements on age (under 45 years old), have vocational English and possess a skill that is on DIMIA's Skilled Occupations List (SOL);

- Nominate an occupation from the SOL which was also on that State's list of occupations in demand; and
- Remain in the nominating State for at least two years after arrival.

In conjunction with industry bodies and other relevant agencies such as recruitment consultants, a list of skills in demand has been developed through a skills audit, upon which nominations can be made. This list of skills in demand⁹ was to indicate occupations that are in demand or in shortage within a 12 – 24 month period. This list is reviewed every year to reflect any changes in the labour market requirements.

Monitoring reports over the years have indicated a steady retention rate of around 90 per cent which demonstrates that the objectives of the scheme - to address skills shortages and to disperse migrants away from the more populated areas - is working.

However, migrants under this category are at liberty to settle anywhere in Australia, although as part of the nomination process they agree to settle in their nominating State. This appears to be a loophole in this visa category as there are no cancellation provisions by DIMIA nor any formal monitoring done by DIMIA for migrants who do not settle in their nominating State. While the retention rate is high, as it becomes increasingly difficult for migrants to qualify for general permanent migration, this visa option may be utilised as an 'entry facility into Australia' for those who do not have a genuine desire to settle in the nominating State. Unfortunately this visa does not have the strength of the RSMS (above) in keeping migrants in the desired jurisdiction (ie, the State which has nominated them) as there are no visa cancellation provisions and no penalties if the migrant moves to another State. Migrants are advised, in all correspondence and information given, to maintain contact details with the Nominating State but there are no penalties for not doing so.

What may be perceived as a disadvantage for Adelaide and SA, is that Melbourne is also included by definition in the visa option and is a major competitor for migrants under this scheme. The advantage that SA has, however, is its efficient and streamlined processing procedures where applications are submitted electronically and a response (and often a decision) is usually received within two weeks' receipt of a full application. While SA is a major user of this scheme and received 44 per cent of all migrants under the scheme, Victoria still received 11 per cent more than SA of all migrants under this scheme in 2002-03. Tasmania is the only other State participating in this scheme (and received 4 per cent in 2002-03.)¹⁰

The Table below provides the number of cases (applicants) that Immigration SA nominated.

South Australia's participation in the STNI Scheme

STNI scheme	2004-05	2003-04	% Variation
Total number of cases nominated	1145	365	213.70 %
Total number of people represented by cases	3216	995	223.22 %
Total \$\$'S transferred	\$249,802,292	\$56,945,920	338.67 %

Skilled Independent Regional (Provisional) Visa

On 1 July 2004, the Skilled Independent Regional (Provisional) visa (SIR) was introduced by DIMIA. SIR is a two-stage visa process. The initial SIR visa is granted

for three years provided sponsorship is given by a State/Territory Government. After 2 years' residence and 12 months full time employment in a 'regional and low population growth metropolitan area of Australia', the applicant may apply for the permanent visa using one of these three visa options:

- Regional Sponsored Migration Scheme
- State/Territory Sponsored Business Owner
- State/Territory Nominated Independent Scheme (on-shore).

Principal applicants for the SIR visa are required to meet a 'Points Test' of at least 110. But from 1 July 2005, an additional 10 points was granted by DIMIA to applicants if they obtained sponsorship from a State/Territory Government. This essentially meant that those who achieved 100 or 105 points may be eligible for the SIR visa, provided they received State sponsorship.

While this visa option appears to be attracting a substantial number of migrants, there is still some uncertainty about the permanent visa stage. Migrants are concerned about any (as yet unknown) additional DIMIA criteria they may be required to meet at the second stage. They also have concerns about their eligibility for permanency if they are unable to secure employment in their nominated skilled occupation or indeed in any skilled occupation.

South Australia embraced this new visa as an opportunity to gain access to more skilled migrants and increase the State's population. In the first 11 months of operation, 1,317 cases have been sponsored under this visa, representing 3,137 people which is around 60 per cent of the total number of sponsorships provided nationally.

Skill Matching Visa Class/Skill Matching Data base

To provide States/Territories more access to migrants, DIMIA established the Skill Matching Visa Class where a potential migrant, who met the basic DIMIA criteria (Age, Skill and Vocational English Language), could apply for their details to be placed on this data base. When this scheme was first introduced, a fee of \$150 was charged, but as this did not attract the number of applicants expected, DIMIA withdrew the fee.

The advantage of this scheme was to provide States/Territories, who had access to the data base, names of potential migrants who could be invited to migrate to particular State, for example through the STNI scheme if their occupation was on that State's Occupations for State Nominations List. Employers also had access to limited details to seek possible candidates for vacancies that were difficult to fill from the local labour market. When the points for the Skilled Independent (Permanent) visa were raised to 120 and the SIR visa introduced, candidates on the Skill Matching Data base who had the required number of points were advised of the new visa and invited by DIMIA to consider the SIR visa option.

In SA's determination and readiness to bring more migrants to the State, Immigration SA has negotiated with DIMIA and is prepared to consider a nomination from an applicant who has 'Functional' English (which is an overall score of 4.5 in the International English Language Testing System). The applicants are required to pay a fee to upgrade their English skills when they arrive and they must have an occupation that is on the Occupations for State Nominations List so that the State can nominate them using the Skill Matching Visa Class option (subclass 134). Acceptance of a lower English language threshold gives SA an advantage over the other States. This

gives more migrants from non English speaking countries, who may have otherwise missed out on nomination because of language skills, a window of opportunity to be eligible to apply for migration.

On Arrival Services

As stated earlier, migrants tend to settle where their support systems are best. In the event of the lack of these supports, any other services available to them could act as an influencing factor in their choice of destination. The On Arrival Services (OAS) demonstrate SA's commitment to the attraction and successful settlement of migrants, and are unique to SA.

The On Arrival Services offered by Immigration SA to skilled migrants include:

- Meet and greet service - where a volunteer would transfer them upon their arrival to their accommodation and generally be an initial contact for them for information and settlement assistance.
- On arrival accommodation - where assistance is provided to secure pre-arranged accommodation.
- Migrant employment consultancy service - which is a one-on-one case management service to assist new migrants in achieving their employment objectives.
- Overseas qualifications assessment service - to obtain an Australian comparison of their (or their partner's) qualifications or advice about any registration or licensing requirements.
- Settlement orientation service - for information about settlement such as taxation, banking, Medicare, etc.
- Home ownership promotion which includes information about financial institutions in South Australia.

These services could act as *de facto* family support at a time when migrants are at their most vulnerable and it could be argued that the On Arrival Services may have brought into the State some families who may not have considered SA as their migration destination. While regular surveys of all arrivals indicate that the provision of these services has some level of influence in their choice of migration destination, figures of settler arrivals to SA were still not achieving an increase in migration generally, due to the State's net interstate migration loss. Since the inception of these services, SA has serviced 1767 families and individuals from over 80 countries. More had to be done to deliberately attract migrants to the State. The On Arrival Services were applicable to a limited group of people such as the skilled independent category, and these have now been broadened to attract and provide better settlement outcomes for migrants from other skilled categories. .

Advantages for students studying in Australia

The conversion of overseas students studying in Australia to permanent residents is strong. Annual data released by Australian Education International in February 2004 indicated an increase of 13.5 per cent (15,345) in the previous year which was double the national average of 6.41 per cent.¹¹ This is a significant source of potential migrants as it seems more likely that these graduates will choose to settle in the State where they have studied and established strong networks.

In 2002, overseas students who had completed the equivalent of 2 years study in Australia were able to apply for their permanent visa on-shore if they did so within six months of successfully completing their qualification. This increased the power of

States to harness the resident student population. While all overseas students studying in Australia receive points towards an Australian qualification, those who have lived and studied in 'regional or low population growth metropolitan area' of Australia (again, including the entire State of South Australia), can gain an extra 5 points, thus providing another advantage to studying in a regional part of Australia.

Skilled Designated Area Sponsored

This category is for people who have skills, and have a relative living in a designated area of Australia (as defined by DIMIA in Booklet 6) who is willing to sponsor them. These applicants must also meet the basic DIMIA criteria on age, skill and English language, nominate an occupation that is on DIMIA's Skilled Occupation List (SOL), but do not need to pass the Points Test. As all of South Australia is a 'designated area', any resident in and outside the metropolitan area may be eligible to sponsor a relative.

From 1 July 2006, this will commence as a two-stage visa process with a provisional three-year visa offered. After two years of living in the jurisdiction and 12 months of employment, the applicant can apply for a permanent visa. Given that Victoria received 66 per cent of all visas in this category and SA 10 per cent (second only to Victoria), it will be interesting to watch if any changes occur in the distribution of arrivals under this scheme.

Skilled - Australian Sponsored

Again, under this scheme, applicants have to meet the DIMIA basic criteria, nominate a skilled occupation from SOL, have a sponsor who is a relative and also have an assurer. While they do need to pass the Points Test, the SA advantage is that all of the State is included in this definition.

Business visas¹²

On 1 March 2003 DIMIA changed the structure of the Business Visas to include State participation. This was implemented to encourage better dispersal of business migrants and provided States and Territories with the mechanism to attract migrants by allowing direct involvement through sponsorship at both stages of the visa process. It also gave states the opportunity to select the types of business skills which are most relevant to their particular economies. Applicants must demonstrate business acumen and usually be under 55 years of age. However, States have the provision and authority to waive some of the criteria.

Three of the four business visa options involve a two-stage process, a provisional visa followed by a permanent visa, with State involvement at the provisional stage. State Sponsorship allows for a lower threshold and certain waivers on age and language if the State sees the applicant as contributing in a positive business manner.

State and Territory Sponsored Business Skills (Provisional)

This is a four-year provisional visa requiring the applicant to possess business and personal assets of \$250,000; with a current annual turnover of at least \$300,000 for 2 of the last 4 years or having held a senior management position for the last four years.

State and Territory Sponsored Senior Executive (Provisional)

This too is a four-year provisional visa that requires the applicant to possess business and personal assets of \$250,000 and be employed in one of the top 3 levels of a

major business for at least 2 years in the last four. These two visas convert at the permanent stage to the State and Territory Sponsored Business Skills visa where the business assets must equal \$75,000 or business and personal assets of \$250,000 and employ one Australian resident. The business must have an annual turnover of \$200,000 and the applicant must have been in Australia for at least 1 year in the last two.

State Sponsored Investor (Provisional)

This Provisional visa for four years has no English language requirement but the applicant must be under 55 years of age, possess business and personal assets of \$1,125,000, have a total of at least 3 years direct involvement in managing one or more qualifying businesses or eligible investments in the 5 year period prior to application. The applicant must have maintained management involvement and an ownership of at least 10 per cent with the total value of at least \$750,000. This visa converts to the State and Territory Sponsored Investor (Permanent) visa with the provisos of continuous investment of 4 years and residence in Australia at least 2 years in the last four.

Business Establishment Incentive Package for Business migrants

Again, recognising that migrants require assistance when investigating business suitability and in their settlement, Immigration SA developed a set of services to help business migrants prior to and upon arrival in the State. These include:

- Exploratory visit support – supports migrants in an exploration of possible business activity in the State by providing information and facilitating an initial visit;
- Networking and referral service – supports new business migrants to establish and expand their business in South Australia by providing referral to relevant information and assistance;
- Relocation service – provides assistance in relocation such as house hunting, enrolments of children into schools;
- Business orientation service - one-to-one training tailored to an individual's needs, delivered by the accredited training provider, Options Australia; and
- Industry consultancy subsidy - providing financial assistance to engage a consultant who will help the business migrant to develop his/her business to its fullest potential.

South Australia is on track to meet the objectives set out in the Population Policy, of increasing five-fold or better (to 600) the number of business migrants to the State. In 2004-05, SA provided sponsorships to 402 more business migrants than the previous year which reflects an increase of 85.71 per cent. Potentially, this will bring into the SA economy over \$1 billion in capital investments and the possibility of the creation of 2,602 new jobs.

Investor Retirement visa (Regional)

From 1 July 2005 Australia's temporary residence program included an Investor Retirement visa which brought in lower thresholds for those choosing to settle in 'regional or low population growth area' of Australia. The whole of South Australia falls in this category and is therefore able to offer sponsorship to applicants who have assets of \$500,000 instead of the \$750,000 required in the other mainland States, and with a lower net income stream. It appears that NSW will not be offering this visa option thereby giving the other States a better share.

Conclusion

Hugo¹³ supports the premise that these State Specific Regional Migration (SSRM) schemes have been instrumental in South Australia's ability to influence more migrants to come to the State; through the preparedness to provide sponsorship and nomination to suitable candidates and through the unique set of arrival services for both skilled and business migrants.

It is evident that while DIMIA has always maintained the necessity to protect the integrity of the Migration Program, they are prepared to lower the thresholds for people who wish to settle in the less 'popular' or densely populated areas. Hugo supports the view¹⁴ that these SSRMS will play a substantial role in attracting migrants who may not be able to qualify under the general migration criteria and who will need the concessions provided under the SSRMS to be able to qualify for migration.

In the Immigration Update 2003-2004 published by the Research and Statistics Section, DIMIA indicates a 30 per cent increase from the previous year of settler arrivals to South Australia, to 4,773.¹⁵ This, and the data provided above demonstrate that, if the current growth rate is maintained, South Australia is on track to meet the population targets set out in the Government of South Australia's Population Policy 2004.

Ann Johnson is currently the Assistant Director, Skilled Migration, at Immigration South Australia and has been working in the migration area since 1997. This article was written with assistance from Anna-Maria Carrera, Robyn Hansen, Sherrie Dix and Sunny Yang of Immigration SA.

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- ¹ Hugo, Graeme (2004). 'State Involvement in Immigration and Integration in Australia'. Paper prepared for workshop on Federated States and the Management of Immigration and Integration: Is Quebec A Model Or an Exception? International Metropolis Conference, Geneva, Switzerland, 27 Sept – 1 Oct 2004.
 - ² *Ibid.*
 - ³ Hugo (2004) *op cit.*
 - ⁴ *ibid.*
 - ⁵ *ibid.*
 - ⁶ *ibid.*
 - ⁷ Government of South Australia (2004). *Prosperity Through People – A Population Policy for South Australia* (March).
 - ⁸ Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) (2005). *Migration Booklet 6* (07/2005).
 - ⁹ Immigration website: <http://www.immigration.sa.gov.au/site/page.cfm?u=251>
 - ¹⁰ DIMIA (2003). *Distribution of State-specific and Regional Migration Outcomes by State of Intended Residence 2002-03*, Public Affairs.
 - ¹¹ Australian Education International website: <http://aei.dest.gov.au/AEI/MIP/Statistics/StudentEnrolmentAndVisaStatistics/Recent.htm>
 - ¹² Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) (2005). *Migration Booklet 7* (07/2005).
 - ¹³ Hugo (2004) *op cit.*
 - ¹⁴ *ibid.*
 - ¹⁵ DIMIA (2004). *Immigration Update – July to December 2004*. Research and Statistics Section.

Academy News

ASSA Annual Symposium

7 November 2005

Ideas and Influence: Social Science and Public Policy in Australia.

Can expert knowledge shape better futures? How should researchers relate to the policy community, where the interface between ideas and actions, or between the 'expert' and political influences on policy, must occur? A group drawn substantially from the Academy has been reviewing these questions and its work is to be published in conjunction with this event. This symposium—drawing on those reviews—will assess the capacity of the social sciences to address major social problems, and will explore how communication between researchers and policy makers might be improved.

The purpose of the Symposium will be to indicate how social science can help to address contemporary challenges in a range of policy areas, and to invite experienced members of the policy community to respond. All those attending will be encouraged to engage in the ensuing debate. We will highlight areas where social science has made a contribution and, where it has not, ask why it has not and what needs to be done to ensure that researchers can contribute more productively in the future. Our intention is not only to highlight the national benefit of properly supported research that facilitates advances in the social sciences, but also to establish the means for optimum interaction between the research and policy communities.

Presenters will include Academy Fellows Jon Altman, Ruth Fincher, Simon Marginson, John Quiggin, Peter Saunders and Jim Walter and the issues discussed will include economic liberalism, education and human capital, family policy, quality of life, indigenous issues, urban inequalities and more.

Cunningham Lecture

The 2005 Cunningham Lecture entitled '**Rethinking Australian Governance**' will be presented by Paul Kelly at the conclusion of the Annual Symposium on Monday 7 November.

Both the Symposium and the Lecture are open to the public.

Fellows' Colloquium

The 2005 Colloquium will consider:

'Should Australia have a Bill of Rights?'

and will be introduced by Hilary Charlesworth at University House on Sunday evening 6 November from 7.30 pm.

Research Program

ARC Linkage-Learned Academies Special Projects

A research proposal entitled 'Innovative Public Policy Through New Principles for Sharing Risk' developed by Bruce Chapman and Glenn Withers will be submitted as this year's application for special project funding in 2006.

Internal Migration Australian Mobility Beyond the Millennium

On 19 May project directors Martin Bell (University of Queensland), Graeme Hugo (University of Adelaide) and Peter McDonald (Australian National University) and key contributors engaged in this year's ARC Special Project held a workshop at the Academy. Contributors presented chapter outlines and a lively discussion ensued. Research findings will be presented at a Conference at ANU on 5-6 December. Fellows and others interested will be most welcome to attend.

Workshop Program

'Second Generation Migrants: Contesting definitions and realities' was the final workshop for 2005-2006 to be approved by the Workshop Committee. Convenors Dr Zlatko Skrbis (University of Queensland) and Associate Professor Loretta Baldassar (University of Western Australia), will convene the gathering at the University of Queensland on 1-2 November 2005. The workshop will focus on a largely overlooked area in migration studies, understanding the second and subsequent immigrant generations as a critical component of a comprehensive analysis of the migration process.

Forthcoming workshops: Further details at: www.assa.edu.au/workshop.

'How Organisations Connect: Investing in communication', convened by Professor Stuart Macintyre, Professor Simon Ville and Professor Gordon Boyce. Queensland University of Technology, 26-27 August 2005.

'Water Justice: Unlearning indifference in freshwater ecologies', convened by Professor Alison Mackinnon, Professor Rhonda Sharp, Dr Deborah Bird Rose and Dr Phil Cormack. Adelaide, 9-10 September 2005.

'Reinventing Gender Equality and the Political'. Dr Toni Schofield and Associate Professor Carol Bacchi will convene this workshop at the University of Sydney, Sydney, 29-30 September 2005.

'HIV/AIDS, Fragile States and Human Security' convened by Professor Dennis Altman and Dr Michael O'Keefe. La Trobe University, 20-21 October 2005.

'Taking Care of Work and Family: Policy Agendas for Australia'. Dr Marian Baird and Associate Professor Gillian Whitehouse will convene this workshop at the University of Sydney, 17-18th November 2005.

Workshop publications:

Steve Clarke and Justin Oakley (eds) (2005 forthcoming). *Informed Consent and Clinical Accountability: the Ethics of Auditing and Reporting Surgeon Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

S Marasco, J Ibrahim, and J Oakley (forthcoming). 'Public disclosure of surgeon-specific report cards: Current status of the debate', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Surgery*.

M Simms and J Warhurst (eds) (2005 forthcoming). *Mortgage Nation: the 2004 Australian Elections*. API Network and Curtin University of Technology, API Network.

John Martin and Robyn Eversole (eds) (2005 forthcoming). *Participation and Governance in Regional Development*. Aldershot (UK): Ashgate.

Australian Women Facing the Future: Is the Intergenerational Report Gender Neutral? Special issues, *Just Policy*, Edition 35, February 2005.

Wilson, S, Meagher and G Houghton (2005). *Ethics and Auditing*. ANU E-Press.

P Grimshaw, J Murphy and B Probert (eds) (2005). *Double Shift: Working mothers and social change in Australia*. Melbourne: Melbourne Publishing Group.

Learning Communities: International Journal of Learning in Social Contexts, 2, December 2004. An outcome from 'The Potential Role of Social Capital in Alleviating Persistent Poverty' workshop.

International Program

2005 Applications for International Programs

Closing dates for funded projects in 2005-06: Australia-Netherlands Exchange, 15 August, 2005; Australia-India Exchange, 20 September, 2005; Australia-Britain Special Joint Project Funding, 30 September, 2005.

Australia-Vietnam Exchange Program

An exchange agreement between ASSA and the Vietnamese Academy of Social Sciences (VASS) has now been signed. It is anticipated that discussions will continue between the two Academies with a view to nominations for the exchange program being sought in the financial year 2005-06.

Australia-China Exchange Program

Professor Stephanie Fahey, Director of the Research Institute for Asia and the Pacific at the University of Sydney undertook an Australia-China International Exchange for two weeks in Beijing from 1-15 July 2005. She was based in the Institute of Sociology of CASS. The purpose of the Exchange was to explore the Sino-Japan relationship as

seen by the younger generation and to explore the role of the internet and mobile phone technology in shaping their views. The street demonstration of students in April 2005 was used as a case study for the research. Professor Fahey conducted interviews with colleagues at CASS in several Institutes, with academics from other Universities, staff of Japanese companies, and students from several universities. Published materials in Mandarin and English were also gathered as secondary sources. Discussions over the internet were also monitored.

A paper titled 'Generational Change in China: Sino-Japanese relations, the role of the internet and the State' was drafted based on the research findings. This paper will be presented at an appropriate forthcoming conference and published in an international journal.

The paper confirms that the relationship between China and Japan soured during the 1990s but has worsened quite suddenly over the past few years. The tension is strongly articulated by the 'twenty and thirty somethings' especially over the internet. The internet has given rise to 'internet opinion' which is monitored closely by the Chinese Government. For the first time in history, the Chinese Government must consider public opinion in the negotiations of its international relations. Failure to manage both the internal as well as external pressure could result in the loss of legitimacy of the Chinese Government.

The collaboration, network of contacts, local expertise and language assistance provided by the Chinese Academy was invaluable. The research established the foundations for a larger-scale study. It is intended to establish a broader based and on-going research project on this topic with collaborators from CASS as well as the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences.

During her visit, Professor Fahey also met with the Foreign Relations Office of CASS and discussed the renewal of the University of Sydney and CASS Memorandum of Understanding which is due to expire in December, 2005. The new agreement, which it is anticipated will be signed on 3 September 2005 in Beijing, will provide an umbrella agreement for staff and student exchange as well as collaborative research.

Australia-Netherlands Exchange Program

In the last edition of *Dialogue* (24, 1/2005) a report on a visit to The Netherlands was wrongly attributed to Dr Sonia Mycak. The error was that of the Editor, who humbly apologises to Dr Mycak and to the scholar whose research visit had already been reported in an earlier issue. Dr Mycak's report follows.

Dr Sonia Mycak, ARC Research Fellow, Editor of *Australian Canadian Studies*, Department of English, The University of Sydney, visited The Netherlands late in 2004. The aim of the visit was to meet researchers who are engaged in the empirical and institutional study of literature. Empirical and institutional approaches are not common in Australia. Key centres of such study are located in the Netherlands, as are prominent scholars whose work is seminal in this field. My aim was to meet these leading scholars, learn of their research projects first hand, and ask their guidance in applying the research principles to the study of Australian literature. I hoped to establish connections for future work.

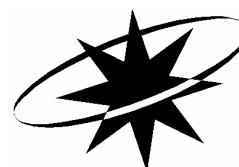
I began by attending the 6th conference of the European Sociological Association (ESA) Research Network for the Sociology of the Arts, held at Erasmus University in

Rotterdam. After the conference, I visited the Department for the Study of the Arts and Culture at Erasmus University Rotterdam; the Marketing and Sociology of Books section of the Faculty of Arts at Tilburg University; the Faculteit der Letteren at Frye Universiteit Amsterdam; and the Faculty of Arts at Utrecht University.

I was able to achieve all my aims, and had very productive meetings with Professors Susanne Janssen, Nel van Dijk and Wouter De Nooy (Erasmus); Kees van Rees (Tilburg); Dick Schram (Frye); and Els Andringa (Utrecht). These scholars were generous with their time and their guidance has been invaluable. They freely shared their expertise, and offered to liaise with me in the future as my own work proceeds. Presenting a paper at the conference convened by Prof Dr Susanne Janssen afforded me the opportunity to meet researchers in the wider European network.

All the scholars I met seemed to appreciate Australian interest in their work, and expressed the desire to maintain links. I will continue to communicate with them, in the hope of our working together in the future.

My trip to the Netherlands was a great success. I could not have learnt as much or made personal connections without travelling there in person. Despite the short duration of the visit (14 days), the connections I made will be ongoing. For this I wish to thank both the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia and the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences. At all stages arrangements ran very smoothly, and I am especially indebted to Dr John Robertson of the Academy in Australia, and Professor Kees van Rees of Tilburg University who coordinated my visit. (sonia.mycak@arts.usyd.edu.au).



Reports from Workshops

Aborigines, Culture and Economy

Diane Austin-Broos

The project, convened by Diane Austin-Broos and Gaynor Macdonald, was to bring together Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars, anthropologists and other social scientists in the discussion of rural and remote Aboriginal communities. The focus was on culture and economy, on both the ways in which Indigenous innovation has contributed to economy, and also the ways in which social and locational disadvantage, and issues of cultural conflict, contribute to a serious decline in living conditions and life chances in most remote communities. The Workshop was run over two days on 2-3 December 2004. There were five panels and twenty-one participants. A small number of observers attended. An e-publication of the Workshop proceedings – 'Culture and Economy in Aboriginal Australia' - will be issued by University of Sydney Press (www.sup.usyd.edu.au).

Introduction

Australia's Indigenous citizens live in a wide variety of circumstances across both rural and urban Australia. Increasingly, their location is an urban and peri-urban one. Nonetheless, rural and remote Aborigines comprise a sizeable number, around 140,000 in an Indigenous population of 460,000. Many reside on their countries and many have received land rights in the past 25 years. For most, engagement with a cash economy has been quite recent and brought with it expanding institutional links beyond an immediate locale. Made 'remote' because their regions' lack interest for the national economy, or because previous industries have waned with rural recession, these Australian citizens are confronted with the dual challenge of cultural difference and rapid change. Among the latter, is marked population growth within remote communities that have relatively little net out-migration.

This circumstance embodies an explosive situation in which young people pass from youth to adulthood in increasingly large cohorts with little education and few job prospects. Notwithstanding some variation between the positions of women and men, the overall situation is distressing and fuels tense gender and family relations. For most young adults, 'make work' and welfare policies have been unable to support desired levels of well-being. Moreover, this circumstance can also obscure the relevance of literate education when avenues for using education and trade skill are reduced in a limited labour market. As a consequence, both children and parents struggle to make education a priority.

Recently, these conditions have been the topic of debate in a range of popular publications that began with Noel Pearson's *Our Right to Take Responsibility*. His work and that of others have focused on the issues of welfare, demoralisation in communities and extreme poverty. Pearson and others point to the need and desire for industry in remote communities where the current policies of government welfare transfers have not produced the types of result that many hoped for.

In this debate, a striking feature is the relative lack of information that most people have concerning rural and remote Aborigines: their histories, past and present engagements with the Australian economy, along with the cultural commitments that they retain. Too often churchmen have attributed Indigenous poverty and demoralisation to individual weakness. On the other hand, some anthropologists and other social scientists have treated these issues as lacking relevance to a politics of difference. Yet life-long welfare dependency affects Indigenous Australians just as much as it does non-Indigenous Australians. It undermines local authority, material well-being and social-moral coherence. None of these can flourish in conditions of declining literacy, unemployment, poor health, poor housing, and community and domestic violence.

Therefore the Workshop had three aims: (1) to stipulate the circumstances of remote Aborigines in some detail and (2) to provide some analyses of economic and administrative futures. A third aim of the Workshop was (3) to isolate some central themes relevant to future anthropological research and, where appropriate, to make some general recommendations bearing on critical debate and policy formation. The convenors' view has been that, notwithstanding the work of the Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research (CAEPR) at the Australian National University (ANU), a focus on land rights has drawn the attention of anthropologists in universities away from these other, equally pressing concerns. If land rights for a time promoted living remote, the resource and human capital implications of this need to be addressed. The following report references the aims of the Workshop.

(1) Conditions among remote Indigenous Australians: Workshop panels 1, 2 and 4

Three panels directly addressed Indigenous contexts, past and present (Aim 1). 'A History of Initiatives' reviewed Indigenous engagements with the Australian economy. 'Indigenous Disadvantage' addressed dimensions of inequity imposed by remoteness, economic circumstance and various discriminations, while 'Education and Community Governance' looked at issues of households, education and community among remote groups.

Nic Peterson (ANU) provided an overview of Indigenous transitions from small hunter-gatherer groups, through missions and pastoral stations, to the payment of award wages and full inclusion in a modern cash economy. He noted the marked difference between forms of work, labour organisation, and distribution that obtained between a cash economy and the former domestic economies. The magnitude of change involved in the relatively recent transition to full cash economy has meant, in Peterson's view, a divergence between 'life projects' and 'development projects.' These value conflicts are likely to abate only when remote Aborigines become more engaged with commodity consumption, extended employment and saving. At the same time this will mean quite extensive change in forms of Indigenous sociality. It is therefore not surprising that residents of remote Indigenous communities hesitate. *Every route that presents itself has a significant cost.*

Professor Howard Morphy (ANU) and Dr. Robert Levitus (ANU) presented two perspectives on this tension in values. Howard Morphy noted that the industry of Aboriginal fine art brings wealth and standing not only to members of remote communities but also, through its contribution to tourism, to Australia and the national economy. He underlined that the wellspring of this genre is customary law, the radical modification of which will also change the nature of its art. In short, the reproduction

of traditional culture is here central to value creation that, among other things, constitutes economy. Robert Levitus, on the other hand, discussed the history of the Gagudju Association in northern Arnhem Land. An innovative initiative in self-management of royalties that enjoyed a decade of success, the organisation eventually collapsed under the burden of variable income, and conflicting individual and institutional demands. Worse, administrators of Aboriginal affairs seemed to learn little from this dramatic rise and fall. David Trigger (University of Western Australia) presented the final paper in this panel. He provided an assessment of mining industry initiatives to develop more consistent participation by young Indigenous workers at industrial sites. He observed that the relevant anthropological literature holds insights that can facilitate this process. The panel show-cased the involvement of remote Aborigines in a variety of sites linked with the national economy. It underlined that *market values and other social values often lack integration in remote communities with limited waged employment.*

Alan Cass (University of Sydney) opened the panel on 'Indigenous Disadvantage' with a discussion of Indigenous health that took renal disease as its focus. He underlined the interactions between kidney disease and diabetes and cardiovascular complaints not to mention other forms of chronic disease that feed into extremely high rates of premature adult mortality. Alan Carr noted that chronic disease epidemiology tends to focus only on individual attributes. He discussed ways in which the extreme conditions of Indigenous health are driving advances in an alternative 'life-course' approach that identifies *'pathways between disadvantage and the human biological processes which culminate' in disease.* Janet Mooney (University of Sydney) followed with a discussion of Indigenous educational disadvantage nationwide. She stressed the close link between ill-health and poor education. She also underlined that improving the learning environment for Aboriginal children needs to be a priority especially where children are learning alongside non-Indigenous classmates and teachers. Like Alan Cass, she noted the importance of effective communication between service providers and Aboriginal people that will support a confident desire for better outcomes. *Both papers raised issues concerning effective service delivery to Indigenous Australians.*

Boyd Hunter (ANU) discussed the knotty issue of measuring discrimination against Indigenous people in the Australian labour force. He adopted Nielsen's approach that measures the average differential in employment for a population not explained by differences in that population's characteristics. This differential can be called 'potential discrimination.' Boyd Hunter located potential discrimination in inhibited Indigenous ability to find a job, rather than in depressed Indigenous wages. Notwithstanding some variation, he found also that *potential discrimination is high for both the private and public sectors.* Like Alan Cass and Janet Mooney, he noted the inter-related dimensions of Indigenous disadvantage: 'social alienation feeds into substance abuse, which leads to crime, which affects education and hence employment.'

Bettina Cass (University of Sydney) concluded this panel discussion on disadvantage with a consideration of *whether or not the tenets of liberal citizenship actually have been realised for Indigenous Australians.* She contested the view that a Marshallian tradition of citizens' rights excludes issues of obligation among citizens. However, the definition of these obligations for Indigenous citizens has shifted over time. Prior to

1966 when most exclusions were repealed, pension rights had rested on criteria of civilisation that 'nomadic or primitive' people were deemed unable to meet. This shift from difference to equity took another turn with the introduction of Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) specifically designed for capacity-building and community development in Indigenous locales (see also Sanders, below). Bettina Cass contested the view that this initiative, addressing past exclusions, has involved a transgression of mutual obligation.

The final panel to address remote conditions, 'Education and Community Governance,' turned specifically to issues of contemporary culture and remote communities. Tess Lea (Northern Territory University) provided a retrospective comment on *Learning Lessons*, a review of Indigenous education for the Northern Territory government that she co-authored with Bob Collins. Her focus was on the interface between the education bureaucracy and communities. Tess Lea traced the reluctance in departmental circles to define issues of educational delivery in direct and assessable ways thereby frustrating sustained, effective action. Jerry Schwab (ANU) discussed recent policy initiatives by the current federal government for remote Indigenous youth who reach secondary level. However, his focus was on the more numerous early school leavers unlikely to qualify for these programs. With regard to this group, he discussed two recent policy developments, 'communities of practice' and 'Indigenous learning communities'. Like Janet Mooney's, these papers underlined that *effective delivery of educational skills rests on locating their significance for all the participants involved*.

Diane Smith (ANU) discussed the organisation of Indigenous households in remote communities. She stressed factors of 'distributed parenting and shared childcare,' crucial for managing income difficulties in households with a heavy burden of childhood dependency. Whilst this extended family form can work effectively, Diane Smith noted that it also has a capacity to marginalise care and disadvantage affected children. Her analysis of this household and family form was especially illuminating in the context of discussions of why it is that (individual) parents do not necessarily 'own' formal education as a project for their children. *Successful schooling needs to be considered in the context of household adaptation*.

Finally, in this panel, David Martin (ANU) discussed community organisations as sites of intercultural engagement. His central point was that *organisations that address internal, local and often informal forms of accountability also address more ably issues of external accountability*. In short, organisations that work well do so because those involved have learnt to integrate different forms of value. These papers moved across a number of different sites - government agencies, community schooling, households and community organisations. They showed that remote community life today involves a range of different engagements with state and federal structures. Although these encounters often produce conflicting procedures, there is also scope for effective change.

(2) Economic futures and national institutions: Workshop panels 3 and 5

The final panel on each day of the Workshop contained papers which addressed economic prospects for remote communities and economically relevant institutions at the national level (Aim 2). 'Economic Futures' (day one) presented three different analyses of Indigenous remote economy while 'Institutions and Economy' (day two) addressed the role of public policy and national governance in Indigenous lives.

John Taylor (ANU) presented a case study of the East Kimberley region and the impacts of some possible trajectories for the Argyle Diamond Mine (ADM) and the Ord River Scheme Stage II proposal. Owing to the importance of mining and irrigated agriculture in the area, a decision not to extend these projects would have major effects. In his preliminary remarks, John Taylor noted that many remote communities were established 'without a formal economic base'. Moreover, currently most of these communities are not demonstrating the demographic transition that would lead to migration and extensive engagement with market economy. At the same time, between 1996 and 2001, the only growth in remote Indigenous employment came through the CDEP. Within the same period, Indigenous mainstream employment actually fell, as did the rate of Indigenous labour force participation. John Taylor noted the successes in Indigenous employment recorded by Rio Tinto through ADM. On the other hand, likely trajectories for ADM and Ord Stage II involve job loss without replacement for the non-Indigenous population with knock-on effects for local Aborigines. John Taylor calculated the large number of additional jobs required in the region by the year 2016 to maintain current Indigenous employment/population ratios (inclusive and exclusive of CDEP). To raise the Indigenous mainstream ratio to a level that equals that of non-Indigenous residents would be a further, mammoth, task. Concluding, Taylor drew attention to two additional factors, the poor levels of enrolment among the East Kimberley school age population and the need to encourage, where possible, 'customary economic activity.' He observed '*A serious economic development problem has emerged whereby a large section of the Indigenous adult population [is] overly-dependent on transfer payments, structurally detached from the labour market, and ill-equipped to engage it.*'

Jon Altman (ANU) focused his remarks on a model of 'hybrid economy.' He noted that in many policy recommendations flowing from federal agencies, *a commitment to equity and education is not supported by policy detail* concerning either the expansion of remote employment, or the cultural and communal implications of large scale Indigenous migration to cities. Owing to factors outlined by Taylor, Jon Altman observed that the future for many remote communities would continue to involve heavy reliance on government transfers. This circumstance in turn suggests that remote communities will need to forge their own local articulations between federal agencies with their transfers, customary activity and viable market activities. These 'three sector economies' or 'hybrid' economies reflect both the strengths of local communities and their externally imposed constraints. As an example of hybrid economy, Jon Altman cited Maningrida's Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation (BAC), 'a complex organisation that operates simultaneously as a community-governed outstation resource agency, a CDEP organisation, a social services delivery agency and a regional development agency.' Altman noted that a thriving local fine art industry is integral to BAC's success, as is the quality of its senior management.

Bob Gregory (ANU) underlined the particularity of remote Indigenous communities: Where most people rendered marginal to market activity migrate to more favourable locales, remote Aboriginal people seem to resist this course. In contrast to Altman, Bob Gregory emphasised that *improving Indigenous well-being requires that 'the rate of successful out-migration should increase'*. In turn, this requires that the '**increasing** inability to access higher levels of mainstream employment' needs to be addressed. Bob Gregory noted that remote Aboriginal people face an 'economy-wide movement of labour demand away from the fulltime employment of unskilled' males. Moreover,

this circumstance has been magnified by the failure of previous policy, including CDEP, Intensive Assistance and Job Network to make an impact on Indigenous levels of transition to mainstream employment. The rapid growth of an Indigenous economic elite places in sharp relief the circumstance of the unskilled and semi-skilled who live remote.

Bob Gregory noted *the current policy vacuum in areas concerning Indigenous transitions from income support to mainstream employment* and, like John Taylor, observed that the outlook for remote Indigenous Australians is bleak. Measures that could have some impact were also unpopular with governments including the creation of 'more jobs for the unskilled' and employment quotas tied to Indigenous population growth. Nonetheless, he underlined that the emphasis should be on mainstream employment and out-migration and not simply on continuing government transfers. Bob Gregory wrote 'I don't believe . . . that remote communities, as an isolated enclave depending largely on welfare payments and [a] few links to mainstream employment outside the community, will be able to provide health outcomes and living standards closely approximating that of the Australian community.'

The final panel on day two of the Workshop addressed economically relevant institutions and policy-making at the national level. Will Sanders (ANU) discussed *the role of difference and different treatment, as opposed to equality and 'sameness of treatment' in social security policies* affecting Indigenous Australians. He noted that, initially, difference had been deployed to exclude Aboriginal people from unemployment benefits. Many (but not all) remote Aborigines did not have work histories. Many (but not all) remote Indigenous people could not be available for work in circumstances where there was no labour market. In time, the exceptions to these rules led to the uniform extension of unemployment benefits to remote Aborigines (see also Bettina Cass above). In turn, the fact that the majority of adults in these communities would require these benefits - another difference to non-Indigenous communities - led to the fashioning of CDEP. Its payments were made not directly to individuals but rather to individuals via community councils that managed local work projects. These and other features of the CDEP scheme led to it being administered by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs rather than the Department of Social Security.

Tim Rowse (ANU) discussed the rise of Indigenous corporations more generally including their various functions and powers. He argued that this complex of several thousand organisations is appropriately described as an '*Indigenous Sector*.' Tim Rowse noted that 'the emergence of a professional-managerial cadre of workers' within the Indigenous Sector is an important component in Indigenous critiques of the terms in which their citizenship has been conferred. Referencing David Martin, he suggested that the legitimacy of these organisations now rests not so much on customary appropriateness, but rather reflects the 'cultural mission' of an Indigenous administrative class with an 'ethic of service.' Tim Rowse proposed that *even with the demise of ATSIC, an Indigenous Sector will endure and have impact in the policy domain*.

The last two speakers were representatives of this Indigenous Sector. Larissa Behrendt (University of Technology Sydney) questioned an approach to Indigenous affairs based on a 'measure of need' that prioritises rural remote communities over urban ones. Alternatively, she proposed that the focus should be on '*socio-economic issues in urban and rural centres [that lead to] increased social problems*.' She noted the rapid increase in incarceration of Indigenous women from both rural and urban

communities, and the cycles of poverty and violence in which these women and their children are often involved. At the same time, Larissa Behrendt cautioned against a return to 'old style mainstreaming,' noting its inability to target specific issues that arise in Aboriginal communities. She therefore rejected the 'either/or' dichotomy of practical reconciliation and rights. She noted current popular references to the Harvard Project on American Economic Development. Although the Native American status of 'domestic dependent nations' allowed forms of development and tax-exemptions not available in Australia, some aspects of the Harvard Project pertaining to good governance were relevant.

Mick Dodson (ANU) underlined *the need for appropriate integration rather than assimilation of Indigenous peoples within Australian society*. Inevitably this would involve the development of forms of governance within communities that could support sustainable development. Mick Dodson queried the degree of attention to detailed policy-making in current proposals for 'practical reconciliation.' How does one construct an economy, especially in remote regions? Where the current emphasis of federal government was on local engagements and avoidance of debate at the national level, Mick Dodson underlined the importance of genuinely effective dialogue between industry, government and Indigenous leaders. Given the daunting future in many communities, the responsibilities of Indigenous people are emphasised. However government bureaucracies also need to reflect on their own, enduring responsibilities and the quality of their interactions with Indigenous people.

(3) Discussion

In the course of panel presentations and the subsequent roundtable discussion, a set of related issues emerged. The issues can be described in terms of a number of tensions between the various analyses and proposals for remote communities.

- (a) *Poverty versus cultural conundrum*: Are the poor living conditions and often poor administration of remote communities due mainly to economic marginality and poverty or to specific dimensions of Indigenous lives? Some anthropologists argue that Indigenous responses to marginality that involve wide distribution of resources through networks, rather than individual accumulation, conflict with values required for small business or for regular participation in the labour market. Yet is this conundrum different from comparable ones faced by marginalised populations in other regions of the world? Some Indigenous individuals and families resolve these issues, and in a variety of ways. Understanding that both conflicts and forms of resolution fall within a range provides a more nuanced understanding of Indigenous experience.
- (b) *Customary versus modern remoteness*: While it is clear that ritual attachments to country and regional social relations have encouraged many Indigenous Australians to remain remote, it is also the case that resource distribution away from communities and towards outstations has discouraged literate education, employment and out-migration. Lack of social connections and fear of racism in large population centres are additional contemporary rather than customary factors bearing on reluctance to migrate either for education or work.
- (c) *Out-migration versus local economy*: Though future policy responses to remote Indigenous communities perforce will involve a policy mix - the need for major government transfers will not end soon - different analyses provide different emphases. Altman underlines that a lack of alternatives (in the absence of

migration), and desire for cultural continuity, place the onus on local economies with a major centralised, administrative component (community council, CDEP, etc). On the other hand, Gregory argues that this form of contemporary local economy is unlikely to provide levels of health, education and general well-being acceptable for citizens of the nation state. There are numerous dimensions to this focal issue including the following three:

- i. Are local economies sustainable without a major growth in local small business involving incentives both for employers and employees?
 - ii. Will remote Aboriginal people become savers and consumers without changes in the status of Aboriginal lands – ie, allowing long term leases for small businesses and home ownership?
 - iii. Is out-migration inevitably one-way? Other marginalised groups sustain combinations of one-way and circular migration accompanied by remittances to the home community.
- (d) *Human capital development versus governance*: It is notable that a majority of participants in the Workshop accepted that the economies of remote communities would be administered or command economies. Therefore there were more reflections on good governance than on effective routes to increased human capital for individuals. If the mid- to longterm future for these communities involves government transfers and attention to governance this should not be at the expense of research on and instigation of best practice strategies in local education. A new initiative from the Federal and Northern Territory governments on educational and other service deliveries should see funding for remote education increase (*Australian Financial Review*, 31/3/2005: 3). However, the hiatus in educational policy and practice remains.
- (e) *Education versus jobs and families*: A central issue is whether or not there can be significant improvements in Indigenous education, and the housing, health and family commitment that education requires, without more employment for remote Indigenous people. Continuous employment and the possibilities it opens give schooling meaning to children and their parents. While Gregory suggests that more jobs are required for remote Aborigines, he is sceptical that either federal party in power would be prepared to acknowledge Indigenous difference in this way. Policies that provide initiatives to remote small business and for contract employment outside communities are an integral part of addressing the relations between families and educational outcomes.
- (f) *Local versus national strategies*: Are the current federal government's aspirations to localise Indigenous affairs viable or is a peak policy body required in order to integrate a set of appropriate regional strategies? Does the existence of effective peak Indigenous organisations entail an Indigenous Sector in Rowse's sense? Mick Dodson's call for integration rather than assimilation seems to suggest a properly resourced peak Indigenous policy group without the cultural and political sectionalism that Rowse seems to favour. With a peak body for policy instigation and co-ordination, Indigenous service delivery can be realised appropriately through regular departments.
- (g) *Economy versus culture*: Debates about the relevance or irrelevance of issues of cultural specificity in development are common. Often overlooked in these debates is the issue of the way in which populations *become* specific through the

intersection of their regional/cultural circumstance and economic marginality. People draw on their immediate institutional repertoire in order to find viable responses to new conditions. Some of these responses ameliorate emerging pathologies while others exacerbate them. In either case, understanding these responses is crucial to effective Indigenous policy formation in remote communities.

Ultimately, all of the above are false dichotomies and yet they highlight the intractable issues that rural and remote Indigenous communities face along with those who formulate policy for them. A central fact that emerged from the Workshop was the degree of polarisation around central issues, a counterpart to different views in Australian society at large. This polarisation may reflect most the fact that easy solutions are not available. The following general comments pertain to research and critique as much as they do to general issues underpinning policy.

Comment I: Like a sector of the larger population, anthropologists need to acknowledge that the outstation movement in particular has resource implications that act against remote Indigenous Australians acquiring the human capital they need for engagement with market society. Economists, on the other hand, need to address the fact that remote Indigenous reluctance to migrate can involve factors of a customary and contemporary nature over and above recent patterns of resource distribution.

Comment II: Given the immediate to mid-term futures of most remote communities, the focus must be on policy mix. The level, forms and combinations of government transfers, employment and human capital development will need to be adjusted across different regions and communities.

Comment III: Proposals to discontinue CDEP and other comparable schemes that acknowledge the high life-long levels of unemployment in remote Indigenous communities should be confronted with the demand to furnish alternative effective policies. If strategies for local managed economies are curtailed, this process should be accompanied by more ambitious initiatives regarding employment incentives and the acquisition of relevant human capital. A policy vacuum should not be the outcome of curtailing CDEP or other like strategies.

Comment IV: Given a history of exclusion, neglect and ineffective policies in the past, the need for a properly resourced peak Indigenous policy group is clear.

Failure to furnish and activate more effective Indigenous policy at the state, territory and federal levels in its effects currently involves the denial of fundamental human rights for rural and remote Indigenous Australians.



The 2004 Australian Election

Marian Simms and John Warhurst

The Workshop was sponsored by the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, the Australian National University, and the University of Otago, as part of an ongoing project covering Australian Federal elections. Professor Marian Simms, Head of Political Studies, University of Otago is the senior editor for the project, and Professor John Warhurst, Political Science in the Arts Faculty at the Australian National University (ANU) is the co-editor. They were convenors for the Workshop. Sonya Welykyj, from the School of Social Science in the Arts Faculty, ANU provided valuable administrative assistance.

Background

This team of academics and practitioners has worked together on the three previous elections. The team includes academics, Party directors and leaders, and is regularly updated to include new members and issues. For example, included as new topics for discussion in 2004 are Independent candidates and Members of Parliament, the Internet, and the revival of religion and moral values, such as trust. The guiding principle has remained the same; that the project respects the importance of the States and regions in the federal elections, and acknowledges the importance of the practitioners' viewpoints in the post-election analysis. It has also included empirical analysis from the Australian Election Study.

We are grateful for support from the Academy of the Social Sciences, which provides acknowledgement of the intellectual importance of the post-election workshop in the Australian intellectual-cultural landscape. Ongoing support has also been offered by Richard Nile as a series editor for the University of Queensland Press. In his capacity as head of the Australian Public Intellectuals Network he has agreed to publish the manuscript that emerged from the election workshop. We have provided the book's details below.

The previous two books, edited by Marian Simms and John Warhurst, namely *Howard's Agenda: the 1998 Australian Election*, and *2001: The Centenary Election*, were given excellent reviews in academic and generalist outlets, testifying to their quality. This series is now widely seen as generating the election 'book of record'.

Progress

The chapters for the book on the 2004 election were discussed on the weekend of 4-5 December 2004 at the post-election Workshop at University House, the ANU, Canberra. Drafts were subsequently reviewed, debated and edited and final versions emerged by the end of February 2005.

This workshop was divided into seven sections and the book is divided into five parts. The second part of the workshop provided analyses of the campaign, and in the book is framed by John Warhurst's detailed 'week to week' overview of the long six weeks. At the workshop this paper was provided in advance as useful background. The workshop itself started with presentations of the state of the polls and the advantages of incumbency – the latter a relatively new topic for discussion in the Australian context. This material was provided by Simon Jackman, an expatriate Australian now working at Stanford University. (Simon also helpfully provided the photographic record of the weekend). Given much recent debate over the role of the Coalition government in setting the agenda through incumbency advantages such as

advertising and the media, the convenors decided to frame the weekend debate by having a paper with empirical data on this crucial topic.

The workshop then considered the campaign itself. With the advent of the post-modern campaign, institutions for political communication have become increasingly relevant, as they have taken over the role of the public meeting of the traditional era. The new media described by Peter Chen, sit alongside the old print media, whose continuing relevance was discussed by Marian Simms on the following day. In 2004 a new feature was the online opinion poll. Simon Jackman's discussion of the polls at the workshop – due to Murray Goot's unavoidable absence - suggests that the telephone is a better instrument than either the Internet, or for that matter the old-style face to face method. Political advertising, analysed by Sally Young, increasingly bears the marks of the post modern era by its interest in personalities and negativity rather than in parties and policies. Yet some 'traditionalisms' survive and continue to fascinate, notably the political cartoon, which has been with federal politics since its beginning and was examined by Haydon Manning and Robert Phiddian. (This first part of the book also focuses on the range of different actors, notably political leaders, analysed by David Adams, in the campaign, as well as the importance of the ideological context which is provided by Carol Johnson – unfortunately illnesses prevented their attendance at the Workshop, but their papers were circulated ahead of time).

The third session of the Workshop provided the 'insiders' perspectives on the campaign. This allowed academics to gain insights from those who were at the centre of devising the campaigns, and the book includes chapters from the Coalition (Brian Loughnane, federal Liberal Director), Labor (Tim Gartrell ALP National secretary), Australian Democrats (Leader, Andrew Bartlett), and the Greens (senior staffer Katrina Willis). Former practitioner Rodney Cavalier provided a stimulating interpretation of the long-term decline of the ALP's electoral fortunes due to the ossification of the party machine.

The fourth session reminded us that as a federation, trends in Australia are rarely national but vary between, and, at times, within the States and Territories. New South Wales, which provides one-third (ie, 50) of the Members of the House of Representatives (MHRs), is itself best studied as an amalgam of regions. Elaine Thompson charted the decline of Labor in what was once its heartland, especially in outer metropolitan and rural/regional seats. Victoria has been more unified and relatively stable. Nick Economou described the Victorian steady state. Queensland and South Australia went into the election after quite major redistributions, and with a number of important marginal seats. Queensland gained one seat at the expense of South Australia. The impact of these changed boundaries created some uncertainty for the parties, and interest by the commentators, was outlined by Ian Ward (in absentia), and Dean Jaensch respectively. Western Australia had instability in terms of candidate changes, but had also been developing as a Liberal stronghold since the early 1990s. These developments and trends were discussed by Narelle Miragliotta and Campbell Sharman (also in absentia). Last but not least, Tasmania, with its five seats guaranteed under the Constitution, has political power greater than its population base. Tony McCall and Marcus Haward discussed its tremendous significance in 2004 due to the importance of the forestry issue/industry, which again, as it had in 1983, placed Tasmania at the centre of the political stage. The Territories are tiny in terms of representation. Both the Australian Capital Territory and the

Northern Territory went into the campaign with two seats each. Malcolm Mackerras and Dean Jaensch provide the analysis.

The fifth session covered the traditional media institutions and the campaign, with papers on the print media and political cartoons as discussed above. These are to be included in the Campaign section of the book.

The sixth session, on social constituencies, covered the role of gender, ethnicity and immigration, religion, and of rural and regional interests. These are all topics for policy analyses, have specific and at times, competing interest groups pressing for policies, and attributes of voters who may identify on the basis of their gender, 'rurality', religion or ethnicity/immigration history. In 2004 Marian Sawyer charted the decline of 'women' as an item on the electoral calendar; James Jupp examined the salience of ethnic issues, especially the lessened significance of border control and immigration as electoral issues; and Jennifer Curtin and Brian Costar examined the state of the National Party and rural representation. Given the staying power of the three rural Independents it was decided to include their story, by Jennifer Curtin and Dennis Woodward in this section. (After the electoral success of Family First it was decided to include their story in the book with a chapter by Haydon Manning and John Warhurst who examine the rise of new forms of organised religion in politics.)

The seventh and final session covered the election results and their interpretation. Malcolm Mackerras led off with a detailed presentation of the swings in the House, and the picture in the Senate. Further discussion ensued about the election, and regarding issues that needed further research. It was decided to focus on incumbency advantages in the individual chapters, and that the editors would cover problems of informal voting and the postal vote debacle in Queensland in the overview chapter. Given the timing of the workshop, the valuable Australian Election Study data were not available, but Clive Bean and Ian McAllister agreed to provide this in a chapter for the book. Simon Jackman's chapter on incumbency advantage, and Rodney Cavalier's overview, flesh out the results section by providing a longer term explanation for Labor's electoral ills.

Discussion at the workshop was aided by the presence of scholars who were visiting the ANU. We are particularly grateful to Tony Mughan (Ohio State University) and John Wanna (Griffith University) for their valuable insights and critical comments

The book based on the Workshop, will include 30 chapters and is entitled *The Mortgage Election, 2004*. It will be published shortly.



**The Deregulation of the Australian Labour Market:
A workshop in honour of Keith Hancock
Joe Isaac and Russell Lansbury**

The workshop was held at the University of Sydney from 25-26 November 2004. It brought together a wide range of academics and practitioners in industrial relations, economics, law, social policy and management with the objective of examining the consequences of changes in the regulation of the Australian labour market over the past decade or so. The workshop also honoured and celebrated the significant contributions made by Keith Hancock not only to academic research and teaching but also to the practice of industrial relations, through his various roles as a Professor, Vice-Chancellor, Senior Deputy President of the Australian Industrial Relations Commission and author of major government reviews and inquiries.

In his opening remarks to the workshop, Joe Isaac noted the important changes that had taken place in recent years in the Australian industrial relations system, especially at the federal level. The Commission's award-making powers have been substantially reduced and confined mainly to determining the 'safety net' covering barely 20 per cent of employees. Decentralised bargaining, mostly at the enterprise level, covers the rest. He outlined the forces behind this development and the continued pressure for further decentralisation and reduction in the powers of the Commission and raised questions about its consequences for the labour market.

These issues were taken up in the papers at the workshop, which included a number of commentators. More specifically, the following issues arising from the papers were actively debated:

- whether a decentralised and less regulated labour market is a necessary condition for meeting the requirements of global competition;
- the effects of labour market deregulation on employment and the nature of employment on income distribution on wage inequality, on productivity, on work stress and on job satisfaction;
- the consequences of labour market deregulation for Australia's work/care regime;
- the impact of labour market deregulation on trade unions;
- whether macro-economic policy has been unduly restrained by the risk of inflation in a deregulated labour market;
- how labour market deregulation has affected industrial relations as a field of study and research; and,
- how the nature of rights and obligations of employers, employees and unions have been affected by the changes in labour market regulation.

In his paper on 'Citizenship at Work' Ron McCallum argued that Australia's concept of industrial citizenship sprang from compulsory conciliation and arbitration at the beginning of the twentieth century but was primarily focused upon the full-time breadwinner male employee. Given the deregulation of the labour market over recent years, McCallum contended that it is necessary to reinvigorate the principles of industrial citizenship to ensure that the Australian workforce is provided with a minimum set of rights at work. A new approach is also needed to take account of the needs and aspirations of the growing numbers of part-time and casual employees and those working as independent contractors. Furthermore, in areas of employment where collective bargaining does not operate, consultative mechanisms are needed

to ensure that the views of workers are made known to their employers. Laws governing workers' rights on working hours, protection from unfair dismissal and discrimination at work and to occupational health and safety need to be strengthened. In summary, a new concept of Australian citizenship needs to be established for the deregulated labour market of the twenty first century.

The impact of deregulation on trade unions in Australia was examined by Rae Cooper who argued that 'individualisation' and 'decentralisation' are more useful concepts for explaining the nature and outcomes of change over the past 15 years, which ushered in an era of 'decollectivisation'. However, legislative changes alone do not explain the shift in the environment which has made it harder for unions to operate. Another significant development has been employers' assertion of their 'rights to manage', which has been strongly supported by the Federal government. Yet despite this hostile environment, Cooper maintains that Australian unions are adopting an activist strategy which emphasises the need for 'grass roots' organisation and renewal at the workplace level. This is embodied in the ACTU's *Future Strategies* (2002) and its current *Organising Works* Program.

The impact of labour market deregulation on Australia's work/care regime was highlighted by Barbara Pocock, who examined how the trend towards a 'non-standard employment relationship' has been accompanied by a shift to 'non-standard household relationships'. Pocock demonstrated that a decline in the traditional male breadwinner/female carer households has been accompanied by the growth in both dual earner households and sole parent/earner households. If the projected tightening of the Australian labour market occurs, some employers will respond by providing more quality part-time work, better paid leave, more flexible workplace and controls on hours for those workers whose skills are in high demand and short supply. However, this is likely to widen inequality within the labour force. In order to improve the work and care regime for all workers, Pocock called for the implementation of decent minimum standards in relation to all non-standard forms of work. Furthermore, there is a need for improvements in institutional supports such as child care. Finally, cultural change is required to dislodge 'the ideology of domesticity' in which 'nurturing mothers take primary responsibility for care'. Pocock's pessimistic conclusion, however, is that Australia is likely to remain 'an international laggard by OECD standards for some years to come'.

Peter Saunders analysed data from ABS income data for the period 1986 to 2001, and found growing wage income inequality in Australia. Inequality increased particularly sharply among men employed fulltime with partners who are not employed. The increase in wage income inequality was concentrated between 1990 and 1995 and there has been broad stability in many dimensions of inequality since then. The major exceptions to this trend were fulltime married males with a spouse working either part-time or fulltime, for whom there were modest increases after 1994. The labour market was still characterised by group wage differences based on gender, and inequality followed different trajectories among men and women. The paper raised concerns about further deregulation of the labour market leading to increased inequality and provided support for the maintenance of a strong safety net to prevent the lower-paid falling further behind in wages distribution.

Ron Callus revisited the *Report by the Committee of Review of Australian Industrial Relations Law and Systems* (known as the Hancock Report) which was released in 1985. He noted that the Report was widely regarded as supporting a centralised,

regulated system of industrial relations. Critics of the Report argued for a substantially deregulated system which would provide employers with a stronger role in setting wages and conditions of their employees. According to Callus, the ensuing changes to the system since then has not been deregulation but decentralisation of the locus of regulation through a system of enterprise-based agreements. Furthermore, there have been three unintended consequences of these reforms, particularly for employers. First, the system has replaced multi-award coverage in larger organisations with a simple certified agreement that is read in conjunction with the award. Second, enterprise agreements have been used essentially by employers to vary a small number of award provisions, mainly related to working time and penalty payments. Third, considerable time, effort and resources have been spent by employers in each round of enterprise bargaining. A preferable alternative, argued Callus, would have been to develop a collective bargaining system focused on the industry level. This would have more effectively served the needs of both business and unions, as well as the nation as a whole.

The plight of low wage workers, and the extent to which low wage jobs are stepping stones to better employment, were examined by Sue Richardson. The paper draws on experiences of a number of OECD countries with particular emphasis on the English-speaking subset. Several policies were proposed that could improve the prospects for wage mobility of low wage workers. Left to their own devices, many firms will adopt a low wage, low training, high turnover strategy. Hence, a skills development strategy on the supply side needs to be matched by policies that induce firms to provide jobs of appropriate quality. Government may therefore need to provide some form of job creation subsidies and job destruction taxes. Another issue examined by Richardson was the transition from school to work, particularly for young people who face unpromising prospects. Tailored assistance in finding and keeping work, as well as finding and completing relevant training, were strategies advocated in the paper, which could be targeted at those having difficulty in managing the transition on their own. Failure to deal with these issues is likely to generate an underclass of people and families who become locked into poverty and insecurity.

The relevance of industrial relations (IR) as a field of study, in an era of labour market deregulation, was addressed by Russell Lansbury and Grant Michelson. They argued that while IR faces a number of challenges, particularly from related fields such as human resource management (HRM), it remains robust and continues to contribute to the debate on a range of contemporary labour market issues. However, they warned that the intellectual apparatus of IR needs to become broader and explore wider dimensions of work and employment relations. While there has been a decline in the number of courses specialising in IR at Australian universities, during the past decade or so, there has been a corresponding growth in courses which combine the study of IR, HRM and related fields. A key characteristic of IR as an academic field in Australia has been its interdisciplinary approach and pluralist perspective, even if the practice of IR has been more narrowly defined. Hence, the future of IR as a dynamic and influential field of study depends on it encapsulating all aspects of work and employment relations and not only those concerned with regulations of the labour market.

Keith Hancock's paper dealt with the broad issues of wage determination in the twentieth century. It argued that the performance of the Australian economy, over the long-term, has not been greatly affected by the nature of the industrial relations

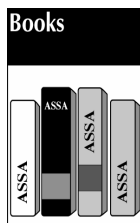
system. Stronger forces at work have included the growth of the population, changing patterns of foreign trade, alterations in the composition of the national product and the impacts of technical change. Australia experienced a 'golden age' from 1946 to 1974 when real wages grew at an annual rate of 2.5 per cent compared with the 'disappointing years' of 1974-2003, when the average annual growth rate was only 0.6 per cent. In relation to productivity data, Hancock noted that in the 'golden age', real wages moved fairly closely in line with productivity, although there was an 'overshoot' in the late 1960s and early 1970s. However, in a period when the economy was more regulated, without widespread enterprise bargaining, productivity grew just as fast as in more recent years. Furthermore, a more centralised form of wage determination in the 'golden age' did not hinder a favourable period of employment. Hancock's analysis demonstrated that long-term economic performance has a multiplicity of determinants, to which the industrial relations system is only one contributing factor.

In conclusion, the papers in the workshop provided strong grounds for questioning the wisdom of Australia proceeding further down the path of labour market deregulation. Concerns were raised by many of the contributors about the effects of a less regulated and more decentralised system of wage determination on those in society whose bargaining position is weak. A more rigorous case needs to be made, in terms of the likely economic and social consequences of abandoning the present industrial relations system: whether they will deliver lower levels of unemployment, greater stability of wages and prices and an equitable distribution of productivity growth. These are the criteria by which an equitable industrial relations systems should be judged.

Postscript: Discussants at the workshop included: Marian Baird, Michael Crosby, Anne Daly, Bradon Ellem, Bob Gregory, Robin Kramar, Malcolm Rimmer and Iain Ross. Bruce Chapman and Geoff Giudice spoke at the dinner for Keith Hancock.

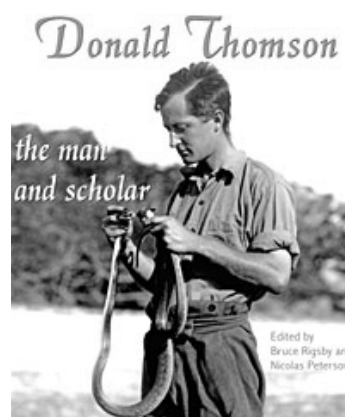


Books



Donald Thomson: The Man and the Scholar. Edited by Bruce Rigsby and Nicolas Peterson. Canberra: The Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, 2005.

This beautifully produced work, which has the look and heft of a coffee-table tome, succeeds admirably in capturing the complexities and accomplishments of Donald Thomson, a tireless fieldworker who spent almost six years living in remote, physically taxing locations among Aborigines he came to regard with great affection. As much natural scientist as anthropologist, he was an avid collector who craved adventure, and a rugged individualist often at odds with colleagues and authorities. The book is lavishly illustrated, mostly with Thomson's wonderful black and white photographs, which vividly evoke a level of autonomy and a way of life long gone. A brief but informative introduction by the editors is followed by 15 of the 22 papers originally presented in 2001 at The University of Melbourne in the Donald Thomson Anniversary Centenary Symposium.



Thomson's fieldwork in the Cape York region is the subject of the opening paper by anthropologist Athol Chase, who knows this area well. He considers the research to have been so well grounded environmentally that it was ecological anthropology before the term was invented (though Peterson points out an interesting anomaly: Thomson rarely recorded place names or made maps). Chase uses Thomson's work on links between Cape York and New Guinea to illustrate his impressive coverage of plant, animal and cultural data within a dynamic evolutionary framework. Chase also highlights how Thomson's journalism gave eloquent voice, from the 1930s, to the plight of the Aborigines, while revealing his love for their individualism, warmth and humanity.

Nic Peterson, who has previously written about Thomson's life in *Donald Thomson in Arnhem Land* (by Donald Thomson, Currey O'Neil, 1983), here attempts to situate Thomson within Australian anthropology. He provides several good reasons why much of Thomson's rich and copious data remained unsynthesised and unpublished, including: the absence of theoretical frameworks into which Thomson could have fitted his ecological and linguistic (and, as Borsboom, below, shows, his social organisational) data; the possibility that he felt that the American Lloyd Warner had stolen some of his thunder by dwelling on ceremonial life in his ethnography about Arnhem Land; and his seeming penchant for offending people in power. Another compelling reason comes to mind: ever the restless adventurer (as a young man he had attempted to join Mawson's Antarctic expedition, p 41), he loved mounting expeditions and counted living in the field with Aboriginal people as some of the happiest times of his life, and surely much more exciting than being holed up in a study, sorting through mountains of papers and trying to decipher his fieldwork notes decades after writing them.

From Lindy Allen's engaging account of Thomson the photographer, one gains enormous respect, especially in this age of the electronic think-for-you camera, for what it cost him, in all senses, to take almost 11,000 photos. Excerpts from his own writings powerfully evoke the extreme conditions under which he worked, and the heart-breaking problems with equipment failures (not to mention the later loss in a fire of his entire cinefilm records from Arnhem Land while they were in the custody of a Commonwealth body in Melbourne; pp 14-15). Ultimately, Thomson will be remembered most strongly for his brilliant images, whose clarity and immediacy are stunning, and which are shown to maximum effect in this volume.

Ian Temby adds a personal touch in his account of Thomson as ecologist, conservationist and public educator, since he was a childhood neighbour and later son-in-law, who himself now works in the conservation field. This propinquity and long familiarity enable Temby to comment on Thomson as farmer, gardener, horse and dog breeder, horseman, antique furniture buff, passionate opponent of wildlife slaughter, and so on. He convincingly shows Thomson's interest in natural history to be deeply rooted in his early life experiences and all-encompassing.

Alan Yen and John Coventry focus on Thomson's entomological and herpetological research and collecting during his three expeditions to central Australia. Lizards were a mainstay of the desert Aborigines' diet, so it was inevitable that Thomson would pay close heed to them. The authors are puzzled, however, by some of the gaps in his coverage: his inattention to birds (though he had written *Birds of Cape York* based on his field work there), insects (even though some, like the witchetty grub and the honey ant, were significant food sources) and also to the ecological significance of what the late Rhys Jones famously labelled as 'firestick farming', a major adaptational strategy in the desert as it was elsewhere in Aboriginal Australia.

In his review of relationships between Thomson and Professor Elkin, the dominant anthropological figure in Australia at the time, Geoffrey Gray sees similarities between the two men despite glaring differences in their views on Aboriginal welfare, and suggests that Thomson contributed to his own alienation from the anthropological establishment, thus weakening his impact on Aboriginal affairs (p 97). Bain Attwood's paper on related themes begins by contrasting the responses of Elkin and Thomson to a request for help from the head of the Australian Aborigines League in 1947, Thomson's tone being very much more personal, warm and heartfelt and offering a distinctive perspective – one destined eventually to become influential, while Elkin's assimilationism eventually fell by the wayside. For Attwood, the roots of Thomson's advocacy of inviolable reserves and segregation lay in his sense of Aboriginal sovereignty in remote areas like Arnhem Land and their right to lead an independent life. Thomson's post-war advocacy, which is detailed here, was largely ineffective because, in Attwood's view, he neither understood politics nor enjoyed the support network needed to transform his recommendations into legislative action.

Alan West's chapter deals with assimilationist policies in southern Australia, and specifically focuses on Thomson's decade-long tenure, from 1957, as an appointed member of the Aborigines Board of Victoria. This body was under-funded and poorly supported by the government; only two of its members were Aboriginal, and of the rest only Thomson possessed firsthand knowledge of the people and culture. West has detailed knowledge because he worked on the Board's welfare staff and was posted to the decrepit and troubled Lake Tyers settlement following Thomson's complaints about the shocking conditions there (p 118). His account of the situation is

compelling reading, but even more shocking is the callousness and ineptitude of Board members and government functionaries. Predictably, Thomson was at odds with them, and in three major reports attempted to chart a way out of the morass via practical strategies based on a realistic assessment of Aboriginal futures in that part of Australia.

Co-editor Bruce Rigsby, a linguistic anthropologist who has worked in the region, discusses Thomson's early training and expeditions to Cape York and assesses his important linguistic work there. Thomson regarded language as an essential window into personality and worldview, and despite the meagreness of his formal training he was a quick learner who did 'excellent work on matters of language and speech' (p 139). Also set in north Queensland is Peter Sutton's paper, which recalls Thomson's visits to Flinders Island in 1935 and, like Rigsby's, is underpinned by his own strong familiarity with the location and matters linguistic and cultural. His examination of the roots of Thomson's sensibility suggests that it derives from a combination of abhorrence of the many uncouth Whites infesting the north, hatred for their unjust treatment of Aborigines and a 'deeply aesthetic appreciation' (p 154) of Aboriginal people and their culture that, by drawing him into strong identification with them, made him feel distinctly Other in his own society.

Ad Borsboom is an anthropologist whose own research in northern Australia prompted him to close examination of Thomson's north-east Arnhem Land data, and, as he affirms here, has led him to a strongly positive assessment. He sees Thomson as a visionary, for his insight that mortuary ceremonies held the key to an understanding of so much else in the culture of the Yolngu people. He also praises his expertise as a fieldworker, who intuited a flexibility in Yolngu social organisation, especially in the ways that they identify themselves and their groupings, that has in recent decades reasserted itself, once the bounded categorisations of the colonial era were cast aside.

Beautifully illustrated in both colour and black and white, Louise Hamby's paper is a material culture expert's tribute to Thomson as 'the first biographer of baskets', who not only amassed a collection of 268 of them but also, in his field notes and catalogue cards, demonstrated his typological talents, close attention to detail and sensitivity to the range of cultural meanings attaching to them. Also focused on material culture is Paul Memmott and Shaneen Fantin's offering, which itself stands as a significant contribution to the little-known field of ethno-architecture. As they point out, scant attention was paid to the nature of Aboriginal forms of settlement and architecture by the colonisers. Here they assess Thomson's work on residential and ceremonial design types in northern Australia as both pioneering and an immense contribution to knowledge. In a discussion well enhanced with photos and drawings, the authors make good use of comparative material to indicate what Thomson long ago had understood: that Indigenous architecture 'expresses complex and diverse relationships among the physical, social and cosmological environments' (p 208).

In a mainly interpretive piece informed by ideas arising largely from the ethnography of visual communication, which is somewhat different in emphasis from the rest of the volume, Diane Hafner's interest is less in what drove Thomson as a photographer than in how people today receive and perceive his images. She uses a small selection of his Port Stewart (eastern Cape York) photographs to make some interesting observations contrasting the calm of women's activities with the flurry and

movement typifying those of the men. Hafner makes the commendable point that we need to be mindful of 'presentist' assumptions and biases when we interpret images detached from their historical and cultural contexts. However, in supporting critic Eric Michaels (p 229) on the need for 'negotiated interpretations' featuring Aboriginal authority and participation, she offers no reasons why ethnicity alone would somehow exempt people from a presentist bias.

In a rather poignant closing chapter, Moira Playne pays homage to the five unsung women who laboured behind the scenes for Thomson to produce the more than 300 line drawings, paintings and painted photos in the Thomson Collection at Museum Victoria. The precision and artistry of their works are immediately evident in the beautiful illustrations included here, and I am sure the two surviving artists will be thrilled to see their labours recognised in this volume.

This is a truly fine tribute to a man who during his lifetime never achieved the prominence and credit merited by his skills and achievements. The Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia and Museum Victoria are to be warmly congratulated for making possible such an aesthetically and academically accomplished publication.

Bob Tonkinson

The Changing Face of Electoral Politics in Sri Lanka (1994-2004). By Laksiri Jayasuriya. Marshall Cavendish International (Singapore) and Sarasavi (Colombo), 2005.

Laksiri Jayasuriya describes himself as an 'accidental psephologist' only coming to analyse electoral politics in his native Sri Lanka because of demands to 'interpret' the remarkably intense politics of his original homeland to curious Australians. It is our privilege that the professor emeritus from Western Australia deflected himself from his demanding life as a Social Work academic and prominent policy adviser on multiculturalism to comply. The result is an important new book published by Marshall Cavendish which should have a wider appeal than its title might at first suggest.

Sri Lanka matters to the world in ways that may not be obvious. Democracy has endured in this small island country despite extraordinary pressures. How many other states would have succumbed to dictatorship or other tyranny if they had had to endure the astonishing sequence of crises that have challenged ballot box government in this small, poor nation? These include tenacious ethnic separatism, radical Marxist upheaval, disaffected youth, corruption and a two-decade, still unresolved, civil war that has resulted in more than 65 000 deaths. Through all this Sri Lanka has managed to retain a broadly liberal political culture and representative parliamentary politics. That a small, poor, post-colonial state could retain universal franchise and representative government under such conditions is an achievement worthy of recognition and celebration. The groundwork for this success precedes the nation's political independence when electorate based political organisation emerged in the 1930s, when as Ceylon the island was 'the model colony'. Through independence in 1948 the nascent ideological groupings coalesced into formal political parties, which, despite fluid membership and shifting allegiances have resisted spectacular dissolving pressures. The resultant basic two-party or two-bloc system operates through, around and with, two family dynasties, in effect two traditions of governance; the Jayewardene/Senanayake and the Bandaranaike/Ratwatte, often but not always contiguous with the broad right and broad left respectively.

A recurrent feature of political discourse during the post-independence period had been around 'welfarism' with the blocs grouped around the Centre (right and left) while a third political style, labelled 'illiberalism', emerged under JR Jayewardene and R Premadasa from the late 1970s.

While Sri Lanka's troubles are well known its many creditable achievements deserve recognition too. It is justly credited with electing the world's first female democratic leader, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, (whose daughter, Chandrika, is president today and features prominently in Jayasuriya's book) and, as Jayasuriya's book testifies, it should also be credited with a deep attachment to electing as a basis for governing.

This electing tradition has seen profound changes. The 1977 General Election ushered in a new Constitution whose presidentialism replaced Westminster majoritarian principles of how governments are formed and function. Policy came to be vested in 'executive Gaullist-style leadership' and increasingly adopted market principles instead of guided welfare consensus. New constitutionalism was ravaged by insurgencies in the north and south, the secessionism of the Tamil Tigers, and the insurrection of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) in the Sinhalese dominated south. Perhaps it was the French inspiration of the 1977 republican constitution that made Sri Lanka front these rebellions through ideological co-habitation between the main political blocs.

While reading the electoral accounts between 1994-2001, and what Jayasuriya calls the co-habitation dilemma, especially in relation to minority government since 2004, one is struck by two things. First, the stubbornly entrenched nature of electorate politics, and second, how few societies have had to defend electoral democracy so often, in such a short space of time, from so many and such disparate sources.

Jayasuriya's work maintains a brisk narrative even as he details parties and their organisation, seats won and lost, governments formed and ministries allocated. The confident narrative and its strong connection to the wider significance of specific events, means that even non-specialists will gain a good deal. One of Jayasuriya's radical claims concerns 'Indianisation', a trend that might deplete the extremist nationalisms, and might possibly bring about 'pragmatic' international relations. Indo-Sri Lankan relations have long been troubled, with giant India often a silent presence in electoral campaigning. India's nascent economic success, and the Sonia Gandhi-inspired return of the Congress Party to government, suggest that dynastic connection fused with market economics might align the south Asian neighbours ideologically for the first time in decades.

Following the 2004 election Jayasuriya projects three challenges for electoral politics; reviving the now-stalled peace talks, bringing about needed constitutional reforms, and the ideological alliance of the rehabilitated JVP with the governing Sri Lanka Freedom Party. According to Jayasuriya the 2004 election rejected xenophobic nationalism replacing it with a more pragmatic focus on peace, moves that 'Indianisation' might further encourage.

In many countries today there is discussion about whether democracy can be imposed from outside, occasioned by ongoing turmoil in Iraq. Sri Lanka's experience is relevant because one of the great merits in Jayasuriya's psephology is the linking of micro analysis of electoral data to insights about political culture and the practices of governance.

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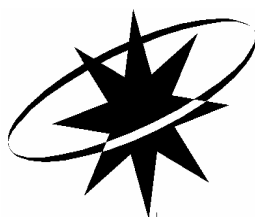
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