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Marshall, Nancy; Burnley, Ian H.; Murphy, Peter; Hugo, Graeme John  
[Migration of income-support recipients from non-metropolitan NSW and SA into Sydney and Adelaide](#) AHURI Positioning Paper, 2003; No.55:1-60

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**Received:** Friday 28 June 2013 1:29 PM

<http://hdl.handle.net/2440/39018>

# **Migration of income- support recipients from non-metropolitan NSW and SA into Sydney and Adelaide**

authored by

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for the

**Australian Housing  
and Urban Research Institute**

UNSW-UWS Research Centre  
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July 2003

AHURI Positioning Paper No. 55

ISSN: 1834-9250

ISBN: 1 920758 56 9



Australian Housing  
and Urban Research Institute

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

This material was produced with funding from the Commonwealth of Australia and the Australian States and Territories. AHURI Ltd gratefully acknowledges the financial and other support it has received from the Australian, State and Territory governments, without which this work would not have been possible.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACT	Australian Capital Territory
AHURI	Australia Housing and Urban Research Institute
DSP	Disability Support Pension
FaCS	Family and Community Services, Commonwealth Department
HALCS	Housing and Location Choice Survey
LDS	Longitudinal Data Set
NHS	National Housing Strategy
NSW	[state of] New South Wales
NT	Northern Territory
QLD	[state of] Queensland
SA	[state of] South Australia
SPP	Sole Parent Pension
TAS	[state of] Tasmania
UB	Unemployment Benefits
UNSW	University of New South Wales
UWS	University of Western Sydney
VIC	[state of] Victoria
WA	[state of] Western Australia

## GLOSSARY

**Metropolitan** – major urban centres within a state. For New South Wales, metropolitan refers to the Sydney basin and for South Australia, it refers to the city of Adelaide. For a more detailed description of the metropolitan areas as defined for this study, refer to Appendix 3.

**Perimetropolitan** – the settlement zone within 100 km of the centre of metropolitan Sydney and Melbourne, but beyond suburbia. In the case of the other mainland state capital cities, 75 km from the metropolitan centres (or the Central Business Districts).

**Non-metropolitan** – the ‘rest of the state’ outside of the metropolitan or perimetropolitan regions. The conurbation of Wollongong and Newcastle has been excluded from the study. For a more detailed description of the non-metropolitan areas as defined for this study, refer to Appendix 3.

**Aged Pensioner** – is receiving an *Age Pension*. An Australian resident, males over 65 years of age or females over 60 years of age. For a more detailed description of the different categories of Centrelink payment types, refer to Appendix 2.

**Single Parent** – is receiving a *Sole Parenting Payment*. A sole or partnered parent (Australian resident) who has a qualifying child under 16 years of age. For a more detailed description of the different categories of Centrelink payment types, refer to Appendix 2.

**Disabled** – is receiving a *Disability Support Pension*. An individual with a physical, intellectual, or psychiatric impairment assessed and is unable to work for at least the next two years as a result of impairment and is unable to undertake educational or vocational training. For a more detailed description of the different categories of Centrelink payment types, refer to Appendix 2.

**Unemployed** – is receiving a *Newstart Allowance* (over 21 years old), *Youth Allowance* (under 21 years old), or *Mature Age Allowance* (60+ years but not on the Age Pension). An unemployed individual capable of undertaking work and who is available for employment. For a more detailed description of the different categories of Centrelink payment types, refer to Appendix 2.

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study is being jointly undertaken by the AHURI UNSW-UWS Research Centre and the AHURI Southern Research Centre with cooperation from the Housing Support Branch of the Commonwealth Department of Family and Community Services. Within Australia, approximately 50,000 income-support recipients move annually from non-metropolitan areas to metropolitan cities. This study aims to identify the motivations of, and trade-offs made by, these movers. In particular the importance of housing and employment considerations vis-à-vis other choice factors, and changes to the perceived net welfare of movers, will be explored. Public interest in the research derives from the fact that low income-earners, which income-support recipients are by definition, face particular difficulties in settling in cities due especially to high housing costs. For 'work-ready' income-support recipients (the unemployed and single parent pensioners) finding affordable and appropriately located housing may influence their capacity to find work and their willingness to stay in cities where job opportunities are relatively high. For other categories of income-support recipients (disabled and aged pensioners) the availability of affordable and appropriate housing may influence the extent to which they are able to access metropolitan services and social support networks that are presumed to be significant factors in their relocating.

There is no doubt that housing tenure, size, quality, and cost are factors individuals consider in their decisions to move between non-metro regions and city locations. These housing considerations may be push or pull factors influencing internal migration decisions. However, there are other social, economic and environmental factors that are considered. For some, housing and employment factors may together create powerful pressures for people to move. These linkages will be explored in the research. People may be imperfectly informed about destination options and may find that their conditions have worsened as a consequence of moving. As a result, a principal question for this project asks: is a person's aggregate welfare improved as a result of moving from a non-metro to metropolitan?

Over the past 20 years internal migration studies have tended to focus on metropolitan to non-metropolitan moves. There is little contemporary knowledge about choice factors influencing moves from country areas to the city. The Population and Housing Census and other secondary sources of information, such as the Department of Family and Community Services' (FaCS) Longitudinal Data Set (LDS), can shed light on the numbers and spatial distribution of migration but direct questioning of those relocating is required to get a better understanding of decision factors (social, economic, and environmental) and the implications of moves for individuals.

This project complements AHURI Project 70066: *Welfare Outcomes of Migration of Low-Income Earners From Metropolitan to Non-Metropolitan Australia* that was conducted by the same research team in 2001-2002. The principle aim of that study was to test the assumption that the bias towards lower-income earners in the migration outflow from Australian primate cities to non-metropolitan regions meant that movers were being 'forced out' by unaffordable housing and that this choice led to a net loss in their overall welfare. In the case of migration to cities by income-support recipients, it is conjectured that housing, employment and private and social costs generally may impact on movers in fundamentally different ways than in the case of the metropolitan out-migration. Comparisons between the findings of the two studies will be presented in the Final Report for this research.

The study has three components: (1) Literature review; (2) Analysis of migration patterns using FaCS' LDS; (3) A postal questionnaire survey of a sample of movers from non-metropolitan to metropolitan postcodes drawn from Centrelink's database. The social survey focuses on moves from non-metropolitan parts of New South Wales and South Australia to their respective capital cities of Sydney and Adelaide. Sydney is Australia's largest city, it's most globalised and expensive and thereby, low-income migrants greatly feel the effects of moving into that city. However, because the phenomenon of low-income migration is evident around Australia, the inclusion of one other State, South Australia, in the survey goes some way towards determining how different the impact is on movers into a smaller city with different State characteristics. Whilst coverage of all Australian regions would be the optimal



research strategy, the focus on NSW and SA should produce results that are applicable to all States and Territories.

Policy-makers in the housing and social services areas have to consider many factors in order to best serve the Australian community. When studying in-migration to locations such as metropolitan Sydney and Adelaide there is a need to understand whether the relative importance of reasons varies by income-support type and how important the housing factor is in the ultimate decision to move. There may, however, be compensating social and economic factors, and if so it is necessary to ascertain what precisely they are. On the other hand, housing stresses may exacerbate housing adjustment problems. These issues are examined in detail in the survey process that is currently underway. The Final Report for this AHURI project is due in July 2003.

# 1 INTRODUCTION: RESEARCH AIMS AND METHODOLOGY

The primary research for the project has two components. First, data from Family and Community Services' (FaCS) Longitudinal Data Set (LDS) are used to describe the pattern of migration of income-support recipients from non-metropolitan to metropolitan areas. The relative importance of these flows vis-à-vis base populations of income support recipients in metropolitan and non-metropolitan regions is also identified. The second and major part of this work is a social survey of income-support recipients who have recently relocated from non-metropolitan localities in New South Wales and South Australia into Sydney and Adelaide, respectively.

## 1.1 The Research Aims and Questions

The first aim of the study is to determine relative importance of factors that influence decisions by income-support recipients who move from non-metropolitan regions to cities, with particular reference to housing and employment considerations. The second aim is to assess the extent to which movers perceive themselves to be 'better off' or 'worse off' after moving and in what respects.

The research questions are implicit in the study's aims. To recapitulate and specify precisely, there are two broad sets of research questions:

1. What are the economic, social and housing factors that income-support recipients consider in moving from non-metropolitan to metropolitan regions? What is the relative importance of location-choice factors? How does the importance of factors vary by sub-categories of movers?
2. Do low-income earners perceive they are better or worse off after their moving with regard, especially, to housing affordability and suitability, employment and private and social support arrangements? How do assessments vary by sub-category of movers?

*Note:* To be consistent with AHURI Project 70066, measures of being 'well-off' that were operationally defined for that project are transported into this one. The focus is on respondents' perceptions of their net welfare. Factors in welfare assessment include: housing quality, size, tenure and affordability, and a set of 'place' and 'life' satisfaction indicators, that encompass a range of social, economic and environmental factors.

## 1.2 Study Methodology

This project complements AHURI Project 70066: *Welfare Outcomes of Migration of Low-Income Earners From Metropolitan to Non-Metropolitan Australia*. The research team thus goes into this new project knowing what aspects of methodology and analysis worked well and what could be improved upon (Marshall et al. 2002b). The empirical part of the study is in two parts. First, FaCS' LDS has been interrogated further to reveal more detailed aspects of the mobility patterns of income-support recipients nationally, especially by looking at non-metropolitan 'origin' regions and metropolitan 'destinations'. Second, a social survey is being conducted of NSW and SA income-support recipients who have moved in a 12-month period from non-metropolitan to metropolitan regions to particularly answer the research questions set for the project. Recognising that income-support recipients tend to be highly mobile the questionnaire has been designed to enable recent mobility history to be incorporated into data analysis. A copy of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix 1. For the purposes of this study, 'metropolitan' and 'non-metropolitan' have been defined by postcodes – the research team acknowledges the perimetropolitan areas around Sydney and Adelaide but analysis of these regions is beyond the scope of this AHURI project.

Non-metropolitan areas are not homogenous and can be broadly broken down into three types: inland/remote/rural, coastal, and regional cities. The socioeconomic and demographic pictures are quite different in each of these non-metropolitan areas. This project will identify the needs and preferences of low-income earners in their origin (non-metropolitan) locations and in their destination (Sydney and Adelaide) sub-regions such as outer metropolitan suburbs or inner city areas. The creation of metropolitan sub-regions based on postcodes will

allow a detailed look at where and why low-income movers reside in Sydney and Adelaide. Since housing markets are differentiated by sub-region, lower-income people after migration may experience contrasts in housing stresses according to where they settle. Analysis of the LDS and social survey data will be informed by a literature review of Australian and international context.

### **1.3 The User Group**

A User Group has been established to include two representatives from the Commonwealth Department of Family and Community Services in Canberra and one representative from both the Commonwealth Department of Employment and Workplace Relations in Canberra, and the NSW Department of Housing in Sydney. The purpose of this Group is to familiarise these experts with the project, for them to provide comment on the overall research process and review the draft survey materials and AHURI reports. Overall, this User Group is very policy-oriented and will provide relevant and direct links to policy application of the research findings.

### **1.4 The Report Structure**

This Positioning Paper consists of six parts. First, the introduction has set the general context for the research. Second, Australian and international literature on migration and low-income migration is reviewed. The third section, data from the Department of Family and Community Services' Longitudinal Data Set are presented to establish recent pan-Australian movement patterns of income-support recipients. This illustrates the magnitude of the migration phenomenon and how it varies by category of income-support recipient and by State and Territory. Fourth, the broad policy implications resulting from the phenomenon are considered. Fifth, a social survey currently being conducted of income-support recipients who have relocated from non-metropolitan NSW and SA to Sydney and Adelaide, respectively, is described. Finally, a brief conclusion is made on the research progress to date.

## 2 THE LITERATURE

This section of the Report includes three distinct sections. First, Australia's recent economic and migration histories are presented, not as a comprehensive review but rather as a context for interpreting migration literature and survey results when they become available. This represents key topics and contextual information. Much of this material has also been presented in the Final Report for this research team's AHURI Project on *Welfare Outcomes of Migration of Low-Income Earners From Metropolitan to Non-Metropolitan Australia* and is referenced accordingly. This context is needed for an understanding of both projects as stand-alone research. Second, a literature review, in the strictest sense, of migration theory is presented. Finally and specifically, rural to urban migration is discussed in the Australian context. This includes reported mobility factors, both 'push and pull', of low-income households and income-support recipients.

Rural depopulation in Australia and other western countries has been occurring over many decades. Rowland (1979, 63) noted over 20 years ago that it had been "often overlooked that the exodus is not just a post-Second World War phenomenon".

The definition of 'rural' is debatable. For the purposes of this study it includes all non-metropolitan areas within a state or territory. This includes inland country areas, inland regional cities, coastal, often high-amenity areas, and perimetropolitan districts on the outer edges of the capital cities. The term 'rural' thus often includes areas that have urban qualities, but not a metropolitan-scale, level of development.

### 2.1 Australia's Migration Context

To understand rural to metropolitan migration in Australia, knowledge of the country's general migration context is necessary. Over the 1991-1996 intercensal period, 21,693 more persons left Australia's six state capital cities to live in non-metropolitan areas than moved into the cities from those areas. Table 1 shows however, that only in Sydney, and to a lesser extent Melbourne, were there net migration losses. The other state capitals received small net gains. In Table 1, negative figures indicate that more people were moving out of the metropolitan areas than moving into them. The Table also shows that the net losses in Sydney and Melbourne are a longstanding feature. However, it is important to point out that these net migration figures are only the tip of the iceberg of much larger inflows and outflows from the capital cities. The net migration losses in volume in Sydney were less during 1991-1996 than between 1986-1991 and almost certainly fell much further between 1996-2001.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This includes not only those moving to and from non-metropolitan NSW, but also those to and from other parts of Australia.

**Table 1. Net Intrastate Migration Between Capital Cities and Rest of State, 1966-1971 to 1991-1996**

Source: Bell and Hugo, 2000, 96

	New South Wales	Victoria
1966-71	-5,784	20,998
1971-76	-22,429	-5,865
1976-81	-34,045	-18,514
1981-86	-26,652	-26,481
1986-91	-67,348	-29,118
1991-96	-33,059	-4,264
	Queensland	South Australia
1966-71	13,456	9,362
1971-76	6,718	5,900
1976-81	-2,481	2,375
1981-86	-9,811	1,651
1986-91	-3,035	3,902
1991-96	-1,889	4,815
	Western Australia	Tasmania
1966-71	15,187	3,396
1971-76	15,881	3,370
1976-81	6,722	-56
1981-86	7,347	na
1986-91	4,576	3,731
1991-96	6,534	2,982

There are various ways of structuring a sketch history of the relationship between Australia's primary cities<sup>2</sup> and their regional hinterlands into convenient periods around which to hang a tale. Whilst the story starts with white settlement, to avoid making that the subject of the paper, three phases post-Second World War have been identified: the long economic boom of the 1950s and 60s; the period of economic restructuring of the 1970s and 80s; and the sustained period of economic growth after the severe 1991 recession.

## **2.2 The 1950s and 60s: Post WWII Industrialisation and the Long Economic Boom**

Large city growth compared with smaller cities and towns and rural areas accelerated after the Second World War as the Australian manufacturing sector grew rapidly. This expansion was based on strong increases in business and household demand during the long economic

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<sup>2</sup> The Australian settlement system, on a State-by-State basis, has a pronounced level of what geographers call 'metropolitan primacy' (Rose, 1966). This means that the largest cities in the system, in the Australian case the State capitals, are very much larger than the next largest centres in the respective States. In NSW, Sydney at 4.2 million people represents around 61 percent of the State's population. High levels of primacy also characterize Victoria, WA and SA. Exceptions are Queensland, where there are a series of large towns up the coast, partly because Brisbane is eccentrically located in the State's southeast corner, Tasmania and the Northern Territory where in each case there are two large towns, but not much else.

boom of the 1950s and 1960s and high levels of tariff protection from imports (Logan et al., 1981). Immigration, which ran at high levels in that period, largely favoured the cities, where jobs in the factories and the lower echelons of the service economy were booming (Burnley, 1974). The metropolitan cities which particularly attracted immigrants were Melbourne, Sydney, Perth and Adelaide. Secondary industrial cities also attracted immigrants in strength: Wollongong in New South Wales, the Latrobe Valley complex and Geelong in Victoria and Whyalla in South Australia. At the same time, job loss in the rural economy was accelerating due to increased use of machinery in place of labour. There was also increasing realisation on the part of many younger people and their parents that their financial prospects were better in the cities. Resulting rural-urban drift produced a political response in the decentralisation policies of the 1960s. This was partly because it was felt that rural-urban migration was significantly increasing metropolitan growth. This was not the case in NSW nor Victoria for rural-urban migration, although important, was only a small fraction of Sydney's and Melbourne's growth.

Various state and federal governments in Australia have legislated and pursued publicly sponsored schemes in an attempt to reverse the trend of the national population concentrating in the capital cities. Examples of these programs include the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Scheme, Soldier Settlement schemes, and the Ord River Scheme. These reached their peak in the regional growth centres in the early 1970s (Stilwell, 1974). The Murrumbidgee and Ord River Schemes resulted in increased local rural densities and insignificant urban growth. Many of the soldier settlement schemes failed because they were placed on poorer farmland.

Small town decline, usually involving centres with populations less than 5000, which is very much part of the 'doom and gloom' discourse around rural and regional Australia today, was in fact initiated in the 1950s and 60s by a combination of factors (Henshall Hansen 1988). Road improvements, increased car ownership and growth of the larger regional centres combined to encourage farmers and residents of small towns and villages to bypass those places to shop and access services in the regional cities. In some instances the small town declines began before the First World War, or in the 1920s.<sup>3</sup>

At the same time, metropolitan affluence produced by the long economic boom of the 1950s and 60s produced benefits for rural and regional Australia. As well as increased demand for food and fibre products there were notable increases in domestic tourism in a period when overseas travel for recreational purposes was still very much the province of the rich (Murphy 1992). Building on established coastal and near-metropolitan districts, booming car ownership, disposable income and leisure time combined to geographically widen the range of domestic tourism and increase its numbers overall. This was a period of no frills, democratic weekender homes and also the nucleus of coastal sprawl (Murphy 1977). The sprawl is still there but the weekender homes of today are more likely to be designer homes or units because building regulations are much tighter, many people have a lot more money to spend and the general demography of the residents has changed.

Farmer numbers actually increased in the Alpine valleys and Riverina areas of northern Victoria with growth in horticulture, tobacco farming and dairying with the spread of above ground irrigation systems and soil fertility innovations. This stimulated the growth of small towns and emergent regional cities in northern Victoria. Regional cities such as Bendigo and Ballarat came within commuting range of Melbourne, aided by highway upgrading, vehicle ownership and the decentralisation of employment opportunities to Melbourne's northern suburbs.

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<sup>3</sup> Loss of population from rural areas also took place in the 1920s when commodity prices were low and people were forced off the land during the Great Depression. Despite this, however, 'there was actually a slackening and short term reversal of the longer term trend toward urbanisation in Australia during the Depression when the nation's rural population reached a pre-War peak' (Hugo and Bell 1998, 107)

In Queensland there was rural growth on parts of the Darling Downs southwest of Brisbane with the emergence of the large regional city of Toowoomba, and on the recently deforested land in north central Queensland.

One aspect of change in non-metropolitan areas themselves that further enhanced the attraction of metropolitan interest during this period was a contraction in the dairy industry in remote areas on the north and south coasts of NSW and in Victoria's Gippsland (Nelson 1968). As farmers left the land, a lot of cheap, isolated farmland provided footholds for alternative-lifestylers from the early 1970s, most publicly visible in northern NSW (Munro-Clark 1986). Whilst small scale in the overall spectrum of non-metropolitan change these bridgeheads of counter-culture settlement remain the focal point for alternative lifestyle settlers today.

### **2.3 The 1970s and 80s: Economic Restructuring and the First Phase of the Population Turnaround**

But just as Federal and State governments in Victoria and NSW were increasing their commitment to regional development with the early 1970s growth centres, far reaching economic and demographic forces began to make themselves felt in Australia. Job growth in the manufacturing sector came to a halt in the early 70s and a process of major company downsizing was initiated. This marked the transformation to a post-industrial, globalised Australian economy that had significant regional implications (Murphy and Watson 1995, Fagan and Webber 1999). For decentralisation policy it meant that the manufacturing jobs that had underpinned policy in the 1960s dried up; so if regional development was to be fostered it would need to find some other growth motor. As well as this, the change of Federal Government in 1975, combined with a more sophisticated understanding of what could and could not be achieved by regional policy, meant that government interest in top-down, big spending regional development programs evaporated (Vipond 1989). The problem with growth centres was that other 'rural' centres also desired public subsidies and this led to a dissipation of effort.

As it turned out, the need for interventionist top-down policy seemed to have been made redundant by the discovery of what portended to be a major demographic shift in the mid-1970s. This was the so-called population turnaround (Champion 1989, Hugo 1994) and it refers to the fact that non-metropolitan areas were now attracting increased shares of national population growth and the shares of State population contained in the capitals were contracting. This historic transformation of the demographic balance between metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas was heralded as signalling a market-driven resurgence of non-metropolitan areas as places in which to live and work. Since the 1970s, more than one million people have left the five mainland capitals for smaller places with 450,000 leaving Sydney alone (Burnley and Murphy 2002). Together with the more pressing concern for the overall state of the transforming Australian economy, and its welfare implications, interest in rural and regional Australia went onto the back burner.

In the 1970s, de-industrialisation and restructuring, driven by global economic processes and reinforced by decreased tariff protection from 1975, were the buzzwords in academic, public policy and media circles. The early 1980s marked another shift in discourses around urban and regional development with the term globalisation entering academic and popular parlance. From the early 80s notions of 'global cities' took hold and it was realised that a new round of capitalist accumulation was in full swing and that its natural home was once more the larger cities. Paralleling this it was noted that the population turnaround had spatially contracted (Hugo 1994). This did not mean that fewer people were leaving the cities, rather the cities were more than making up for losses through internal migration by gains from immigration and natural increase (Burnley and Murphy 2002). Brisbane and Perth also benefited from internal migration from Sydney and Melbourne, and this process continues.

These reciprocal processes underpinned the emergence of a new round of political conversations centred on the metropolitan/non-metropolitan divide. Once again the large cities were dominating the Australian economy whilst rural and regional Australia was losing out, or

at best receiving a lesser share of benefits flowing from national economic growth. The economic and social problems of the bush and the rise of populist political resistance to economic and social change in Australia are intimately related. Changing morale in rural areas became an important political factor (Smailes 1997). Nevertheless, the strongest net internal migration losses to metropolitan Sydney and Melbourne occurred between 1986-1991 (Burnley and Murphy 2002).

## **2.4 Since the early 1990s: A Second Population Turnaround**

Despite these trends a second population turnaround appears to be in evidence today. There is considerable evidence, much of it ad hoc and as yet under-researched, of a new round of spillover effects from metropolitan to non-metropolitan regions. The benefits of growth created in the big cities in the 1980s and 90s have for some time been translated into new growth impulses in some non-metropolitan regions. These benefits are of two kinds: those that involve metropolitan demand for non-metropolitan resources and those that involve people relocating from metropolitan to non-metropolitan settings. People are still leaving the cities in significant numbers despite the demographic balance having shifted back to the cities. Indeed, whilst the numbers fluctuate, more people moved out of Sydney to non-metropolitan NSW in the intercensal period, 1991 to 1996, than moved out in any other five-year period from 1971 to 1986 (Burnley and Murphy 2002). However, between 1996 and 2001, the out-migration slowed and the population retention rate in metropolitan Sydney rose. This increase in population retention in Sydney (and Melbourne) resulted from favourable labour market conditions and ease of finance for house purchase, despite price inflation, because of low interest rates.

### *2.4.1 Who is moving?*

There are various types of people moving for a variety of 'push' or 'pull' reasons and they may be classified into two broad categories: the free agents and the forced relocators. Whilst this over-simplifies the complexity of the process of migration generally, it offers a basis for discussion.

### *2.4.2 Free agents*

Pre-retirees, and early retirees (the 'young-old') have for decades been the driving force of population growth in non-metropolitan localities. Places like Port Macquarie on the NSW north coast earlier owed up to a third of their population growth to retirees (Murphy, 1981). These people were driven by the benefits of trading down from high priced city houses and the attractions of a low-key lifestyle in a high amenity environment (Murphy and Zehner, 1988). Some of these people are returning to places where they were born and raised but most are not. They represent only a small part of the city's ageing population but have a large demographic effect in non-metropolitan localities where the base population is small. However, it must be noted that there is also strong evidence that many of these elderly people (the 'older-old') often return to the city on the death of a spouse or at the onset of disability (Hugo, 1986, Vintila, 2001). This appears to be related to a wish to be close to family when there is a need for social and physical support in the latter years, as well as to have access to appropriate services.

Alternative lifestyles were also an important though quite localised component of the population turnaround in the 1970s. Theirs was and is a largely rural lifestyle, to some degree self-sufficient and often dependent on income-support payments. These days, however, whilst the trend continues, the notion of an alternative lifestyle has broadened considerably. At one end of the spectrum are those of an obvious counter-culture type. At the other end are the 'sea-changers' and 'down-shifters' who are moving out of the metro areas accepting reduced job remuneration and responsibility for a perceived increased quality of life (Burnley and Murphy forthcoming, Hamilton and Mail 2003). Some 'downshifters' reduce remuneration and undergo lifestyle change by housing tradeoffs within the metropolis.

The development of massively improved communication and transport technologies has made it possible for many workers in the New Economy, who have home-based businesses and use the internet as an alternative or partial alternative to commuting, not to have to be located in



central business districts in order to carry out their businesses. This has freed up new groups of movers to exercise lifestyle options and move to attractive non-metropolitan (especially coastal) locations. Similarly, the massive growth of the Australian tourist industry has favoured the growth of attractive non-metropolitan areas (Murphy 2002).

Inspection of the age profile of movers to non-metropolitan places shows that by far the majority (around 70 percent) are actually of working age and this has been increasing (Burnley and Murphy, 2002). The primary reason for this is that retirees and tourists need goods and services that permit others to move away from the city to work in these industries and make a decent living. These people also of course get the advantages of cheaper housing and high levels of amenity.

### *2.4.3 Forced relocators*

As well as those who more or less opt with enthusiasm for non-metropolitan lifestyles there are those who are arguably forced to live away from the cities because their incomes are too low to enable them to live in appropriate and affordable housing. There is some ambiguity here because some, at least in the categories just referred to, might regard themselves as having been forced out of the city. But there is one category of low-income earners where the notion of forcing may have some real back up (Hugo and Bell, 1998). These are the people who rely on some form of income-support payment, especially the unemployed, single parent households and those with disabilities. The statistics leave no doubt that localities both near the metropolis and more distant from it have high levels of unemployment and disproportionate numbers of single parent households.

More generally the notion that people are being forced to leave the city is supported when the relationship over time between net internal migration loss from the cities and housing prices is examined. There is a strong positive correlation between immigration and price levels and no obvious lag effects. As noted by the research team in an earlier AHURI paper (Marshall et al., 2002a) this is consistent with the interpretation that immigration translates more or less directly into demand for housing and that since supply is inelastic in the short-run, price inflation results. The correlation of net internal migration with house prices is also clearly negative and lagged: when prices rise, internal migration decreases (due to increased out-migration and reduced in-migration) but this effect lags slightly behind price increases. This is logical since it takes time for people to register price increases and then decide either to move from a city or to delay moving into one. The causal question is whether people move out of the cities because prices are beyond their means or whether they move when prices are high so as to maximise capital gains (if owners) from sales. Another hypothesis is that when economic conditions are strong (which is the case when immigration and price inflation are high) people feel confident in moving. Since the early 1990s it is notable that whilst immigration has been down, housing prices have increased across Sydney, Melbourne, Perth and Brisbane, yet internal migration net figures have remained stable. This may be the result of strong economic conditions in the 1990s that have created most job and business opportunities in the cities thus stemming out-migration but driving house price inflation.

In sum, rural to urban migration was a significant public interest issue in the 1950s and 1960s. Rural-urban 'drift' was perceived to be detrimental to country areas and so State governments sought to stem the tide through decentralisation policies. However, these never really worked. From the mid-1970s, population turnaround suggested that the issue was going away. Governments moved away from interventionist policy and research shifted to the reverse flows of the population turnaround. Also, in the 1950s and 60s, the Australian Census did not collect direct internal migration figures (although they could be calculated indirectly using other demographic approaches such as vital statistics and survival ratio techniques). Collectively, what resulted was a suspension of research and comprehensive studies on migration. The literature that does exist is reviewed in the next section.

## **2.5 Migration Theory Reviewed**

Internal migration research and theory development has been reluctant to examine issues of the socioeconomic effects of population movement and indeed the class dimensions of

mobility generally. Research has focused on describing and predicting the spatial patterning of movement, the age, gender, birthplace, labour force and education characteristics of movers and the macro and micro economic determinants of that movement (Marshall et al. 2002a). Much is known about all of these areas in the Australian context (e.g. see Rowland 1979; Bell 1992, 1995; Bell and Cooper 1995; Bell and Maher 1995; Bell and Hugo 2000; Jarvie 1985, 1989a, 1989b; Salt 1992) but work on the impacts of movement, the factors that are weighed by movers in their relocation decisions and the social policy implications remains limited.

As previously noted by this research team (Marshall et al. 2002a), 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. It has been convincingly demonstrated that the poor, less educated and least skilled are under-represented among the people leaving depressed rural areas (Cromartie 1993, Garkovich 1989, Lichter et al. 1994). Rodgers and Rodgers (1997) demonstrate that rural to urban migration in the United States resulted in permanent increases in real earnings of the migrants themselves. Wenk and Hardesty (1953) investigated the effect of rural to urban migration on poverty status of youth in the USA and found that such migration reduced the time spent in poverty for women but the effects were not statistically significant for men.

Again, as reported by the research team in Marshall et al. (2002a), in Australia there has been only limited examination of migration and income effects. The major work has been by Wulff and Bell (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 persons receiving unemployment benefits and sole parent pensions 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, that there were net out-movements of low-income groups from Sydney and Melbourne and net gains in many, non-metropolitan regions. Somewhat earlier Hugo (1989a 1989b) advanced the 'welfare-led' hypothesis to assist in the explanation of counter-urbanisation in Australia. This suggests that a significant component of population growth in Australian non-metropolitan areas is due to the in-migration and retention of low-income groups. An important element in this movement is that transfer payments from government are equally available across the entire nation and portable, and an attraction to move is the cheaper cost of living, including cheaper housing. This hypothesis has been developed by Hugo and Bell (1998). The poverty/welfare-led hypothesis should not, however, be seen purely in terms of 'economic-push', since there is undoubtedly a contingent of people on low incomes or reliant upon transfer payments who decide to relocate to a congenial environment in non-metropolitan areas for amenity reasons.

With regard to non-metropolitan to metropolitan migration flows, Renkow and Hoover (2000) advocate that rural-urban population dynamics are fundamentally due to the economic restructuring changes, mentioned earlier, and hence due to spatial redistribution of employment opportunities. Many theories of migration follow this structural interpretation and are based on the belief that the 'work-ready' population moves in search of employment opportunities (Bell 1995). Flood (1992) agrees that this is especially true for longer distance moves.

As both Flood (1992) and Morrow (2000a) point out however, theories of migration, that emphasise labour market aspects of migration, are of limited use in explaining the migration of welfare recipients. Historically, the Australian population redistributed itself around the nation in response to work opportunities. In more recent times, the role of labour markets has declined but is most useful for explaining migration to the major metropolitan and economic centres amongst the young or those who are work-ready (those on Newstart, Mature Aged benefit schemes, some Sole Parenting payments and fewer Disability pensions). For others, however, (people with low-income jobs or not working at all and retirees), alternative motivations must be considered.

In the literature, a gender dimension also emerges as a factor in internal mobility. In the Australian context, Flood (1992, 46) noted that "young women aged 15-24 moved within states slightly more often than young men, because of the greater numbers moving from the

country to the city". Though lacking detail this is in keeping with international research into gender as a factor encouraging rural-urban migration. Of relevance here is Dalström's (1996) research investigating the migration of young women from rural areas in northern Scandinavia. She found that young rural women seem to be "groundbreaking in the sense that they have ambitions for life very different from that of their mothers" (Dalström 1996, 269). She noted that many girls planned to study and thereby enter occupations requiring high qualifications; they were prepared to move in order to achieve this. The young rural men interviewed appeared to be more traditional and less flexible with many of them willing to stay in rural areas and continue in the footsteps of their fathers. However as a consequence of these decisions the men were more prone to being unemployed. Dalström (1996) puts forward the explanation that it was easier to live this kind of life in rural areas without being socially marginalised, since these areas have strong traditions of combining jobs and of seasonal variations in jobs and workloads. Thus, to be unemployed for a while does not always bring as strong a stigma as unemployment might to people in urban areas (Dalström 1996). Despite this, Dalström (1996, 270) concludes that "the increasing cultural gap between [young] men and women in rural areas illustrates a risk that the young men may be left behind", i.e. marginalised. Meanwhile, young women's marginalisation in rural areas prompts them to make much sounder long-term employment decisions than their male counterparts.

Deconstructed to their most fundamental elements, the 'regional restructuring' versus 'deconcentration' arguments come down to whether the internal mobility trends of the population are attributable to larger, structural forces that individuals have no control over (e.g. economic restructuring) or simply to personal choices (e.g. moving for the environmental amenity of coastal areas or the 'bright lights' of the city). Of course the historical situation has been more complex than what has been presented but it is important to be cautious of the dominance of either explanation. It is true that structural explanations of change have become relatively out of date since the crisis in Fordism, although Hugo's and Bell's (1998, 128) concern over the neglect of the class dimension in internal migration research should also be noted as "part of this neglect is [due to] the limited amount of attention which had been devoted to consideration of migration of the poor and its consequences". The social survey aspect of this project and previous work by this research team follows this idea and sheds light on migration factors, influences, and movers' perceptions of their well-being before and after moving from country areas into cities.

## **2.6 Non-Metropolitan to Metropolitan Migration in Australia**

Historically, Australian cities have tended to dominate non-metropolitan regions and as a result fuelled the rural-urban drift. It should be noted that outmigration to metropolitan cities does take place from population turnaround areas to metropolitan regions, especially at younger ages. This is particularly been the case on the NSW North and South Coasts, in east Gippsland Victoria, the Murray Valley and Victor Harbor in SA and in the southwest of WA. In the 1990s, this outmigration increased in coastal NSW and in eastern Victoria. Cohort effects were almost certainly involved: persons born to parents who had migrated to population turnaround localities, and a generation earlier who were now entering the labourforce. The population turnaround involved net migration gains – there were always migration flows from the turnaround places to the metropolitan cities.

The longer-term causes of rural depopulation range from technological change, seasonal factors and economic restructuring which have resulted in reduced employment opportunities in non-metropolitan areas and the withdrawal of private and public services (Nugent 1998; McKenzie 1994, 1996). Unfortunately, as McKenzie (1996, 205) points out, "while structural and technological changes triggered rural depopulation, in many cases this initial population decline has created a cumulative effect" often resulting in further decline in service demand, reductions in employment opportunities and further out-migration. Perhaps the most significant factor for rural depopulation in Australia has, however, been the accelerated trend of restructuring in the Australian economy over the last 30 years as earlier discussed.

The far-reaching impacts of change were well encapsulated by Burke (1996, 103).

The economic and social transformations, such as the economic rationalism and globalisation processes ... impact on people's lives by affecting their income and wealth (for most people held in the form of housing), their confidence in the future, aspirations for self and family, patterns of consumption and lifestyle choices. Changes in these societal processes then overflow into how people see and use space. The degree, form and direction of household and personal mobility are in part outcomes of social and economic transformations.

Population movements between non-metropolitan and metropolitan Australia are by no means homogenous. The internal migration flows in New South Wales and South Australia are very different in volume and direction of flow. People also move for a variety of reasons as diverse as employment, economic, personal lifecycle, environmental and broader social factors. There may be 'push' considerations in the non-metropolitan locations that are perceived to be significant enough to influence individuals' relocation decisions. These may include such factors as decreased services and facilities in a region, reduced employment opportunities and feelings of isolation. Alternatively, there may be strong 'pull' factors to the cities which could include increased employment opportunities, connections to family and friends and increased education opportunities. Individual characteristics and the reasons as to *why* people are moving from a more detailed, personal level than already documented in this section are conjectured and discussed below. The following factors have been identified throughout the literature as increasing an individual's or a household's propensity and frequency of mobility.

## 2.7 Age/Lifecycle Factors

Rowland (1979, 5) identified the 'popular stereotypes' of an "uncompensated exodus of young people" from country districts in Australia. While this analysis of data collected in 1971 reflected the impact of the baby-boomers hitting the 'leaving the parental home' stage of the lifecycle, the trend of people aged between 15-24 moving from rural areas to metropolitan capitals has continued (Nugent 1998; McKenzie 1996; Bell and Hugo 2000; Culpin et al. 2000). According to Bell (1995, 1996) almost all non-metropolitan regions of Australia lose younger adults aged 15-24 to the large metropolitan areas, even those coastal regions experiencing rapid population growth. Bell suggested that these young people are chasing the jobs concentrated in larger economic centres, and the typically higher wages that go with them. Besides the obvious employment opportunities, younger people often move to the cities for the educational (particularly tertiary) opportunities that exist there. The other documented reason why youth move to the cities are the 'bright lights' and increased social activities on offer. Contrary to this position, Burnley and Murphy (2002) found that only one-fifth of the out-movers aged 15-24 in the section of NSW west of the Dividing Range actually moved to Sydney. Many moved to non-metropolitan coastal NSW or interstate. In fact, while the population turnaround dominated the policy attention in the 1980s and 1990s, the process and settlement outcomes were spatially selective. In NSW, net migration losses, especially in the age range 15-24, occurred in many areas west of the Dividing Range, particularly in the Northern Tablelands and central west of NSW; the Monaro region; the Mallee region of north western Victoria; the Eyre Peninsula of South Australia, and the great northern region of WA. In some of these areas there were net migration losses in the mature workforce age ranges as well.

Flood (1992) found that for about half of the statistical regions in Australia the net movement of those aged 15-24 was in the opposite direction to other age groups. "Young people are moving to the inner cities, largely from the country, while other age groups are moving outward" (Flood 1992, 45). The other age group that experiences migration flows into the city are the elderly. Whilst the 'young old' including early retirees, are often moving out of cities to amenity and coastal areas, the 'old old' (those aged 75 and over) have often moved in the other direction (Vintila 2001, Rowland 1979) into the cities. This may occur when more specialised health services are required, when a partner dies and when the elderly just want to move closer to family and their support network.

Marital status also affected movement rates. Flood's research established that divorced or separated people had annual movement rates more than twice those of married people; while

two-income families had a particularly low mobility rate (1992, 46-47). Morrow (2000b) observed that single parent households were more likely to move to coastal and other high environmental amenity areas which had access to services and a lower, overall cost of living. Although, he also found that in general these households usually faced an increase in rents paid with the move they made. Burnley and Murphy (forthcoming) have also documented this process.

Moves by other age groups is very dependent on personal lifecycle stage and specific circumstances. Considerations for all age groups include changes in relationship status, employment termination and the availability of (often public) housing.

## **2.8 Employment Factors**

As discussed, in Australia, there have been great structural changes to the economic system. From this and major technological and sociological shifts, what exists is a decrease in agricultural jobs and an increase in the importance of major metropolitan areas, particularly Sydney, on the global economic scene. New Economy jobs are based in the cities or in their fringe locations. For any 'work-ready' individual seeking employment this is a major consideration for moving from non-metropolitan into metro areas.

Due to the use of labour market theory in explaining internal migration patterns, the unemployed population has probably had the most research focus. Dockery (2000) identified that persons receiving unemployment related benefits are more likely than other income-support recipients to change location and that the most mobile of the unemployed are young, single persons living in metropolitan rental accommodation. Dockery's findings also indicated that mobility appeared to decline with duration of unemployment, and that less mobile persons were less likely to exit from unemployment.

Morrow's (2000b) study found that unemployment beneficiaries have very different migration behaviour to the single parent and disability pension client groups. He found that the areas of high net loss for this group was the coastal areas of eastern Australia and regional industrial centres, while the areas of gain were concentrated in the capital cities (Morrow 2000b). As Morrow explains "the net effect contradicts several other studies which suggest that the unemployed leave capital cities and move to coastal areas and other non-metropolitan regions" (Morrow 2000b, 37). Overall, the study suggests that the unemployed were moving to take advantage of the internationally competitive jobs available in the capital cities. Wulff and Bell (1997) and Morrow (2000b) both note that the structure of Australia's current unemployment program also influences the mobility of the unemployed. Both identified that because the "Unemployment Benefits program ... requires clients to actively search for work and to take steps to improve their labour market circumstance" the process of moving around in search of work is strongly encouraged (Morrow 2000b, 5).

## **2.9 Housing Factors**

According to Wulff and Newton (1996, 437) "a signal of potential social justice concern is the frequency with which private renters move". While many will move voluntarily, private renters, particularly those on low-incomes, are more vulnerable to forced moves because of decisions made by their landlords outside of their control. Private renters were also found by the National Housing Strategy to be considerably more likely to experience housing stress (that is they outlay more than 30 per cent of their income on rent) than homeowners or public renters (Wulff and Newton 1996). Many low-income earners move as a result of the availability of public housing for which they have been waiting. In the case of the aged or more infirm requiring housing with special accommodation and care requirements such as nursing homes or hostels, the availability of appropriate housing often forces individuals into the metropolitan areas.

## **2.10 Services and Facilities Factors**

Governments have cut back services and facilities. Private businesses have also rationalised and consolidated, both resulting in the general services in rural or country areas being contracted. After the initial entrenchment occurs, the negative multiplier effect sees the

reduction of further support services and facilities as people leave these non-metro areas. The effects 'snowball' and fewer shops, restaurants, entertainment facilities and commercial ventures survive the population loss. Beyond the human loss, overall, the social infrastructure and social capital is reduced. Whilst these inconveniences and fewer opportunities may not drive a person out of the country area, they are definitely a factor in someone's sense of well-being (Marshall et al. 2002a).

The internal migration pattern of disability support pension recipients is similar to that of low-income households more broadly (Morrow 2000a). One of the biggest issues faced by those with a disability in rural areas is access to support and services. As Gething's (1997) study revealed people with disabilities living in remote and rural areas experience 'double disadvantage' in regard to receipt of services. While experiencing similar disadvantages to other remote and rural dwellers (as compared with their metropolitan counterparts), the disadvantages experienced by the disabled were compounded by those associated with living in an environment which does not cater to the needs of people with disabilities (Gething 1997).

## **2.11 Welfare/Low Income Factors**

Research in Australia is beginning to identify that internal migration is a major contributor to emerging locational inequalities, with disadvantaged groups playing an increasingly significant role in the redistribution of Australia's population (Holmes et al 2002, 301). Hugo and Bell (1998) argue that Australian research has essentially ignored poverty- or welfare-led explanations. While there has been a relative dearth of work in the field, the last ten to fifteen years has produced some research on the relationship of low-income households and their relatively high mobility. For example the National Housing Strategy (1992), through the 'Housing and Location Choice Survey' (HALCS) found that "the access difficulties of older single people, sole parents and couples with young children were more than for the population as a whole, and were exacerbated by location, gender and means of transport" (NHS 1992, xii). Similarly, Wulff and Bell (1997, 5) have also made a significant contribution, their study revealing "that social security recipients are more mobile than commonly realised and more mobile than the general population". They also identified that as a consequence of two decades of sustained economic and social change, the fastest growing groups within the social security system were now people of working age: the unemployed and sole parent pensioners.

## **2.12 Summary**

For many individuals and families, migration provides a means to pursue opportunities. For others it is a product of necessity, imposed by events or circumstances beyond their control. The circumstances surrounding a move often determine how successful its long-term outcome will be. As Bell (1996, 27) points out "it is those who have the least choice over their movements who suffer the greatest disadvantage". 'Involuntary moves' and 'speculative moves' are of particular concern. An involuntary move (e.g. eviction, domestic violence etc.) usually results in the mover making hurried and therefore less informed choices. This in turn usually results in a higher frequency of moves for that household which only adds to the financial and personal strains being experienced (Wulff and Newton 1996, Bell 1996). Speculative migration is most common amongst the unemployed. For some this can also result in poor decisions being made, as the information gathered from a distance is not always reliable nor comprehensive (Bell 1996).

No matter what the blend of choice and compulsion, migration involves considerable economic and psychological costs (Bell 1996). Moving is expensive which increases the financial strains on some households. Financial costs include fees and charges associated with the sale and purchase of a dwelling, or of securing a new property to rent, as well as the many other costs involved in establishing life and livelihood in a new residential environment. Moving can also be emotionally unsettling, making it very difficult for low-income families to establish stable ties and networks in their communities. Frequent moving (especially by 'churners' who move in and out of rural and metropolitan areas regularly) also undermines the

effectiveness of community-based programs and employment training which are intended to improve peoples' economic opportunities.

For those on low incomes or welfare payments, moving to metropolitan areas represents major change. Those moving face the increased probability of falling into a cycle of increasing poverty or even homelessness, due to higher living costs, particularly if they have trouble finding work in the first few months. McCaughey (1992) observed that while there were numerous and different paths into homelessness most have moved around a lot, often in search of low-skill, casual jobs (they tended to have a very marginal attachment to the workforce) or because of a series of unstable relationships.

Similarly, frequent changes of address make it challenging to get consistent information about community services, employment opportunities, medical and health care in new areas. As a consequence of losing a local network social isolation may result, which may lower self-esteem particularly among young people (Budge 1996, Wulff and Bell 1997, Bell 1996).

A relatively new data source has been developed to shed light on some of these complex issues and that of migration patterns into the capital cities. The Commonwealth Department of Family and Community Services' Longitudinal Data Set has great potential for spatial migration analysis of income-support recipients as partly demonstrated by Morrow (2000a, and 2000b) and Marshall et al. (2002). The social survey as part of this research project that accompanies this literature review also helps complete the picture of low-income or support-recipient migration patterns and their perceptions of their own well-being.

### 3 THE LONGITUDINAL DATA SET FINDINGS

This section involves the presentation and analysis of the relocation trends of income-support recipients drawn from FaCS' LDS covering moves made by some of their clients between December 1999 and December 2000. The compilation of these tables required operational definitions of metropolitan and non-metropolitan postcodes for each of the Australian States and Territories. This task was accomplished by the Key Centre for Social Applications in GIS, University of Adelaide with assistance from FaCs and its LDS operational descriptions of the States and Territories.

The following tables provide a basis for interpretation of migration flows between non-metropolitan and city areas and by relating the scale of flows to the size of origin and destination populations of income-support recipients. For ease of reading, NSW and SA have been highlighted as the States on which the social survey focuses. Any minor inconsistencies in the table totals are due to rounding. In themselves the numbers do not mean much other than to support the contention that there are many people involved in each of the categories. Within Australia, 53,990 income-support recipients moved in one year from non-metropolitan areas to metropolitan cities in 2000.

**Table 2. Total Numbers of Income-Support Recipients for Non-Metropolitan, Metropolitan and State and Territory Regions**

Income-Support Type	ACT	NSW	NT	QLD	SA	TAS	VIC	WA
<b>Non-Metro Totals</b>								
Unemployed	589	115,231	11,663	103,392	19,767	16879	63,991	31,382
Youth Unemployed	74	19,544	2,194	19,216	3,072	3359	10,709	5,791
Single Parents	684	87,902	4,166	69,952	13,124	9817	47,295	25,836
Disabled	724	127,860	3,403	85,621	20,548	16434	67,215	27,384
Aged Pension	1,949	355,481	3,752	222,914	59,052	36283	199,637	71,690
Totals	4,020	706,018	25,178	501,095	115,563	82772	388,847	162,083

Source: FaCS 2001

Income-Support Type	ACT	NSW	NT	QLD	SA	TAS	VIC	WA
<b>Metro Totals</b>								
Unemployed	5,076	60,840	2,220	27,702	34,007	4,384	73,013	26,591
Youth Unemployed	914	6,324	444	5,032	5,410	939	8,605	4,097
Single Parents	4,599	44,796	1,343	17,235	20,158	2,391	41,754	15,842
Disabled	5,209	71,938	1,395	25,322	37,419	4,515	74,599	22,232
Aged Pension	13,650	232,852	1,660	72,317	108,246	11,404	250,511	73,720
Totals	29,448	416,750	7,062	147,608	205,240	23,633	448,482	142,482

<b>State/Territory Totals</b>	33,468	1,122,768	32,240	648,703	320,803	106,405	837,329	304,565
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Table 2 indicates the numbers of FaCS income-support recipients who lived in non-metropolitan and metropolitan areas within each Australian State and Territory in December 2000. The total figures are also given. These numbers are presented only for context in this section of the Report.



**Table 3. Movers From Non-metropolitan to Metropolitan Areas for Each State and Territory by Income-Support Type**

Income-Support Type	ACT	NSW	NT	QLD	SA	TAS	VIC	WA
Unemployed	156	4,011	519	4,592	2,151	649	4,439	2,986
Youth Unemployed	47	874	107	1,409	717	228	1,173	830
Single Parents	102	2,660	226	2,744	1,337	394	2,826	1,787
Disabled	69	2,061	167	2,042	992	358	2,036	1,126
Aged Pension	69	1,932	67	1,525	937	236	2,330	1,079
Totals	443	11,538	1,086	12,312	6,134	1,865	12,804	7,808

Source: FaCS 2001

Table 3 shows the numbers of recipients, by FaCS income-support payment categories, who moved from non-metropolitan to metropolitan areas within each Australian State and Territory. Not surprisingly, NSW, Queensland and Victoria have the greatest numbers of intrastate movers from the country into the metropolitan areas. Just over 11,500 and 6,100 income-support recipients left non-metropolitan NSW and SA and moved into Sydney and Adelaide, respectively.

**Table 4. Relative Percentages of Movers for Each State and Territory by Income-Support Type**

Income-Support Type	ACT	NSW	NT	QLD	SA	TAS	VIC	WA
Unemployed	35%	35%	48%	37%	35%	35%	35%	38%
Youth Unemployed	11%	8%	10%	11%	12%	12%	9%	11%
Single Parents	23%	23%	21%	22%	22%	21%	22%	23%
Disabled	16%	18%	15%	17%	16%	19%	16%	14%
Aged Pension	16%	17%	6%	12%	15%	13%	18%	14%
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: FaCS 2001

Table 4 shows the proportions of movers by income-support type to give a better sense of how the rural outflows varied across Australia. Notable features are:

- Nearly half of all non-metro to metro income-support recipient movers in the Northern Territory were those on Unemployment benefits. This is the highest percentage category of any State or Territory.
- Surprisingly, the Youth Unemployed represented a lower percentage of movers into the cities in NSW and Victoria than the other States and Territories. In NSW, this may be explained by the fact that several regional, inland cities exist, giving the younger unemployed 'urban' choices other than Sydney.
- The relative percentages of Single Parents and Disability Support Pensioners moving from non-metropolitan to metropolitan areas were essentially equal in all States and Territories.
- As a relative percentage, Aged Pensioners in the Northern Territory were less likely to move into the metropolitan area of that State (i.e. Darwin) than are their counterparts in the other States and Territories likely to move into their respective large cities.
- All but the NT and VIC had the same order of relative percentages of support recipients moving into the city areas i.e., the highest percentage of movers are the Unemployed,

followed by Single Parents, Disabled and Aged Pensioners and then the Youth Unemployed.

- The highest percentage of movers in *all* States and Territories were the Unemployed followed by Single Parents.

**Table 5. Net Flows to Metropolitan Areas for Each State and Territory by Income-Support Type**

Income-Support Type	ACT	NSW	NT	QLD	SA	TAS	VIC	WA
Unemployed	60	-855	-181	-438	287	-31	-366	-53
Youth Unemployed	31	-126	-15	-13	232	-5	164	19
Single Parents	-10	-676	-26	-331	136	38	-308	-116
Disabled	17	-805	1	-483	-139	64	-693	-243
Aged Pension	-9	-2,128	-19	-816	-62	41	-1,236	-452
Totals	89	-4,590	-240	-2,081	454	107	-2,439	-845

Source: FaCS 2001

Table 5 shows net flows (movements out of the non-metropolitan areas minus movements into the non-metro areas) by payment category for each State and Territory. That is, positive figures in this chart denote population gain to the cities – negative figures indicate the gain in income-support population to non-metropolitan areas. Nationally, per annum, as represented in the year 2000, approximately 9,500 more income-support recipients were leaving the city areas than moved into them. Notable features of the table above include:

- In total, in NSW, NT, QLD, VIC and WA, there were more income-support recipients moving out of the cities to country areas than moving into their respective metropolitan centres. This, of course, includes more recipients moving out of Sydney and Melbourne than moving into these cities.
- The States of NSW, QLD, and WA were (and are) losing population from their city areas to the non-metropolitan areas from *all* income-support categories.
- The ACT and SA were the only two of the States and Territories that had a net gain of their Unemployed in the larger cities.
- The metropolitan areas of Canberra, Adelaide and Melbourne experienced net gains in their Youth Unemployed category. The other States and the NT are losing more of their young unemployed to the non-metropolitan areas than are moving into their cities although the actual numbers are small. Interestingly, Melbourne and Sydney as the two largest cities in the country, differed in retaining the Youth Unemployed – Melbourne was having net gains whilst Sydney experienced net losses of these income-support recipients.
- TAS and SA are the only two of the States and Territories that had a net gain of Single Parent income-support recipients in their metropolitan areas during this period.
- More Disability Support Payment clients were moving out of the cities (away from major health centres) than moving into them in all States and Territories but the ACT and TAS, where the numbers of movers were small.
- In all States and Territories but TAS, there were net losses of Aged Pensioners from metropolitan areas.

**Table 6. Outflows from Non-Metropolitan Areas as Proportions of All Non-Metropolitan Recipients for Each State and Territory by Income-Support Type**

Income-Support Type	ACT	NSW	NT	QLD	SA	TAS	VIC	WA
Unemployed	26%	3%	4%	4%	11%	4%	7%	10%
Youth Unemployed	64%	4%	5%	7%	23%	7%	11%	14%
Single Parents	15%	3%	5%	4%	10%	4%	6%	7%
Disabled	10%	2%	5%	2%	5%	2%	3%	4%
Aged Pension	4%	1%	2%	1%	2%	1%	1%	2%
Totals	11%	2%	4%	2%	5%	2%	3%	5%

Source: FaCS 2001

Table 6 indicates outflows from non-metropolitan areas to the large cities as a percentage of the numbers of income-support recipients living in the country areas. These are regarded as out-migration (emission) rate indicators. Caution should be used when looking at the ACT percentages due to the small numbers of recipients in this area.

- Compared to the other States and Territories, the ACT, SA and WA experienced elevated percentages of Unemployed and Youth Unemployed leaving the country areas as relative percentages of those residing in the non-metropolitan areas. Of particular note, nearly one-quarter of all Youth Unemployed in country SA moved into Adelaide – a comparatively high out-migration rate.
- Generally all States and Territories had a low, total emission rate for income-support recipients from the non-metropolitan areas.

**Table 7. Inflows to Metropolitan Areas as Proportions of All Metropolitan Recipients for Each State and Territory by Income-Support Type**

Income-Support Type	ACT	NSW	NT	QLD	SA	TAS	VIC	WA
Unemployed	3%	7%	23%	17%	6%	15%	6%	11%
Youth Unemployed	5%	14%	24%	28%	13%	24%	14%	20%
Single Parents	2%	6%	17%	16%	7%	16%	7%	11%
Disabled	1%	3%	12%	8%	3%	8%	3%	5%
Aged Pension	1%	1%	4%	2%	1%	2%	1%	1%
Totals	2%	3%	15%	8%	3%	8%	3%	5%

Source: FaCS 2001

Table 7 indicates inflows from non-metropolitan areas to the cities as a percentage of the numbers of income-support recipients living in the metropolitan areas. These are local-impact indicators. Features of this table include:

- NSW, SA and VIC had very similar inflow percentage rates in all categories of income-support type.
- The NT had markedly higher percentages in all categories of income-support types. The ACT had noticeable lower percentages and hence these movers had less of a local impact on the metropolitan area to which they move.

## 4 POLICY RELEVANCE

The broad policy context for this study lies within the frameworks of the Commonwealth Departments of Family and Community Services and Employment and Workplace Relations, and the NSW Department of Housing. The information obtained from this research will clearly identify what factors low-income earners consider in deciding to move from a non-metropolitan region to metropolitan Sydney and Adelaide. Understanding these (often mixed) motives and their relative importance can help policy-makers better respond to the social, housing, and employment needs of those living in rural, remote, coastal and regional city areas.

A review of the literature and analysis of existing data sets, such as the LDS, only go so far in explaining the importance of different factors in income-support recipients' decisions to move, their self-assessment of their aggregate welfare levels before and after moving from non-metropolitan to city areas and the specific positive and negative welfare implications of moving to certain destinations.

From the LDS and the literature, we know which and how many income-support recipients are moving within each State and Territory in Australia. However, as stated, we do not know *why* they are moving – which factors most greatly influenced their decisions to move from non-metro to metropolitan areas. This can be inferred from administrative data sets and Census data, but primary survey research is required for a fuller understanding of the issue.

As a result of the research Governments will better understand the different demands for housing and non-housing outcomes in rural, coastal and regional cities and further, what factors are significant enough to make low-income earners move away from these regions. Examples may be access to services, need for closer contacts with extended family members, structural factors and job displacement, discrimination, health factors and education opportunities. This increased level of understanding can inform government about how best to structure policies and programs to ensure these non-metropolitan areas and cities are more effectively serviced with appropriate housing and community support at either the origin or destination locations.

The implications of the move from country to metropolitan regions are also likely be quite different for various subtypes of income-support recipients. That is, the adjustments that a sole parent makes after a move will be quite different than those an unemployed youth may make. The factors considered when deciding to move may differ based on the origin of the low-income mover (e.g. rural/inland, coastal, or regional city). Further, the implications of a move may also differ depending on the destination within the metropolitan area (e.g. outer suburb or inner city). This detailed level of information and analysis will enable the researchers to classify acute and long-term housing stresses based on broad settlement zones. A better understanding of the spatial variations of the employment-housing relationship within a social and economic frame will also be gleaned. For example, the migration from non-metropolitan to NSW to Sydney may have an impact on the waiting lists for public housing in Sydney. Currently, Newstart recipients in public housing wanting to move to the city who have found employment are given priority in the public housing system. The detailed knowledge gained from analysing the LDS and forthcoming survey results can inform housing assistance programs and projects directly and then be extrapolated to similar situations in the other States and Territories. Through the final analysis and policy conclusions, referral back to AHURI Project 70066 (which studied migration flows from metropolitan to country areas) will be conducted and comparisons and contrasts highlighted in the findings.

## 5 SOCIAL SURVEY METHODOLOGY

Besides a literature search and a detailed analysis of FaCS' Longitudinal Data Set, (both presented in earlier sections of this report), a social survey is being conducted of income-support recipients to determine the relative importance of certain factors in their residential location decisions and how their moves out of country NSW and SA into Sydney and Adelaide, respectively affected their net welfare. With limited resources and to complement the previous AHURI study by the same research team, the social survey focuses on NSW and South Australia.

As mentioned, the first aim of the study is to determine the factors, and the relative importance of those factors, that influence decisions by income-support recipients to move from non-metropolitan regions to cities, with particular reference to housing and employment considerations. The second aim is to assess the extent to which movers perceive themselves to be 'better off' or 'worse off' after moving.

The survey focuses on income-support recipients (Aged Pensioners; Newstart, Youth Allowance and Mature Aged Pensioners – aggregated together as the Unemployed; Disability Support Pensioners; and Sole Parenting payment recipients) since these low-income earners are likely to most intensely feel the results of moving into cities. Operational definitions of these income-support recipients are included in Appendix 2.

The survey methodology assumes the completion of between 1000 and 2000 self-administered, mail-back questionnaires by income-support recipients who moved within previous last 12 months and who were in receipt of a Commonwealth Government benefit payment both before and after relocation. A copy of the questionnaire is attached in Appendix 1. To achieve this number of returns, 7000 movers were selected from Centrelink's current database of its income-support clients. An expected response rate of 15-25 percent is based on recent FaCS experience with client surveys and the team's previous AHURI study. The sample was stratified by income-support type. The postcodes used to define the survey boundaries of metropolitan Sydney and Adelaide and non-metropolitan NSW and SA are listed in Appendix 3 and are exactly the same as the team's previous project.

Centrelink is able to identify (name and address), for each income-support type, how many clients moved within a 12-month period from a non-metropolitan postcode to a metropolitan postcode. Although FaCS is responsible for payments made by Centrelink, it is Centrelink's database that provided the names and addresses of the survey sample. For privacy reasons, FaCS directed staff at Centrelink to sample its client base (as noted above) and organise the mailing process to potential respondents with a contracted, bonded firm. The research team designed the questionnaire, organised the overprint for a reply-paid envelope and the printing of the package of mailout materials. Each 'mover' selected as part of the sample received a written subject information letter (as required by the UNSW and Adelaide University Ethics Committees), a questionnaire, and a reply-paid envelope for mailing back the survey. Participation in the survey process has been completely voluntary.

The sample was drawn in such a way to obtain sufficient returns for each income-support category from NSW and SA to enable reliable conclusions to be drawn from the data. Because of the relatively small numbers of movers from non-metropolitan SA to Adelaide, and variation in numbers of recipients moving in each of the categories in both NSW and SA, over-sampling in some categories was deemed necessary. In total, 4900 questionnaires have been dispatched to NSW residents and 2100 sent to SA movers. Specific details of distribution are found in Table 8.

**Table 8. Actual Numbers of Questionnaires Dispatched in NSW and SA by Income-Support Type**

<b>NSW</b>	Questionnaires sent
Unemployed	1914
Disabled	941
Single Parent	1013
Aged Pension	1032
<b>Total</b>	<b>4900</b>

<b>SA</b>	Questionnaires sent
Unemployed	877
Disabled	415
Single Parent	436
Aged Pension	372
<b>Total</b>	<b>2100</b>

Source: Centrelink 2003a

A reminder letter has been sent to all 7000 income-support recipients in the sample in attempts to achieve reasonable response rates. Survey packages were mailed out mid-January 2003 and are currently being collected. Completed questionnaires are being returned to the Faculty of the Built Environment, UNSW. Because a FaCS contract firm managed the mailout process to ensure confidentiality of its clients, the UNSW research team does not see the names or addresses of potential respondents unless questionnaires are returned with names and contact details for entry into an incentive draw prize of five \$100 cheques. This identifying information and entry into the draw is optional to ensure complete anonymity if a respondent so desires. When names and addresses are submitted, they are removed from the questionnaire and kept in a locked cabinet in a locked office at UNSW. Prize draw winners will be sent a cheque by mail mid-March, 2003. The completed, de-identified questionnaires are being processed for entry into a computer statistical program by our research team. All names and addresses and valid questionnaires will be destroyed at the completion of the research program.

## 6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This study with its literature review, analysis of Family and Community Services Longitudinal Data Set, and significant social survey will respond to some of the research gaps that currently exist in the migration literature vis-à-vis reasons for relocation, from country areas to large cities in Australia, especially amongst low-income movers. Why income-support recipients move out of the cities to non-metropolitan areas and concepts of well-being were studied by this same research team previously. This study mirrors that project and will produce a greater understanding of why income-support recipients move into cities, beyond obvious employment factors. When completed the comparative data will be analysed and provide a comprehensive understanding of low-income migration flows in Australia and the social, economic and environmental factors that are most significant to this population group. This includes their reasons for moving and their perceived sense of well-being in both origin and destination locations.

It is expected that this research will have broad policy implications and may result in changes to the social support systems administered by Federal, State and Local agencies dealing with housing, employment and other welfare services although these will be teased out during the analysis phase of the research. At a very minimum, this project, AHURI 0175, and the complementary study AHURI Project 70066 will theoretically and pragmatically inform the low-income migration debate on many levels. A Final Report is expected by July 2003.

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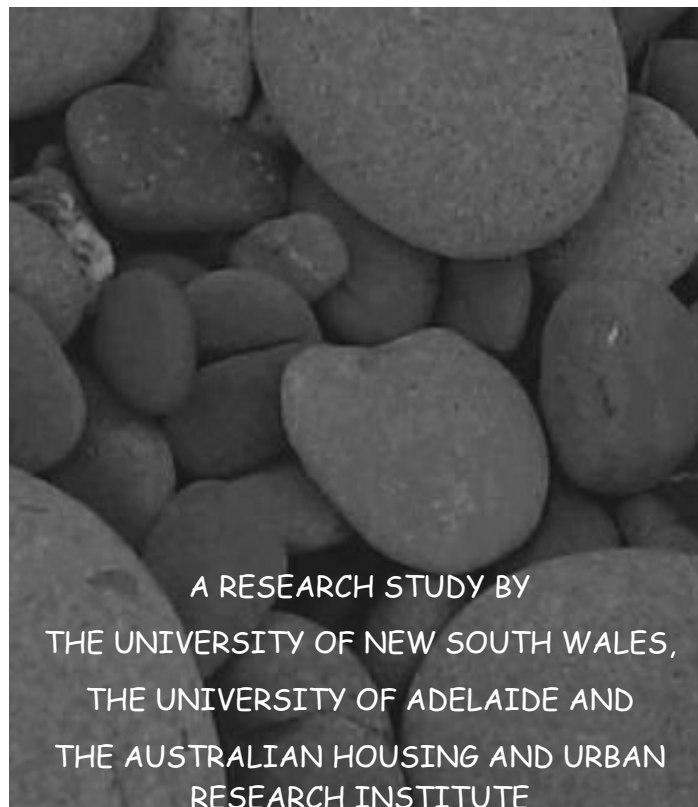
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## **APPENDIX 1. THE QUESTIONNAIRE**

Two, almost identical questionnaires were used in the research – one for Adelaide/SA and one for Sydney/NSW. The only differences are questions 17 and 20 which delineate the two specific study locations.

# Movement of People From Country Areas to Large Cities in Australia



January/February

2003



*fac*s making a difference

Commonwealth Department of Family and Community Services



THE UNIVERSITY  
OF ADELAIDE  
AUSTRALIA

## Survey Prize

When you have completed the questionnaire simply return it in the addressed, prepaid envelope provided. All respondents are eligible to enter a draw to win one of five \$100 gift vouchers from the store of their choice. If you want to be in the prize draw, please fill in your name and address below. Names will be removed from the survey so that no one can link you to your survey answers. Your Centrelink payment will NOT be affected if you win the prize. The prizes will be drawn on February 28, 2003. The winners will be contacted by mail.

Entry form for Prize Draw (OPTIONAL)

Name: -----Address:-----  
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## Survey Instructions

Our study is trying to understand why people have moved into Adelaide from smaller towns and rural parts of South Australia and what effect that has on them. Many of the questions you will be answering have to do with where you currently live and your situation when you last lived in Adelaide.

For our research purposes, country SA is seen as being outside the boundaries of Gawler, Mount Barker, and Noarlunga.

For most questions, you are asked to circle the number or letter of your response. For example, for the first question, "In which state do you live?" you would circle the letter B.

In which state do you currently live?

A. NSW

B. South Australia

For some questions, you are asked to simply write in your answer. For example,

What is your current postcode? 3000

Finally, for other questions, you are asked to consider your answers on a scale. For example,

How important were the following considerations for you in deciding to move out of Adelaide?

	very important	important	somewhat important	not important	not applicable
job opportunities	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 1	2	3	4	5
cost of living	1	2	3	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 4	5
housing costs	1	2	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 3	4	5

## Personal Details:

1. In which state do you currently live?

1. NSW
2. South Australia

2. Are you male or female?

1. Male
2. Female

3a. What is your current postcode? \_\_\_\_\_

3b. What is the name of the place where you now live? \_\_\_\_\_

4. What was your postcode when you last lived in country SA? \_\_\_\_\_

5. Please indicate which type of benefit or pension you currently receive.

1. not receiving any benefits at this time
2. Newstart Allowance (unemployed and **over** 21 years)
3. Youth Allowance (unemployed and under 21 years)
4. Mature Age Allowance (60+ years but not on the Age Pension)
5. Disability Support Pension
6. Sole Parenting Payment
7. Age Pension
8. not sure

6. What is your age? \_\_\_\_\_

7. In which country were you born?

1. born in Australia (go to Question 9)
2. born outside of Australia (complete Questions 8a and 8b)

**8a.** How long have you lived in Australia?

1. less than 5 years
2. 5-9 years
3. 10-19 years
4. 20 or more years

**8b.** Are you an Australian citizen?

1. yes
2. no

9. Which of the following best describes the current makeup of your household?

1. only yourself
  2. couple (or partners) with no dependent children at home
  3. couple with one or more dependent children at home
  4. a parent with one or more dependent children at home
  5. group of adults to whom you are not related
  6. group of adults to whom you are related
  7. other (please describe)
- 

10. Which of the following best describes the makeup of your household when you last lived in country SA?

1. only yourself
  2. couple (or partners) with no dependent children at home
  3. couple with one or more dependent children at home
  4. a parent with one or more dependent children at home
  5. group of adults to whom you are not related
  6. group of adults to whom you are related
  7. other (please describe)
- 

## Employment:

11. Do you currently have any paid employment?

1. yes (go to Question 12a and 12b)
2. no (go to Question 13)

12a. On average, approximately how many hours per week do you currently work in paid employment?

1. 0-10 hours/week
2. 11-20 hours/week
3. 21-30 hours/week
4. 31-40 hours/week

5. 41+ hours/week

12b. Would you like to work more hours than you currently do?

1. yes
2. no
3. not able to due to circumstance
4. not sure

13. The main income earner currently in your household is?

1. you
2. your partner
3. your parent
4. your child
5. other (please describe)

\_\_\_\_\_

14. The main income earner in your household when you last lived in country SA was?

1. you
2. your partner
3. your parent
4. your child
5. other (please describe)

\_\_\_\_\_

15. When you last lived in country SA were you personally....

1. employed full-time (working 30 hours or more per week)
2. employed part-time
3. unemployed (not working but actively looking for work)
4. employed casually
5. employed seasonally
6. not in the labour force
7. other (please describe)

\_\_\_\_\_

16. Which of the following best describes the immediate area where you last lived in

country SA?

1. village (less than 500 population)
  2. small town (less than 10,000 population)
  3. large town (more than 10,000 population)
  4. regional city
  5. rural area
  6. other (please describe)
- 

17. Which of the following best describes the immediate area in which you currently live?

1. central/main business district
2. inner city
3. northeastern suburbs
4. outer northern suburbs
5. outer southern suburbs

18. How many times have you moved from the country to the city, or vice versa, throughout your life?

1. 1
2. 2-4
3. 5-7
4. 8-10
5. more than 10

19. Have you lived in Adelaide previously?

1. yes When was that? (From what year to what year) \_\_\_\_\_
2. no

20. Where did you spend most of your childhood up to the age of 16? (choose only one)

1. the country area where you last lived
2. Adelaide (within the boundaries of Gawler, Mount Barker and Noarlunga)
3. another Australian city
4. rural district or country town in Australia
5. another country

21. When did you last live in country SA?

1. less than 6 months ago
2. 6-9 months ago
3. 9-12 months ago
4. more than 1 year ago

22. How long did you live in country SA when you last lived there?

1. less than 6 months
2. 6 months - 1 year
3. 1-3 years
4. 3-9 years
5. more than 10 years

**23a.** Were you directly or indirectly influenced in your decision to move because of the recent drought?

1. yes (go to Q23b)
2. no (go to Q24)

**23b.** If yes, how did the drought influence your decision to move?

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## Social and economic change:

- ◆ *How important were the following considerations for you in deciding to move out of country SA?*

	very important	important	somewhat important	not important	not applicable
24. job opportunities	1	2	3	4	9
25. retirement opportunities	1	2	3	4	9
26. change in marital or relationship status	1	2	3	4	9
27. distance to work	1	2	3	4	9
28. education facilities	1	2	3	4	9
29. housing quality	1	2	3	4	9
30. housing costs	1	2	3	4	9
31. access to commercial/shopping services	1	2	3	4	9
32. crime levels	1	2	3	4	9
33. to be closer to family and friends	1	2	3	4	9
34. change in employment situation	1	2	3	4	9
35. amount of meaningful social contact	1	2	3	4	9
36. cost of living	1	2	3	4	9
37. your health or that of a family member	1	2	3	4	9
38. amount of public transport	1	2	3	4	9
39. other (specify) _____	1	2	3	4	9

40. Overall, what was the main reason for your move to Adelaide? (give one only)

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## Housing indicators:

41. Which one of the following best describes your present housing situation?

1. own outright
  2. purchasing
  3. renting privately
  4. renting and receiving Centrelink rent assistance
  5. renting public housing
  6. boarding/lodging with family or friends
  7. other (please describe)
- 

42. Which one of the following best describes your housing situation when you last lived in country SA?

1. own outright
  2. purchasing
  3. renting privately
  4. renting and receiving Centrelink rent assistance
  5. renting public housing
  6. boarding/lodging with family or friends
  7. other (please describe)
- 

43. How much do you spend on your housing now as compared to when you last lived in country SA?

a lot more	more	about the same	less	a lot less
1	2	3	4	
5				

44. Which one of the following best describes the type of dwelling you presently live in?

1. house
2. flat/home unit

3. boarding house
  4. townhouse, villa, semi-detached
  5. caravan park
  6. retirement village
  7. nursing home
  8. other (please describe)
- 

45. Which one of the following best describes the type of dwelling you had when you last lived in country SA?

1. house
  2. flat/home unit
  3. boarding house
  4. townhouse, villa, semi-detached
  5. caravan park
  6. retirement village
  7. nursing home
  8. other (please describe)
-

◆ *How would you rate your current housing situation as compared to when you last lived in country SA?*

		much better here	somewhat better here	equal in both locations	somewhat better there	much better there	
46.	quality of housing	1	2	3	4	5	
47.	size of housing	1	2	3	4	5	
48.	affordability of housing	1	2	3	4	5	
49.	location of housing in relation to work opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	

### Place satisfaction:

50. Overall, how do you rate Adelaide as a place to live, for you?

	very good	good	neutral	poor	very poor
	1	2	3	4	5

◆ *How would you rate the following community amenities and services where you live now as compared to where you last lived in country SA?*

		much better here	somewhat better here	equal in both locations	somewhat better there	much better there	not applicable	
51.	restaurants and clubs	1	2	3	4	5	9	
52.	health services	1	2	3	4	5	9	
53.	recreation facilities	1	2	3	4	5	9	
54.	banking/commercial services	1	2	3	4	5	9	
55.	shopping facilities	1	2	3	4	5	9	

56.	community spirit	1	2	3	4	5	9
57.	transportation	1	2	3	4	5	9
58.	transportation costs	1	2	3	4	5	9
59.	childcare facilities	1	2	3	4	5	9
60.	youth services	1	2	3	4	5	9
61.	aged services	1	2	3	4	5	9
62.	disability services	1	2	3	4	5	9

◆ *From your own experience, how satisfactory has it been to make the following lifestyle adjustments since moving to Adelaide?*

		very satisfactory	satisfactory	somewhat unsatisfactory	unsatisfactory	not applicable
63.	making new friends	1	2	3	4	9
64.	maintaining family ties	1	2	3	4	9
65.	living a different lifestyle	1	2	3	4	9
66.	getting involved in the community	1	2	3	4	9
67.	finding paid work	1	2	3	4	9
68.	accessing community services	1	2	3	4	9

69. Overall, how do you rate your previous community, the country area you moved from, as a place to live?

	very good	good	neutral	poor	very poor
	1	2	3	4	5

70a. To what extent has your last move from the country resulted in you being 'better off' than you were before you moved?

much better off after the move	somewhat better off after the move	about the same	slightly better off before the move	much better off before the move
1	2	3	4	5

70b. What is the main reason for you giving this answer? (give one only)

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71. What is the likelihood of you moving within the next 12 months back to country SA?

very likely	somewhat likely	not sure	somewhat unlikely	very unlikely
1	2	3	4	5

72. Do you have any other comments you would like to make regarding the difference between where you live now and where you lived previously?

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Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey.

Please return it in the prepaid reply envelope provided.

Alternatively, please mail to: Nancy Marshall

Faculty of the Built Environment

The University of New South Wales

UNSW Sydney, NSW

2052

## APPENDIX 2. INCOME-SUPPORT TYPE TERMINOLOGY

This Appendix has been copied verbatim from Centrelink's (2003b) *A Guide to Commonwealth Government Payments* on behalf of the Commonwealth Department of Family and Community Services and the Department of Education, Science and Training. It presents, for each of the income support categories studied, the basic conditions of eligibility and residential qualifications required for payment. Whilst these payment criteria are determined by the Commonwealth Department of Family and Community Services, the actual income support payment system is administered by Centrelink offices.

### **Newstart Allowance (Unemployment Income Support)**

#### *Basic Conditions of Eligibility:*

- Must be unemployed, and capable of undertaking, available for and actively seeking work or temporarily incapacitated for work.
- Aged 21 or over but under Age Pension age and registered as unemployed.
- May do training and voluntary work with approval.
- Willing to enter into a Preparing for Work Agreement if required, allowing participation in a broad range of activities.
- NSA recipients incapacitated for work remain on NSA, subject to medical certificates.

#### *Residential Qualifications:*

- Must be an Australian resident.
- Available to newly arrived migrants after 104 weeks as an Australian resident in Australia (some exemptions may apply).
- If exempt from activity test may be paid for up to 26 weeks of temporary overseas absence in certain circumstances.

### **Youth Allowance (Youth Unemployment)\***

\*Whilst this income support category can include full-time students, our study does not. Students have been delineated out of the sample by FaCS criteria.

#### *Basic Conditions of Eligibility:*

- Full-time students aged 16 to 24 years, or temporarily incapacitated for study;
  - 16 and 17 year olds must generally be in full-time study;
- Students aged 25 years and over, getting Youth Allowance immediately before turning 25 AND remaining in the same course.
- Unemployed aged under 21 years, looking for work or combining part-time study with job search, or undertaking any other approved activity, or temporarily incapacitated for work.
- Independent, aged 15 and above the school leaving age (e.g. homeless) who are in full-time study or undertaking a combination of approved activities.

#### *Residential Qualifications:*

- Must be an Australian resident.
- Available to newly arrived migrants after 104 weeks as an Australian resident in Australia (some exemptions may apply).
- If exempt from activity test may be paid for up to 26 weeks of temporary overseas absence in certain circumstances. Different rules apply to full-time students.



## Parenting Payment

### *Basic Conditions of Eligibility:*

- Must have qualifying child under 16 (sole and partnered parents).
- Can be paid to only one member of a couple.

### Residential Qualifications:

- Australian resident for 104 weeks (not including absences), or a refugee, or became a sole parent while an Australian resident, or has a qualifying residence exemption.
- Can be paid for up to 26 weeks for temporary overseas absences.
- Different rules apply if person is covered by an International Social Security Agreement.

## Aged Pension

### *Basic Conditions of Eligibility:*

- Men aged 65 or over OR women age increasing (see table below).

Women born between	Eligible for Age Pension at Age
1 July 1935 and 31 Dec. 1936	60 1/2
1 Jan. 1937 and 30 June 1938	61
1 July 1938 and 31 Dec. 1939	61 1/2
1 Jan. 1940 and 30 June 1941	62
1 July 1941 and 31 Dec. 1942	62 1/2
1 Jan. 1943 and 30 June 1944	63
1 July 1944 and 31 Dec. 1945	63 1/2
1 Jan. 1946 and 30 June 1947	64
1 July 1947 and 31 Dec. 1948	64 1/2
1 Jan. 1949 and later	65

### *Residential Qualifications:*

- Must be an Australian resident and in Australia on the day the claim is lodged, unless claiming under an International Social Security Agreement.
- Must have been an Australian resident for a total of at least 10 years, at least five of these years in one period; OR
- Residence in certain countries with which Australia has an International Social Security Agreement may count towards Australian residence; OR
- May have a qualifying residence exemption (arrived as refugee or under special humanitarian program); OR
- A woman who is widowed in Australia, when both she and her late partner were Australian residents and who has 104 weeks residence immediately prior to claim; OR
- Was in receipt of Widow B Pension, Widow Allowance, Mature Age Allowance or Partner Allowance immediately before turning Age Pension age.
- Can be paid overseas indefinitely (rate may change after 26 weeks).

Note: Special rules in the case of New Zealand.

## **Disability Support Pension**

### *Basic Conditions of Eligibility:*

- Aged 16 or more but under Age Pension age at date of claim lodgement; AND
- Must have a physical, intellectual, or psychiatric impairment assessed at 20 points or more; AND
- Inability to work for at least the next two years as a result of impairment; AND
- Inability, as a result of impairment, to undertake educational or vocational training which would equip the person for work within the next two years; OR
- Aged 16 or more but under Age Pension age at date of claim lodgement; AND
- Be permanently blind.

### *Residential Qualifications:*

- Must be an Australian resident and in Australia on the day the claim is lodged, unless claiming under an International Social Security Agreement.
- Must have been an Australian resident for a total of at least 10 years, at least five of these years in one period; OR
- Residence in certain countries with which Australia has an International Social Security Agreement may count towards Australian residence; OR
- May have a qualifying residence exemption (arrived as refugee or under special humanitarian program); OR
- Immediately eligible if inability to work occurred while an Australian resident or during temporary absence.
- May be paid for up to 26 weeks of temporary overseas absence or indefinitely if severely disabled.

## 7 APPENDIX 3: POSTCODES USED TO DEFINE SURVEY BOUNDARIES

The Sydney and Adelaide metropolitan regions have been specifically defined for purposes of this research. The definitions generally represent the outer limits of contiguous urban development within the respective cities. Whilst they are not a technical definition, they do articulate the boundaries in order to give the questionnaire respondent more than an 'intuitive sense' of the city region.

- *Sydney* has been defined as the area within the boundaries of Penrith, Campbelltown, Sutherland and Hornsby.
- *Adelaide* is seen as being within the boundaries of Gawler, Mount Barker, and Noarlunga.

The following postcodes defined the metro and non-metropolitan areas for the survey. Canberra (so as not to be mixed in with NSW) postcodes were excluded from the survey as were the following Newcastle (north of Sydney) and Wollongong (south of Sydney) postcodes, which were viewed to be part of the Newcastle-Sydney-Wollongong metropolitan conurbation.

Postcodes Included	Postcodes Excluded
<p><b><u>Sydney metropolitan area</u></b></p> <p>1000 – 1920  2000 – 2082  2084 – 2155  2158  2160 – 2170  2173 – 2177  2190 – 2234  2558  2560  2564 – 2566  2750 – 2751  2760 – 2761  2763  2766 – 2768  2770</p>	<p><b><u>Newcastle metropolitan postcodes</u></b></p> <p>2280  2285  2289 – 2308  2310</p> <p><b><u>Wollongong metropolitan postcodes</u></b></p> <p>1925 – 1928  2500  2502  2505 – 2506  2517 – 2520  2522  2525 – 2526</p> <p><b><u>Canberra Metropolitan Postcodes</u></b></p> <p>200  221  291 – 299  2600 – 2607  2612 – 2617  2900 – 2906  2911 – 2914</p>
<p><b><u>Adelaide metropolitan postcodes</u></b></p> <p>5000 – 5001  5005 – 5025  5031 – 5035  5037 – 5052  5061  5063  5065 – 5070  5073 – 5075  5081 – 5088  5090 – 5098  5106 – 5109  5111 – 5113  5127  5158 – 5159  5161 – 5162  5164 – 5168</p>	

## **AHURI Research Centres**

Sydney Research Centre  
UNSW-UWS Research Centre  
RMIT NATSEM Research Centre  
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Queensland Research Centre  
Western Australia Research Centre  
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## **Affiliates**

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