

CHAPTER 4. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND ITS IMPACT ON POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Over the post war period net international migration has been responsible for around half of Australia's population growth, while in the three years to December 2009 it made up 64 percent of national population growth (ABS, 2010a, 2). Accordingly, where immigrants settle when they arrive in Australia has an important influence on national and regional population distributions and needs to be considered in concert with net internal migration and natural increase to examine the dynamics of regional population growth. In this chapter we address that issue and examine the influence of where immigrants settle on population distribution.

This chapter has three aims. It firstly seeks to assess the impact of settlement of recently arrived international immigrants on the changing distribution of population in Australia. Secondly, it compares the distribution of the Australia-born and overseas-born populations to identify differences and their effects on population distribution. Thirdly, the internal migration patterns of recently arrived migrants are compared with those of the Australia-born.

4.2 INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND ITS EFFECTS ON POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

The internal migration analyses undertaken in Chapter 2 were based on census data which asked respondents where they lived five years ago, (that is, in 2001). Immigrants who arrived in Australia after 2001, and who completed the 2006 census, reported that their usual residence in 2001 was 'overseas'. Therefore, they are excluded from the census internal migration data, which only includes people residing in Australia in 2001, notwithstanding whether or not they moved residence between arrival and 2006. The same applies for Australians who were absent overseas in 2001 and returned sometime after 2001 and before 2006.

Internal migration data based on previous residence therefore does not detect the impact on population redistribution of international migrants arriving between 2001 and 2006. Therefore, it is important to examine the magnitude, and distribution, of recent international migration over the 2001 to 2006 intercensal period. Table 4.1 shows that at the 2006 census, nearly 820,000 international migrants had arrived in Australia since 2001. The probability that these migrants also engaged in one or more residential moves within Australia between their arrival and the 2006 census is high, and yet none of these moves would have been captured by the 2006 census internal migration data. There are a number of pertinent points arising from this table:

- Between them, Sydney and Melbourne had 53.2 percent of these recently arrived migrants living in their SDs in 2006. These are the two capital cities in Australia that experienced the greatest levels of net internal migration loss between 2001 and 2006. The 435,000 international migrants that arrived in these locations after 2001 not only counterbalanced this net internal migration loss, but also made a significant contribution to population growth in these two large cities.

- The proportion of international migrants arriving in Australia after 2001 who lived in Brisbane and Perth statistical divisions in 2006 was 11.1 and 10.7 percent respectively.
- 82.8 percent of recently arrived immigrants resided in the capital city statistical divisions in 2006. Of the remaining SDs, the highest concentrations of one percent or greater occurred in just three SDs – Gold Coast (3.4 percent), Sunshine Coast (1.4) and Hunter (1.0) – all coastal SDs close to major metropolitan areas.
- The peri-urban statistical divisions adjoining major cities, such as Outer Adelaide, Barwon and South West-WA had smaller but significant gains of recent migrants
- It is noticeable that while the numbers are much smaller than those in the capital cities, there were substantial recent immigrant populations in some tourist coastal localities and inland mining industry areas.

Table 4.1: Usual residence overseas in 2001, total population, statistical divisions, 2006

Statistical Division	Overseas in 2001	Percent, Total	Statistical Division	Overseas in 2001	Percent, Total
Sydney	244075	29.8	Adelaide	41049	5.0
Hunter	8407	1.0	Outer Adelaide	1577	0.2
Illawarra	7440	0.9	Yorke and Lower North	225	0.0
Richmond-Tweed	3997	0.5	Murray Lands	889	0.1
Mid-North Coast	3062	0.4	South East	759	0.1
Northern - NSW	1755	0.2	Eyre	261	0.0
North Western	819	0.1	Northern - SA	885	0.1
Central West - NSW	1417	0.2	Perth	87488	10.7
South Eastern - NSW	2631	0.3	South West - WA	5391	0.7
Murrumbidgee	2048	0.3	Lower Great Southern	1135	0.1
Murray	1019	0.1	Upper Great Southern	255	0.0
Far West	162	0.0	Midlands	835	0.1
Melbourne	191531	23.4	South Eastern - WA	2091	0.3
Barwon	4715	0.6	Central	1004	0.1
Western District	1075	0.1	Pilbara	1581	0.2
Central Highlands	1828	0.2	Kimberley	539	0.1
Wimmera	427	0.1	Greater Hobart	4665	0.6
Mallee	1124	0.1	Southern	367	0.0
Loddon	1699	0.2	Northern - TAS	2244	0.3
Goulburn	2688	0.3	Mersey-Lyell	1025	0.1
Ovens-Murray	969	0.1	Darwin	3518	0.4
East Gippsland	799	0.1	Northern Territory - Bal	1947	0.2
Gippsland	1679	0.2	Canberra	14431	1.8
Brisbane	90788	11.1	Australian Capital Territory - Bal	26	0.0
Gold Coast	27957	3.4	Total - Australia	817793	100.0
Sunshine Coast	11213	1.4			
West Moreton	974	0.1			
Wide Bay-Burnett	3694	0.5			
Darling Downs	4286	0.5			
South West - QLD	221	0.0			
Fitzroy	3443	0.4			
Central West - QLD	108	0.0			
Mackay	3464	0.4			
Northern - QLD	4412	0.5			
Far North	6954	0.9			
North West	726	0.1			

There is a slight female bias to the number of persons who had an international usual residence in 2001 – 51.3 percent were female. More females than males resided in Sydney, Brisbane and Canberra. Since the mid 1980s there have been more females than males among permanent arrivals to Australia (Rudd, 2004).

Table 4.2: Usual residence overseas in 2001, total population by age, statistical divisions, 2006

Statistical Division	Overseas in 2001										Statistical Division Total
	0 to 14 years	Percent, Total	15 to 24 years	Percent, Total	25 to 44 years	Percent, Total	45 to 64 years	Percent, Total	65 years and over	Percent, Total	
Sydney	29278	12.0	51656	21.2	133253	54.6	24081	9.9	5808	2.4	244076
Hunter	1244	14.8	1530	18.2	4254	50.6	1104	13.1	275	3.3	8407
Illawarra	954	12.8	1832	24.6	3459	46.5	929	12.5	268	3.6	7442
Richmond-Tweed	528	13.2	496	12.4	2049	51.3	698	17.5	227	5.7	3998
Mid-North Coast	489	16.0	324	10.6	1358	44.4	679	22.2	212	6.9	3062
Northern - NSW	310	17.7	339	19.3	800	45.6	246	14.0	59	3.4	1754
North Western	139	17.0	91	11.1	455	55.7	109	13.3	23	2.8	817
Central West - NSW	248	17.5	232	16.4	655	46.3	227	16.1	52	3.7	1414
South Eastern - NSW	467	17.8	280	10.6	1306	49.7	479	18.2	98	3.7	2630
Murrumbidgee	366	17.9	405	19.8	980	47.9	250	12.2	46	2.2	2047
Murray	137	13.5	145	14.2	562	55.2	141	13.9	33	3.2	1018
Far West	32	19.8	13	8.0	92	56.8	22	13.6	3	1.9	162
Melbourne	23283	12.2	49229	25.7	97119	50.7	18095	9.4	3804	2.0	191530
Barwon	796	16.9	855	18.1	2385	50.6	556	11.8	124	2.6	4716
Western District	185	17.2	181	16.8	513	47.7	165	15.3	32	3.0	1076
Central Highlands	221	12.1	356	19.5	966	52.8	228	12.5	58	3.2	1829
Wimmera	84	19.7	52	12.2	212	49.6	67	15.7	12	2.8	427
Mallee	180	16.0	204	18.2	578	51.5	137	12.2	23	2.0	1122
Loddon	253	14.9	235	13.8	879	51.7	264	15.5	68	4.0	1699
Goulburn	527	19.6	617	22.9	1079	40.1	382	14.2	84	3.1	2689
Ovens-Murray	165	17.0	106	10.9	522	53.9	150	15.5	26	2.7	969
East Gippsland	131	16.4	96	12.0	388	48.6	139	17.4	44	5.5	798
Gippsland	260	15.5	307	18.3	785	46.7	268	16.0	60	3.6	1680
Brisbane	13898	15.3	19340	21.3	44517	49.0	10899	12.0	2134	2.4	90788
Gold Coast	4176	14.9	5398	19.3	12578	45.0	4625	16.5	1181	4.2	27958
Sunshine Coast	1985	17.7	1325	11.8	4540	40.5	2620	23.4	744	6.6	12114
West Moreton	145	14.9	147	15.1	461	47.3	174	17.9	47	4.8	974
Wide Bay-Burnett	565	15.3	471	12.8	1490	40.4	878	23.8	288	7.8	3692
Darling Downs	759	17.7	1007	23.5	1836	42.8	551	12.9	132	3.1	4285
South West - QLD	32	14.5	24	10.9	133	60.5	25	11.4	6	2.7	220
Fitzroy	522	15.2	464	13.5	1891	54.9	490	14.2	76	2.2	3443
Central West - QLD	12	11.1	18	16.7	54	50.0	21	19.4	3	2.8	108
Mackay	528	15.2	501	14.5	1800	52.0	570	16.5	64	1.8	3463
Northern - QLD	667	15.1	785	17.8	2140	48.5	682	15.5	139	3.1	4413
Far North	932	13.4	971	14.0	3578	51.4	1241	17.8	233	3.4	6955
North West	132	18.2	101	13.9	363	50.0	121	16.7	9	1.2	726
Adelaide	6284	15.3	10357	25.2	19505	47.5	4074	9.9	830	2.0	41050
Outer Adelaide	293	18.6	145	9.2	726	46.0	323	20.5	91	5.8	1578
Yorke and Lower North	43	19.0	17	7.5	94	41.6	65	28.8	7	3.1	226
Murray Lands	158	17.8	134	15.1	460	51.7	123	13.8	15	1.7	890
South East	154	20.3	112	14.7	378	49.7	92	12.1	24	3.2	760
Eyre	33	12.6	36	13.7	146	55.7	43	16.4	4	1.5	262
Northern - SA	153	17.3	98	11.1	454	51.2	155	17.5	26	2.9	886
Perth	14879	17.0	17758	20.3	40831	46.7	11545	13.2	2475	2.8	87488
South West - WA	1004	18.6	598	11.1	2465	45.7	1054	19.6	270	5.0	5391
Lower Great Southern	179	15.8	153	13.5	587	51.7	166	14.6	50	4.4	1135
Upper Great Southern	28	11.0	32	12.5	138	54.1	46	18.0	11	4.3	255
Midlands	134	16.1	96	11.5	390	46.8	187	22.4	27	3.2	834
South Eastern - WA	384	18.4	298	14.3	1042	49.8	348	16.6	19	0.9	2091
Central	156	15.5	114	11.3	522	51.9	176	17.5	37	3.7	1005
Pilbara	262	16.6	130	8.2	878	55.5	289	18.3	24	1.5	1583
Kimberley	61	11.3	56	10.4	322	59.7	90	16.7	10	1.9	539
Greater Hobart	586	12.6	1183	25.3	2181	46.7	591	12.7	126	2.7	4667
Southern	37	10.1	25	6.8	179	48.6	98	26.6	29	7.9	368
Northern - TAS	351	15.6	537	23.9	1000	44.5	287	12.8	70	3.1	2245
Mersey-Lyell	188	18.3	103	10.0	475	46.3	203	19.8	57	5.6	1026
Darwin	530	15.1	547	15.6	1831	52.1	544	15.5	65	1.8	3517
Northern Territory - Bal	295	15.1	213	10.9	1076	55.2	345	17.7	20	1.0	1849
Canberra	1812	12.6	3214	22.3	7248	50.2	1884	13.1	272	1.9	14430
Australian Capital Territory - Bal	0	0.0	5	20.8	19	79.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	24
Total - Australia	112634	13.8	176094	21.5	412977	50.5	95041	11.6	21054	2.6	817800

The age breakdown of these persons is shown in Table 4.2. The largest age group for persons who resided overseas in 2001 was for those aged 25-44 years, with those aged 15-24 years ranked second.

The impact of these levels of international migration on population distribution in Australia need to be tempered by that fact that they will be offset by people who have left Australia after 2001 and who had an international address as their usual residence in 2006. The census has no way of measuring this offset to enable a net value for the impact of international migration on the size, structure and distribution of population throughout Australia. However, given that Australia has experienced net overseas migration gains for each year of the current decade, clearly international migration results in net gain, and in many areas, especially some of the capital city statistical divisions that have experienced significant net internal migration losses between 2001 and 2006. Nowhere is this more the case than in Sydney and Melbourne statistical divisions.

In this discussion, however, persons whose usual residence was overseas in 2001 included Australians expatriates, as well as migrants arriving from other countries. The impact of the Australia-born can be eliminated by using usual residence in 2001 data for migrants who arrived in Australia after 2001. Year of Arrival data is only sought from persons who were born overseas – hence Australia-born persons are excluded. Table 4.3 shows the distribution in 2006 of persons who migrated to Australia between 2002 and 2006¹.

These data indicate that more than 550,000 migrants arrived in Australia after the end of 2001, and these are not included in the internal migration data for the 2001-2006 period. Significantly, the highest concentrations of this group in 2006 were located in Sydney and Melbourne, and it is clear that these migrants have offset some of the large net internal migration losses experienced by these two capital cities between 2001 and 2006. Of course, the caveat defined above needs to be reinforced, namely, we have no way of determining how many Australians emigrated from these statistical divisions after 2001. Hence, net international migration from each SD cannot be computed. However, it is the case, certainly for the capital cities, that net gains from international migration have occurred between 2001 and 2006.

Table 4.3: Usual residence overseas in 2001, arrivals 2002-06, statistical divisions, 2006

Statistical Division	Overseas in 2001	Percent, Total	Statistical Division	Overseas in 2001	Percent, Total
Sydney	167460	30.1	Adelaide	29659	5.3
Hunter	4865	0.9	Outer Adelaide	910	0.2
Illawarra	4736	0.9	Yorke and Lower North	129	0.0
Richmond-Tweed	2153	0.4	Murray Lands	618	0.1
Mid-North Coast	1653	0.3	South East	519	0.1
Northern - NSW	1062	0.2	Eyre	147	0.0
North Western	490	0.1	Northern - SA	562	0.1
Central West - NSW	779	0.1	Perth	61947	11.1
South Eastern - NSW	1259	0.2	South West - WA	3632	0.7
Murrumbidgee	1437	0.3	Lower Great Southern	756	0.1
Murray	565	0.1	Upper Great Southern	157	0.0
Far West	96	0.0	Midlands	607	0.1
Melbourne	134788	24.2	South Eastern - WA	1593	0.3
Barwon	2820	0.5	Central	648	0.1
Western District	700	0.1	Pilbara	1175	0.2
Central Highlands	1168	0.2	Kimberley	289	0.1
Wimmera	286	0.1	Greater Hobart	2911	0.5
Mallee	769	0.1	Southern	169	0.0
Loddon	871	0.2	Northern - TAS	1437	0.3
Goulburn	1814	0.3	Mersey-Lyell	626	0.1
Ovens-Murray	488	0.1	TAS Off-Shore Areas & Migration	3	0.0
East Gippsland	482	0.1	TAS No Usual Address	30	0.0
Gippsland	1029	0.2	Darwin	2193	0.4
Brisbane	60355	10.9	Northern Territory - Bal	1279	0.2
Gold Coast	18666	3.4	Canberra	8213	1.5
Sunshine Coast	7041	1.3	Australian Capital Territory - Bal	21	0.0
West Moreton	664	0.1	Total - Australia	556143	100.0
Wide Bay-Burnett	2173	0.4			
Darling Downs	2960	0.5			
South West - QLD	162	0.0			
Fitzroy	2329	0.4			
Central West - QLD	59	0.0			
Mackay	2364	0.4			
Northern - QLD	2880	0.5			
Far North	3988	0.7			
North West	502	0.1			

¹ It also excludes overseas born immigrants who arrived between the beginning of 2002 and the census in August 2006.

The arrivals between 2002-06 group can be disaggregated by sex, as shown in Table 4.4. In this group, 50.9 percent comprised females. The breakdown by age of international migrants arriving in Australia between 2002 and 2006 is shown in Table 4.5.

Table 4.4: Usual residence overseas in 2001, arrivals 2002-06 by sex, statistical divisions, 2006

Statistical Division	Male		Female	
	Overseas in 2001	Percent, Total	Overseas in 2001	Percent, Total
Sydney	8118	29.7	86342	30.5
Hunter	2354	0.9	2509	0.9
Illawarra	2344	0.9	2391	0.8
Richmond-Tweed	1037	0.4	1114	0.4
Mid-North Coast	755	0.3	899	0.3
Northern - NSW	520	0.2	543	0.2
North Western	259	0.1	232	0.1
Central West - NSW	393	0.1	386	0.1
South Eastern - NSW	599	0.2	660	0.2
Murrumbidgee	700	0.3	734	0.3
Murray	283	0.1	282	0.1
Far West	34	0.0	63	0.0
Melbourne	67438	24.7	67350	23.8
Barwon	1440	0.5	1381	0.5
Western District	361	0.1	339	0.1
Central Highlands	612	0.2	556	0.2
Wimmera	126	0.0	156	0.1
Mallee	363	0.1	407	0.1
Loddon	425	0.2	445	0.2
Goulburn	869	0.3	944	0.3
Ovens-Murray	256	0.1	234	0.1
East Gippsland	218	0.1	264	0.1
Gippsland	490	0.2	540	0.2
Brisbane	29249	10.7	31106	11.0
Gold Coast	9013	3.3	9653	3.4
Sunshine Coast	3442	1.3	3600	1.3
West Moreton	330	0.1	334	0.1
Wide Bay-Burnett	1013	0.4	1161	0.4
Darling Downs	1555	0.6	1404	0.5
South West - QLD	84	0.0	78	0.0
Fitzroy	1293	0.5	1037	0.4
Central West - QLD	22	0.0	38	0.0
Mackay	1198	0.4	1163	0.4
Northern - QLD	1380	0.5	1498	0.5
Far North	1754	0.6	2234	0.8
North West	242	0.1	260	0.1
Adelaide	14801	5.4	14859	5.2
Outer Adelaide	437	0.2	474	0.2
Yorke and Lower North	66	0.0	64	0.0
Murray Lands	317	0.1	300	0.1
South East	274	0.1	244	0.1
Eyre	65	0.0	81	0.0
Northern - SA	274	0.1	289	0.1
Perth	30529	11.2	31416	11.1
South West - WA	1757	0.6	1876	0.7
Lower Great Southern	401	0.1	354	0.1
Upper Great Southern	72	0.0	87	0.0
Midlands	306	0.1	302	0.1
South Eastern - WA	871	0.3	725	0.3
Central	313	0.1	337	0.1
Pilbara	591	0.2	585	0.2
Kimberley	130	0.0	158	0.1
Greater Hobart	1410	0.5	1501	0.5
Southern	76	0.0	93	0.0
Northern - TAS	723	0.3	714	0.3
Mersey-Lyell	296	0.1	328	0.1
Darwin	1008	0.4	1183	0.4
Northern Territory - Bal	629	0.2	651	0.2
Canberra	3964	1.5	4250	1.5
Australian Capital Territory - Bal	11	0.0	10	0.0
Total - Australia	272890	100.0	283218	100.0

Numerically, the 24-44 years age group is the largest, nearly twice the size of the younger 15-24 years age group.

Table 4.5: Usual residence overseas in 2001, arrivals 2002-06 by age, statistical divisions, 2006

Statistical Division	Overseas in 2001										Statistical Division Total
	0 to 14 years	Percent, Total	15 to 24 years	Percent, Total	25 to 44 years	Percent, Total	45 to 64 years	Percent, Total	65 years and over	Percent, Total	
Sydney	21240	12.7	39938	23.8	89680	53.6	13351	8.0	3253	1.9	167462
Hunter	847	17.4	1096	22.5	2255	46.4	538	11.1	128	2.6	4864
Illawarra	645	13.6	1449	30.6	2077	43.9	443	9.4	120	2.5	4734
Richmond-Tweed	363	16.9	350	16.2	1017	47.2	297	13.8	127	5.9	2154
Mid-North Coast	340	20.5	223	13.5	686	41.5	301	18.2	105	6.3	1655
Northern - NSW	209	19.7	246	23.1	460	43.3	120	11.3	28	2.6	1063
North Western	98	20.0	66	13.5	258	52.7	61	12.4	7	1.4	490
Central West - NSW	160	20.5	148	19.0	352	45.1	101	12.9	20	2.6	781
South Eastern - NSW	270	21.4	156	12.4	615	48.8	180	14.3	38	3.0	1259
Murrumbidgee	274	19.1	327	22.8	647	45.1	164	11.4	22	1.5	1434
Murray	94	16.7	87	15.5	296	52.6	76	13.5	10	1.8	563
Far West	23	24.2	7	7.4	50	52.6	11	11.6	4	4.2	95
Melbourne	17446	12.9	40446	30.0	64371	47.8	10410	7.7	2114	1.6	134787
Barwon	557	19.7	641	22.7	1320	46.8	231	8.2	72	2.6	2821
Western District	151	21.6	148	21.1	303	43.3	83	11.9	15	2.1	700
Central Highlands	160	13.7	289	24.8	586	50.2	104	8.9	28	2.4	1167
Wimmera	69	24.3	40	14.1	131	46.1	36	12.7	8	2.8	284
Mallee	135	17.6	151	19.7	393	51.2	80	10.4	9	1.2	768
Loddon	153	17.6	170	19.6	414	47.6	106	12.2	26	3.0	869
Goulburn	384	21.2	501	27.6	668	36.8	222	12.2	39	2.1	1814
Ovens-Murray	106	21.7	58	11.9	256	52.5	56	11.5	12	2.5	488
East Gippsland	92	19.0	68	14.1	220	45.5	76	15.7	27	5.6	483
Gippsland	186	18.1	232	22.5	444	43.1	148	14.4	20	1.9	1030
Brisbane	10448	17.3	14848	24.6	27436	45.5	6390	10.6	1232	2.0	60354
Gold Coast	3111	16.7	4125	22.1	7866	42.1	2862	15.3	702	3.8	18666
Sunshine Coast	1516	21.5	931	13.2	2643	37.5	1515	21.5	437	6.2	7042
West Moreton	115	17.3	101	15.2	321	48.2	97	14.6	32	4.8	666
Wide Bay-Burnett	379	17.4	282	13.0	884	40.7	474	21.8	154	7.1	2173
Darling Downs	549	18.5	803	27.1	1208	40.8	319	10.8	81	2.7	2960
South West - QLD	33	20.5	20	12.4	89	55.3	16	9.9	3	1.9	161
Fitzroy	385	16.5	349	15.0	1260	54.1	295	12.7	39	1.7	2328
Central West - QLD	6	10.0	13	21.7	27	45.0	11	18.3	3	5.0	60
Mackay	416	17.6	342	14.5	1206	51.0	361	15.3	38	1.6	2363
Northern - QLD	502	17.4	589	20.4	1349	46.8	382	13.3	59	2.0	2881
Far North	603	15.1	656	16.5	2023	50.8	588	14.8	116	2.9	3986
North West	103	20.5	78	15.5	242	48.1	80	15.9	0	0.0	503
Adelaide	4963	16.7	8591	29.0	13349	45.0	2344	7.9	411	1.4	29658
Outer Adelaide	207	22.7	103	11.3	390	42.8	161	17.7	50	5.5	911
Yorke and Lower North	36	27.1	9	6.8	58	43.6	30	22.6	0	0.0	133
Murray Lands	106	17.2	102	16.5	348	56.3	53	8.6	9	1.5	618
South East	121	23.4	90	17.4	248	48.0	53	10.3	5	1.0	517
Eyre	28	19.3	19	13.1	74	51.0	24	16.6	0	0.0	145
Northern - SA	106	18.9	71	12.7	297	52.9	79	14.1	8	1.4	561
Perth	11610	18.7	14191	22.9	27230	44.0	7286	11.8	1630	2.6	61947
South West - WA	785	21.6	423	11.6	1574	43.3	687	18.9	163	4.5	3632
Lower Great Southern	134	17.7	118	15.6	389	51.5	89	11.8	26	3.4	756
Upper Great Southern	17	10.7	25	15.7	76	47.8	32	20.1	9	5.7	159
Midlands	113	18.6	75	12.3	287	47.2	120	19.7	13	2.1	608
South Eastern - WA	306	19.2	249	15.6	775	48.7	251	15.8	12	0.8	1593
Central	126	19.5	80	12.4	325	50.2	94	14.5	22	3.4	647
Pilbara	222	18.9	103	8.8	630	53.6	205	17.4	15	1.3	1175
Kimberley	45	15.6	34	11.8	167	57.8	40	13.8	3	1.0	289
Greater Hobart	427	14.7	964	33.1	1173	40.3	292	10.0	54	1.9	2910
Southern	23	13.5	15	8.8	75	44.1	45	26.5	12	7.1	170
Northern - TAS	272	18.9	420	29.2	581	40.4	131	9.1	34	2.4	1438
Mersey-Lyell	137	21.9	72	11.5	292	46.6	99	15.8	26	4.2	626
Darwin	386	17.6	396	18.1	1135	51.8	258	11.8	18	0.8	2193
Northern Territory - Bal	241	18.8	137	10.7	676	52.8	221	17.3	5	0.4	1280
Canberra	1103	13.4	2258	27.5	4095	49.9	632	7.7	124	1.5	8212
Australian Capital Territory - Bal	0	0.0	5	25.0	15	75.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	20
Total - Australia	83682	15.0	138524	24.9	268312	48.2	53811	9.7	11777	2.1	556106

Source: 2006 Census of Population and Housing

4.3 DISTRIBUTION OF AUSTRALIA-BORN AND OVERSEAS-BORN POPULATIONS IN AUSTRALIA, 2006

4.3.1 Introduction

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) divides settlements for census purposes into the following 'Section of State' (Hugo, 2007) categories:

- Major Urban (population clusters of 100,000 or more);
- Other Urban (population clusters of 1,000 to 99,999);

- Rural, including Bounded Locality (200 to 999) and Rural Balance (remainder of State/Territory)

Table 4.6: Distribution of Australia-Born and Overseas-Born Population Between Major Urban, Other Urban and Rural Areas, 1947-2006

Source: ABS 1947, 1996 and 2006 Censuses

	Australia-Born						Percent Change 1947-2006
	1947		1996		2006		
	No.	%	No.	%	No	%	
Major urban	3,390,591	49.7	7,627,197	57.7	8,579,875	61.0	153.0
Other urban	1,263,724	18.5	3,485,125	26.3	3,530,407	25.1	179.4
Rural	2,173,068	31.8	2,108,242	16.0	1,958,711	13.9	-9.9
Total	6,827,383	100.0	13,220,564	100.0	14,068,993	100.0	106.1
	Overseas-Born						Percent Change 1947-2006
	1947		1996		2006		
	No.	%	No.	%	No	%	
Major urban	453,368	61.8	3,126,260	80.0	3,654,920	82.8	706.2
Other urban	98,824	13.5	489,550	12.5	494,752	11.2	400.6
Rural	181,180	24.7	290,269	7.5	264,905	6.0	46.2
Total*	733,372	100.0	3,906,079	100.0	4,414,577	100.0	502.0

* Excludes people of no permanent residence.

Note: Overseas-Born does not include Birthplace Not Stated.

Table 4.6 shows the distribution of the Australia- and overseas-born between sections of state over the post war period. While there have been changes in definitions over the years it is clear that the dominant trend over the post war period has been an increasing concentration of population in urban areas. However, the pattern has been most marked among the migrant population. While in 1947 only one in eight people living in Australia's major cities was overseas-born, by 2006 it was three out of every ten. The proportion of immigrants living in major cities increased from 61.8 to 82.8 percent in 2006 while for the Australia-born it grew from 49.7 to 61 percent. It is interesting that while there was a decline in the numbers of Australia-born living in rural areas there was a small increase in the overseas-born. In 1947, 31.8 percent of Australians lived in rural areas but only 13.9 percent in 2006 while for the overseas-born the population fell from 24.7 to six percent.

Table 4.7: Number and Percentage of Overseas-Born Persons Resident in Capital Cities by Origin and Length of Residence, 1986, 2001 and 2006

Source: ABS, 1986, 2001 and 2006 Censuses

	1986				2001				2006			
	0-4 Years		5+ Years		0-4 Years		5+ Years		0-4 Years		5+ Years	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
MES Origin	142,722	76.9	890,809	73.2	145,936	77	936,796	70.2	173,293	74.2	943,568	69.4
LOTE Origin	240,864	88.6	1,245,254	83.8	307,781	90.1	1,762,488	86.2	416,389	88.8	1,857,957	86.8
Total Overseas-born	383,586	83.9	2,136,063	79	453,717	85.4	2,699,284	79.9	589,681	83.9	2,801,524	80

This strong pattern of increasing urbanisation of the overseas-born population was a function of most new arrivals settling in Australia's capital cities. The pattern was especially evident for recently arrived migrants. Table 4.7 shows that the pattern of concentration in capital cities is especially strong for immigrants who arrive from LOTE origin countries. By 2001, 90.1 percent of new arrivals settled in capital cities compared with 86.2 percent of those who had been in Australia longer than five years. The pattern is present but less marked among those from MES countries with 77.0 percent and 70.2 percent respectively.

There were increases in the percentages of new arrivals settling in capital cities with each new post war census until the 2006 enumeration. While 83.9 percent of migrants settled in these cities, the proportion fell for the first time during the post war period. The change is relatively small but it may be significant since in Europe and North America the last decade has also seen some decentralisation of migrant settlement away from major centres (Hugo and Moren, 2008). This will be discussed in a later section of this chapter. It is clear that there is some evidence then of a slight lessening of the dominance of the capital cities in the initial settlement of migrants. Nevertheless, cities are still the dominant settlement choice of migrants. There are then two long established elements in Australian post war immigrant settlement patterns:

- Immigrants from MES countries, especially New Zealand and the United Kingdom, although more concentrated in major cities compared with the Australia-born are more similar to the Australia-born in their settlement patterns than is the case for those from LOTE origin countries.
- For both groups, especially the MES group, there is a strong tendency with increasing length of residence in Australia for settlement patterns to converge toward those of the Australia-born.

These patterns are evident when we examine the pattern of immigrant settlement according to the degree of remoteness/accessibility of the places where they settle. The ABS has adopted the following classification of localities in Australia according to their remoteness:

- Highly Accessible Major Cities – Locations with relatively unrestricted accessibility to a wide range of goods and services and opportunities for social interaction.
- Accessible Inner Regional Areas – Locations with some restrictions to accessibility of some goods, services and opportunities for social interaction.
- Moderately Accessible Outer Regional Areas – Locations with significantly restricted accessibility of goods, services and opportunities for social interaction.
- Remote Areas – Locations with very restricted accessibility of goods, services and opportunities for social interaction.
- Very Remote Areas – Locationally disadvantaged - very little accessibility of goods, services and opportunities for social interaction.

Table 4.8: Remoteness Area Categories: Breakdown According to Birthplace, 2006
Source: ABS CDATA 2006

	Australia-Born		Overseas-Born		Recent Migrants		Longstanding Migrants		Year of Arrival Not Stated		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Major Cities	8,889,384	63.2	3,734,914	84.8	622,144	88.5	2,946,814	84.2	175,287	82.6	12,624,298	68.3
Inner Regional	3,250,439	23.1	421,788	9.6	45,620	6.5	354,807	10.1	22,194	10.5	3,672,227	19.9
Outer Regional	1,536,366	10.9	199,394	4.5	24,398	3.5	163,999	4.7	11,475	5.4	1,735,760	9.4
Remote	237,673	1.7	28,332	0.6	5,156	0.7	21,634	0.6	1,644	0.8	266,005	1.4
Very Remote	130,992	0.9	9,636	0.2	1,698	0.2	7,344	0.2	631	0.3	140,628	0.8
Total *	14,071,676	100.0	4,404,546	100.0	702,695	100.0	3,500,507	100.0	212,153	100.0	18,476,222	100.0

* Total does not include Migratory and No Usual Address

Table 4.8 shows that it is only in the most accessible major urban areas that migrants are overrepresented in the Australian population with 84.8 percent living in those areas compared with 63.2 percent of the Australia-born. The proportion of the Australia-born in all other remoteness categories is more than twice that for migrants. However, longstanding migrants are more strongly represented in the two middle level accessibility settled agriculture categories than are recent arrivals. It is interesting, however, that in more remote areas there is little difference between recent and longstanding migrants although both have only a third the representation of the Australia-born. Table 4.9 shows that the degree of concentration in the most accessible areas is especially strong among immigrants from countries where languages other than English are dominant. It is interesting to note that in Australian major cities three out of every 10 residents is a migrant, almost two of them from a LOTE country. In the rest of the country it is close to only one in 10 residents who are migrants.

Table 4.9: Remoteness Area Categories: Percentage of Population Born Overseas, 2006

Source: ABS CDATA 2006

	Australia-Born		Recent Migrants				Longstanding Migrants				Year of Arrival Not Stated				Total
			LOTE		MES		LOTE		MES		LOTE		MES		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Major Cities	8,889,384	70.4	395,722	3.1	192,921	1.5	1,517,608	12	1,021,193	8.1	90,579	0.7	61,030	0.5	12,624,298
Inner Regional	3,250,439	88.5	19,564	0.5	23,251	0.6	65,747	1.8	222,411	6.1	4,420	0.1	13,098	0.4	3,672,227
Outer Regional	1,536,366	88.5	11,060	0.6	11,722	0.7	38,208	2.2	94,706	5.5	3,343	0.2	6,059	0.3	1,735,760
Remote	237,673	89.3	2,221	0.8	2,846	1.1	3,959	1.5	13,571	5.1	441	0.2	968	0.4	266,005
Very Remote	130,992	93.1	710	0.5	946	0.7	1,434	1	4,534	3.2	204	0.1	347	0.2	140,628
Total *	14,071,676	76.2	429,276	2.3	231,686	1.3	1,626,955	8.8	1,356,415	7.3	98,987	0.5	81,502	0.4	18,476,222

* Total does not include Migratory and No Usual Address

Definitions: Language Other Than English Spoken at Home (LOTE), Mainly English-Speaking Countries (MES)

4.3.2 Changing Distribution between States and Territories

A spatial shift has occurred in Australia's post war population away from the south eastern states to the northern and western parts of the country. In 1947 the states of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania accounted for 78.4 percent of the national population, but by 2006 they had 67.9 percent of the total. On the other hand, Queensland increased its share from 14.6 percent to 19.7 percent and Western Australia from

6.6 percent to 9.9 percent. This has been a function of structural change in the Australian economy in the last 30 years with the south eastern states being heavily reliant on manufacturing and suffering due to the loss of jobs in this sector.

While much of the shift in interstate distribution has been due to interstate population movements, it is also due to a propensity for immigrants to settle in particular states. Table 4.10 indicates that immigrants have settled disproportionately in New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia.

Table 4.10: Australian States and Territories: Percentage Distribution of the Population by Birthplace and Overseas-Born Arriving in the Last Five Years, 2001 and 2006

Source: ABS, 2001 and 2006 Censuses

State/Territory	Australia-Born			Overseas-Born			Persons Arriving in Last 5 Yrs		
	1996	2001	2006	1996	2001	2006	1996	2001	2006
New South Wales	33.2	32.6	32.1	33.5	35.9	35.1	41.1	40.7	34.1
Victoria	24.0	24.0	24.4	26.6	26.3	25.9	24.2	23.6	26.1
Queensland	20.0	20.4	20.9	14.2	15.0	16.8	15.3	17.5	18.5
South Australia	8.2	8.1	8.0	7.7	7.2	6.8	4.5	4.1	5.7
Western	8.9	9.1	9.1	12.2	12.6	11.8	11.6	11.3	12.5
Tasmania	3.0	2.8	2.8	1.2	1.1	1.4	0.8	0.7	0.9
Northern	1.1	1.2	1.1	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.7
Australian	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.7	1.5	1.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

New South Wales shows an interesting pattern with the state accounting for 41.1 and 40.7 percent of the nation's migrants who arrived in the last five years at the 1996 and 2001 censuses compared with having 33.2 and 32.6 percent respectively of the national Australia-born population. However, at the 2006 census it had only 34.1 percent of the recent migrants, indicating a sharp reduction in the proportion of new migrants settling in New South Wales. Victoria, on the other hand, has increased its share of new arrivals as have Queensland, Western Australia and South Australia. The former is an interesting case after a long period of getting less than its proportionate share of immigrants it is now a significant magnet to migrants.

The relative contributions of net international migration as well as net interstate migration and national increase to population change in the states and territories are shown in Table 4.11. It will be noted that in New South Wales, the largest state, there was a net international migration gain of almost 200,000 which accounted for 79.6 percent of the state's population growth between 2001 and 2006. Moreover the state experienced a significant net loss due to interstate migration – a longstanding pattern (Hugo, 2003). In the past this has been the pattern in Victoria as well but a turnaround in the state's economy saw it experience a small net interstate migration gain between 1996 and 2001, although there was a small net loss in 2001-2006. Conversely Queensland's net international migration gain was not as large as the net gain by interstate migration. Clearly there are wide differences between the states in the significance of immigrant settlement and this is undergoing substantial change.

Table 4.11: Australian States and Territories: Natural Increase, Net Overseas Migration, Net Interstate Migration and Total Population Growth, Financial Years, 2001-2006

Source: ABS, 2007, Pages 11-14

	Natural Increase		Net International Migration		Net Interstate Migration		Total population Growth
	Number	Percent of Growth	Number	Percent of Growth	Number	Percent of Growth	
New South Wales	195,624	80.2	188,878	77.4	-140,501	-57.6	244,001
Victoria	145,042	51.1	143,902	50.7	-5,044	-1.8	283,900
Queensland	130,626	30.2	141,516	32.7	160,552	37.1	432,694
South Australia	27,965	62.9	27,840	62.6	-11,330	-25.5	44,475
Western Australia	68,086	44.1	83,694	54.2	2,701	1.7	154,481
Tasmania	10,196	58.0	4,232	24.1	3,138	17.9	17,566
Northern Territory	13,854	113.1	4,523	36.9	-6,131	-50.1	12,246
Australian Capital Territory	13,550	100.6	3,044	22.6	-3,128	-23.2	13,466
Australia-Total	604,943	50.3	597,629	49.7			1,202,829

One of the characteristics of international migration to Australia has been variations in the spatial patterns of settlement of different birthplace groups. This is illustrated in Table 4.12 which indicates that in 2001 and 2006 the Language Other Than English (LOTE) origin immigrants are disproportionately represented in New South Wales and Victoria which in 2006 had 73.8 percent of the group compared with 56.5 percent of the nation's Australia-born. On the other hand, Mainly English-Speaking (MES) origin settlers are underrepresented with 46.2 percent. This presents a stark contrast to Queensland which has a fifth of the Australia-born population but less than a tenth of the LOTE group and almost a quarter of the MES. Migration to both South and Western Australia is also strongly focused on groups coming from countries which are MES. Queensland now attracts more MES origin migrants than Victoria and about as many as New South Wales.

Table 4.12: Distribution of LOTE (Language Other Than English Spoken at Home) and MES Overseas-Born Population Between States and Territories, 2001-2006

Source: ABS 2001 and 2006 Censuses

State/Territory	LOTE		MES	
	2001 %	2006 %	2001 %	2006 %
New South Wales	41.9*	41.8*	28.4	27.1
Victoria	32.3*	32.0*	19.0	19.1
Queensland	8.9	9.6	21.8*	23.4*
South Australia	6.0	5.9	9.1*	8.7*
Western Australia	7.3	7.2	17.5*	17.8*
Tasmania	0.5	0.5	1.7	1.8
Northern Territory	1.6*	1.4*	0.9	0.7
Australian Capital Territory	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Number (million)	2.9	3.1	1.6	1.7

* Overrepresented compared with Australia-born.

4.3.3 Overseas-Born in Urban Areas

Not only have post war migrants tended to settle in Australia's larger urban areas but also they have concentrated especially in two cities – Sydney (2006 population 4.1 million) and Melbourne (2006 population 3.6 million). This is reflected in the fact that while their

populations have more than doubled, Sydney and Melbourne's share of the nation's overseas-born population has increased from 42.5 percent in 1947 to 53.2 percent in 2001 and falling slightly to 53.1 percent in 2006. On the other hand, their share of the Australia-born has fallen from 38.7 percent to 34.1 percent. Moreover, if we consider only immigrants who have been in Australia less than 5 years, 56.0 percent live in major urban areas in New South Wales and Victoria.

Table 4.13: Sydney and Melbourne Statistical Divisions: Proportion of Population Overseas-Born, 1947-2006

Source: ABS 1947, 1954, 1966, 1971, 1976, 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006 Censuses

Year	Sydney Statistical Division		Melbourne Statistical Division		All Australia
	No. of Overseas-	% of all Overseas-	No. of Overseas-	% of all Overseas-	No. of Overseas-born
1947	191,107	25.7	125,258	16.8	744,187
1954	308,778	24.0	261,470	20.3	1,286,466
1961	434,663	24.4	444,479	25.0	1,778,780
1966	558,236	26.2	568,365	26.7	2,130,920
1971	681,313	26.4	687,266	26.6	2,579,318
1976	736,754	27.1	706,331	26.0	2,718,855
1981	834,280	27.8	754,117	25.1	3,003,833
1986	912,578	28.1	788,266	24.3	3,247,381
1991	1,070,627	28.5	893,445	23.8	3,755,554
1996	1,148,869	29.4	915,449	23.4	3,908,213
2001	1,233,487	30.0	954,037	23.2	4,105,444
2006	1,307,455	29.6	1,038,430	23.5	4,416,037

International migration has been of critical importance in the post war growth of Sydney and Melbourne. Table 4.13 shows the growth of the overseas-born population in the two cities between 1947 and 2006. While Sydney gained huge numbers of immigrants during the long boom period and saw its overseas-born population more than double between 1947 and 1961, the impact was less than had occurred in Melbourne. The table shows the significance of this immigration with Melbourne's overseas-born population trebling between 1947 and 1966, and its share of the nation's total overseas-born increasing by 10 percentage points to 26.7 percent. It will be noted that by 1961, Melbourne had surpassed Sydney as having the largest overseas-born community in the nation but in the last two decades Sydney has reasserted itself as the major focus of immigrant settlement in Australia, so that at the 2001 census it had 30.0 percent of the nation's overseas-born compared with 23.2 percent in Melbourne. These fluctuations have been in concert with shifts in the changing economic roles of the two cities. Sydney has become the most global of Australian centres with the most international links, national headquarters of companies, etc. It is interesting to note, however, that for the first time since the 1954 census Sydney recorded a *decrease* in its share of the national immigrant population at the 2006 census, albeit a small fall from 30 to 29.6 percent. Moreover at the same time Melbourne registered an *increase* in its share of the national immigrant population for the first time since the 1966 census, also albeit a small change from 23.2 to 23.5 percent. Sydney remains the most significant centre of immigrant settlement in Australia but there is clear evidence of a shift in trends. This is especially apparent in Table 4.14 which shows the proportions of immigrants arriving in the last three intercensal periods who settled in the capital cities, and rest of state as well as for Sydney. It will be noted that in the 1990s Sydney accounted for over 37 percent of new migrants settling in Australia, while for LOTE groups it was even higher. However, for 2001-2006 the proportion fell dramatically to 30.6 percent. It will be noted that the drop in the proportion

settling in capital cities was not nearly so great indicating that the dispersal away from Sydney was partly to other capitals, although the increasing proportion settling outside capitals indicates a wider dispersal of settlement beyond capital cities.

Table 4.14: Australia: Percentage of Immigrants Arriving in Five Years Prior to the Census Settling in Capital Cities, Rest of State and Sydney, 1991-2006

Source: ABS Population Censuses of 1966, 2001 and 2006

Years		Capital Cities	Rest of State	Sydney
1991-1996		86.3	13.7	37.5
1996-2001		85.5	14.5	37.3
2001-2006	Total	83.9	16.1	30.6
	MES	74.2	25.8	22.2
	LOTE	88.8	11.2	34.8

Table 4.15: Australia: Birthplace Groups With the Highest Concentration in Major Cities, 2006

Source: ABS 2006 Census

Birthplace	Percentage	Birthplace	Percentage
Vietnam	97.2	S. Korea	95.2
Lebanon	97.2	Sri Lanka	94.5
China	96.2	Egypt	94.1
Bosnia-Herzegovina	96.1	Turkey	93.5
Hong Kong	96	Greece	93.4
Iraq	96	India	92.4
Former Yugoslavia	95.6		

There are significant variations between different birthplace groups in their propensity to settle in major cities. Table 4.15 shows the groups which have the highest concentrations in Australia's major cities and it is immediately noticeable that all are countries which mainly speak languages other than English. Moreover, several of these groups are among those who have most recently arrived in Australia in substantial numbers including the Chinese and Indians. However, it also includes several longer standing groups with limited recent flows such as the Vietnamese, Turks and Greeks. On the other hand, if we look at those birthplace groups which have the lowest concentrations in major cities shown in Table 4.16, the MES origin countries are dominant, together with European countries whose peak of immigration was in the early post war years and who have mature age structures (Netherlands, Germany and Malta). Papua New Guinea may appear an outlier but in fact many in this group were born to Australians or Europeans working in Papua New Guinea during colonial and early post-colonial days.

Table 4.16: Australia: Birthplace Groups With the Lowest Concentration in Major Cities, 2006

Source: ABS 2006 Census

Birthplace	Percentage	Birthplace	Percentage
Australia	61.0	USA	75.5
Netherlands	61.0	New Zealand	75.1
UK	69.8	Canada	76.1
Germany	69.1	Ireland	79.1
Papua New Guinea	72.6	Malta	80.9

In examining the impact of immigration on the composition of the population of Australian cities it is important to appreciate that post war immigration to Australia has occurred in a series of waves each of which is characterised by a different mix of birthplace groups as Australia's immigration policy and the national and global economic, political and demographic situation has changed. The UK-Ireland-born have been the largest single birthplace group in the immigration intake most years and they have remained a constant element in the post war immigration streams, although their share of the total intake has declined significantly (from 78.7 percent in 1947 to 17.4 percent in 2007-08). However, the mix of other (mainly non-English-speaking) birthplace groups in the incoming stream has undergone significant change with different groups dominating successive waves over the post war period. Eastern European refugees formed the first of these waves in the late 1940s and early 1950s and were followed by a substantial influx of Dutch and German origin settlers in the early 1950s who in turn were followed in the mid and late 1950s by Italians, Greeks and Yugoslavs. In the 1960s, Lebanese and Turks came and in the 1970s the arrival of refugees from Vietnam was the beginning of a period which saw Asian origin groups dominate for several decades. First, Southeast Asian groups, then those from East Asia, and finally South Asia with India and China being the largest flows into Australia in recent years apart from those from the UK and New Zealand. Finally, in the last decade African migrants have been significant.

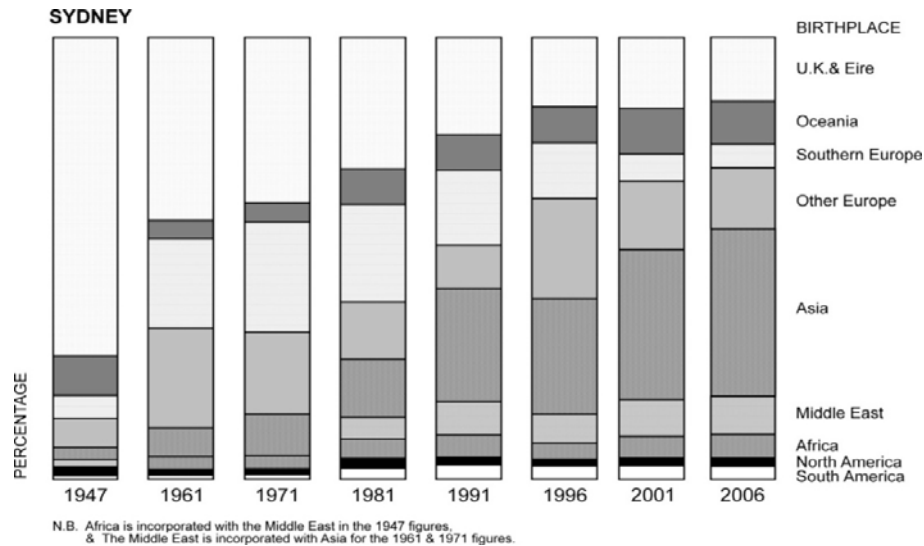
Accordingly there has been a substantial shift in the ethnic structure of Australian cities with those changes. In Sydney, for example, Figure 4.1 shows changes in the proportions of the overseas-born population at various post war censuses who originated from various regions of the world. It is clear that the shifts have been substantial.

- Most striking is the consistent pattern of decline in the proportion from the UK and Ireland over the period (from 78.7 to 14.4 percent)
- The proportion from Oceania (mainly New Zealand) declined over the first quarter century but subsequently increased.
- The pattern for Southern Europeans is one of a rapid increase up to 1971 but a subsequent attenuation as the flow of immigrants from Greece and Italy dried up over the last two decades.
- A similar pattern is apparent from migrants from other Continental European nations for which the trajectory of post war migration has tended to follow the Southern Europeans.

- The spectacular increase of Asian origin immigrants since 1971 is especially apparent increasing from 3.2 to 33.8 percent of overseas-born Sydneysiders. In 2006 some 13.0 percent of Sydney's population was born in Asia.

Figure 4.1: Sydney: Birthplace Composition of the Overseas-Born Population, 1947-2006

Source: ABS Censuses 1947-2006



- Other origin groups have a much smaller representation but a general pattern of increased significance in the last two decades.
- In the 2001-2006 period there was a small but significant increase in the African origin population.

Overall then the rapid increase in the overseas-born population in Sydney has been accompanied by an equally striking increase in ethnic diversity among them.

Figure 4.1 shows the changing ethnic mix of Sydney in terms of the major origins of migrants but the reality is much more complex with a myriad of individual nations being represented by significant communities. It is difficult to depict this diversity adequately here but in 2006 there are many more than twenty separate birthplace groups with more than 10,000 representatives in Sydney and there are many other smaller but viable communities (e.g. see Burnley, 1996; 1999; 2004). Recent changes in the sizes of the largest overseas-born groups are shown in Table 4.17. This shows the substantial change which occurred during the 1980s with the increasing Asian presence being especially pronounced. In Sydney the 10 largest overseas-born groups in 1981 did not include a single Asian origin group but by 2006 the Chinese, Vietnamese, Indians, Filipinos, Hong Kong-born and South Koreans were in the 10 largest groups. It will be noticed in Table 4.17 that the Asia-born groups all have more than doubled in numbers while most of the European origin groups actually declined as death and return migration reduced their numbers.

Table 4.17: Representation and Growth of Major Overseas Birthplace Groups, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2006 in Sydney

Source: ABS Censuses, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2006

Country	1981	1991	2001	2006	Percent of National Total	Percent Change 1981-2006
United Kingdom	234,598	208,605	183,991	175,166	16.9	-25.3
China	13,162	41,741	82,029	109,142	52.8	729.2
New Zealand	53,025	62,529	81,963	81,064	20.8	52.9
Vietnam	15,385	47,492	61,423	62,144	38.9	303.9
Lebanon	36,010	49,937	52,008	54,502	72.8	51.4
India	10,182	17,851	34,503	52,975	36.0	420.3
Philippines	7,734	33,410	47,090	52,087	43.2	573.5
Italy	62,682	56,887	48,900	44,563	22.4	-28.9
Hong Kong	7,964	29,673	36,039	36,866	51.3	362.9
Korea, Republic of	3,099	15,044	26,928	32,124	60.9	936.6
Greece	43,628	40,531	33,688	32,022	29.1	-26.6
South Africa	9,012	16,112	25,190	28,427	27.3	215.4
Fiji	5,022	16,972	25,368	26,928	55.9	436.2
Malaysia	8,076	17,501	18,996	21,211	23.0	162.6
Indonesia	4,973	13,174	19,719	20,562	40.3	313.5
Germany	24,097	21,418	19,711	19,364	18.2	-19.6
Sri Lanka	3,261	9,595	15,744	17,917	28.8	449.4
Egypt	14,862	16,194	16,506	16,238	48.5	9.3
Malta	21,265	19,355	16,124	14,680	33.6	-31.0

4.3.4 Overseas-Born in Non-Metropolitan Areas

In each of the post war censuses until 2001 there had been successive increases in the proportion of immigrants living in Australia's capitals. However, 2006 saw the percentage of immigrants living outside of Australia's cities increase, albeit marginally, as is indicated by Table 4.17. One longstanding feature of migrant settlement in non-metropolitan Australia, especially in the pre war and early post war years when a higher proportion of immigrants lived in non-metropolitan areas, was their high degree of spatial concentration. Immigrants outside the capital cities, especially those from a LOTE background, tended to settle in particular areas:

- Intensive agricultural areas such as sugar farming in Queensland, irrigated agriculture along the Murray and Murrumbidgee Rivers and in intensive horticultural areas close to major cities (Hugo, 1975; Borrie, 1954 Price, 1963).
- Major provincial centres where many were involved in small businesses.
- Mining and industrial centres like Wollongong, Newcastle, Whyalla, Geelong.
- Some fishing communities.

Table 4.18: Number and Percentage of Overseas-Born Persons Resident in Capital Cities by Origin and Length of Residence, 1986, 2001 and 2006

Source: ABS, 1986, 2001 and 2006 Censuses

	1986				2001				2006			
	0-4 Years		5+ Years		0-4 Years		5+ Years		0-4 Years		5+ Years	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
MES Origin	142,722	76.9	890,809	73.2	145,936	77.0	936,796	70.2	173,293	74.2	943,568	69.4
LOTE Origin	240,864	88.6	1,245,254	83.8	307,781	90.1	1,762,488	86.2	416,389	88.8	1,857,957	86.8
Total Overseas-born	383,586	83.9	2,136,063	79.0	453,717	85.4	2,699,284	79.9	589,681	83.9	2,801,524	80.0

They avoided the dry farming, extensive agricultural areas of the Australian wheat-sheep belt. Accordingly, the non-metropolitan overseas-born population in Australia has been even more concentrated than those settling in major cities.

The slightly increasing tendency for immigrants to settle outside of the major cities since 2001 shows some significant differences from the past in that for the first time there has been some settlement in areas previously eschewed by immigrants, especially those from a LOTE background. This has partly been because of severe labour shortages in many such areas where low fertility and ageing have been exacerbated by youth out migrants (Hugo, 2008b). Several non-metropolitan local governments ² have become active in attempting to attract in migrants to settle in their communities using the SSRM scheme.

There are a number of issues associated with the new pattern of immigrant settlement in regional Australia. Firstly, the immigrants add an element of diversity to what in many regional areas have been strongly Anglo-Saxon dominant societies. It is true that immigrants from MES countries make up the majority of regional settlers and most are skilled migrants who are not likely to have substantial language and cultural barriers to adjustment. Nevertheless the numbers from more diverse backgrounds are significant. Regional communities lack both formal post-arrival services as well as established communities of similar ethnic backgrounds that can provide informal support during initial settlement. A particular problem relates to the lack of interpreter services which can be a barrier to non-English-speaking groups accessing health, education and other services. The dearth of formal and informal support services has in some areas been countered by the mobilisation of local community groups, organisations and local government. In several instances it has been one or two local leaders who have played a key role in this respect – indeed it may be that this is necessary for such mobilisation of local social capital. The types of assistance which have been given by communities includes organising welcoming events, appointment of a local sponsor family for day to day assistance, development of welcome packages including not only information but coupons for local services and shops and assistance in getting children into school and local sporting organisations.

² Some examples include the 'Ballarat My Choice', 'Warrnambool Come Share Its Delights' and 'Make it Happen in Greater Shepparton' programs

There are a number of work related concerns. Birrell, Hawthorne and Richardson (2006) have shown that regional skilled migrants experience more problems in entering the Australian labour market than any other category of skilled settlers. The causes of this need to be investigated. It is not clear whether it is issues of migrant selection or of particular local labour market problems or both. Labour shortages continue to be reported across regional Australia and if immigration is to play a role in filling these there needs to be a better understanding of the particular problems faced in regional labour markets. Housing problems are substantial not only for immigrants but also for other newcomers to regional communities. The lack of suitable housing, especially for large refugee families, is a major problem in regional communities. Satisfactory entry into regional labour and housing markets will be a critical factor in attracting and retaining immigrant families in regional communities.

One issue which will need to be faced is that in many regional communities the labour shortages which are emerging require unskilled or semi-skilled labour whereas the bulk of immigration visa categories which are available relate to skilled migrants. Job opportunities in regional areas associated with agriculture, mining, tourism, forestry, fishing and aged care often require workers with low levels of skill and increasing difficulty is being experienced in accessing such workers from within Australia. Already there is pressure from several employer lobby groups for the federal government to relax the skill requirements of the immigration program and to allow the temporary migration of unskilled workers in labour migration programs. The focus has been strongly on regional employers in this lobbying (Senate Standing Committee on Employment, Workforce Relations and Employment, 2006). Thus far the government has resisted, arguing that it would work against the integrity of the Australian immigration program (Hugo, 2005a). However, these pressures increased and the Australian government has developed a pilot program to assess the efficacy of a temporary labour migration strategy. This has been focused on agriculture and on particular countries of origin (e.g. some Pacific nations). New Zealand has begun such a program.

A major issue relates to the question of retention of immigrants in regional areas once they are free to settle wherever they wish. The evidence presented here indicates that there is likely to be significant leakage out of regional areas. There is strong international precedent for this. Hammar (1993) shows that in Sweden in the 1970s there was a policy of dispersal of immigrants and most 'leaked' back to Stockholm. Also studies in the UK (Robinson and Hale, 1989; Robinson, 1993) and Australia (Burnley, 1989) showed that Vietnamese refugees settled in dispersed locations later gravitated to major metropolitan centres. This presents a challenge for local communities to assist newcomers so that during the period of compulsory residence outside major cities they develop an attachment to the local community which will increase the chances that they remain. This is a challenge which many regional communities are taking up and it will be interesting to see how successful their efforts turn out to be.

There are a number of reasons for the small but nevertheless significant shift which saw a small reversal in 2001-2006 of the continuous post war trend of an increasing proportion of immigrants settling in Australian capital cities. The mining boom has established a huge demand for skilled labour, and employers have used the migration program to fill some of this demand. There has also developed a skills shortage in some activities with a regional bias, such as agriculture and food processing, especially in abattoirs. Further, the state specific regional migration (SSRM) program has insisted that certain migrants locate, at least initially, in rural or regional localities.

4.3.5 The Role of Policy

The latter development points to increasing government involvement in deciding not only who can come to Australia but where they settle. During the post war period, Australian immigration policy has been overwhelmingly concerned with shaping the scale and composition of the immigration intake but there have been some attempts by government to influence where immigrants settle after their arrival in Australia (Hugo, 1993; 1999). The federal government had a two year bonding scheme for persons accepted as displaced persons in the early post war years (Kunz, 1988). These allocated settlers to areas suffering labour shortages, often in remote non-metropolitan areas such as large scale construction projects such as the Snowy Mountains Hydro Electric Scheme. At the end of the bond period many made their way to capital cities but substantial communities remained. However, it was not until the mid 1990s that the Australian government considered attempting to shape where immigrants settle on a large scale. There was an increase in government interest in regional areas following electoral swings against the federal government in traditionally conservative regional areas during the mid 1990s. The sustainability of rural and regional communities became an important item on the national agenda with the establishment of a federal government department on regional development and the initiation of a rash of programs to facilitate regional development. Similarly, states which were lagging economically like South Australia were pressing for immigration to assist their economic development. In May 1996 the annual meeting of Commonwealth, State and Territory Ministers for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs established a working party to examine ways in which a higher proportion of migrants might settle in regional Australia and states which were lagging economically. Accordingly, a number of initiatives were taken to attract immigrants to areas which are currently receiving small intakes.

At the same time labour shortages began to be reported in regional areas and the states receiving smaller numbers of migrants. This was partly because the general tightening of the labour market which was occurring in Australia due to low fertility and ageing was exacerbated in lagging areas by net internal migration losses of young working age people. Accordingly the State Specific and Regional Migration Scheme (SSRM) was initiated in May 1996 to attract immigrants to areas which are currently receiving small intakes. Over the subsequent period several visa categories have been added to the scheme and a range of modifications have been made.

Table 4.18: Number of Immigrants with Visas Granted Under the State Specific Regional Migration Mechanisms and Their Proportion of the Total Non-Humanitarian Intake, 1997-98 to 2005-06

Source: DIAC *Population Flows: Immigration Aspects*, various issues; DIAC *Immigration Update*, various issues; DIAC unpublished data

Year	Number	Percent of Total Non-Humanitarian Intake	Percent in South Australia
1997-98	1,753	2.3	34.5
1998-99	2,804	3.3	36.9
1999-2000	3,309	3.6	21.2
2000-01	3,846	3.6	19.5
2001-02	4,136	4.6	17.5
2002-03	7,941	8.5	16.7

The success of the SSRM programs is evident in Table 4.18 which shows that the SSRM Scheme increased its share of the total non-humanitarian intake from 2.3 percent in 1997-98 to over a fifth in 2008-09. The redirection of immigrants is evident in the fact that

while South Australia has only 7.5 percent of the national population and averaged only 4.9 percent of the national immigrant intake between 1997 and 2009 the table shows that it has made disproportionate use of the SSRM Scheme. This undoubtedly has been partly a function of the state government's enthusiastic support of the SSRM Scheme and the investment of resources in making use of it. However, it also partly reflects a particular advantage that South Australia has had in the SSRM. This advantage relates to the particular definition of the parts of Australia that have been designated as being eligible for SSRM visa classes. The locational requirements of the various SSRM visa categories vary but *all* of South Australia has been eligible for all SSRM categories. This has meant that the major city of Adelaide (2006 population 1,105,839) has been eligible for settlement of SSRM immigrants whereas other mainland state capital cities have not. It is important to point out that the bulk of the SSRM Scheme visa categories relate only to skilled migrants³ and those eligible are potential immigrants who have narrowly failed the stringent Points Assessment Test. However, there has also been SSRM family based initiatives and initiatives to attract business migrants to designated areas (DIAC, 2007, 43). Moreover, while the SSRM Scheme only involves the non-humanitarian part of the Australian Immigration Program there have been some elements in the Humanitarian part of the program which direct settlers to particular areas. The Department of Immigration and Citizenship directs many refugee-humanitarian settlers to areas where there is availability of support from family, fellow countrymen, NGOs or local and state governments. South Australia in recent years has taken a share of the humanitarian intake in excess of its share of the national population. Indeed, even in the late 1990s when the state was receiving only around 4 percent of the national immigrant intake it took a larger share of the refugee-humanitarian intake. This has been a deliberate strategy of the South Australian government that has been active in providing support for refugee-humanitarian migrants and has lobbied DIAC to take a substantial number of refugee-humanitarian migrants.

Table 4.19: Australia: Indexes of Dissimilarity between Different Types of International Migration between States and Territories, 2004-05

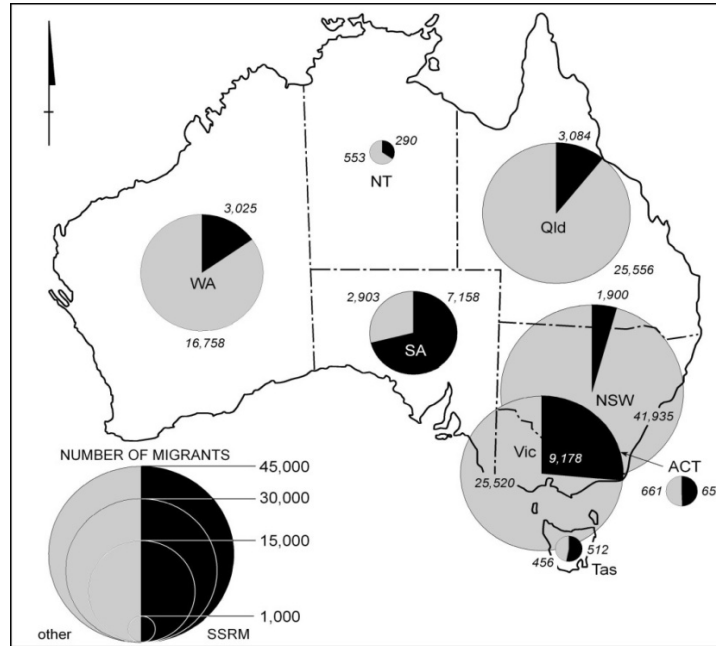
Source: Calculated from data in DIMA, 2006

SSRM <i>versus</i> Regular Migration	45.3
Onshore <i>versus</i> Offshore Migration	8.9
Humanitarian <i>versus</i> Non-Humanitarian	12.6

³ Persons with occupations in the top four ASCO (Australian Standard Classification of Occupations) categories – Managers, Professionals, Para Professionals and Skilled Tradesmen.

Figure 4.2: Australia: Settler Arrivals by State According to whether they are State Specific and Regional Migration Scheme Migrants or Other Migrants, 2006-07

Source: DIAC *Population Flows: Immigration Aspects*, various issues; DIAC *Immigration Update*, various issues



The differential reliance of the states and territories on the SSRM scheme is evident in Figure 4.2 which shows the settler intake for the states and territories divided between SSRM arrivals and those coming under the standard migration scheme. South Australia is clearly the biggest proportionate user of the SSRM scheme. In 2004 it was the first state to introduce a population policy (Government of South Australia, 2004a) which, among other things, sought to increase the state's share of immigrants to around 7.5 percent by 2014. International migration has been a key element in the Population Policy and in the State's Strategic Plan (Government of South Australia, 2004b). The state government initiated a number of strategies in order to achieve an increase in international migration.

- It set up a state government agency *Immigration SA* within the Department of Trade and Economic Development to drive the achievement of the immigration objectives.
- It set up an agency *Education Adelaide* to increase the state's share of foreign students.
- It set up offices in key origin countries of immigrants to facilitate the recruitment and emigration of settlers for South Australia.
- It appointed a number of Migration Officers to be affiliated with Regional Development Boards in South Australia to assist local governments and employers to bring in migrants.

At no time since Federation have state governments been more heavily involved in the immigration policy and operations. It will also be noted in Figure 4.2 that Victoria has had the largest number of SSRM migrants since that state too has introduced a population policy (Government of Victoria, 2004) which also aims at increasing the immigrant intake

and has actively sought to use SSRM visa categories to help achieve this. It is especially interesting that New South Wales has not been very active in this program.

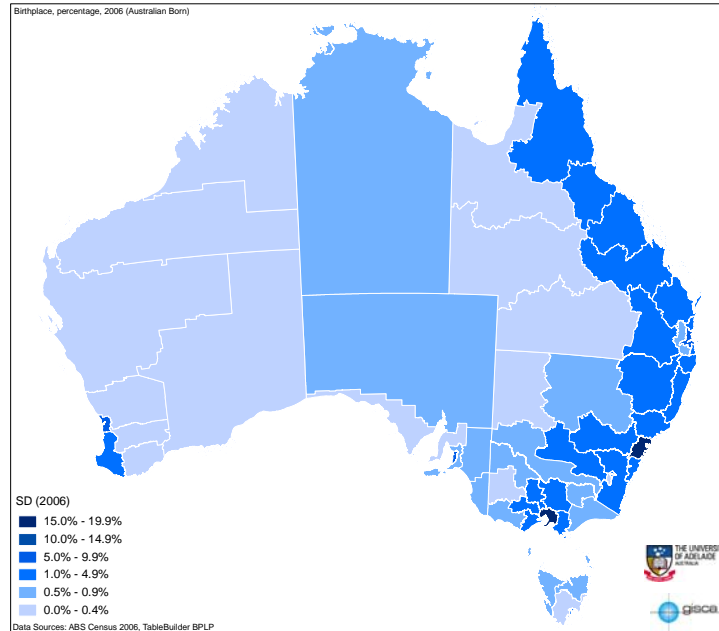
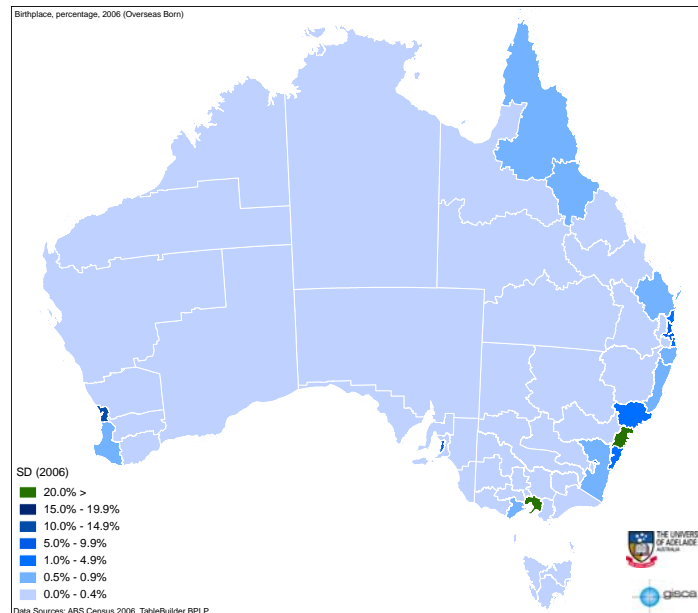
4.3.6 The Distribution of the Overseas-Born

Table 4.20 shows the distribution of Australian and Overseas persons by statistical divisions throughout Australia. It allows easy comparisons of each group presence in each SD, especially the capital city statistical divisions. In Sydney and Melbourne, especially, the concentrations of overseas-born are much higher than the concentrations of Australia-born. In Perth and Adelaide the concentration of overseas-born persons is slightly higher than for the Australia-born group, while in Brisbane and the remaining capital cities, the proportion of Australia-born is slightly greater than the proportion of overseas-born.

The spatial distribution of the Australia-born population in 2006 is shown graphically in Figure 4.3. It is clear confirmation that the majority of Australia's population resides on its 'verandah', the coastal strip extending from Cape York Peninsula through to South Australia, and the south west corner of Western Australia. In contrast, Figure 4.4 shows the distribution, using the same class intervals, for the overseas-born population. The difference is stark, and reinforces the long term tendencies for migrants to prefer capital city, or near capital city, locations.

Table 4.20: Distribution of Australia- and Overseas-born, statistical divisions, 2006

Statistical Division	Australian born	Percent, Total	Overseas born	Percent, Total
Sydney	2486760	17.7	1304201	29.7
Hunter	500587	3.6	53835	1.2
Illawarra	299528	2.1	70358	1.6
Richmond-Tweed	180317	1.3	25090	0.6
Mid-North Coast	241874	1.7	26336	0.6
Northern - NSW	152890	1.1	9388	0.2
North Western	97237	0.7	5965	0.1
Central West - NSW	150371	1.1	11084	0.3
South Eastern - NSW	161917	1.2	23263	0.5
Murrumbidgee	127858	0.9	11117	0.3
Murray	96250	0.7	7882	0.2
Far West	19203	0.1	985	0.0
Melbourne	2306103	16.4	1035342	23.6
Barwon	208171	1.5	36815	0.8
Western District	87187	0.6	6091	0.1
Central Highlands	121434	0.9	12520	0.3
Wimmera	43537	0.3	2494	0.1
Mallee	75626	0.5	7437	0.2
Loddon	146198	1.0	13463	0.3
Goulburn	165382	1.2	17843	0.4
Ovens-Murray	79522	0.6	8635	0.2
East Gippsland	67324	0.5	8099	0.2
Gippsland	129938	0.9	19419	0.4
Brisbane	1270045	9.0	382064	8.7
Gold Coast	320959	2.3	119593	2.7
Sunshine Coast	208854	1.5	49900	1.1
West Moreton	56952	0.4	7128	0.2
Wide Bay-Burnett	210561	1.5	28180	0.6
Darling Downs	184289	1.3	17567	0.4
South West - QLD	22308	0.2	989	0.0
Fitzroy	159562	1.1	15325	0.3
Central West - QLD	9493	0.1	545	0.0
Mackay	121001	0.9	14692	0.3
Northern - QLD	162819	1.2	21214	0.5
Far North	175850	1.3	35086	0.8
North West	24407	0.2	2802	0.1
Adelaide	781451	5.6	261615	6.0
Outer Adelaide	98938	0.7	17734	0.4
Yorke and Lower North	37355	0.3	3998	0.1
Murray Lands	56362	0.4	6558	0.1
South East	53449	0.4	5189	0.1
Eyre	29025	0.2	2129	0.0
Northern - SA	61806	0.4	8928	0.2
Perth	889338	6.3	451865	10.3
South West - WA	156422	1.1	35990	0.8
Lower Great Southern	40336	0.3	8812	0.2
Upper Great Southern	14785	0.1	1932	0.0
Midlands	39451	0.3	7225	0.2
South Eastern - WA	39021	0.3	7687	0.2
Central	45361	0.3	6906	0.2
Pilbara	27560	0.2	6071	0.1
Kimberley	23135	0.2	2295	0.1
Greater Hobart	163716	1.2	23978	0.5
Southern	28942	0.2	3681	0.1
Northern - TAS	112075	0.8	13624	0.3
Mersey-Lyell	91197	0.6	8993	0.2
Darwin	74985	0.5	19332	0.4
Northern Territory - Bal	71850	0.5	6737	0.2
Canberra	235765	1.7	70004	1.6
Australian Capital Territory - Bal	211	0.0	42	0.0
Total - Australia	14044850	100.0	4394072	100.0

Figure 4.3: Geography of Australia-born, statistical divisions, 2006**Figure 4.4: Geography of Overseas-born, statistical divisions, 2006**

The preference of overseas-born persons for capital city locations, in comparison with the Australia-born population, can be illustrated further in Table 4.21. In New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia, typically 85 percent of overseas-born living within the jurisdiction reside in the capital city statistical division. The exceptions are Queensland and Tasmania.

Table 4.21: Australia- and Overseas-born, capital city statistical division and rest of state/territory, 2006

Region	Australian born	Percent, State/Territory Total	Overseas born	Percent, State/Territory Total
Sydney	2486760	55.1	1304201	84.2
NSW rest of state	2028032	44.9	245303	15.8
State total	4514792	100.0	1549504	100.0
Melbourne	2306103	67.2	1035342	88.6
Victoria rest of state	1124319	32.8	132816	11.4
State total	3430422	100.0	1168158	100.0
Brisbane	1270045	43.4	382064	55.0
Qld rest of state	1657055	56.6	313021	45.0
State total	2927100	100.0	695085	100.0
Adelaide	781451	69.9	261615	85.5
SA rest of state	336935	30.1	44536	14.5
State total	1118386	100.0	306151	100.0
Perth	889338	69.7	451865	85.5
WA rest of state	386071	30.3	76918	14.5
State total	1275409	100.0	528783	100.0
Greater Hobart	163716	41.3	23978	47.7
Tas rest of state	232214	58.7	26298	52.3
State total	395930	100.0	50276	100.0
Darwin	74985	51.1	19332	74.2
NT rest of territory	71850	48.9	6737	25.8
Territory total	146835	100.0	26069	100.0
Canberra	235765	99.9	70004	99.9
ACT rest of territory	211	0.1	42	0.1
Territory total	235976	100.0	70046	100.0
Total - Australia	14044850		4394072	

4.3.7 Distribution of Overseas-Born by Length of Time in Australia

There is an emphasis in this Report on understanding a range of characteristics associated with recent arrivals. This group is defined as those migrants who arrived in Australia after 1996 – that is they had been in Australia up to ten years at the time of the 2006 census.

The overseas-born population can be divided into two large groups, one comprising recent migrants who arrived after 1996, and another longer term group who arrived before 1997. Table 4.22 below shows how members of each group are distributed throughout Australia. Relatively speaking, recent migrants show a greater tendency for large city living than their longer term counterparts. Some 56.5 percent of migrants who arrived in Australia after 1996 were living in Sydney and Melbourne in 2006, compared with 52.2 percent of those who had been in Australia since before 1997.

Table 4.22: Arrivals pre 1997 and post 1996, statistical divisions, 2006

Statistical Division	Arrived before 1997	Percent, Total	Arrived after 1996	Percent, Total
Sydney	877022	28.5	369295	33.1
Hunter	41754	14	9221	0.8
Illawarra	58157	19	9081	0.8
Richmond-Tweed	19473	0.6	4389	0.4
Mid-North Coast	21509	0.7	3507	0.3
Northern - NSW	6975	0.2	1977	0.2
North Western	4688	0.2	975	0.1
Central West - NSW	8708	0.3	1642	0.1
South Eastern - NSW	19391	0.6	2764	0.2
Murrumbidgee	7476	0.2	2903	0.3
Murray	6220	0.2	1252	0.1
Far West	768	0.0	164	0.0
Melbourne	728833	23.7	261729	23.4
Barwon	29510	10	5457	0.5
Western District	4425	0.1	1392	0.1
Central Highlands	9836	0.3	2049	0.2
Wimmera	1882	0.1	477	0.0
Mallee	5176	0.2	1736	0.2
Loddon	10867	0.4	1885	0.2
Goulburn	13315	0.4	3574	0.3
Ovens-Murray	7140	0.2	1050	0.1
East Gippsland	6618	0.2	917	0.1
Gippsland	16637	0.5	1959	0.2
Brisbane	243645	7.9	119939	10.7
Gold Coast	75193	2.4	38470	3.4
Sunshine Coast	34435	1.1	13105	1.2
West Moreton	5480	0.2	1321	0.1
Wide Bay-Burnett	22351	0.7	4359	0.4
Darling Downs	11565	0.4	4994	0.4
South West - QLD	655	0.0	281	0.0
Fitzroy	10391	0.3	4168	0.4
Central West - QLD	383	0.0	131	0.0
Mackay	9823	0.3	4012	0.4
Northern - QLD	14927	0.5	5116	0.5
Far North	24792	0.8	8160	0.7
North West	1820	0.1	816	0.1
Adelaide	198707	6.5	51434	4.6
Outer Adelaide	15253	0.5	1774	0.2
Yorke and Lower North	3553	0.1	263	0.0
Murray Lands	5036	0.2	1113	0.1
South East	3885	0.1	971	0.1
Eyre	1759	0.1	265	0.0
Northern - SA	7369	0.2	996	0.1
Perth	313989	10.2	117946	10.6
South West - WA	27743	0.9	6473	0.6
Lower Great Southern	6960	0.2	1369	0.1
Upper Great Southern	1506	0.0	323	0.0
Midlands	5715	0.2	1197	0.1
South Eastern - WA	4607	0.1	2673	0.2
Central	5319	0.2	1220	0.1
Pilbara	3838	0.1	1894	0.2
Kimberley	1564	0.1	587	0.1
Greater Hobart	17921	0.6	4956	0.4
Southern	3143	0.1	395	0.0
Northern - TAS	10575	0.3	2450	0.2
Mersey-Lyell	7359	0.2	1243	0.1
Darwin	13871	0.5	4487	0.4
Northern Territory - Bal	4081	0.1	2226	0.2
Canberra	51425	1.7	16019	1.4
Australian Capital Territory - Bal	18	0.0	23	0.0
Total - Australia	3077036	100.0	1116564	100.0

Table 4.23: Overseas-born arriving pre 1997 and post 1996, capital city statistical divisions and rest of state/territory, 2006

Region	Arrived pre 1997	Percent, State/Territory Total	Arrived after 1996	Percent, State/Territory Total
Sydney	877022	81.8	369295	90.7
NSW rest of state	195119	18.2	37875	9.3
State total	1072141	100.0	407170	100.0
Melbourne	728833	87.4	261729	92.7
Victoria rest of state	105406	12.6	20496	7.3
State total	834239	100.0	282225	100.0
Brisbane	243645	53.5	119939	58.5
Qld rest of state	211815	46.5	84933	41.5
State total	455460	100.0	204872	100.0
Adelaide	198707	84.4	51434	90.5
SA rest of state	36855	15.6	5382	9.5
State total	235562	100.0	56816	100.0
Perth	313989	84.6	117946	88.2
WA rest of state	57252	15.4	15736	11.8
State total	371241	100.0	133682	100.0
Greater Hobart	17921	46.0	4956	54.8
Tas rest of state	21077	54.0	4088	45.2
State total	38998	100.0	9044	100.0
Darwin	13871	77.3	4487	66.8
NT rest of territory	4081	22.7	2226	33.2
Territory total	17952	100.0	6713	100.0
Canberra	51425	100.0	16019	99.9
ACT rest of territory	18	0.0	23	0.1
Territory total	51443	100.0	16042	100.0
Total - Australia	3077036		1116564	

When these two groups distribution are related to their populations in each state/territory, as shown in Table 4.23, the differences are even more profound:

- More than 90 percent of their numbers in New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia live in the capital city, while the level for Western Australia is 88.2 percent.
- In Queensland, only 58.5 percent of recent migrants live in the capital city SD.
- With the exception of the Northern Territory, the proportion of longer term migrants living in capital city SDs is less than the recent arrival counterparts.

The spatial variation of recent migrants and longer term migrants is shown in Figure 4.5 and Figure 4.6. Together, they show:

- Similar relative concentrations in the north of Queensland.
- Expansion of the longer term migrant concentrations north of the Gold Coast, Brisbane and Sunshine Coast area.
- In New South Wales, higher concentrations of long term migrants along the entire coastal region, compared with relatively high concentrations for recent arrivals in Sydney, Hunter and Illawarra only.
- In Victoria, higher concentration of longer term migrants to the west of Melbourne SD than is the case for the recent migrant concentration.

Figure 4.5: Geography of migrants arriving after 1996, statistical divisions, 2006

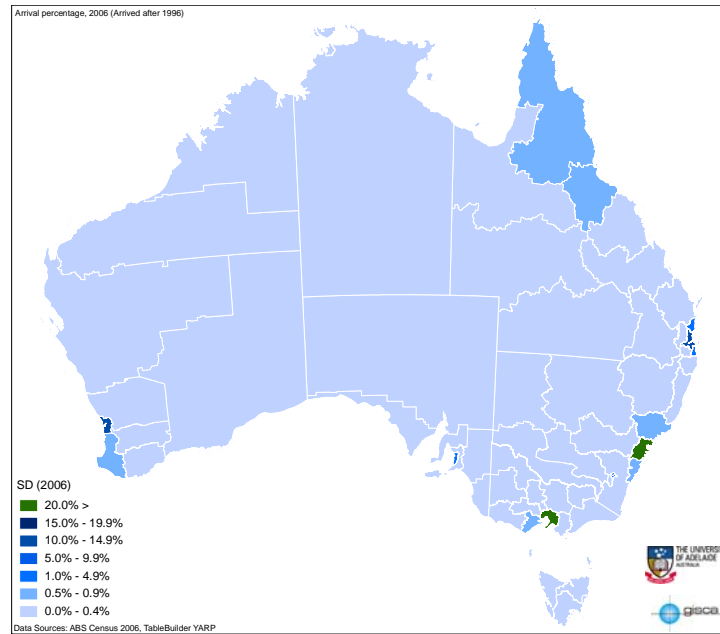
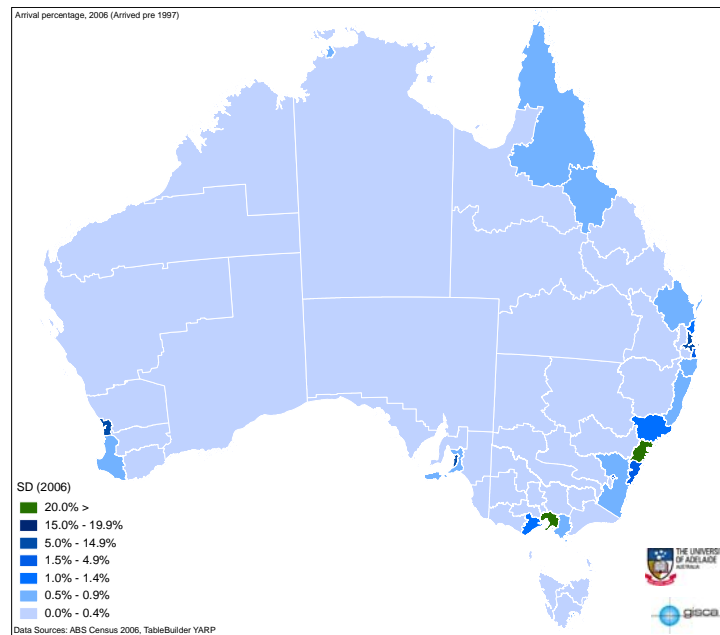


Figure 4.6: Geography of migrants arriving pre 1997, statistical divisions, 2006



- In South Australia, recent migrants have high concentrations in the Adelaide SD only, whereas for longer term migrants, they are relatively highly concentrated in both Adelaide SD and the outer Adelaide SD which rings the capital city and extends to Kangaroo Island.

- Both long term and recent migrants have relatively high concentrations in the same SDs in Western Australia.

The recent arrivals can be further disaggregated into two waves – one arriving in the 1997-2001 period, and the other arriving in the 2002-06 period. The numbers in each group are displayed in Table 4.24.

Several points are relevant from this table:

- The proportion of most recently arrived migrants in Sydney is lower than the proportion of migrants who arrived between 1997 and 2001. However, the numbers in the 2002-06 group resident in Sydney SD in 2006 are higher than numbers who arrived between 1997 and 2001.
- In Melbourne, the proportion and numbers of the most recently arrived migrants is higher than those for the group who arrived between 1997 and 2001. This is the same situation as occurred in Adelaide and Perth in 2006, and to a lesser degree in the smaller capitals of Hobart and Canberra.
- In Brisbane, while proportions are very similar, there are more residents from the more recent group resident in 2006 than from the first group. This situation, at a lower level, also occurs in Darwin.

The data in Table 4.25 provides a further indication the spatial variation of the two groups as measured at the 2006 census. A number of pertinent points emerge from this table:

- In 2006, there were 646,000 migrants who arrived in the 2002-06 period, compared with 471,000 who arrived in the earlier 1997-2001 period.
- Greater numbers of migrants who arrived in the 2002-06 period lived in each of the capitals in 2006 than did migrants who arrived in the 1997-2001 period.
- For each state and territory, there are more migrants who arrived between 2002-06 living outside the capital cities than is the case for those who arrived between 1997 and 2001.

Figure 4.7 and Figure 4.8 show the distribution of these two groups of recently arrived migrants. They indicate that, for all intents and purposes, that the spatial distribution of the two groups is close to identical. The correlation coefficient between these two groups is 0.989.

Table 4.24: Arrivals 1997-2001 and 2002-06, statistical divisions, 2006

Statistical Division	Arrived 1997 to 2001	Percent, Total	Arrived 2002 to 2006	Percent, Total
Sydney	173082	36.8	196213	30.4
Hunter	3570	0.8	5652	0.9
Illawarra	3657	0.8	5424	0.8
Richmond-Tweed	1948	0.4	2444	0.4
Mid-North Coast	1597	0.3	1908	0.3
Northern - NSW	750	0.2	1224	0.2
North Western	414	0.1	561	0.1
Central West - NSW	732	0.2	911	0.1
South Eastern - NSW	1288	0.3	1477	0.2
Murrumbidgee	1196	0.3	1706	0.3
Murray	590	0.1	663	0.1
Far West	47	0.0	118	0.0
Melbourne	104535	22.2	157193	24.3
Barwon	2176	0.5	3283	0.5
Western District	565	0.1	827	0.1
Central Highlands	724	0.2	1322	0.2
Wimmera	141	0.0	337	0.1
Mallee	777	0.2	960	0.1
Loddon	876	0.2	1009	0.2
Goulburn	1507	0.3	2067	0.3
Ovens-Murray	484	0.1	564	0.1
East Gippsland	349	0.1	572	0.1
Gippsland	783	0.2	1177	0.2
Brisbane	50355	10.7	69583	10.8
Gold Coast	17364	3.7	21105	3.3
Sunshine Coast	5342	1.1	7761	1.2
West Moreton	515	0.1	805	0.1
Wide Bay-Burnett	1883	0.4	2475	0.4
Darling Downs	1555	0.3	3442	0.5
South West - QLD	95	0.0	185	0.0
Fitzroy	1527	0.3	2639	0.4
Central West - QLD	61	0.0	72	0.0
Mackay	1329	0.3	2684	0.4
Northern - QLD	1808	0.4	3310	0.5
Far North	3497	0.7	4663	0.7
North West	254	0.1	564	0.1
Adelaide	17068	3.6	34368	5.3
Outer Adelaide	739	0.2	1033	0.2
Yorke and Lower North	105	0.0	158	0.0
Murray Lands	416	0.1	700	0.1
South East	383	0.1	587	0.1
Eyre	85	0.0	179	0.0
Northern - SA	317	0.1	676	0.1
Perth	46610	9.9	71339	11.0
South West - WA	2317	0.5	4154	0.6
Lower Great Southern	501	0.1	870	0.1
Upper Great Southern	144	0.0	180	0.0
Midlands	493	0.1	703	0.1
South Eastern - WA	863	0.2	1806	0.3
Central	479	0.1	742	0.1
Pilbara	520	0.1	1375	0.2
Kimberley	244	0.1	342	0.1
Greater Hobart	1577	0.3	3380	0.5
Southern	198	0.0	196	0.0
Northern - TAS	768	0.2	1682	0.3
Mersey-Lyell	503	0.1	735	0.1
Darwin	1764	0.4	2720	0.4
Northern Territory - Bal	752	0.2	1476	0.2
Canberra	6520	1.4	9503	1.5
Australian Capital Territory - Bal	0	0.0	23	0.0
Total - Australia	470739	100.0	645827	100.0

Table 4.25: Distribution of persons arriving 1997-2001 and 2002-06, capital city statistical divisions and rest of state/territory, 2006

Region	Arrived 1997 to 2001	Percent, State/Territory Total	Arrived 2002 to 2006	Percent, State/Territory Total
Sydney	173082	91.6	196213	89.9
NSW rest of state	15789	8.4	22088	10.1
State total	188871	100.0	218301	100.0
Melbourne	104535	92.6	157193	92.8
Victoria rest of state	8382	7.4	12118	7.2
State total	112917	100.0	169311	100.0
Brisbane	50355	58.8	69583	58.3
Qld rest of state	35230	41.2	49705	41.7
State total	85585	100.0	119288	100.0
Adelaide	17068	89.3	34368	91.2
SA rest of state	2045	10.7	3333	8.8
State total	19113	100.0	37701	100.0
Perth	46610	89.3	71339	87.5
WA rest of state	5561	10.7	10172	12.5
State total	52171	100.0	81511	100.0
Greater Hobart	1577	51.8	3380	56.4
Tas rest of state	1469	48.2	2613	43.6
State total	3046	100.0	5993	100.0
Darwin	1764	70.1	2720	64.8
NT rest of territory	752	29.9	1476	35.2
Territory total	2516	100.0	4196	100.0
Canberra	6520	100.0	9503	99.8
ACT rest of territory	0	0.0	23	0.2
Territory total	6520	100.0	9526	100.0
Total - Australia	470739		645827	

Figure 4.7: Geography of migrants who arrived 1997-2001, statistical divisions, 2006

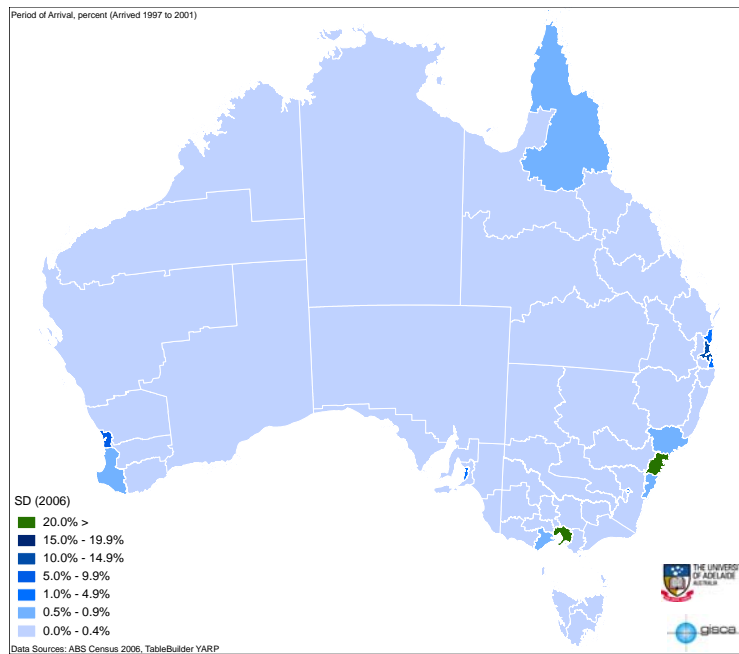
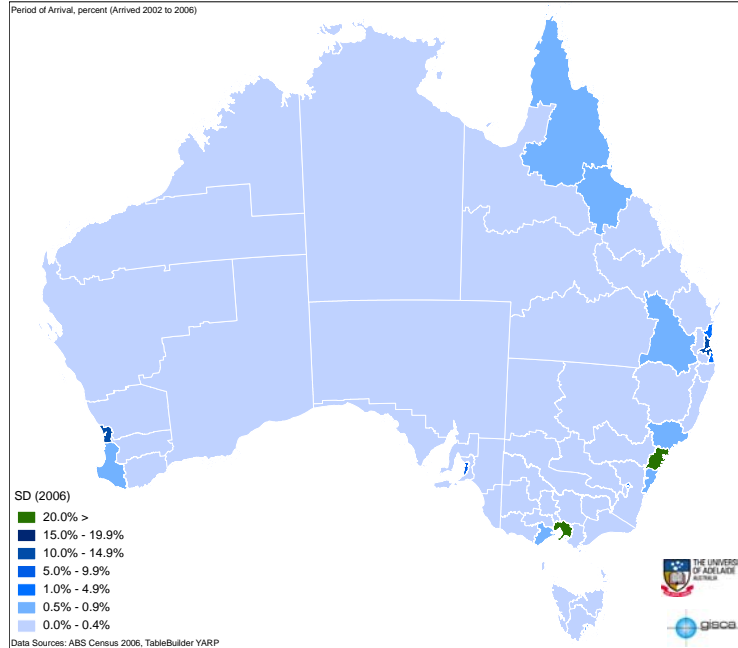


Figure 4.8: Geography of migrants who arrived 2002-06, statistical divisions, 2006

Further, and in relation to Table 4.25, the two maps show that any ‘spread’ of this group beyond the capital city statistical divisions is restricted, generally, to SDs adjacent to the relevant capital city statistical division. The only exceptions occur in Queensland.

4.3.8 Distribution of Overseas-Born by Birthplace

A further distinction between migrants and their spatial distribution can be made on the basis of birthplace. In this Report, birthplace has been defined in terms of whether a migrant’s country of birth is in an English speaking country or a non-English speaking country – hence MESC migrants and MNE SC migrants. Table 4.26 below shows the numbers and percentage distribution throughout Australia of MNE SC and MESC migrants at 2006, irrespective of the time they have been in Australia.

Several points arise from the table:

- In 2006 there were nearly one million more MNE SC migrants in Australia than MESC migrants
- The proportion of MNE SC migrants resident in Sydney and Melbourne in 2006 is roughly double the proportion of MESC migrants in each city
- This shows how attractive Australia’s two largest cities are to MNE SC migrants
- The level of MNE SC migrants in Canberra is higher than the level of MESC migrants, while in Darwin, each group has the same proportion.
- In the remaining capitals, the proportion of MNE SC migrants is lower than the proportion of MESC migrants. With the exception of Adelaide, the numbers of MNE SC migrants is also lower than the number of MESC migrants.

The tendency for MNE SC migrants to prefer capital city living is demonstrated even more starkly when their distribution within the Australian states and territories is assessed. In Table 4.27, the proportion of MNE SC migrants resident in capital cities is substantially

higher than the proportions for the MESC counterparts. Queensland has lower proportions resident in Brisbane SD than those reported in the other capital cities, and this is most likely due to relatively high numbers spilling over into the nearly surrounding SD of Sunshine Coast, West Moreton and Gold Coast SDs. In Tasmania, the smaller proportions in Hobart SD, relative to the rest of the state, is due most likely to the small size of Tasmania.

Table 4.26: Distribution migrants by MESC and MNEC category, statistical divisions, 2006

Statistical Division	MESC	Percent, Total	MNEC	Percent, Total
Sydney	322181	19.3	924274	35.9
Hunter	29013	1.7	22870	0.9
Illawarra	31977	1.9	36445	1.4
Richmond-Tweed	16532	1.0	7860	0.3
Mid-North Coast	17095	1.0	8471	0.3
Northern - NSW	5450	0.3	3624	0.1
North Western	3196	0.2	2516	0.1
Central West - NSW	6198	0.4	4547	0.2
South Eastern - NSW	12283	0.7	10214	0.4
Murrumbidgee	4326	0.3	6149	0.2
Murray	4317	0.3	3302	0.1
Far West	463	0.0	460	0.0
Melbourne	251771	15.1	756961	29.4
Barwon	16731	1.0	18921	0.7
Western District	3978	0.2	1997	0.1
Central Highlands	6629	0.4	5564	0.2
Wimmera	1384	0.1	1034	0.0
Mallee	2534	0.2	4259	0.2
Loddon	8087	0.5	5077	0.2
Goulburn	8208	0.5	9227	0.4
Ovens-Murray	3924	0.2	4433	0.2
East Gippsland	4671	0.3	3255	0.1
Gippsland	10266	0.6	8768	0.3
Brisbane	195158	11.7	163132	6.3
Gold Coast	75290	4.5	40656	1.6
Sunshine Coast	35867	2.2	12629	0.5
West Moreton	4648	0.3	2203	0.1
Wide Bay-Burnett	18564	1.1	8666	0.3
Darling Downs	9546	0.6	7166	0.3
South West - QLD	604	0.0	323	0.0
Fitzroy	9688	0.6	4990	0.2
Central West - QLD	360	0.0	168	0.0
Mackay	9286	0.6	4822	0.2
Northern - QLD	11599	0.7	8240	0.3
Far North	17353	1.0	14899	0.6
North West	1554	0.1	1073	0.0
Adelaide	116219	7.0	140349	5.4
Outer Adelaide	13090	0.8	4402	0.2
Yorke and Lower North	2941	0.2	1002	0.0
Murray Lands	3096	0.2	3343	0.1
South East	2892	0.2	2225	0.1
Eyre	1288	0.1	796	0.0
Northern - SA	5336	0.3	3381	0.1
Perth	240954	14.4	205309	8.0
South West - WA	26691	1.6	8934	0.3
Lower Great Southern	6199	0.4	2528	0.1
Upper Great Southern	1424	0.1	493	0.0
Midlands	5329	0.3	1816	0.1
South Eastern - WA	5439	0.3	2063	0.1
Central	4588	0.3	2213	0.1
Pilbara	3927	0.2	1939	0.1
Kimberley	1449	0.1	777	0.0
Greater Hobart	12936	0.8	10502	0.4
Southern	2702	0.2	903	0.0
Northern - TAS	8307	0.5	5025	0.2
Mersey-Lyell	6152	0.4	2656	0.1
Darwin	7462	0.4	1050	0.4
Northern Territory - Bal	3879	0.2	2553	0.1
Canberra	24551	1.5	42993	1.7
Australian Capital Territory - Bal	28	0.0	16	0.0
Total - Australia	1667610	100.0	2576463	100.0

Table 4.27: MESC and MNEsc migrants, capital city statistical divisions and rest of state/territory, 2006

Region	Mainly English Speaking Countries (MESC)	Percent, State/Territory Total	Mainly Non English Speaking Countries (MNEsc)	Percent, State/Territory Total
Sydney	322181	71.1	924274	89.7
NSW rest of state	130850	28.9	106458	10.3
State total	453031	100.0	1030732	100.0
Melbourne	251771	79.1	756961	92.4
Victoria rest of state	66412	20.9	62535	7.6
State total	318183	100.0	819496	100.0
Brisbane	195158	50.1	163132	60.7
Qld rest of state	194359	49.9	105835	39.3
State total	389517	100.0	268967	100.0
Adelaide	116219	80.2	140349	90.3
SA rest of state	28643	19.8	15149	9.7
State total	144862	100.0	155498	100.0
Perth	240954	81.4	205309	90.8
WA rest of state	55046	18.6	20763	9.2
State total	296000	100.0	226072	100.0
Greater Hobart	12936	43.0	10502	55.0
Tas rest of state	17161	57.0	8584	45.0
State total	30097	100.0	19086	100.0
Darwin	7462	65.8	11050	81.2
NT rest of territory	3879	34.2	2553	18.8
Territory total	11341	100.0	13603	100.0
Canberra	24551	99.9	42993	100.0
ACT rest of territory	28	0.1	16	0.0
Territory total	24579	100.0	43009	100.0
Total - Australia	1667610		2576463	

The spatial differences between the two groups – MNEsc migrants and those from MES countries – are shown in Figure 4.9 and Figure 4.10. It is clear that migrants from mainly English speaking countries have a spatial distribution that is more similar to that of the Australia-born population, and more geographical widespread than the distribution of Overseas-born persons. In the case of migrants from mainly non-English speaking countries, their geography is much more confined than that displayed by the migrants from mainly English speaking countries and even more restricted spatially than the distribution displayed by the overseas-born group. It demonstrates very clearly the role of language in any group's success at expanding their presence. While language is a barrier, groups tend to stay confined to certain areas relying on the close association of similar persons to maintain the essentials of living in a foreign country. As ability in English improves, so more opportunities to extend their living space arise, through improved employment opportunities, purchasing power and housing opportunities.

Figure 4.9: Geography of migrants from mainly English speaking countries, statistical divisions, 2006

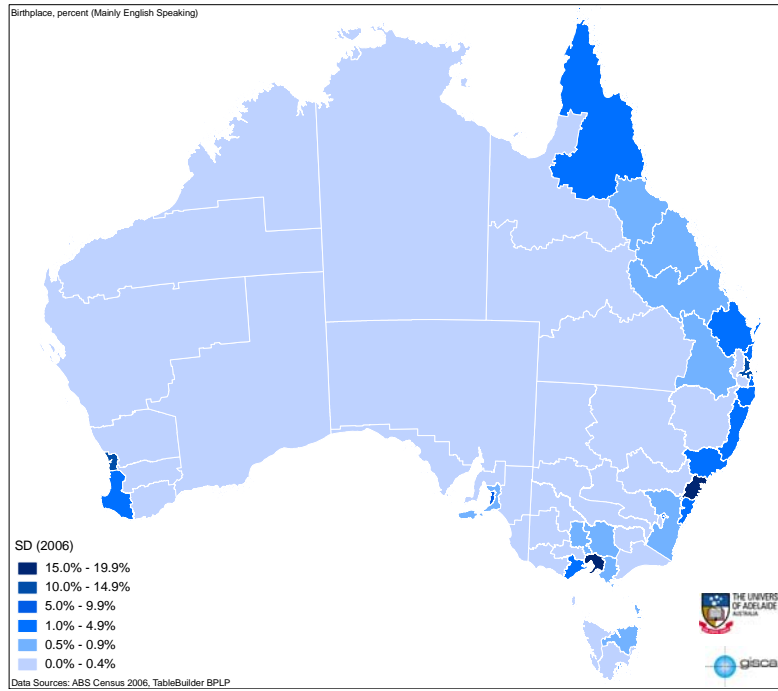
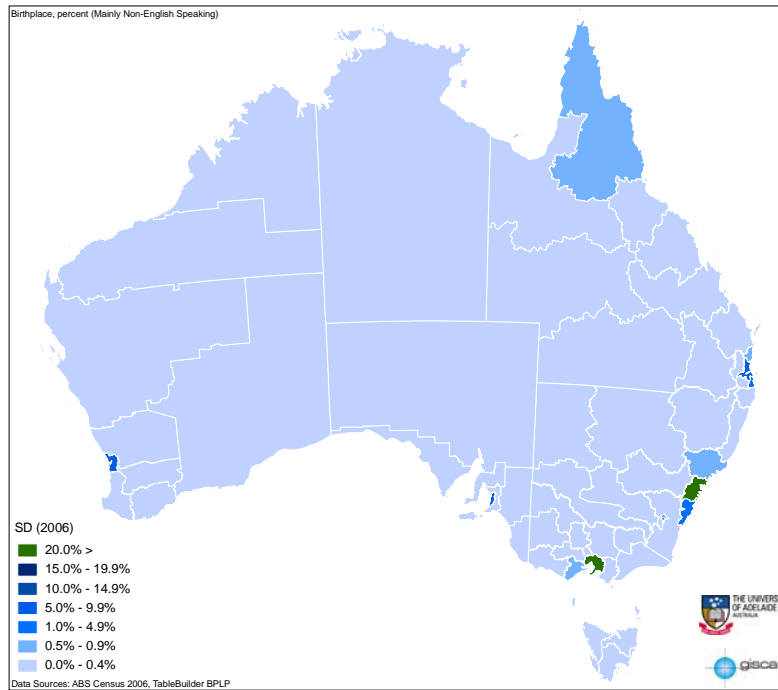


Figure 4.10: Geography of migrants from mainly non-English speaking countries, statistical divisions, 2006



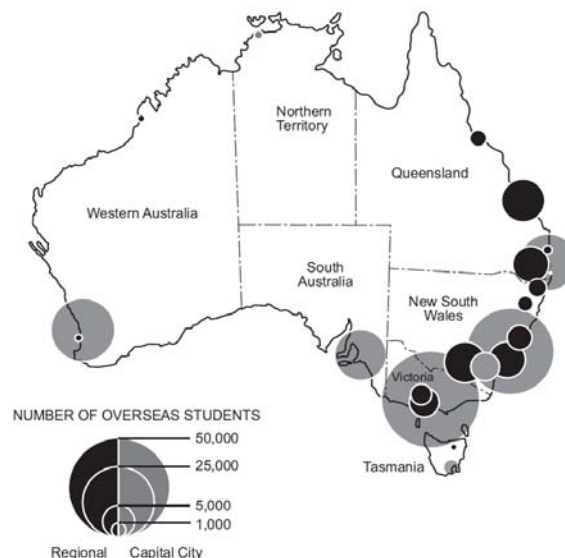
4.4 TEMPORARY MIGRATION

One of the most profound changes in Australia's immigration system since the mid 1990s has been an increase in non-permanent migration. On 30 June 2008 there were 809,628 persons temporarily present in Australia (DIAC, 2009b) and until the onset of the Global Financial Crisis the numbers were increasing by 15 percent per year. Clearly, where these groups go when they arrive in Australia has an impact on population distribution. Moreover, DIAC (2009b) reports that 64 percent of groups stay in Australia longer than 3 months and not all are detected in the census so it is important to briefly consider their spatial distribution.

One of the major categories of temporary migrants are Long Stay Temporary Business Entrants (Visa Category 457) who numbered a record 110,570 in 2007-08. Although the numbers declined a little in 2008-09 (101,280), these migrants are restricted to the top three skill categories and are able to stay in Australia up to four years. They need to be nominated by an employer and the numbers are not capped. They are more concentrated in Australia's major cities than are permanent migrants. Some 51 percent of all 457s coming in 2001-03 went to Sydney and 83.6 percent went to Australia's five largest cities (Khoo *et al.*, 2003). In 2002 a regional version of the 457 visa was introduced with a number of 'concessional arrangements ... to reflect the skill needs of regional Australia' (DIMA, 2008, 46). These concessions included a lower minimum level of skill and salary than was the case for regular 457 program. They needed to be endorsed by relevant state, territory or regional certifying bodies, be at locally relevant wage levels and it had to be shown that no locals were available to fill the job. The numbers of regional 457s grew quite rapidly but they became the subject of controversy because of accusations that employers have used the visa to undercut the wages and conditions of Australian workers in regional areas – especially in the abattoirs industry. Accordingly, there was a tightening of regulations. Although 457s are disproportionately concentrated in major cities they are increasingly important in filling job vacancies in regional areas, especially regional cities. One group of temporary skilled migrants of great significance in regional areas are doctors and other health personnel.

Figure 4.11: Location of Overseas Fee-Paying Students, 2002

Source: Department of Education, Science and Training



The largest category of temporary residents is overseas students who numbered 317,897 in 2008. Figure 4.11 depicts the distribution of foreign fee-paying students and it is apparent there is a strong concentration in major mainland cities which is to be expected since most universities are located in such centres. It is interesting to note, however, that there are more students in Melbourne than in Sydney which is different to the pattern for permanent settlers and 457s. Regional centres with universities like Ballarat are making a substantial effort to attract students both to contribute to the local economy as students but also in the hope that they will later become permanent residents locally when they finish their studies.

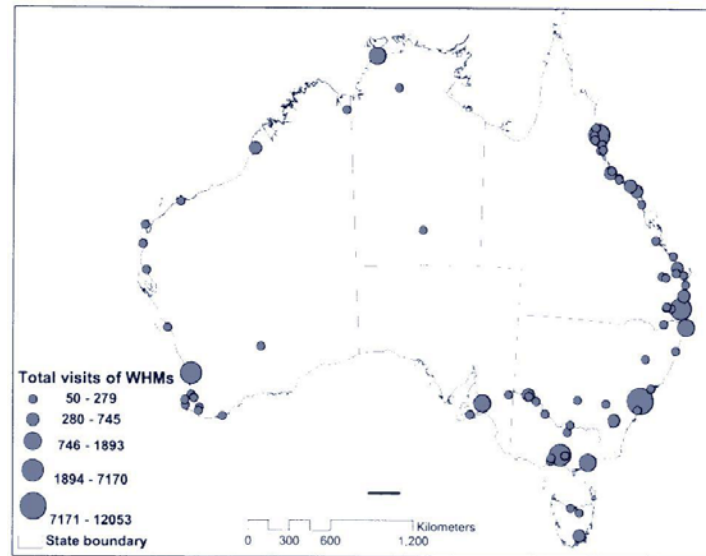
One of the categories of temporary migration which has increased in scale over the last decade and which has impinged on non-metropolitan Australia is Working Holiday Makers (WHM). This program involves:

‘... the temporary entry and stay of young people wanting to combine a holiday in Australia with the opportunity to supplement travel funds through incidental employment’ (DIMA, 2007, 64).

They can stay for a period of a year and work in a single job for up to 3 months. They are especially involved in the hospitality, horticultural and rural industries and many of the jobs are located outside of Australia’s major cities. Hugo (2001) shows, for example, how this group has become fundamentally important in providing seasonal harvest labour in horticultural, irrigated fruit growing and grape harvesting activities. Indeed they have been so significant that since late 2005 WHM ‘who have undertaken seasonal work in regional Australia for a minimum of three months’ (DIMA, 2007: 64) are eligible to apply for a second 12 month WHM visa.

In 2008-09 there were 187,696 WHM visas granted, an increase of 21.8 percent on the previous year and a doubling since 2003-04. Hence they have become an important element in the population of particular communities on a seasonal basis. The harvesting industry in Australia has been very active in lobbying the federal government for permission to bring in unskilled agricultural workers from Asia and the Pacific but has not been successful. The WHM are filling a niche in regional seasonal labour markets which in countries like the US, New Zealand, Canada and in Europe are filled by seasonal agricultural workers migrations (Hugo, 2001). However, Figure 4.12 depicts the location of places visited by a sample of WHMs in a 2008 study and it is immediately apparent that there is less concentration in the major cities than is the case for other immigrant groups. There is, however, a particularly strong geographical concentration in coastal areas. However, the large cities are significant for WHMs since an earlier survey of WHMs 42 percent reported spending some time working in Sydney (Harding and Webster, 2002).

While temporary migration is playing an important role in some non-metropolitan communities, in total they are more concentrated in major cities than are permanent settlers. They are more directed to Australia’s largest cities, especially Sydney. The important point here is that census data traditionally used to assess immigration significantly understates the impact of non-permanent international migration on world cities like Sydney. Sydney has a crucial gateway function not only for permanent settlers but large numbers of temporary migrants who circulate between it and other world cities. Moreover this group include many transnationals who move from one world city to another on job transfer or as they change jobs within global labour markets. With high-level skills and income they represent a significant presence in the world city at any single point in time and play an important role in its economic growth and labour market.

Figure 4.12: Major Localities Visited by WHMs, 2008Source: Tan *et al.*, 2009, 70

4.5 SUMMARY

There is a stability in Australia's population distribution, the major lineaments of which have changed little over the last century (Hugo, 2003). However, it is a deceptive stability since there is a great deal of dynamism and it is apparent from this chapter that international migration is an important element of this dynamism. International migration has been of crucial significance in the urbanisation of Australia and in dramatically changing the composition of Australia's urban populations. Immigration is the key demographic process in the development of Australia's major cities, especially the 'Gateway City' of Sydney (Hugo, 2008b). It is not only the major demographic engine of growth, it also has an important role in economic and social change. Immigrants are crucial to several sectors of the urban economy and they shape much of the social and cultural life of Australian cities. Immigrants are increasingly developing and strengthening transnational networks that link Australian cities with the rest of the world. Yet our understanding of the dynamics of immigration in shaping Australian cities and its impacts remains limited. This, especially, applies to the scale and impact of temporary international migration.

This chapter has also identified a significant, albeit small, shift in the settlement patterns of immigrants in recent years. This has involved, on the one hand, a shift away from New South Wales as the predominant destination of immigrants and a reduction in the significance of Sydney as the initial settlement of immigrants. Immigration is playing an increasingly significant role in regional and state development in Australia. It is being increasingly explicitly factored into economic planning at state, regional and local levels. However, our understanding of settlement in these areas remains limited. This lack of knowledge is of increasing importance because it is likely that immigration to peripheral states and to regional areas will become of more importance in the future.

In summarising, the aim of this chapter has been to show, firstly, the influence of international migration on net migration levels determined for each statistical division using usual residence in 2001 data from the census. It makes the point strongly that net population change must consider the impact of arrivals to Australia who were not resident at the time of

the 2001 census. Although it is not possible to develop levels of net international migration for each statistical division in Australia, the data presented have shown that, especially for Sydney and to a lesser extent Melbourne, international migration has a substantial offsetting impact on the large net migration losses they experienced between 2001 and 2006.

The second task for the chapter has been to show how migrants are distributed geographically throughout the country. The distribution of the broad overseas-born category in 2006 has a geography which does lend some support to the notion that there has been a slight shift temporally in the tendency for migrants to choose capital city locations. So too does the geography of migrants from mainly English speaking countries. However, in the case of recent migrants – those arriving after 1996 – and those from mainly non-English speaking countries, there is strong evidence presented to suggest that the capital cities statistical divisions, and to a lesser extent some adjacent SDs, remain the preferred locations for migrants.

It is against this context that the next chapter is prepared. It investigates the mobility of recent migrants between 2001 and 2006, and is an important part of this Report. Clearly, these migrants will be conducting their mobility within a more confined geography than was noted for the total population. It is to be expected that the capital cities will be important in terms of mobility origins and destinations, but will the same significance attach to sinks and sources as was the case with the total population?