

Welfare outcomes of migration of low-income earners from metropolitan to non-metropolitan Australia

authored by

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
AHURI	Australia Housing and Urban Research Institute
DFaCS	Department of Family and Community Services
DSP	Disability Support Pension
FaCS	Family and Community Services
LDS	Longitudinal Data Set
NSW	[state of] New South Wales
SA	[state of] South Australia
SPP	Sole Parent Pension
UB	Unemployment Benefits
UNSW	University of New South Wales

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study is being jointly undertaken between the AHURI UNSW-UWS Research Centre and the AHURI Southern Research Centre. The research aims to identify the motivations of, and tradeoffs made by, low-income earners, specifically income support recipients, who relocate from metropolitan cities to rural and regional Australia. In particular, the project seeks to determine the importance of housing considerations vis-à-vis other factors in location choice and whether, in the search for appropriate and affordable housing, the net welfare of movers is affected.

In Sydney, an association between out-migration and house price movements has been noted and some commentators have inferred that people are being ‘forced out’ of the city by high housing prices. Whilst Sydney’s house prices are the highest in Australia there is also significant out-migration from the other state capitals. This fluctuates in volume often in relation to house price movements. To the extent that the net welfare of movers is reduced due to relocation, policy issues may arise around housing subsidies, provision of human services and job creation strategies.

This Positioning Paper consists of five parts. First, the introduction sets the general context of the research vis-à-vis population movements in general and how these relate to the changing balance of economic and social relationships between Australia’s primate cities and their hinterlands. Second, Australian and international literature on low-income migration is reviewed. Within this section, data from the Department of Family and Community Services’ Longitudinal Data Set (LDS) are presented to establish recent pan-Australian movement patterns of income support recipients. This illustrates the magnitude of the migration phenomenon and how it varies by category of income support recipient and by State and Territory. Third, the broad policy implications resulting from the phenomenon are considered. Fourth, a social survey to be conducted of income support recipients who have relocated from metropolitan to non-metropolitan localities is described. Because the level of out-migration from Sydney is higher than for other Australian cities and because Sydney’s housing prices are by far the highest, the extent to which people are in fact being forced out by high housing prices is likely to be most sharply manifest there. However, because the phenomenon of low-income out-migration is evident around Australia, the inclusion of one other state, South Australia, in the survey goes some way towards determining the extent to which the outflow from Sydney and Adelaide is influenced by housing affordability. Finally, a brief conclusion is made, noting that a final AHURI report will follow from this research.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

With the recent proliferation of concern over regional areas in Australia, one phenomenon that has received little attention is the movement of people from metropolitan to non-metropolitan areas. Where this has been discussed it is usually in terms of high-income lifestyle migrants of the 'seachange' type. Yet more than a decade ago (Hugo, 1989a, 1989b) it was argued that a significant amount of the counter-urbanisation type of migration that occurs in Australia was 'poverty led'. Hugo suggested that a significant component of population growth in Australia's non-metropolitan areas is due to the in-migration, and retention, of low-income groups. An important element in this movement was said to be people receiving some form of transfer payments from government that are available across the nation and totally portable, and a major attraction is the cost of living, especially cheaper housing. Moreover, in the mainland State capitals of Australia a positive association between internal migration losses and housing prices has been noted and commentators have inferred that people may be being forced out of the cities by high housing prices (Murphy, Burnley, and Fagan 1997).

Study Aim

The aim of this research is to test the assumption that the bias towards lower income earners in the internal migration outflow from Australian primate cities to their non-metropolitan hinterlands means that movers are being forced out by unaffordable housing and that this choice leads to a net loss in their overall welfare. There is no doubt that housing costs are a factor (and not just for low income earners) in relocation decisions. But for policy-makers to conclude that there is a public interest issue that needs attention many of the people relocating would need to be saying things such as:

- 'I'd much rather be living where I was but given my income it was impossible to get appropriate and affordable housing and still have enough to live on';
- 'As a result of moving I've had to give up my job and haven't been able to find another one or the one I have found pays less and isn't enough to keep my household income after housing costs at the level it was'; or
- 'A trade-off that has made things really difficult is that I now live in an area that is poorly supplied with human services and this is not just an inconvenience but a serious problem'.

The principal consideration then is whether a person's aggregate welfare is lessened as a result of moving. Accordingly, the aim of this study is to identify the motivations of, and tradeoffs made by, low-income households – specifically income support recipients – who relocate from metropolitan cities to rural and regional Australia. In particular, the project seeks to determine the importance of housing considerations relative to other factors in location choice and whether, in the search for appropriate and affordable housing, the net welfare of movers is affected and how it is affected. To the extent that the net welfare of movers is reduced due to relocation, policy issues related to housing subsidies, job creation and provision of human services might arise. Migrants on lower incomes may arrive in localities with limited work opportunities suitable to them. They may also find that they have less disposable income than previously because of rent levels and the costs of travel to key services. They thus may experience housing stress, particularly in rural and regional areas where housing costs have increased in part as the result of amenity-related migration by more affluent households but possibly in other localities as well. Examples may include population turnaround areas in north coastal NSW such as Port Macquarie and Coffs Harbour, exurban and peripheral areas beyond the metropolitan fringe of Australian cities as well as population turnaround regions beyond the fringes of other metropolitan cities.

Whilst some light can be shed on these issues with secondary data from sources such as Population and Housing Censuses and the Department of Family and Community Services' (FaCS) Longitudinal Data Set (LDS) on income support recipients, direct questioning of those relocating is required to get accurate information on decision factors and their levels of welfare before and after relocation.

The primary research for the project has two components. First, data from FaCS' LDS are used to describe the pattern of migration of income support recipients from metropolitan to non-metropolitan areas and vice versa. The relative importance of these flows vis-à-vis base populations of income support recipients in metropolitan and non-metropolitan regions is also identified. The second and major part of the work is a social survey of income support recipients who have recently relocated from Sydney and Adelaide to non-metropolitan localities in NSW and South Australia, respectively. In addition to this primary research which will be reported on in the Final Report, the study includes a review of Australian and international literature on the subject, presented in a subsequent section of this document.

This Positioning Paper consists of five parts. First, the introduction sets the general context of the research vis-à-vis population movements in general and how these relate to the changing balance of economic and social relationships between Australia's primate cities and their hinterlands. Second, Australian and international literature on low-income migration is reviewed. Within this section, data from the Department of Family and Community Services' Longitudinal Data Set (LDS) are presented to establish recent pan-Australian movement patterns of income support recipients. This illustrates the magnitude of the migration phenomenon and how it varies by category of income support recipient and by State and Territory. Third, the broad policy implications resulting from the phenomenon are considered. Fourth, a social survey to be conducted of income support recipients who have relocated from metropolitan to non-metropolitan localities is described. Because the level of out-migration from Sydney is higher than for other Australian cities and because Sydney's housing prices are by far the highest, the extent to which people are in fact being forced out by high housing prices is likely to be most sharply manifest there. However, because the phenomenon of low-income out-migration is evident around Australia, the inclusion of one other state, South Australia, in the survey goes some way towards determining the extent to which the outflow from Sydney and Adelaide is influenced by housing affordability. Finally, a brief conclusion is made, noting that a final AHURI report will follow from this research.

Australia's Migration Context

Over the 1991-1996 intercensal period, 21,693 more persons left Australia's six state capital cities to live in non-metropolitan areas than moved into the cities from those areas. Table 1, however, shows that only in Sydney, and to a lesser extent Melbourne, were there net migration losses while the other state capitals received small net gains in 1991-1996. The table also shows that the net losses in Sydney and Melbourne are a longstanding feature. However, it is important to point out that these net migration figures are only the tip of the iceberg of much larger in and outflows from the capital cities. In Sydney, for example, there were 164,033 people who moved in during 1991-1996 compared to 228,020 moving out.¹

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

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

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

Source: Bell and Hugo, 2000, 96

There are various ways of structuring a sketch history of the relationship between Australia's primary cities² and their regional hinterlands into convenient periods around which to hang a tale. Whilst the story starts with white settlement, to avoid making that the subject of the paper three phases post-WWII have been identified: the long economic boom of the 1950s and 60s; the period of economic restructuring of the 70s and 80s; and the sustained period of economic growth in the 1990s.

The 1950s and 1960s: post WWII industrialisation and the long economic boom

Big city growth compared with smaller cities and towns and rural areas accelerated after WWII as the Australian manufacturing sector grew rapidly. This expansion was based on strong increases in business and household demand during the long economic boom of the 1950s and 1960s and high levels of tariff protection from imports (Logan et al., 1981). Immigration, which ran at high levels in that period, largely favoured the cities, where jobs in the factories and the lower echelons of the service economy were booming (Burnley, 1974). At the same time, job loss in the rural economy was accelerating due to increased use of machinery in place of labour. There was also increasing realisation on the part of many younger people and their parents that their financial prospects were better in the cities. Resulting rural-urban drift produced a political response in the decentralisation policies of the 1960s. These reached their high water mark in the regional growth centres at Bathurst-Orange and Albury-Wodonga in the early 1970s (Stilwell, 1974).³

² The Australian settlement system, on a State-by-State basis, has a pronounced level of what geographers call 'metropolitan primacy' (Rose, 1966). This means that the largest cities in the system, in the Australian case the State capitals, are very much bigger than the next largest centres in the respective States. In NSW, Sydney at 4 million people represents around 60 percent of the State's population. High levels of primacy also characterize Victoria, WA and SA. Exceptions are Queensland, where you have a series of large towns up the coast partly because Brisbane is eccentrically located in the State's southeast corner, Tasmania and the NT where in each case you have two large towns, but not much else.

³ Loss of population from rural areas also took place in the 1920s when commodity prices were low and people were forced off the land during the Great Depression. Despite this, however, 'there was actually a slackening and short term reversal of the

Small town decline, usually involving urban centres with populations less than 5000, which is very much part of the doom and gloom discourse around rural and regional Australia today, was in fact initiated in the 50s and 60s by a combination of factors (Henshall Hansen, 1988). Road improvements, increased car ownership and services growth in larger regional centres combined to encourage farmers and residents of small towns and villages to bypass those places to shop and access services in the regional cities.

At the same time, metropolitan affluence produced by the long economic boom of the 50s and 60s produced benefits for rural and regional Australia. As well as increased demand for food and fibre products there were notable increases in domestic tourism in a period when overseas travel for recreational purposes was still very much the province of the rich (Murphy, 1992). Building on established coastal and near-metropolitan districts, booming car ownership, disposable income and leisure time combined to geographically widen the range of domestic tourism and increase its numbers overall. This was a period of no frills, democratic weekenders and also the nucleus of coastal sprawl (Murphy, 1977). The sprawl is still there but the weekenders today are more likely to be designer homes or apartments because building regulations are much tighter, many people have a lot more money to spend and the general demography of the resident may have changed.

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

The 1970s and 1980s: Economic restructuring and first phase population turnaround

But just as Federal and State governments in Victoria and NSW were increasing their commitment to regional development with the early 70s growth centres, far reaching economic and demographic forces began to make themselves felt in Australia. Job growth in the manufacturing sector came to a halt in the early 70s and a process of major job shedding was initiated. This marked the transformation to a post-industrial, globalised Australian economy that had significant regional implications (Murphy and Watson, 1995). For decentralisation policy it meant that the manufacturing jobs that had underpinned policy in the 60s dried up; so if regional development was to be fostered it would need to find some other growth motor. As well as this, the change of Federal Government in 1975, combined with a more sophisticated understanding of what could and could not be achieved by regional policy, meant that government interest in top-down, big spending regional development programs evaporated (Vipond, 1989).

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

longer term trend toward urbanisation in Australia during the Depression when the nation's rural population reached a pre-War peak' (Hugo and Bell, 1998, 107)

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

These reciprocal processes underpinned the emergence of a new round of political conversations centred on the metropolitan/non-metropolitan divide. Once again the big cities were dominating the Australian economy whilst rural and regional Australia was losing out, or at best receiving a lesser share of benefits flowing from national economic growth. The economic and social problems of the bush and the rise of populist political resistance to economic and social change in Australia, signalled by the Pauline Hanson's *One Nation* bursting onto the political scene, are of course intimately related.

Since the 1990s: Population Turnaround: Phase 2

Despite these trends a Mark 2 turnaround appears to be in evidence today. There is considerable evidence, much of it ad hoc and as yet under-researched, of a new round of spillover effects from metropolitan to non-metropolitan regions. The benefits of growth created in the big cities in the 80s and 90s have for some time been translated into new growth impulses in the bush. These benefits are of two kinds: those that involve metropolitan demand for non-metropolitan resources and those that involve people relocating from metropolitan to non-metropolitan settings. People are still leaving the cities in significant numbers despite the demographic balance having shifted back to the cities. Indeed, whilst the numbers fluctuate, more people moved out of Sydney to non-metropolitan NSW in the last intercensal period, 1991 to 1996, than moved out in any other five-year period from 1971 to 1986 (Burnley and Murphy, forthcoming).

Who is moving?

There are various types of people moving away from the cities and they may be classified into two broad categories: the free agents and the forced relocators. Whilst this over-simplifies the complexity of the process of metropolitan to non-metropolitan migration it offers a basis for discussion.

Free agents

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

Alternative lifestylers were an important though quite localised component of the population turnaround in the 1970s, in NSW focusing on places like Nimbin on the north coast (Munro-Clark, 1986). Theirs was and is a largely rural lifestyle, to some degree self-sufficient and often dependent on income support payments. These days, however, whilst the trend continues, the notion of an alternative lifestyle has broadened considerably. At one end of the spectrum are

the capital 'A' alternatives, the visually obvious counter-culture types. At the other end are the small 'a' alternatives that a casual observer would not necessarily mark out from the mainstream without engaging them in conversation. Just as gentrification was the precursor of the boom in inner-city apartment living that the larger cities are experiencing today, because of its demonstration effect on those who previously regarded suburban living in a detached house as the only sensible living arrangement so, it may be argued, the hippy scene convinced many people of the virtues of a non-metropolitan lifestyle (Murphy 2002).

However, the development of massively improved communication and transport technologies has made it possible for many in the New Economy, who have home-based businesses and use the internet as an alternate and partial alternative to commuting, not to have to be located in central business districts in order to carry out their businesses. This has freed up new groups of movers to exercise lifestyle options and move to attractive non-metropolitan (especially coastal) locations. Similarly, the massive growth of the Australian tourist industry has favoured the growth of attractive non-metropolitan areas (Murphy 2002).

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

Forced relocators

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

More generally the notion that people are being forced to leave the city is supported when the relationship over time between net internal migration loss from the cities and housing prices is examined (Figures 1-4). Figures 1 to 4 below show interrelationships between house prices, internal migration trends and immigration trends. Sydney, Melbourne, Perth and Adelaide are included because these are Australia's largest market cities (Canberra's economy is largely that of a government town).

In order to fully interpret the nature of these time series the changing forms of economic relationships between Australian cities and their hinterlands need to be comprehended and which are explained below. For the purposes of this paper it is the relationships between net internal migration from the cities (numbers of people moving in from other parts of Australia minus those moving out) and housing prices that are pertinent. Because of the importance of immigration to Australian metropolitan population growth and the possible implications this has for house price inflation this variable is also included in the figures. Visual analysis suggests that there was a strong positive correlation between immigration and price levels and no obvious lag effects. This is consistent with the interpretation that immigration translates more or less directly into demand for housing and that since supply is inelastic in the short-run, price inflation results. The correlation of net internal migration with house prices is also clearly strong but negative and lagged: when prices rise internal migration decreases (due to increased out-migration and reduced in-migration) but this effect lags slightly behind price increases. This is logical since it takes time for people to register price increases and then decide either to move from a city or to delay moving into one. The causal question is whether people move out of the cities because prices are beyond their means or whether they move when prices are high so as to maximise capital gains (if owners) from sales. Another hypothesis is that when economic conditions are strong (which is the case when immigration and price inflation are high) people

feel confident in moving. These are open questions in the literature (reviewed by Murphy, Burnley and Fagan 1997) since survey research is required to get beyond statistical correlations of time series data.

Since the early 1990s it is notable that whilst immigration has been down prices have increased across the four cities yet internal migration net figures have remained stable. This may be the result of strong economic conditions in the 1990s that have created most job and business opportunities in the cities thus stemming out-migration but driving house price inflation.

The associations are much the same for the four cities but there are some standout contrasts that are relevant to the present study. First and most obviously, prices and immigration levels in Sydney are much higher than in the other cities with Melbourne ranking next and Brisbane and Perth some way below that. Second, in all years Sydney experienced net internal migration losses whereas of the other cities only Perth did in the boom immigration period in the late 1980s. So the combination of high prices and high immigration in the case of Sydney is certainly associated with significant and sustained, though variable, losses to elsewhere in NSW and Australia.

Data from various sources have been used in the four figures. Immigration has been estimated by attributing State-level settlement statistics (gleaned from the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, various years) to cities in proportion to shares of recent overseas born at census years. No annual data are published as to where immigrants settle at sub-state levels. Internal migration has been determined with estimates calculated using the residual method i.e., calculating natural increase (births minus deaths) and subtracting this from Estimated Resident Population (from ABS data of various years). House prices have been determined using Real Estate Institute data.

Figure 1. Immigration, Internal Migration and House Prices, Sydney, 1980-1999

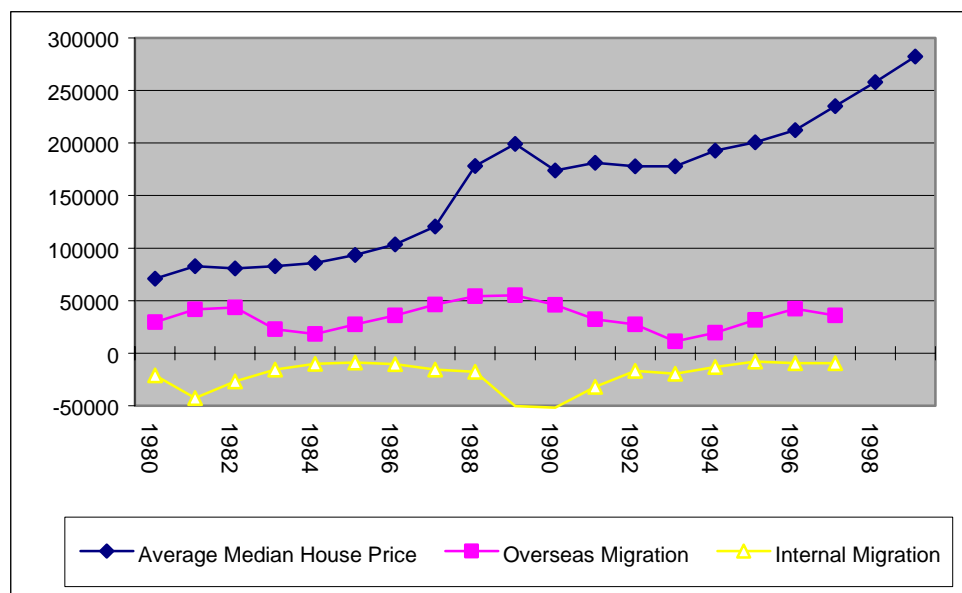


Figure 2. Immigration, Internal Migration and House Prices, Melbourne, 1980-1999

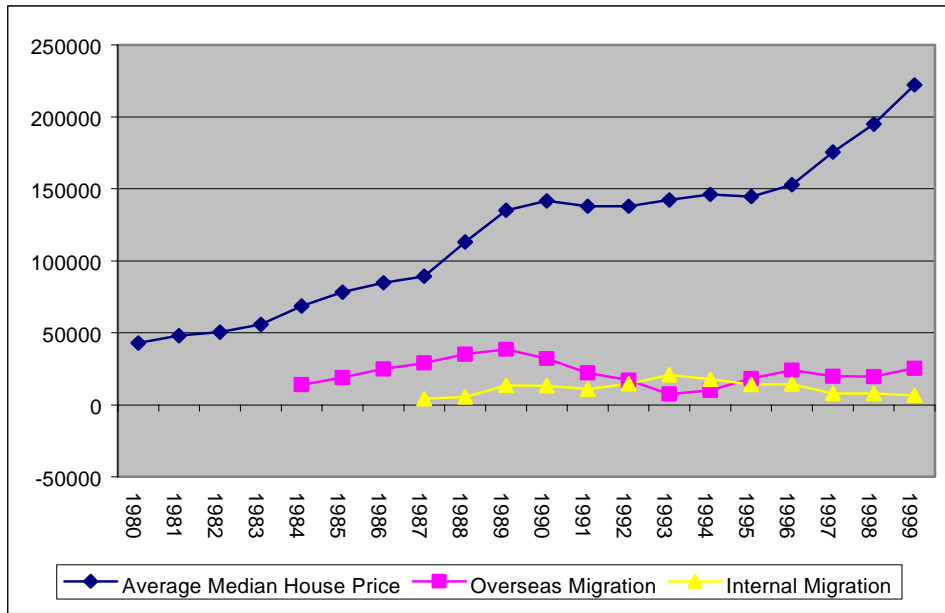


Figure 3. Immigration, Internal Migration and House Prices, Brisbane, 1980-1999

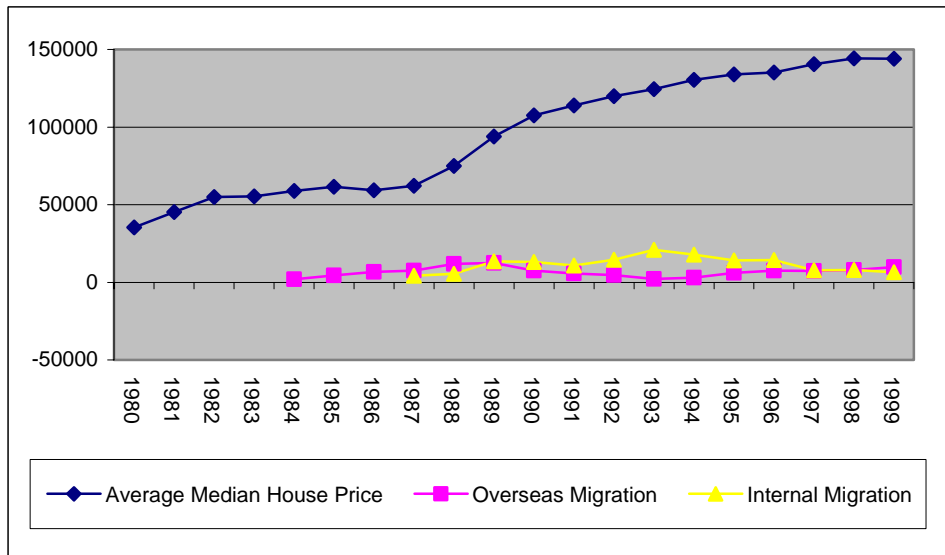
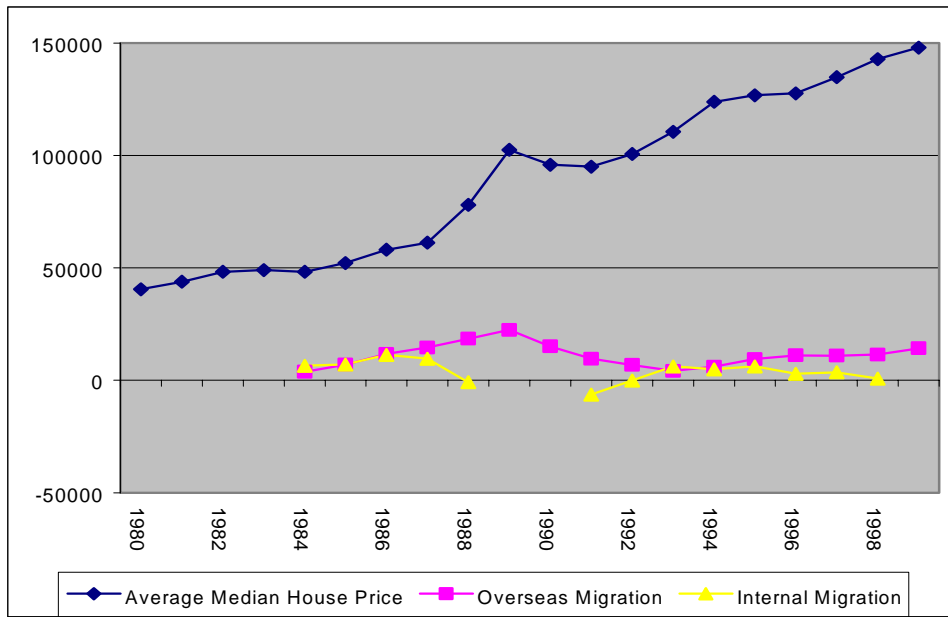


Figure 4. Immigration, Internal Migration and House Prices, Perth, 1980-1999



2.0 THE LITERATURE

Internal migration research and theory development has been reluctant to examine issues of the socioeconomic effects of population movement and indeed the class dimensions of mobility generally. Research has focused on describing and predicting the spatial patterning of movement, the age, gender, birthplace, labour force and education characteristics of movers and the macro and micro economic determinants of that movement. Much is known about all of these areas in the Australian context (e.g. see Rowland, 1979; Bell, 1992, 1995; Bell and Cooper, 1995; Bell and Maher, 1995; Bell and Hugo, 2000; Jarvie, 1985, 1989a, 1989b; Salt, 1992) but work on the impacts of movement and particularly that in non-metropolitan areas remains limited (e.g. see Burnley, Pryor and Rowland, 1980; Newton and Bell, 1996). This project seeks to make a contribution in this area by investigating the role that internal migration is playing in influencing income levels of people living in different parts of non-metropolitan Australia and to elucidate the implications of the processes for improving the well-being and welfare of their populations.

In the United States there is growing recognition of the significance of migration of the poor as an influence upon the level and spatial distribution of rural poverty. On the one hand it has been convincingly demonstrated that the poor, less educated and least skilled are under-represented among the people leaving depressed rural areas (Cromartie, 1993, Garkovich, 1989, Lichter et al., 1994). On the other hand there is also some evidence of the poor being an important element in urban to rural migration (Johansen and Fuguitt, 1984, Lichter et al., 1995, Fitchen, 1995). Fitchen (1995) in a case study of a depressed rural community in New York shows that this community has become a migration destination for both migrants from urban and other rural areas causing dramatic increases in the poverty rate, welfare rolls and service needs. Her research indicated that cheap housing provided the main attraction to newcomers while the lack of local jobs was not a deterrent since many of the newcomers had limited job skills and would have had trouble getting and keeping a job anyway.

Recent research (e.g. Nord, 1996) in the United States has indicated that there is little difference in the overall level of mobility of the poor and non-poor or in the distances that they are prepared to move. However, it has been found that the poor are more likely to move from cities to rural areas than better-off people and this has contributed to the increasing poverty rate in rural counties. Nord, Luloff and Jensen (1995, 410) found that migration patterns of both the poor and non-poor consistently reinforced pre-existing poverty concentrations and they make the provocative argument that 'to a large extent, spatial concentrations of poverty persist not because of the unwillingness of the poor to migrate out of high poverty areas but rather because of their propensity to migrate into such areas'. Their finding that there is a 'spatial sorting' of poor and non-poor in all migration streams needs to be tested in the Australian context since it has important theoretical as well as policy implications. (See also Birrell and Rapson 2001).

Another perspective on in-migration to non-metropolitan areas is given by Cromartie and Nord (1997) who found that in the United States in the post 1990 period the higher incomes of in-migrants compared with out-migrants has contributed to increased levels of non-metropolitan per capita income. They also found significant differentials across regions. Counties that are experiencing rising incomes as a result of migration were concentrated on the suburban fringe of expanding metropolitan areas and in areas of high natural amenity while those with a declining income as a result of migration are concentrated in the Great Plains, the Corn Belt, the western Appalachians and the south west coastal plain. They used data from the US Internal Revenue Service as did Plane (1999) in a study of the impact of internal migration on income redistribution between states. He develops a procedure to split income change into components attributable to various migration effects. He demonstrates that migration significantly and differentially impacts upon US states. Rodgers and Rodgers (1997) demonstrate that rural to urban migration in the United States results in permanent increases

in real earnings of the migrant themselves. Wenk and Hardesty (1995) investigated the effect of rural to urban migration on poverty status of youth in the US and found that such migration reduces the time spent in poverty for women but the effects are not statistically significant for men.

One of the most important contributions in this area has come from Frey (1994a, 1994b, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1997), Frey and Liaw (1998), Frey, Liaw and Lin (1998) and Frey et al. (1995). They have closely analysed the migration of the poor between states in the United States and shown that there is a significant out-migration of the poverty population from states which are experiencing high levels of immigration. The fact that, unlike Australia, the United States welfare system varies between states has led to an important research question being whether states offering more generous or comprehensive welfare programs become magnets for poor migrants from other states that have more limited programs. Hanson and Hartman (1994) addressed this question by examining the Current Population Survey for the 1980s and found no evidence to support the so-called welfare-magnet hypothesis. They conclude that in the United States poor people do not move from one state to another to receive more public assistance and that, in fact, the poor are unlikely to move out of their home state. This is in contrast to the findings of studies in the 1960s and 1970s which suggested that there was a positive influence of welfare benefits levels or generous eligibility criteria, on migration of the disadvantaged. However, Torrecilha and Sandefur (1990) have demonstrated that these studies suffer from a number of methodological limitations. They used data on Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) to examine the welfare magnet hypothesis and found that there was no difference between advantaged and disadvantaged groups in their propensity to leave individual states nor is there any difference between the groups in their likelihood of moving to high benefit states. A study of net migration within New York state found a moderate relationship with public sustenance variables but concludes that 'manipulating public assistance organisations via public policy changes would probably have less of an effect on net migration than would a change in private sustenance organisations' (Hirschl, Poston and Frisbie, 1990, 15). Overall, however, as Clark (1989) has pointed out, the research literature in the US has failed to produce compelling evidence that individuals migrate in order to collect generous welfare payments.

An interesting study was undertaken by Clark (1989) whereby instead of focusing upon the destination areas of migrants she examined conditions in the area of origin in her analysis of the relationship between migration and welfare. She focused on sole mothers and found that the availability of high welfare payments in a state inhibits the migration of both current welfare recipients and non-recipients. Rives et al. (1983) show that the low cost of living at the destination is an important factor shaping the migration of the older population and this factor is more likely to be of significance in Australia.

Turning to Australia there has been only limited examination of migration and income effects in this country. The major work has been by Wulff and Bell (1997) based on the 1991 Population Census internal migration data and the 1992 ABS Family Survey and examines the migration patterns of low-income groups. This had a number of important findings including the fact that persons receiving unemployment benefits and sole parent pensions have higher mobility than those in paid work. They found that spatial patterns of net migration gain and loss differed markedly between employed workers and the unemployed, there were net out-movements of low-income groups from Sydney and Melbourne and net gains in many non-metropolitan regions. Somewhat earlier (Hugo, 1989a 1989b) put forward the welfare-led hypothesis to assist in the explanation of counter-urbanisation in Australia. This suggests that a significant component of population growth in Australian non-metropolitan areas is due to the immigration, and retention, of low-income groups. An important element in this movement is of people receiving some form of transfer payments from government that are equally available across the entire nation and totally portable, and a major attraction is the cheaper cost of living, especially cheaper housing. This hypothesis was further developed and expanded by Hugo and Bell (1998). The significance of differential housing affordability in this process was underlined by the survey work of Burnley (1988) in the north east of NSW.

The poverty/welfare-led hypothesis should not be seen purely in terms of 'economic-push', since there is undoubtedly a contingent of people on low incomes or reliant upon transfer payments who decide to relocate to a congenial environment in non-metropolitan areas for amenity reasons. This is especially the case for transfer recipients at or near retirement age. One of the most clearly documented components of counter-urbanisation is the movement of former metropolitan residents in their 50s and 60s to non-metropolitan locations upon retirement or semi-retirement (Drysdale, 1991, Murphy and Zehner, 1988, Murphy, 1981, Neyland and Kendig, 1996, Pollard, 1996, Burnley, 1996). The significance of transfer payment recipients in the inflows of non-metropolitan areas has been identified (e.g. Flood, 1992, Wulff and Newton, 1996, Wulff and Bell, 1997). Hugo and Bell (1998) have demonstrated using 1991 census internal migration data that low-income earners have played a major role in the process of counter-urbanisation in Australia whereas in Sydney there were net migration gains of high-income earners but net migration losses of all lower income groups. More recently a new data source has been developed to shed light on this issue. This is the longitudinal data set of clients of the Commonwealth Department of Family and Community Services and its potential for analysis of the internal migration of pension and other transfer recipients has been demonstrated by Morrow (2000). This shows that more disability support pensioners leave capital cities than move to them and there are net gains of the group in particular areas, especially coastal NSW and southern Queensland. There is evidence too of low-income migration into non-metropolitan areas of New Zealand (Waldegrave and Stuart, 1997).

Mobility of Welfare Recipients

Morrow (2000) has recently analysed the mobility of some welfare recipients in the workforce ages, making use of the DFACS' LDS. His results are summarised in Table 2 and compared with some 1996 census data for the entire population. They indicate that the three groups receiving government transfers have moved at lower rates than the total population. Moreover, the 1996 census found that all renters moved at a much higher rate than other tenure groups. In fact, in 1996 renters made up 27.5 percent of households but they made up more than a half of movers in 1995-1996 (Bell and Hugo, 2000, 48). Hence the welfare recipients had lower than average annual rates of moving, although those on unemployment benefits moved at higher rates than either Sole Parent Pension (SPP) or Disability Support Pension (DSP) recipients.

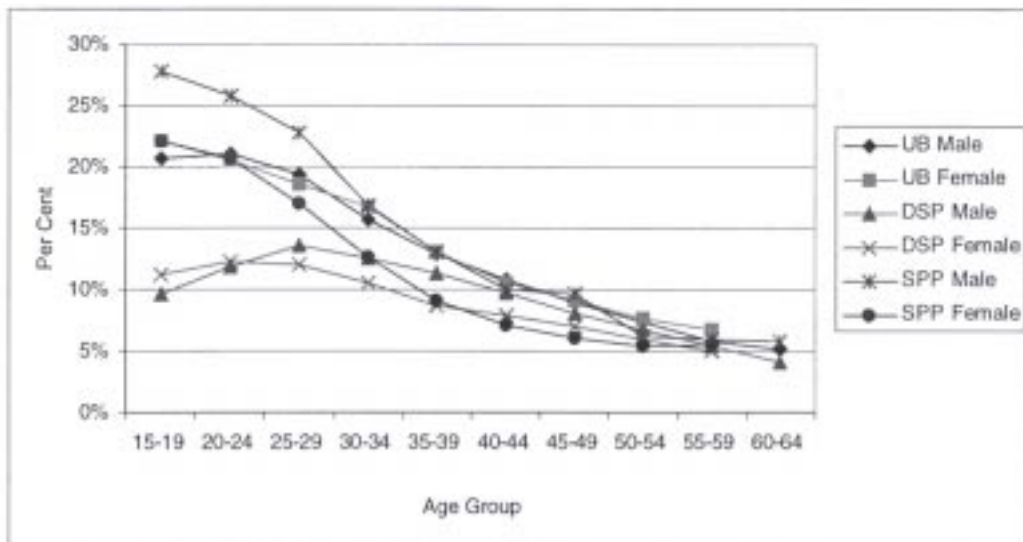
Table 2. Australia: Annual Mobility Rates of Selected Groups

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

Source: Bell and Hugo, 2000; Morrow, 2000

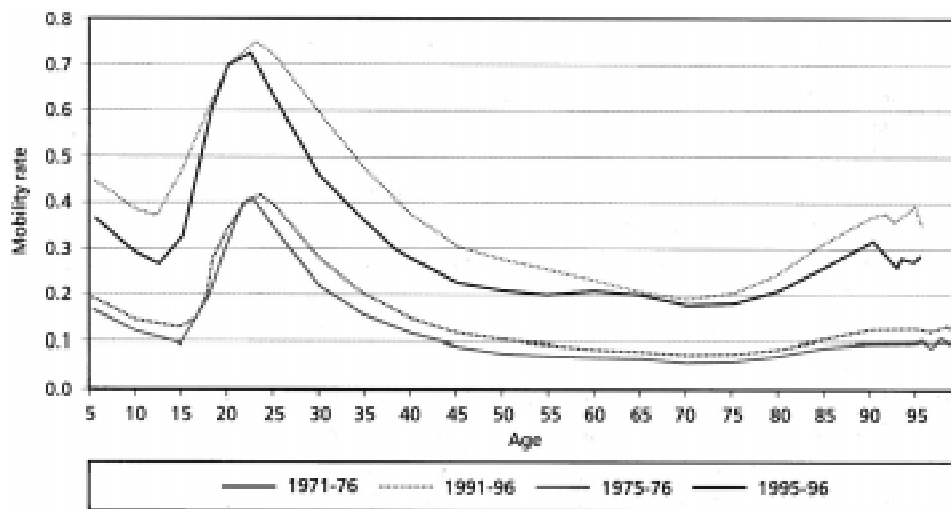
Morrow (2000) further analysed mobility rates by age and sex and their pattern is shown in Figure 5. This differs significantly from the mobility of the total population as is demonstrated in Figure 6 which indicates that there is a much more pronounced peaking in the young adult years among the total population. Indeed, for most of the welfare recipient groups there is a monotonic decline from the teen years with age.

Figure 5. Mobility of Welfare Recipients by Age by Sex, 1996-1997



Source: Morrow, 2000

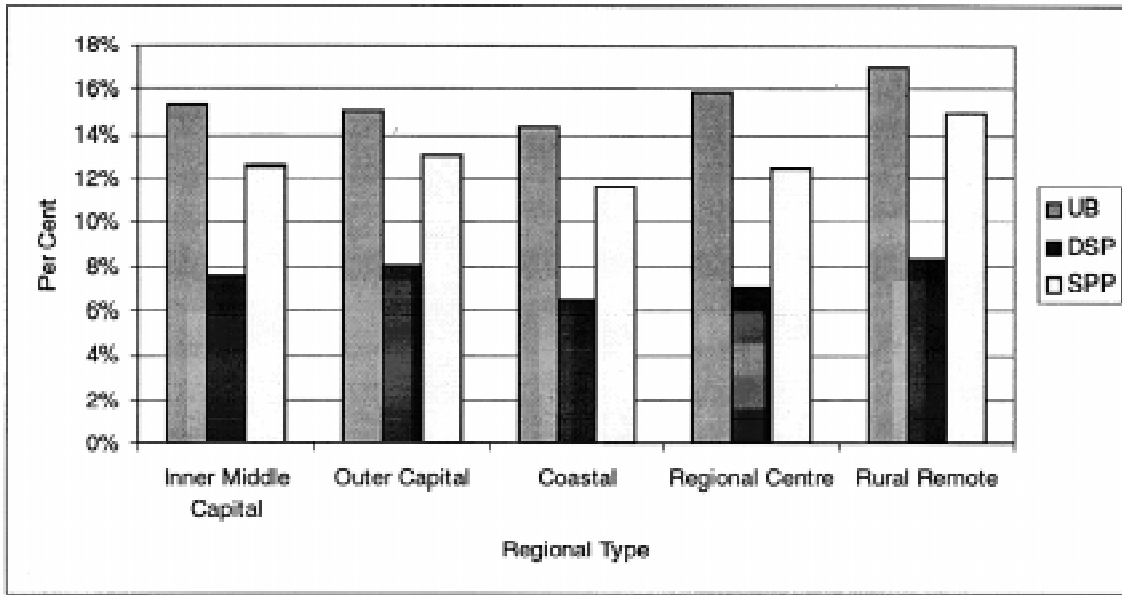
Figure 6. Australia: Mobility Rates by Age, 1971-1976, 1991-1996 and 1995-1996



Source: Bell and Hugo, 2000

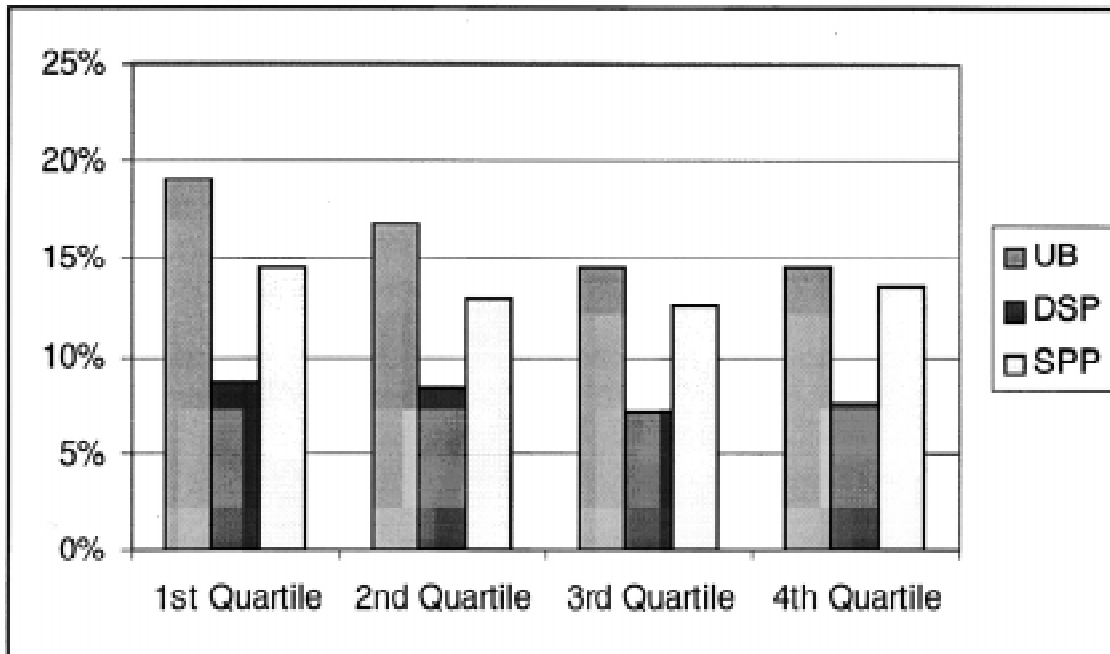
Morrow (2000, 15) also investigated regional variants in mobility rates that are shown in Figure 7. This indicates that there was only minor variation between different settlement types in the mobility of welfare recipients, although the highest rates are in the rural and remote areas. Figure 8 shows that there is an inverse relationship between level of mobility and socioeconomic status among welfare recipients.

Figure 7. Mobility Rates of Welfare Recipients by Regional Classification



Source: Morrow, 2000

Figure 8. Mobility Rates of Welfare Recipients by SEIFA Quartiles



Source: Morrow, 2000

As Morrow (2000, 18) points out, “this may be viewed in a number of ways. Firstly, it may represent a poverty trap, that clients living in disadvantaged areas have found accommodation that is suitable to their needs at an affordable price, or conversely do not have the resources to leave such an area to find more suitable accommodation. In the same way, the high mobility rates in areas of low socio-economic disadvantage may be the result of a prohibitive cost of living.”

Morrow (2000, 31-33) also examines the housing costs of welfare recipients. These are presented in Table 3 and show that among Unemployment Benefit recipients, movers tend to have had lower rent than non-movers at the beginning of the year before moving but higher costs after moving. This was also the case for Single Parent Pensioners but not for Disability Support Pensioners.

Table 3. Rent Paid by Welfare Recipients in Dollars per Fortnight, 1996-1997

	Rent Paid – September 1996		Difference – September 1997	
	Non-Movers	Movers	Non-Movers	Movers
UB	181.35	178.89	2.23	5.49
SPP	237.88	235.11	4.77	8.06
DSP	182.46	193.04	2.46	-1.33

Source: Morrow, 2000, 32

Initial Longitudinal Data Findings

We now turn to an analysis of the relocation patterns of income support recipients drawn from the LDS covering moves made between December 1999 and December 2000. The compilation of these tables required operational definitions of metropolitan and non-metropolitan postcodes for each of the Australian States and Territories. This task was accomplished by the Key Centre for Social Applications in GIS, University of Adelaide, and was directed by one of the co-authors, Graeme Hugo.

Table 4 shows the numbers of recipients, by FaCS income support payment categories, who moved from metropolitan to non-metropolitan areas in each Australian State and Territory. In themselves the numbers do not mean much other than to support the contention that there are many people involved in each of the categories. The following tables provide a basis for interpretation by relating the numbers to counter flows from non-metropolitan areas to the cities and by relating the scale of outflows to the size of source and destination populations of income support recipients.

Table 4. Movers From Metropolitan to Non-Metropolitan Areas by Income Support Payment Type for all States and Territories

Metro to Non-Metro Income Support Type	ACT	NSW	NT	QLD	SA	TAS	VIC	WA
Unemployed	96	4,866	700	5,030	1,864	680	4,805	3,039
Youth Unemployed	16	1,000	122	1,422	485	233	1,009	811
Single Parents	112	3,336	252	3,075	1,201	356	3,134	1,903
Disabled	52	2,866	166	2,525	1,131	294	2,729	1,369
Aged Pension	78	4,060	86	2,341	999	195	3,566	1,531
Totals	354	16,128	1,326	14,393	5,680	1,758	15,243	8,653

Source: DFACS 2001

Table 5 shows the proportions of movers by client type to give a better sense of how the outflows vary across Australia. Notable features are:

- The Northern Territory has the highest percentage of unemployed people in its metropolitan outflow (53 percent) whilst the ACT has the lowest percent (27%) relative to the other states and territory.
- The difference in relative proportions of youth unemployed across the States and Territories is unremarkable, although Tasmania is the highest at 13 percent and the ACT is the lowest, at 5 percent.
- All States and Territories have about the same percentage of single parent recipients in their outflows, except for the ACT that is about 10 percent higher than the others.
- All States and Territories have a similar proportion of disabled recipients in their outflows.
- NSW has the highest proportion of aged recipients (at 25 percent) with the Northern Territories the lowest at 6 percent.
- NSW and Victoria have the same order of proportions of support recipients, i.e. both have their highest percentages unemployed, followed by the aged, single parent, disabled and youth unemployed.
- The NT and Tasmania also have the same order of relative percentages of support recipients, i.e., both have their highest percentages as unemployed, followed by single parents, disabled, youth unemployed and the aged.
- Queensland and South Australia are similar to each other - both have their highest percentages as unemployed, followed by single parents, disabled, then the aged and youth unemployed.
- The ACT is different from all states and territories in that its highest proportion of income support recipients is not unemployed, like all the others, but rather single parents.

Table 5. Relative Percentages of Movers of the State and Territory Totals by Income support Recipient Type

Metro to Non-Metro % of Total State Recipients	ACT	NSW	NT	QLD	SA	TAS	VIC	WA
Unemployed	27%	30%	53%	35%	33%	39%	32%	35%
Youth Unemployed	5%	6%	9%	10%	9%	13%	7%	9%
Single Parents	32%	21%	19%	21%	21%	20%	21%	22%
Disabled	15%	18%	13%	18%	20%	17%	18%	16%
Aged Pension	22%	25%	6%	16%	18%	11%	23%	18%
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: DFACS 2001

Table 6 shows net flows (movements out of the city minus movements into the city) by payment category for each of the States and Territories and a number of features stand out:

- There are substantial counter-flows of income support recipients from metropolitan to non-metropolitan areas.
- The counter-flows, for the most part, are weakest in the case of aged pensioners, which is to be expected since job opportunities are much less likely to be an issue for them, their life situation is more or less stable and because mobility patterns are much lower for the aged than for younger cohorts.
- Comparing NSW and SA, the States in which the social survey is to be undertaken, shows stronger counter-flows to Adelaide in all categories. This is surprising since job opportunities are relatively weak there. Perhaps the strength of housing factors motivating migration from the cities is weaker so people are less inhibited in returning.
- Net gains to non-metropolitan NSW are significantly larger than in Victoria despite the size of the outflows from Melbourne being only marginally smaller in Victoria. This lends support to the previous conjecture that the effect of housing costs may be less of a factor in Melbourne than Sydney.

Table 6. Net Gains to Non-metropolitan Areas for Each State and Territory by Income support Recipient Type

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

Source: DFACS 2001

Table 7 indicates outflows from the cities to non-metropolitan areas as a percentage of the numbers of people in income support categories resident in the cities. These might be regarded as emission-rate indicators. Focussing on the mainland States shows a number of contrasts:

- Outflows from Brisbane represent a much higher proportion of source populations than is the case in the other States. This seems likely to be an anomaly arising from how Brisbane is defined which excludes the Gold and Sunshine Coasts, but, by reasonable assessment, are really part of Brisbane's peri-metropolitan region.
- Outflows in all categories represent a larger proportion of base metropolitan populations in NSW than in SA.
- Outflows from Sydney are higher proportions of base populations than is the case of Melbourne. Both this and the previous point support the notion of people needing or wanting to relocate from Sydney to a greater extent than from the smaller capitals.

Table 7. Outflows from Metro Areas as Proportions of Metro Recipients for Each State and Territory Totals by Income Support Recipient Type

Outflows from Metro Areas as Proportions of Metro Recipients	ACT	NSW	NT	QLD	SA	TAS	VIC	WA
Unemployed	2%	8%	32%	18%	5%	16%	7%	11%
Youth Unemployed	2%	16%	27%	28%	9%	25%	12%	20%
Single Parents	2%	7%	19%	18%	6%	15%	8%	12%
Disabled	1%	4%	12%	10%	3%	7%	4%	6%
Aged Pension	1%	2%	5%	3%	1%	2%	1%	2%
Totals	1%	4%	19%	10%	3%	7%	3%	6%

Source: DFACS 2001

Table 8 expresses inflows from the cities to non-metropolitan areas as a percentage of the numbers of people in income support categories in non-metropolitan areas. These might be regarded as local-impact indicators. Focussing on the mainland States again shows a number of contrasts:

- The most notable is that flows from Sydney are less important in most or all categories for non-metropolitan NSW than is the case for non-metropolitan areas in other States. Given the relative strength of flows from Sydney this seems surprising but implies that the base non-metro populations in the income support categories in NSW are larger vis-à-vis the other States. This could be the result of a longer-term process of out-migration of lower-income earners from Sydney.
- The contrast noted in the previous point is particularly marked in the case of SA vis-à-vis NSW.

Table 8. Inflows to Non-Metro Areas as Proportions of Non-Metro Recipients for Each State and Territory Totals by Income Support Recipient Type

Inflows to Non-Metro Areas as Proportions of Non-Metro Recipients	ACT	NSW	NT	QLD	SA	TAS	VIC	WA
Unemployed	16%	4%	6%	5%	9%	4%	8%	10%
Youth Unemployed	22%	5%	6%	7%	16%	7%	9%	14%
Single Parents	16%	4%	6%	4%	9%	4%	7%	7%
Disabled	7%	2%	5%	3%	6%	2%	4%	5%
Aged Pension	4%	1%	2%	1%	2%	1%	2%	2%
Totals	9%	2%	5%	3%	5%	2%	4%	5%

Source: DFACS 2001

3.0 POLICY CONTEXT

A review of the literature and analysis of existing research only go so far in explaining the importance of housing affordability in income support recipients' decisions to move, their self-assessment of their aggregate welfare levels before and after moving from metro to non-metro areas and the specific positive and negative welfare implications of moving to certain destinations.

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

The possible policy implications of knowing more about the factors influencing low-income out-migration from the cities and its implications will be investigated as part of the project. At present three types of policy implication may be noted:

- (a) If there are significant numbers of people whose net welfare is being reduced due to relocation then there is some support for higher levels of housing assistance to enable people to avoid the need to relocate. This may ultimately mean higher welfare support costs for government or program and policy changes.
- (b) If welfare loss is due to unemployment or under-employment, or to poor access to human services after relocation, then there is support for higher levels of government effort to redress those imbalances or 'force' relocation back to metropolitan areas where support can be shown more efficiently.
- (c) Perversely, income support payments may enable people to relocate to places where the probability of obtaining employment is actually lower, although there are many other factors that are considered in relocation choices e.g., penalties may occur for income support recipients moving to an area with reduced employment prospects.

To particularise the situation two stories about change in non-metropolitan areas are instructive. Some of the worst social problems in NSW are emerging in the coastal areas substantially as a result of in-migration of income support recipients (Vinson, 1999). Various social problems result from retirees moving into sea change localities. The basis for this is the fact that couples are separating themselves from family and friends in the city just when they are heading into a stage of the life cycle when they are most likely to need support from friends and relatives. The problems do not emerge at first but tend to come when couples hit their 70s and ill-health emerges. Often it is the relatively healthy partner having to ferry the sick person to the local doctor or specialists in remote cities. Further problems arise in the transition to specialised retirement accommodation because it can take some time to sell houses and because such facilities may not be available locally. Local councils typically are left to provide support services with inadequate resources to do so.

A second story concerns the implications of gentrification in some non-metropolitan areas. Whilst this term was coined to refer to those who began to repopulate the inner city from the late 1960s, buying old, cheap terrace housing and doing them up, very similar processes have been operating in some non-metropolitan localities. They have had similar displacement effects in those localities as the gentrifiers of the inner city had on pre-existing lower-income populations.

In all of the literature on migration and poverty, despite the few exceptions noted above, there is little discussion on the role and significance of housing. Yet as both a major factor in the expenditure of poor households and a determinant of well-being it is of crucial importance. It is this sort of yet unanswered questions this research is designed to answer.

4.0 STUDY METHODOLOGY

As noted, the empirical part of the study is in two parts. First, the LDS is to be interrogated to reveal various aspects of the mobility patterns of income support recipients. Second, a social survey is to be conducted of income support recipients to determine the relative importance of housing costs in their residential location decisions. This section of the paper describes the survey methodology.

Since resources are limited, the survey focus is on NSW and South Australia. The level of out-migration from Sydney is higher than for other Australian cities and Sydney's housing prices are by far the highest (as shown in Figures 1-4). The extent to which people are in fact being forced out by high housing prices is likely to be most sharply manifest there. But the phenomenon of low-income out-migration is evident around Australia so the inclusion of one other State in the study is designed to assess the extent to which housing is a factor across Australia. For the second state it was decided to focus on South Australia because whilst Adelaide is relatively small city and the State has not benefited to the same degree as NSW, Victoria, Western Australia and Queensland from the national economic development of the past 30 years or so, it nevertheless experiences substantial out-migration of income support recipients.

The study focuses on income support recipients (aged, unemployed, disabled, sole parents) since these people are likely to most sharply feel the results of higher housing prices. Operationally this choice makes it efficient to identify a sample of movers since Centrelink databases enable direct identification of movers from metropolitan postcodes to selected non-metropolitan localities.

The proposal assumes the completion of 1000 to 2500 self-administered, mail-back questionnaires completed by income support recipients who moved from metropolitan Sydney and Adelaide to non-metropolitan NSW and South Australia, respectively and who were in receipt of benefits both before and after relocation. A copy of the questionnaire is found in Appendix One. To achieve this number of returns, 7000 movers will be selected from Centrelink's current database of its income support recipients (an expected response rate of up to 35 percent is based on recent DFACS experience with client surveys). The sample will be stratified to include the aged, single parents, disabled, and unemployed (including unemployed youth but excluding students). Centrelink is able to identify (name and address) for each income support type, how many clients moved within in a 12 month period out of a metropolitan postcode to a non-metropolitan postcode.

The sample will be drawn in such a way as to obtain sufficient returns for each income support category from NSW and SA so as to enable reliable conclusions to be drawn from the data. Because of the relatively small numbers of movers from Adelaide to non-metropolitan SA, and variation in numbers of recipients moving in each of the categories in both NSW and SA, over-sampling in some categories is deemed to be necessary. It is therefore planned to sample 4,900 cases from NSW and 2,100 in SA. Within the two States equal relative percentages will be sampled from each income support category. No spatial stratification will be undertaken but it is reasonable to assume that sufficient numbers of returns will be obtained from the various types of non-metropolitan regions to enable cross-regional comparisons.

Each 'mover' selected as part of the sample will receive a written subject information letter (which is required by the UNSW and Adelaide University Ethics Committees), a questionnaire, and a reply-paid envelope for mailing back the survey. The subject information letter and questionnaire had extensive FaCS' input and were reviewed with the project's User Group and our contract survey company.

For privacy issues, FaCS has had to direct staff at Centrelink to sample its client base (as noted above) and organise the mailing process to those potential respondents, with a contracted, bonded firm. The research team, however, has designed the questionnaire, organised the overprint for a reply-paid envelope and organised the printing of the entire

mailout package of materials. Completed questionnaires will be returned to the Faculty of the Built Environment, UNSW, for opening and sequential numbering. In batches, these will be sent out for data coding and entry into a computer statistical program. The data will be processed simply by whole count tables and selected crosstabulations. This information will be further analysed by the research team for response rates, trends within NSW and SA and policy implications vis-à-vis income support payments and low-income housing.

User Group

A User Group has been established to include a representative from DFACS in Canberra, and DFACS in SA, the NSW Department of Housing and UNSW's Social Policy Research Centre. The purpose of this Group is to familiarise these experts with the project, to provide comment on the overall research process and review the draft survey materials and AHURI reports. Overall, this User Group will provide relevant and direct links to policy application of the research findings.

5.0 CONCLUSION

The significance of low-income earners, including income support recipients, in migration flows from metropolitan to non-metropolitan areas has been widely but relatively recently noted in Australian and international literature. In Australia the phenomenon is bound up in broader debates about the welfare-polarising effects of economic restructuring and immigration. Sydney has been the particular focus of those debates because it is Australia's largest city, its most globalised, its most expensive and the locus of immigration. But outflows of low-income earners from all main cities have been noted albeit with lesser force. Despite the growing focus on this phenomenon in the literature, there are many untested assumptions that can only be tested with the kind of survey data that this study will produce.

This research will have broad policy implications and may result in changes to the social support systems administered by Federal, State and Local agencies dealing with housing, employment and other welfare services. A Final Report will be submitted to AHURI by June 2002 which will outline the findings of the research, and its policy implications.

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APPENDICES

Appendix One. Sample Questionnaire

(Sydney (unformatted) version enclosed – The Adelaide questionnaire is identical, except for identifying the study location as Adelaide and SA.)

**Movement of People from Cities to
Smaller Towns and Country areas of Australia
2001**

Survey Prize:

When you have completed the questionnaire simply return it in the addressed, prepaid envelope provided. All respondents are eligible to enter a draw to win one of five \$100 gift vouchers from the store of their choice. If you want to be in the prize draw, please fill in your name and address below. Names will be removed from the survey so that no one can link you to your survey answers. Your Centerlink payment will NOT be affected if you win the prize. The prizes will be drawn on October 15th, 2001. The winners will be contacted by mail.

Entry form for Prize Draw (**OPTIONAL**)

Name: _____
Address: _____
Postcode: _____

Survey Instructions:

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

For our research purposes, Sydney is seen as being within the boundaries of Penrith, Campbelltown, Sutherland and Hornsby.

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

A. NSW

B. South Australia

For some questions, you are asked to simply write in your answer. For example, "What is your current postcode?" _____

Finally, for other questions, you are asked to consider your answers on a scale. For example, "How important were the following considerations for you in deciding to move out of Sydney?"

	very important	important	somewhat important	not important	not applicable
job opportunities	1	2	3	4	9
cost of living	1	2	3	4	9
housing costs	1	2	3	4	9

Personal Details:

1. In which state do you currently live?

- A. NSW
- B. South Australia

2. Are you male or female?

- A. Male
- B. Female

3a. What is your current postcode? _____

3b. What is the name of the place where you live? _____

4. What was your postcode when you last lived in Sydney? _____

5. Please indicate which type of income support payment you currently receive.

- A. not receiving any benefits at this time
- B. unemployment (Newstart Allowance)
- C. youth allowance
- D. disability
- E. single parent (Sole Parenting Payment)
- F. age pension
- G. not sure

6. What is your age? _____

7. In which country were you born?

- A. born in Australia (go to Question 9)
- B. born outside of Australia (complete Questions 8a and 8b)

8a. How long have you lived in Australia?

- A. less than 5 years
- B. 5-9 years
- C. 10-19 years
- D. 20 or more years

8b. Are you an Australian citizen?

- A. yes
- B. no

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

- A. only yourself
- B. couple (or partners) with no dependent children at home
- C. couple with one or more dependent children at home
- D. a parent with one or more dependent children at home
- E. group of adults to whom you are not related
- F. other (please describe) _____

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

- A. only yourself
- B. couple (or partners) with no dependent children at home
- C. couple with one or more dependent children at home
- D. a parent with one or more dependent children at home
- E. group of adults to whom you are not related
- F. other (please describe) _____

Employment:

11. Do you currently have any paid employment?

- A. yes (go to Question 12)
- B. no (go to Question 13)

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

- A. 0-10 hours/week
- B. 11-20 hours/week
- C. 21-30 hours/week
- D. 31-40 hours/week
- E. 41+ hours/week

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

- A. you
- B. your partner
- C. your parent
- D. your child
- E. other (please describe) _____

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

- A. yourself
- B. your partner
- C. your parent
- D. your child
- E. other (please describe) _____

15. When you last lived in Sydney were you personally....

- A. employed full-time
- B. employed part-time
- C. unemployed
- D. employed casually
- E. employed seasonally
- F. other (please describe) _____

Residential Location History:

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

- A. village (less than 500 population)
- B. small town (less than 10,000 population)
- C. large town (more than 10,000 population)
- D. regional city
- E. rural area
- F. other (please describe) _____

17. Have you lived in this area previously?

- A. yes When was that? (From what year to what year) _____
- B. no

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

- A. the area where you live now
- B. Sydney (within the boundaries of Penrith, Campbelltown, Sutherland and Hornsby)
- C. another Australian city
- D. rural district or country town in Australia
- E. another country

19. When did you last live in Sydney?

- A. less than 6 months ago
- B. 6-9 months ago
- C. 9-12 months ago
- D. more than 1 year ago

20. How long did you live in Sydney, when you last lived there?

- A. less than 6 months
- B. 6 months - 1 year
- C. 1-3 years
- D. 3-9 years
- E. more than 10 years

Social and Economic Change:

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

	very important	important	somewhat important	not important	not applicable
21. job opportunities	1	2	3	4	9
22. retirement opportunities	1	2	3	4	9
23. change in marital or relationship status	1	2	3	4	9
24. distance to work	1	2	3	4	9
25. location to raise my family	1	2	3	4	9
26. housing quality	1	2	3	4	9
27. housing costs	1	2	3	4	9
28. wanted to own a house instead of renting	1	2	3	4	9
29. wanted to live outside the city	1	2	3	4	9
30. crime levels	1	2	3	4	9
31. distance to family and friends	1	2	3	4	9
32. change in employment situation	1	2	3	4	9
33. own or rented a holiday home in the area	1	2	3	4	9
34. cost of living	1	2	3	4	9
35. other (specify) _____	1	2	3	4	9

36. Overall, to what extent were housing costs a key factor in your move out of Sydney?

	very important	important	somewhat important	not important	not applicable
	1	2	3	4	9

Housing Indicators:

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

- A. own outright
- B. purchasing
- C. renting privately
- D. renting and receiving Centrelink rent assistance
- E. renting from government
- F. other (please describe) _____

38. Which one of the following best describes your housing situation when you last lived in Sydney?

- A. own outright
 - B. purchasing
 - C. renting privately
 - D. renting and receiving Centrelink rent assistance
 - E. renting from government
 - F. other, eg. sharing a dormitory, private boarding, homeless (please describe)
-

39. How much do you spend on your housing now as compared to when you last lived in Sydney?

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

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

- A. house
- B. flat/home unit
- C. boarding house
- D. townhouse, villa, semi-detached
- E. caravan park
- F. retirement village
- G. nursing home
- H. other (please describe) _____

41. Which one of the following best describes the type of dwelling you had when you last lived in Sydney?

- A. house
- B. flat/home unit
- C. boarding house
- D. townhouse, villa, semi-detached
- E. caravan park
- F. retirement village
- G. nursing home
- H. other (please describe) _____

How would you rate your current housing situation as compared to when you last lived in Sydney?

	much better here	somewhat better here	equal in both locations	somewhat better there	much better there
42. quality of housing	1	2	3	4	5
43. size of housing	1	2	3	4	5
44. affordability of housing	1	2	3	4	5
45. location of housing in relation to work opportunities	1	2	3	4	5

Life Satisfaction:

46. What are the 3 things you like most about living at your current location?

- +1. _____
- +2. _____
- +3. _____

47. What are the 3 things you like least about living at your current location?

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____

48. Overall, how do you rate this community as a place to live?

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

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

	much better here	somewhat better here	equal in both locations	somewhat better there	much better there	not applicable
49. restaurants and clubs	1	2	3	4	5	9
50. health services	1	2	3	4	5	9
51. recreation facilities	1	2	3	4	5	9
52. banking/ commercial services	1	2	3	4	5	9
53. shopping facilities	1	2	3	4	5	9
54. community spirit	1	2	3	4	5	9
55. transportation	1	2	3	4	5	9
56. transportation costs	1	2	3	4	5	9
57. childcare facilities	1	2	3	4	5	9
58. youth services	1	2	3	4	5	9
59. aged services	1	2	3	4	5	9
60. disability services	1	2	3	4	5	9

From your own experience, how satisfactory has it been to make the following lifestyle adjustments since moving to this area?

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

67. Overall, how do you rate your previous community, that is Sydney, as a place to live?

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

68. To what extent has your last move out of Sydney resulted in you being 'better off' than you were before you moved?

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

69. What is the likelihood of you moving within the next 12 months back to Sydney?

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

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

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey.

Please return it in the prepaid reply envelope provided. Alternatively, please mail to:

Nancy Marshall
Faculty of the Built Environment
The University of New South Wales
UNSW Sydney NSW 2052

Remember to write your name and address on the front of this survey if you wish to have your name enter in the draw for one of five \$100 gift vouchers

Appendix Two. Terminology

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

Sydney has been defined as the area within the boundaries of Penrith, Campbelltown, Sutherland and Hornsby.

Adelaide is seen as being within the boundaries of Gawler, Mount Barker, and Noarlunga.

This following section has been copied verbatim from Centrelink's (2001) *A Guide to Commonwealth Government Payments*. Commonwealth Department of Family and Community Services and Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs. It presents, for each of the income support categories studied, the basic conditions of eligibility and residential qualifications required for payment. Whilst these payment criteria are determined by the Commonwealth Department of Family and Community Services, the actual income support payment system is administered by Centrelink offices.

Newstart Allowance (Unemployment Income Support)

Basic Conditions of Eligibility:

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

Residential Qualifications:

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

Youth Allowance (Youth Unemployment)*

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

Basic Conditions of Eligibility:

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

Residential Qualifications:

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

Parenting Payment

Basic Conditions of Eligibility:

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

Residential Qualifications:

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

Aged Pension

Basic Conditions of Eligibility:

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

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

Residential Qualifications:

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

Disability Support Pension

Basic Conditions of Eligibility:

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

Residential Qualifications:

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

May be paid for up to 26 weeks of temporary overseas absence or indefinitely if severely disabled.

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