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The Internal Migration of Workforce Age Welfare Recipients in Australia

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ABSTRACT

Over recent years there has been increasing interest in the differences between Australia's regions, especially between urban and rural regions. At the same time, there has been a growing number of people moving from the major cities to regional and rural areas. Centrelink clients, like most groups in society, are part of this trend. This raises the question of why Centrelink clients are moving and how moving affects their work opportunities, access to services and so on. To date, there has been very little microdata-based research undertaken into this field and that which has been done has been limited in its ability to identify welfare recipients, their geographic location and the effects of the move upon the household's well being. The Department of Family and Community Services' Longitudinal Dataset gives researchers the opportunity to study workforce age clients' movements over time. The dataset is based on administrative records and therefore contains detailed personal data, such as income, rent paid and housing tenure. Linking these records to a regional dataset allows the researcher to understand the effect of regional variables such as labour market conditions, remoteness and social disadvantage on the movement and well being of Centrelink clients.

Section 1: Introduction

The great social and economic changes Australia has experienced over recent decades have brought prosperity to many of Australia's communities, while others have been unable to share in these benefits. This has generated a great deal of public interest in the state of rural and regional Australia and the level of welfare dependency associated with it. Australia's welfare recipients are not evenly distributed across the country's communities. The regional pattern of welfare dependency often reflects local social and economic circumstances, but is complicated by the internal migration of recipients.

Internal migration can be viewed as welfare recipients responding to their changing circumstances. This response might be aimed at finding work, gaining access to services or an amenable environment, finding affordable housing and so on. This paper seeks to document the pattern of internal migration for welfare recipients of workforce age. Linking these movements to other regional data can inform policy development by understanding how welfare clients respond to labour market conditions, determine whether housing costs force welfare recipients away from jobs and important services and show how remoteness influences patterns of migration. Studying regional government transfer rates and socio economic disadvantage are of interest as they can tell policy makers whether welfare recipients tend to pool in or disperse from these disadvantaged areas.

This paper makes use of the Department of Family and Community Services' Longitudinal Dataset (LDS) to answer the questions that other research in this area has been unable to answer. While most other data sources used by researchers cannot identify social security clients directly and cannot observe changes in personal details such as rent paid and housing tenure, the LDS tracks individual clients from administrative records and enables the researchers to note changes in personal circumstances.

Section 2 of this paper will review the Australian literature's view of welfare migration. Section 3 will outline the structure of the three main workforce age welfare programs and the characteristics of program clients. Section 4 outlines the data sources and methodology used for this analysis. Section 5 considers the mobility rates of clients. Section 6 will consider the pattern of redistribution due to internal migration. Section 7 examines migration between different types of region. Section 8 considers the role of the labour market and housing costs on an individual's movements. Section 9 considers the role of public housing in welfare migration. Section 10 looks at the effect of regional government transfer rates, remoteness and socio economic circumstances on the client's movements. Section 11 discusses the findings and Section 12 concludes the paper.

Section 2: Literature Review

Numerous studies over the last decade have considered the role of low income households and the unemployed in the pattern of Australian internal migration. Wulff and Bell (1997), using the 1991 Census of Population and Housing, noted a pattern of migration out of the major cities (especially Sydney and Melbourne) toward the coastal regions of New South Wales and the Wide Bay-Burnett region of south east Queensland. Similar patterns of migration have also been noted by Flood (1992), Bell (1995) and Hugo and Bell (1998). This pattern of migration may change over time, however, the trend away from capital cities to non metropolitan regions has been present since the 1970s.

Hugo and Bell (1998) argue that the migration of those with low income and those in receipt of welfare payments make up a large proportion of the internal migrant population. In trying to explain this geographic distribution and the likelihood of a person moving in a given period, researchers have considered a number of explanations.

Mobility

Before considering the factors which influence the geographic distribution of clients, it is important to consider the factors which lead to a person moving in the first place. Age, marital status, labour force attachment and housing tenure are all known to influence a person's probability of moving (Bell, 1995) and can be associated with particular life cycle events, such leaving home, finding work, partnering, retiring and so forth.

Becoming unemployed, the onset of a disability and the breakdown of a partnership with dependent children are all major life events which may prompt a move. The mover may seek a lower cost of living, access to employment opportunities or the support of family and friends. Whether this adjustment is prompted by a "push" factor which forces a person to leave a given region or "pull" factors which attract a person to another region can vary in every case. In some of these instances, a lag can be expected between a life event and a move being recorded.

Wulff and Bell (1997) noted that Unemployment Benefit (UB) and Sole Parent Pension (SPP) clients had a higher rate of mobility than those in employment, even when factors such as age and housing tenure are taken into account. Studying the reasons for moving, Wulff and Bell (1997) noted that among SPP clients, marital breakdown, the desire to live in a better residence or better area and reducing housing costs were the most commonly cited reasons for moving. Unemployment beneficiaries had a less distinctive pattern of motives for moving, but factors such as employment opportunities, better accommodation and a better region and reducing housing costs all motivated a move.

Labour Market Conditions

Bell (1995) notes that much of Australia's internal migration history was a response to labour market forces. From the 1920s until the late 1960s, the mechanisation of agriculture and the growth of urban manufacturing saw a shift in the population from the agricultural areas of the

country to the major cities of the south east. However, the period since the 1970s has seen the decline of manufacturing industries and the growth of service industries which are not tied to urban infrastructure as are manufacturing industries.

O'Connor and Stimpson (1996) note that over recent decades, there has been a marked change in the connection between employment opportunities and population distribution. They argue that since the 1970s, investment in internationally competitive manufacturing and service industries has been concentrated in the major capital cities, especially Sydney and Melbourne. At the same time, population growth has been strongest outside major urban areas. Non metropolitan growth has only attracted investment in construction and locally focused service industries, such as retail and hospitality.

According to Bell (1995), who used data from the 1991 Census of Population and Housing to determine internal migration patterns, almost all non metropolitan regions of Australia lose younger adults aged 15-24 to the large metropolitan areas, even those regions experiencing rapid population growth. Bell suggests that these young people are seeking the wage and salary earning jobs concentrated in major urban areas. Migration to the non metropolitan areas is dominated by people aged 55 and over and contains a disproportionately large number of unemployed people and people not in the labour force.

Environmental Amenity

The observed trend for population movement out of the major cities to the urban fringes and pleasant non metropolitan areas may indicate that a person is seeking a more pleasant living situation than the major metropolitan centres can offer. As Flood (1992) reports, access to services and social and physical amenity are becoming important migration factors. Increasingly, migration is being driven by consumption rather than production. Flood also notes that those outside the labour force and the unemployed are likely to leave the major cities and move to the coastal areas of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, while employed people are likely to move to the capital cities (with the exception of Melbourne).

Urban Spillover

Growth recorded on the fringes of the major cities may be due in part to ever expanding cities and to migration to small urban centres close to the major cities. Maher and Whitelaw (1995) found that low income households in Sydney and Melbourne did not contribute to growth on the urban fringes. Rather, middle income households dominated migration to the urban fringes. The study suggests that low income households tend to circulate within low income parts of the city. The regions with growing concentrations of low income households were in fact middle regions of the capital cities such as Parramatta and Dandenong.

It remains unclear to what degree moves to the urban fringes are moves to a pleasant non metropolitan environment and to what extent the major cities are expanding their housing stock and pushing into new areas. Indeed, better transport links may make many of the distinct urban centres near the edge of large cities functionally part of the city's commuting zone.

Rent and Housing Tenure

Hugo (1998) argues that among income support recipients, the lower housing costs of non metropolitan areas is likely to attract migrants from the major cities. Further, the greater availability of public housing (with directly subsidised rents) in non metropolitan areas is likely to attract low income households and welfare recipients.

Urban Type

Bell and Maher (1995) proposed an urban hierarchy to model movement between Australia's communities. The model argued that high status professional and managerial workers moved to the top of the hierarchy, that is, capital cities especially Sydney and Melbourne. At the same time, lower status workers, especially those displaced from restructured industries, along with the unemployed and those outside the labour force moved down the hierarchy to pleasant coastal areas and the balance of non metropolitan areas.

Remoteness and Regional Disadvantage

Bell (1995) and Flood (1992) both show that the areas of greatest loss (excluding capital cities) are the inland areas of New South Wales, the Wimmera and Mallee districts of Victoria and the remote regions of Queensland, South Australia and Western Australia. Hugo (1998) typified these areas of loss as the remote grazing and dry farming regions. Areas of sparse population are likely to have poor access to services. Many inland areas also have climates that can be typified as tropical or arid. For these reasons, some tendency to move away can be expected.

Baum *et al* (1999) studied the performance of Australia's regions in response to the modern transformations of society and economy being experienced in many developed nations. The book classifies many of the coastal regions of Australia, in particular coastal New South Wales, south east Queensland and south west Western Australia as vulnerable although the nature of disadvantage may vary. The bulk of disadvantage in coastal New South Wales and south east Queensland is severe and typified as a "welfare/retirement migration cluster".

These regions have above average rates of unemployment, minimal education, population growth, employment growth, low income families, retail workers and rent and mortgage stress.

Research Questions

This paper seeks to document the internal migration pattern of several classes of welfare recipients. The paper will evaluate the effects of regional labour market conditions, rents paid, remoteness, public housing, socio-economic disadvantage and regional income. While the paper seeks to evaluate theoretical explanations of welfare led migration, the paper will also seek to answer questions of policy interest.

The UB program (comprising NewStart and Youth Training Allowance) requires clients to actively search for work and to take steps to improve their labour market circumstances. For this reason, the effect of internal migration upon a UB client's employment prospects are of clear interest. The extent to which internal migration relieves or compounds regional rates of welfare receipt is a matter of interest to many local communities seeking to understand the challenges that their community faces. Studying internal migration can also bring an insight into the needs and aspirations of welfare clients and the effect that moving has on their well being. For example, when a welfare recipient moves to gain a lower cost of living or greater environmental amenity, what cost will that person face in terms of access to services? Similarly, when a person moves to take advantage of additional labour market opportunities, how much will that person's cost of living rise?

Section 3: The Australian Welfare System

In Australia, the social security system aims to provide income support for people who are unable to support themselves. Pensions and benefits are funded directly by the Federal Government from consolidated revenue. Payments are organised in a categorical system, which provides specific types of benefit to clients depending on the nature of their need. This paper will focus upon those in receipt of the Unemployment Benefit (UB), the Sole Parent Pension (SPP) and the Disability Support Pension (DSP) between September 1996 and September 1997.

Australia's welfare system is designed as an income support safety net. For this reason, maximum payment rates are fixed, rather than being based on previous earnings. Payment rates are equal across all Australian states and territories and the payment is largely portable within Australia. Maximum payment rates differ depending upon the type of payment claimed and whether the client is partnered or single. Add-on payments are available in respect of dependent children, rental costs, pharmaceutical's and so on. Most payments are subject to a means test which reduces the value of the benefit as income and assets rise.

Unemployment Benefit

The Unemployment Benefit provides income support for people aged over 16 who are searching for work or undertaking approved training and rehabilitation courses. Currently, the

unemployment benefit is known as NewStart for clients aged over 21 years and Youth Allowance for those aged under 21 years. At the time the data was collected, the benefit was known as the Youth Training Allowance for clients aged under 18 and NewStart for clients aged over 18. This paper will refer to such payments by the generic name of the unemployment benefit (UB).

Labour market programs associated with UB receipt provide assistance to search for work in other regions. Clients may also face a suspension of benefit if they move to a region with less favourable employment prospects. Moves to or between the major metropolitan areas (Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth) do not attract this penalty. Movement to non-metropolitan areas is considered to be a breach if the difference in the unemployment rate is more than 2 percentage points. Exceptions can be granted if the client is moving to be near family, moving for health reasons or if the client can demonstrate that his or her specific skills are required in a particular area. Few beneficiaries (less than 1,000 per year) are penalised under this system.

Table 1: Personal Characteristics of UB Clients

	Number	Per Cent
Sex		
Male	535175	69.5%
Female	234684	30.5%
Age		
16-24	237924	30.9%
25-44	358034	46.6%
45+	172901	22.5%
Duration		
<1 Year	387761	50.4%
1-2 Years	184192	23.9%
2-3 Years	76521	9.9%
>3 Years	121385	15.8%

Source: Centrelink (1997)

Note that this Centrelink publication does not detail housing tenure of UB clients.

Table 1 indicates that 70 per cent of UB clients are male. A little under one in three (30.9 per cent) are aged 16-24, another 46 per cent are aged 25-44 and the balance (22.5 per cent) are aged over 45 years. Around half of all recipients have a current duration less than one year.

Sole Parent Pension

The Sole Parent Pension (SPP) provided income support for single people with dependent children under the age of 16 years. The payment is now known as Parenting Payment (Single). However as the payment was known as SPP at the time of the study, this name will be used in the paper. The program offers assistance through access to employment, education and training programs. Base payment rates are typically higher for SPP recipients than UB recipients.

Table 2: Personal Characteristics of SPP Clients

	Number	Per Cent
Sex		
Male	23920	6.7%
Female	334973	93.3%
Age		
16-29	123274	34.3%
30-49	225766	62.9%
50+	9853	2.7%
Home Owners	69913	19.5%

Source: Centrelink (1997)

Note that this Centrelink publication does not detail the current duration of clients.

Table 2 shows that the majority of SPP clients are female (93 per cent) and tend to be distributed toward the younger and middle age groups the workforce age population. Over one third of SPP clients are aged under 30 years (34 per cent) and another 63 per cent are aged between 30 and 49 years. Less than one in five (19.5 per cent) own their own home.

Sole Parent Pensioners could be expected to have a high mobility rate due to their relatively young age and housing status. It is also likely that SPP clients would seek an affordable location close to the support of family and friends.

Disability Support Pension

The Disability Support Pension (DSP) provides income support for people unable to work due to a disability. Applicants must demonstrate a 20 point impairment which prevents the client working 30 hours a week at award wages.

Table 3: Personal Characteristics of DSP Clients

	Number	Per Cent
Sex		
Male	352607	66.8%
Female	174907	33.2%
Age		
16-29	58343	11.1%
30-49	182910	34.7%
50+	286261	54.3%
Home Owners	204201	38.7%

Source: Centrelink (1997)

Note that this Centrelink publication does not detail the current duration of clients.

Clients in receipt of DSP tend to be skewed toward the older end of the workforce age population. Over half of all clients (54.3 per cent) are aged over 50 years and another third (35 per cent) are aged between 30 and 49 years. Only 11 per cent of clients are aged below 30 years. The majority of clients (67 per cent) are male and only 39 per cent own their own home.

It is likely that the age distribution and the number of clients owning their own home will lead to a modest mobility rate among the DSP client population. It would be expected that DSP clients would seek an affordable location with good access to support services, family and friends.

Section 4: Methodology

The Department of Family and Community Services (FaCS) has developed a longitudinal database which tracks payments to all clients over a period of 5 years from 1995 to 1999. The Longitudinal Dataset (LDS) is based on administrative data and provides detailed information of clients' personal characteristics, such as age, sex, marital status, dependents and so on, as well as payment data. More significantly, the LDS contains each client's postcode, housing tenure and rent paid (if any).

Due to resource constraints, the study examined only UB, DSP and SPP clients at a one year interval. Clients current on the system on 27 September 1996 were extracted and matched with their record on 26 September 1997. Clients who were not present on the system in

September 1997 were matched to their last record in the year following September 1996. The extract was restricted to males aged 16-64 and females aged 16-60.

Each client's record at the beginning and the end of the study year was matched with an ABS statistical subdivision (SSD) using a postcode to SSD concordance. Australia consists of approximately 190 SSDs. Statistical subdivisions usually consist of a number of local government areas. All capital cities (with the exception of Hobart) consist of several SSDs. Similarly all major urban areas have a specific SSD. A detailed explanation of the SSD structure and the Australian Standard Geographic Classification is given in ABS (1996).

Statistical subdivisions are a compromise between detail and the chance of misassignment of a record to an incorrect region. Using a higher level of aggregation (statistical divisions) would ensure little if any postcode overlap across statistical boundaries and little chance of a misquoted postcode assigning a client to an incorrect district. However, this level of aggregation does not allow the researcher to distinguish areas within capital cities or to separate major urban centres from their surrounding rural areas.

Using statistical subdivisions has given an increased level of detail in urban areas (as well as non urban areas), but has reduced the accuracy of geographic assignment. Postcode overlap is a particular problem in the Northern Territory and so this state has used a statistical division structure instead. Particular problems also exist for the SSDs of Far North in South Australia, Beaudesert Shire in south east Queensland, and North-Western Rural and Central North in Tasmania due to postcode overlap. Inferences made about migration to these regions should be used with caution.

Postcode overlap is usually dealt with by assigning clients with the same postcode to statistical areas in proportion to population's distribution across the statistical boundary. However, this pro rata approach is only suitable for assigning the number of clients to a statistical area. Assigning an individual record to an SSD based on a postcode is a more difficult process. Assigning records on a pro rata basis without biasing the population in each SSD is not practical using available software.

Instead, personal records and regional data have been matched using a simple merge process. Appendix A contains a comparison of the assignment of individual records used in this study with a pro rata estimation of client numbers. As mentioned before, only four regions had an unacceptably high mismatch between the estimates.

A move between regions is only recorded if the move is within Australia and between areas with valid postcodes. No move is recorded unless a change of region and a change of postcode are observed.

A regional classification structure has also been derived from the patterns of counterurbanisation noted in Hugo and Bell (1998) and Hugo (1996). The five categories are

inner middle capital regions, outer capital regions, coastal regions, regional centres and rural remote regions.

Inner middle capital regions are all those regions where the majority of the population live within the inner two thirds of a capital urban centre. Outer capital regions are all those regions where the majority of the population live in the outer third of a capital urban centre or within 75 km of the capital centroid. Coastal regions consist of all non capital regions located on the east coast between the Victorian border and Bundaberg in south east Queensland. Region centres are all those SSDs containing an urban centre with a population greater than 30,000. All remaining regions were classified as rural remote. The classification of each SSD is noted in Appendix B.

Regional data items have been attached to the individual records.

Regional unemployment rates were derived from the Census of Population and Housing (ABS, 1996). These rates are thought to be over estimates of the unemployment rate because the Census is a self reported, respondent completed study. Clients have been assigned to one of four regional unemployment quartiles. The boundaries of these quartiles have been set at 7.22 per cent, 8.75 per cent and 11.46 per cent.

Remoteness has been measured using the Accessibility/Remoteness Index of Australia (ARIA, Department of Health and Aged Care, 1999). The index rates accessibility on a continuous scale from 0 to 12, as an indication of the average road distance from a locality to various service centres. The scale was summarised into a five class categorical system based on postal areas. Accessibility categories were matched to clients' records by their postcodes and analysed for this study.

Social disadvantage has been measured using the Socio Economic Indexes for Areas (SEIFA, ABS, 1999). The measure used is an index of socio economic disadvantage, comprising factors such as the number low income households, sole parent households, unemployment rates, low education status and low skilled workers. Using data compiled at a SSD level, Australia's regions were assigned to four quartiles for analysis in the paper. Quartile boundaries were set at 944, 1010 and 1069.

Income per capita was derived from data contained in Bray and Mudd (1998). Using the 1996 Census of Population and Housing (ABS, 1996), regional income before tax was calculated, then divided by the population. Each region was then assigned to a quartile group for analysis in this paper. Quartile boundaries were set at \$13,262, \$14,386 and \$16,076.

Transfer payments' contribution to regional income was also calculated from data contained in Bray and Mudd (1998). This measured the total of government transfer payments paid into each region and presented it as a proportion of total income. This data was aggregated to an SSD level and each region assigned to a quartile. Quartile boundaries were set at 10.99 per cent, 16.02 per cent and 19.20 per cent.

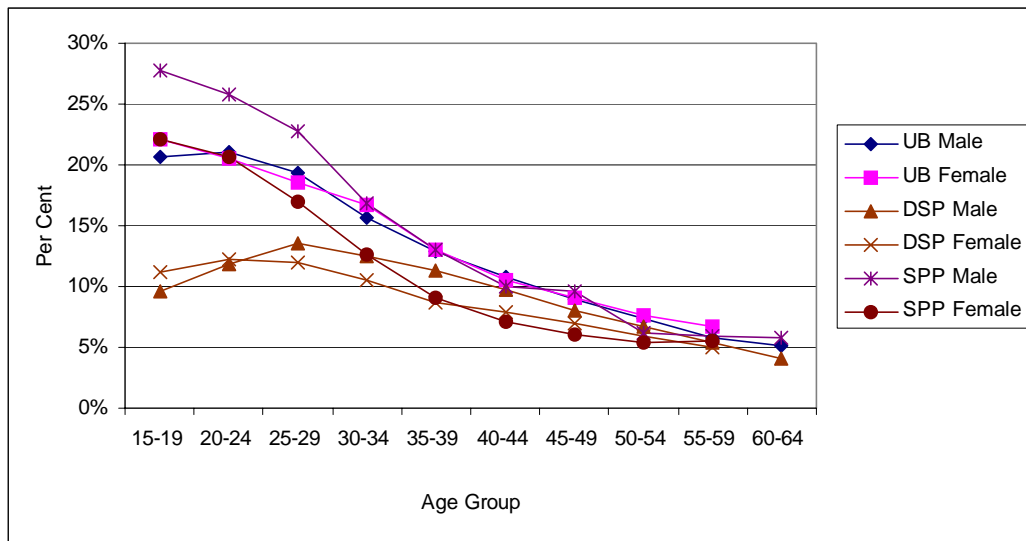
The results of analysis using these variables are presented in the following sections.

Section 5: Mobility Rates

Mobility refers to the number of people in a given population who make a move in a given period. In this analysis, mobility refers to the proportion of workforce age clients who make an inter regional movement during the study year. Overall, UB clients have the highest mobility rate of 15.4 percent, SPP clients have a similarly high rate of 12.9 per cent and DSP clients have a significantly lower rate of 7.6 per cent. While mobility rates appear to be an abstract and probabilistic tool of analysis, these rates are underpinned by real life cycle events.

The most significant factor affecting mobility is age. In the broader community, mobility rates rise from the age of fifteen years, reaching a peak in the late twenties. This is the result of children leaving home to attend education institutions, access work opportunities, live independently and/or partner. The rate of mobility typically falls from the late twenties until retirement age. This represents the more settled period of life that comes with the purchase of a house, child rearing and prime working age employment (Bell, 1995).

Figure 1: Mobility by Age by Sex

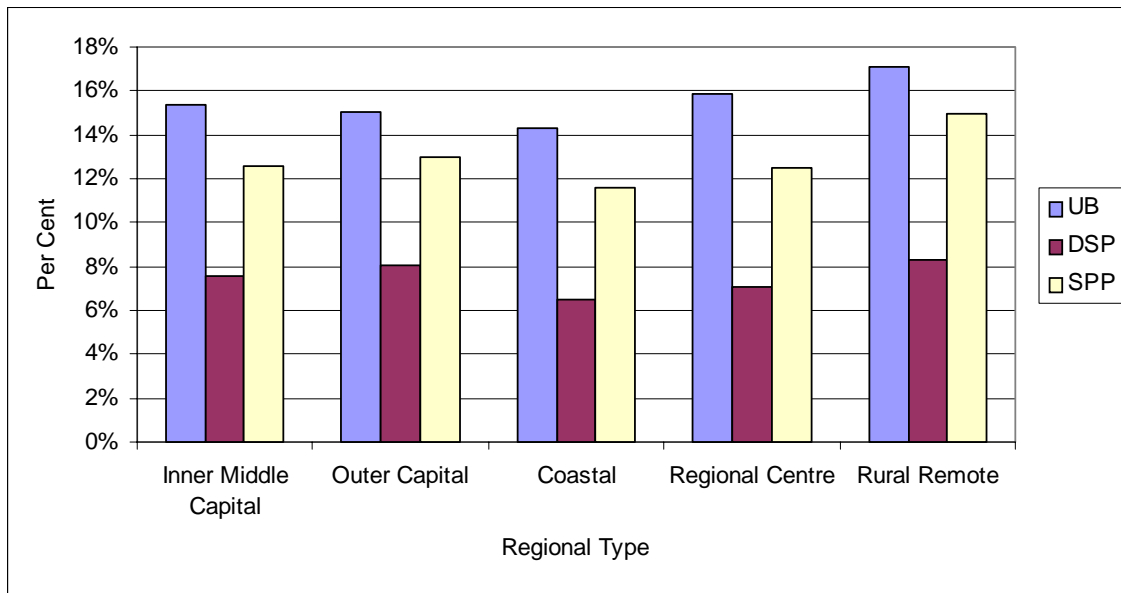


Source: FaCS LDS. Data underlying the graph is contained in Appendix C.

Figure 1 shows the mobility rate of all three client groups, broken down by sex and age. Of these three groups, only DSP clients show an inverted “u” pattern, which is commonly seen in the broader population and which indicates rising rates of mobility until the late twenties before declining until age pension age. Other client groups start with much higher rates of mobility among the young recipients. This rate then falls continually until age pension age. The decline among SPP clients is particularly steep between the ages of 20 and 35 years.

The high mobility rates among young UB and SPP clients may represent their high rates of independence from parents and typically insecure housing tenure in rental accommodation and group houses. Surprisingly, the mobility rates of SPP clients was nearly as high as the mobility rate of UB clients. This is counter intuitive as young children would be expected to reduce the mobility rates of SPP clients. It should be noted that UB and SPP client mobility rates drop to levels similar to DSP mobility rates among the older age groups.

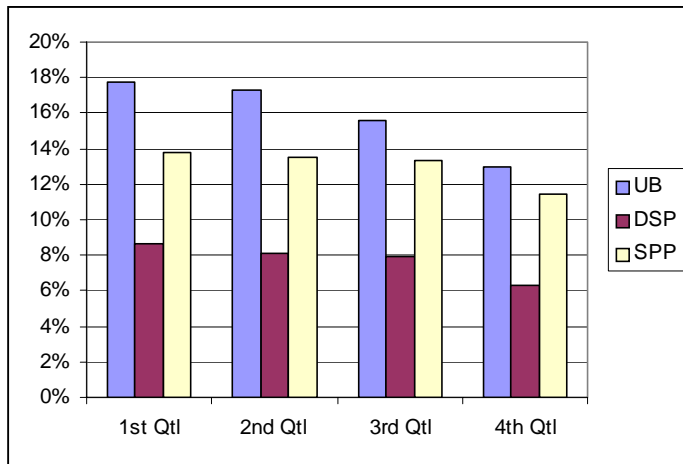
Figure 2: Mobility Rates by Regional Classification



Source: FaCS LDS. Data underlying the graph is contained in Appendix C.

Mobility rates do vary by regional type, but the differences are not as significant as might be expected. In all client groups, the lowest rate of mobility is found in coastal areas and the highest rate of mobility is found in rural and remote areas. Besides this pattern, there is no consistency in mobility rates between client groups. The high rates of mobility in rural and remote areas may be underpinned by the need to move a greater distance to find suitable accommodation and by people searching for greater access to services and employment opportunities than exist in rural and remote areas. At the other extreme, the good access to services and pleasant environment of coastal regions may reduce the need or desire to move to another area.

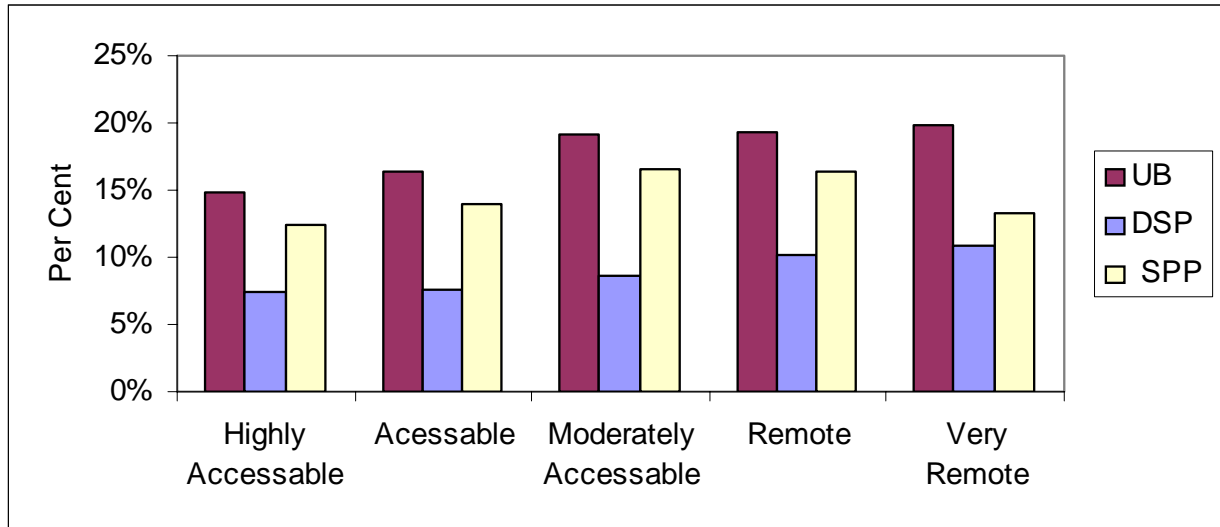
Figure 3: Mobility Rates by Unemployment Quartile



Source: FaCS LDS. Data underlying the graph is contained in Appendix C.

As Figure 3 shows, the rate of average mobility decreases as regional unemployment increases. This pattern is true for all three client groups, but is most pronounced among UB recipients.

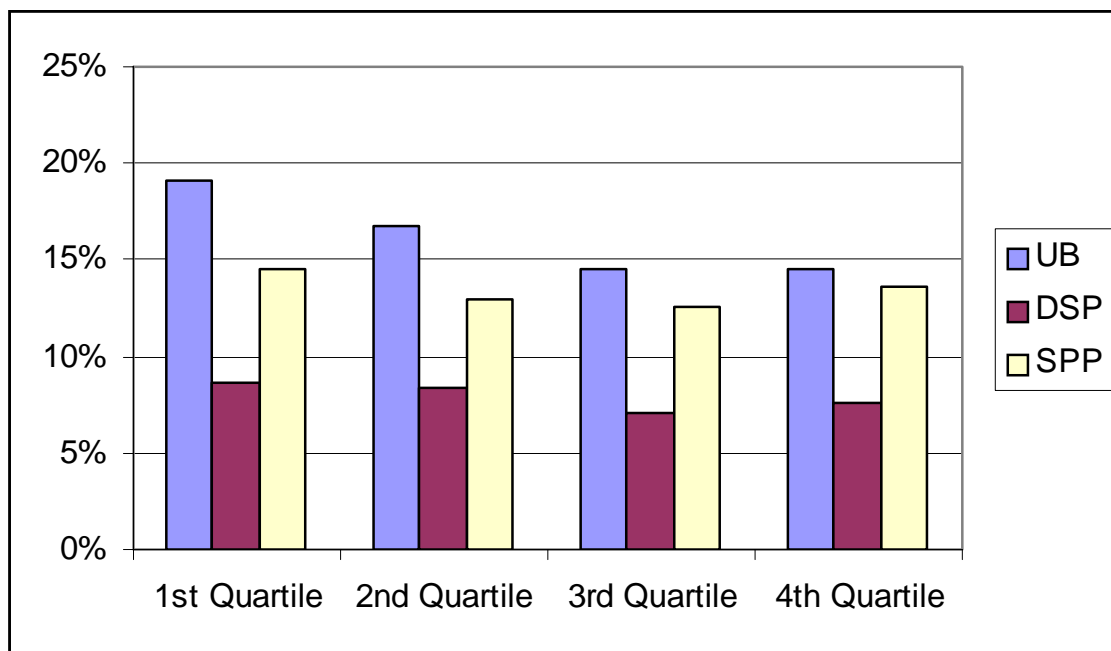
Figure 4: Mobility Rates by ARIA Categories



Source: FaCS LDS. Data underlying the graph is contained in Appendix C.

Table 4 shows that across most payment categories, mobility rates are in higher the more remote areas. This higher rate of mobility may imply that clients in more remote areas need to move further to satisfy their housing needs. Further, the lack of access to suitable facilities and employment opportunities makes staying in such an area a great disadvantage. Conversely the availability of housing in highly accessible areas implies that suitable housing is close to hand and that there is less need to move to find suitable access to services and employment opportunities.

Figure 5: Mobility Rates by SEIFA Quartiles

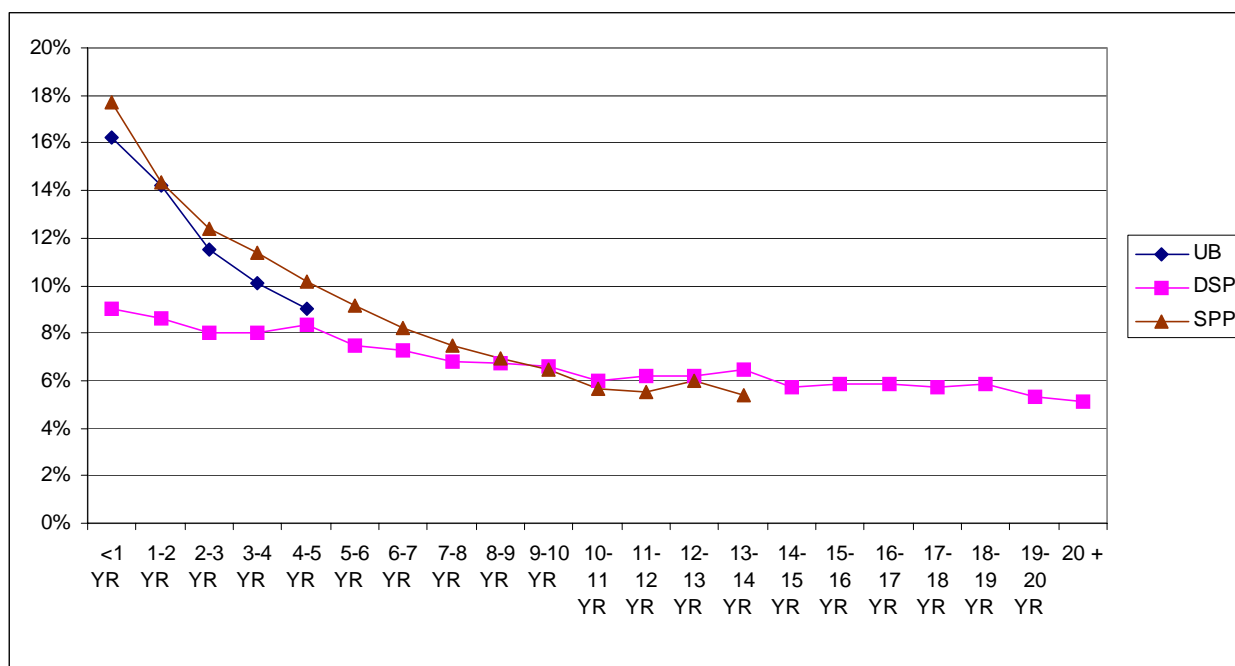


Source: FaCS LDS. Data underlying the graph is contained in Appendix C.

Figure 5 shows that mobility rates fall as socio economic disadvantage rises. While this difference is present in all client groups, the pattern is most strongly expressed in the mobility of UB clients. 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.

If moving is to be considered a response to changing personal circumstances, it would be expected that welfare recipients adjust their living arrangements in response to becoming a recipient of income support. In addition to being restricted by a modest fixed income, clients would also need to adjust their living arrangements in response to job search activities, the onset a disability or the break up of a couple household. In many cases, these major events can be assumed to have occurred at a time near to the commencement of income support receipt. Each client's record contains the current duration of payment receipt.

Figure 6: Mobility by Duration of Payment Receipt



Source: FaCS LDS. Data underlying the graph is contained in Appendix C.

Figure 6 shows that among all payment groups, the mobility rate falls rapidly after high rates of mobility in the first few years. This implies that clients make an adjustment to their changing circumstances quickly and that these adjustments become less frequent as time goes on. Most significantly, there is no spike in the graphs indicating that a move is most likely in the first year after going on payment.

Figure 6 also shows that UB and SPP clients start with very high rates of mobility, which drop away quickly, whereas DSP clients have a low rate of mobility which declines slowly with duration.

The exact motives for choosing to move house are not clear from the available data. A client’s well being may depend on whether the observed move was “voluntary”, to improve their living circumstances, or “forced” by unaffordable housing, marriage breakdown and so on. The following sections will examine the circumstances of clients before and after a move to see what role factors such as housing costs, labour market conditions, remoteness and so on have played in pushing clients out of particular regions and pulling them to others.

Section 6: Patterns of Migration

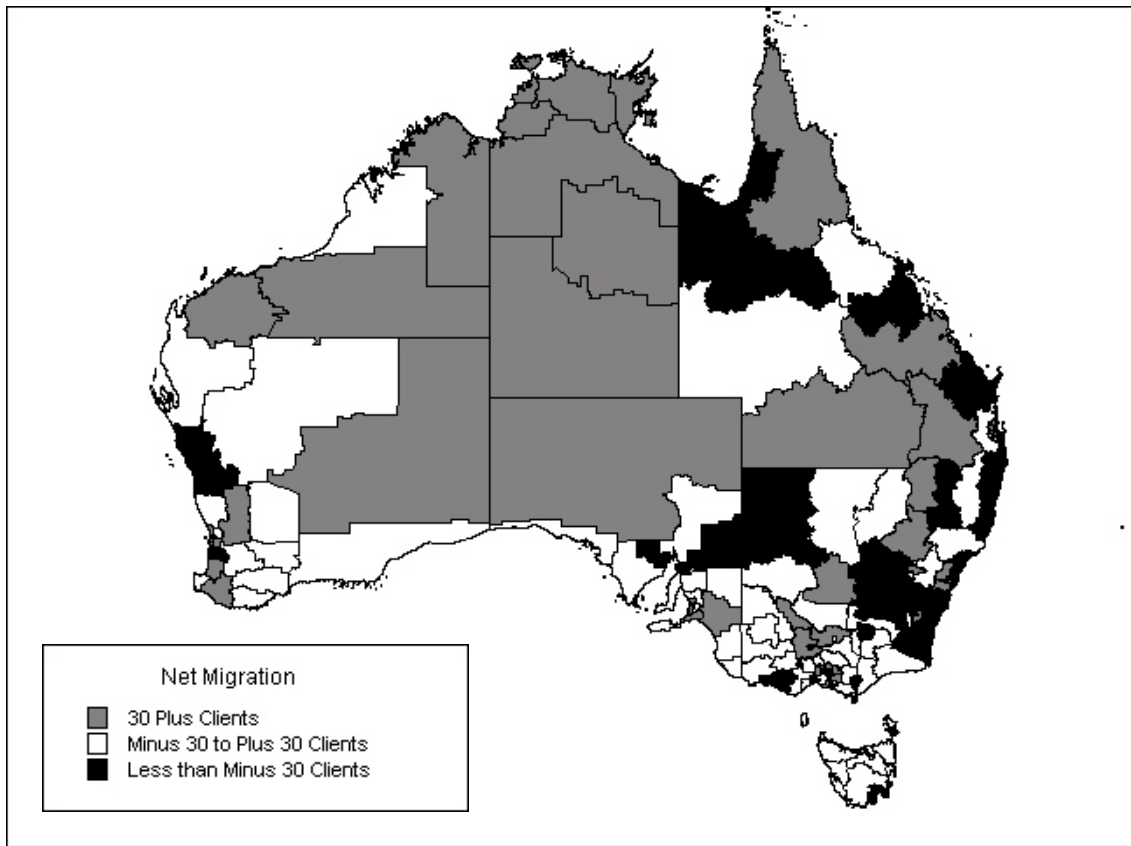
This section seeks to document the regional pattern of net migration for UB, SPP and DSP clients. Net migration represents the difference between clients moving into and clients

moving out of a region. It may disguise magnitude of migration to a particular area, by showing only the net effects. Further, net migration represents the number of migrants. A large net migration for a region with a large client population may not have so significant an effect as a large net migration in a region with a small client population.

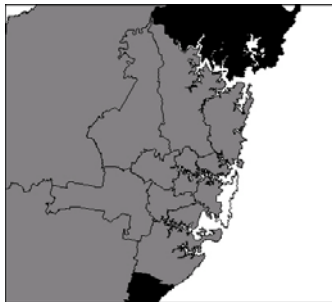
Unemployment Beneficiaries

The study contained 788,831 people receiving UB, of whom 121,361 moved to another region during the study year. Figure 7 shows that the regions of highest net gain were in the major urban centres. Particularly large gains were noted in the capital regions of Sydney and Melbourne and to a lesser extent in Brisbane, Adelaide, Perth and Canberra/Queanbeyan. A number of non capital regions did record a significant net in migration of UB clients. Some of these regions were remote, such as the Balance of the Northern Territory, the Lefroy and De Grey regions of Western Australia and Far North South Australia. There was also a large number of UB clients recorded moving into regions in the Murray-Darling Basin in net terms, particularly the larger urban centres of Toowoomba City, Bathurst-Orange and Mildura Rural City.

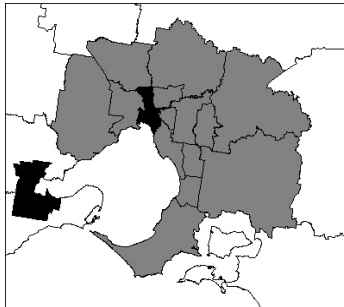
Figure 7: Net Gains and Losses of UB Clients



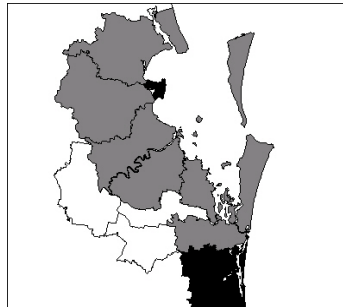
Sydney



Melbourne



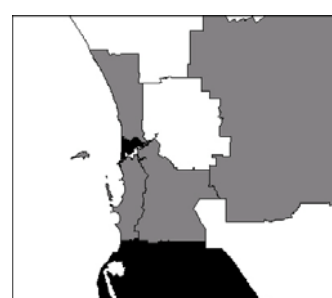
Brisbane



Adelaide



Perth



Canberra



Source: This data was calculated from the FaCS LDS. The figures underlying this table are contained in Appendix D.

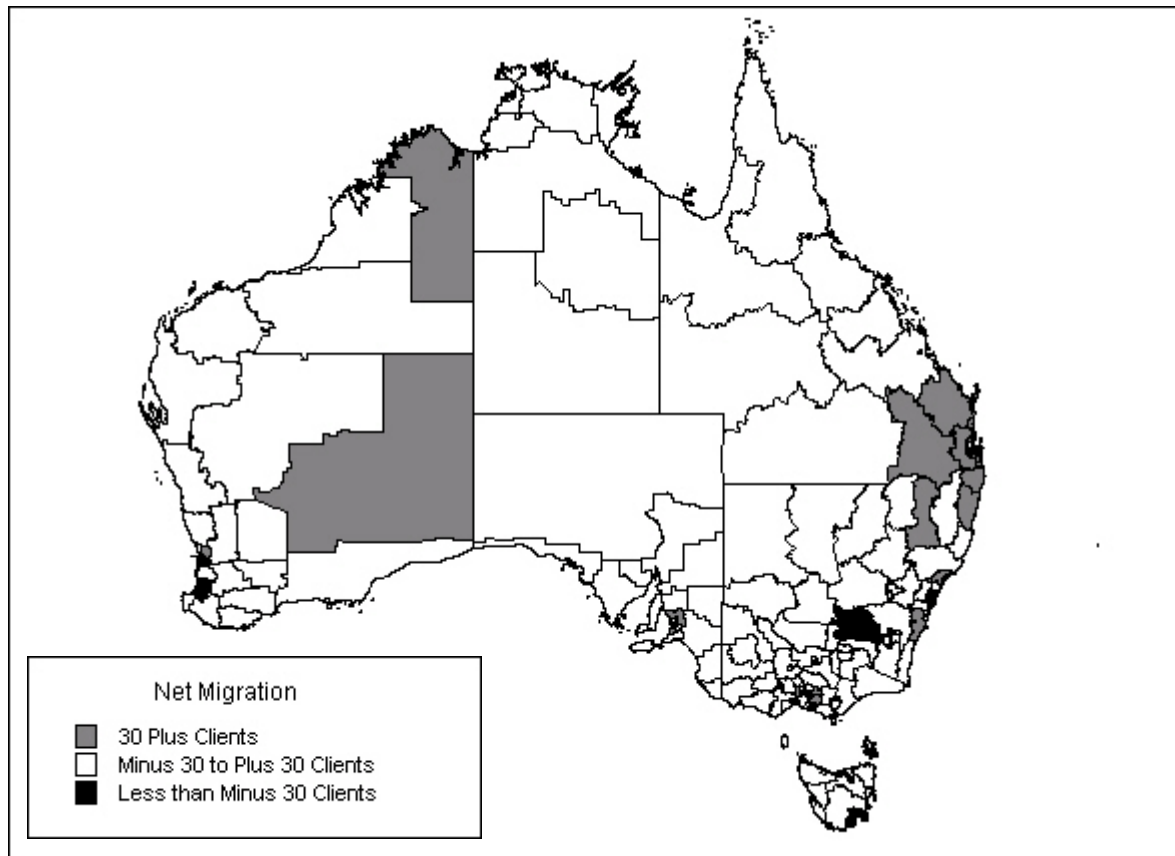
The most notable feature of UB client migration is the net losses from the east coast of Australia. Almost all non capital coastal regions between the Victorian border and Bundaberg recorded significant losses. The greatest concentration of losses were recorded between Newcastle and Bundaberg.

Many industrial towns also recorded net losses. These towns included Newcastle, Wollongong, Greater Geelong City, Greater Bendigo, Ballarat City, La Trobe Valley, Whyalla, Pirie, Greater Hobart, Greater Launceston and Burnie-Devonport. Other areas of loss were scattered through north and central Queensland, the Murray-Darling basin and some capital city regions.

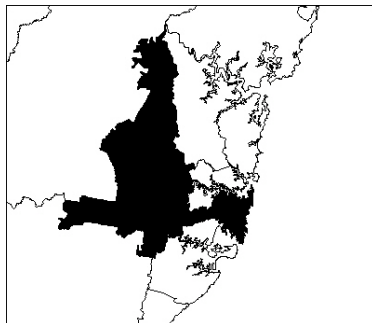
Sole Parent Pensioners

There were 336,579 SPP clients in this study and 43,314 of these recorded inter regional moves. The net migration pattern of SPP clients was much less marked than those for other workforce aged clients. Figure 8 shows that the areas of high in migration for SPP clients are clustered in south east Queensland (Gold Coast City, Sunshine Coast, Moreton SD Balance, Beaudesert Shire and Darling Downs SD Balance) and northern New South Wales (Newcastle, Clarence, Richmond Tweed SD Balance and Northern Slopes). Net migration gains were also recorded on the urban fringes of some capital cities (Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth).

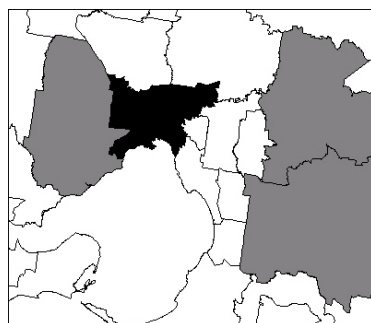
Figure 8: Net Gains and Losses of SPP Clients



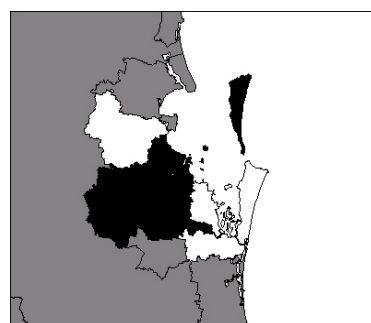
Sydney



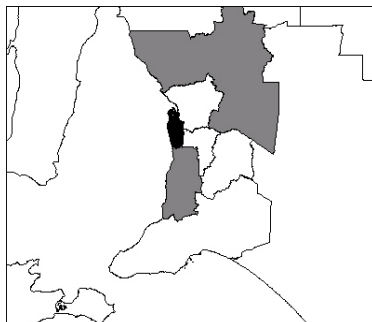
Melbourne



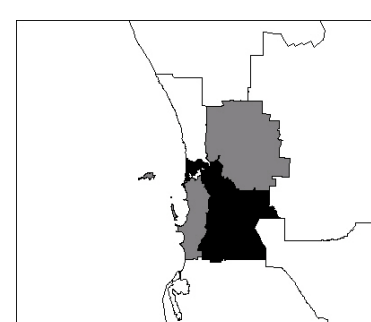
Brisbane



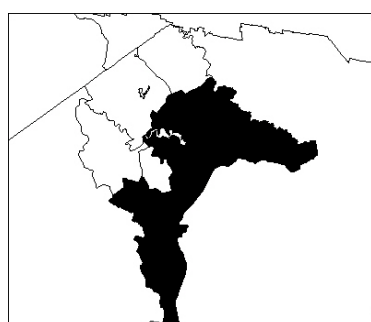
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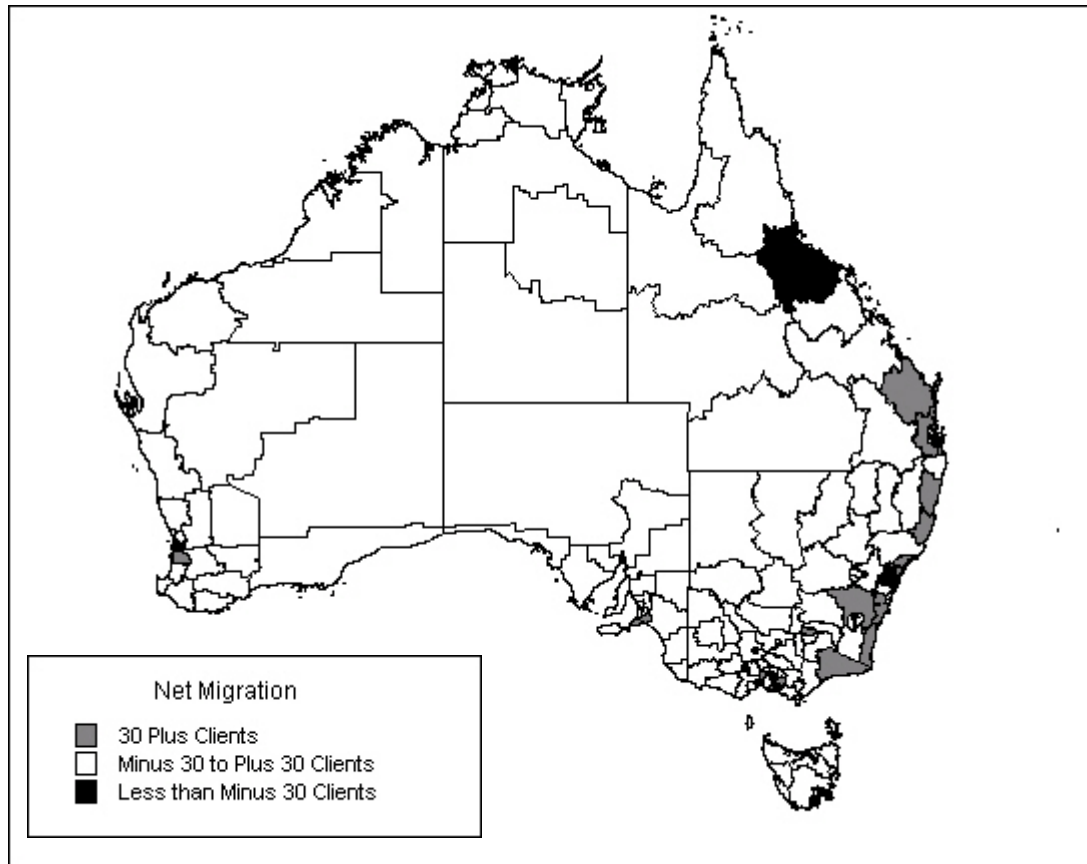
Source: This data was calculated from the FaCS LDS. The figures underlying this table are contained in Appendix D.

The regions which lost SPP clients were strongly clustered in the inner-middle regions of the capital cities, particularly in Sydney. Some outer urban areas such as Blacktown-Baulkham Hills and Fairfield-Liverpool in Sydney, Logan City and Ipswich City in Brisbane and Tuggeranong in Canberra also lost a significant number of SPP clients. Few regions outside the capital cities lost large numbers of SPP clients.

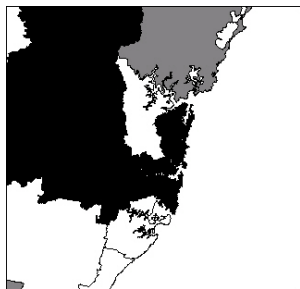
Disability Support Pensioners

The study counted 452,840 DSP clients. Inter regional moves were recorded for 34,277 of these clients. Figure 9 shows that the areas of high growth are clustered in coastal south east Queensland (Gold Coast City, Sunshine Coast, Moreton SD Balance, Bundaberg and Wide Bay-Burnett SD Balance) and coastal New South Wales (Lower South Coast, Illawarra SD Balance, Newcastle, Clarence, Hastings and Tweed Heads).

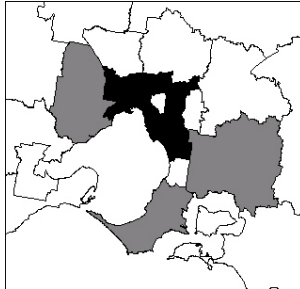
Figure 9: Net Gains and Losses of DSP Clients



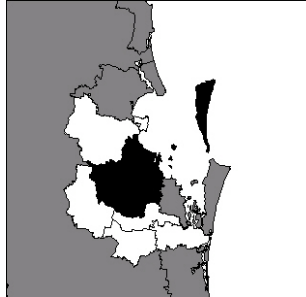
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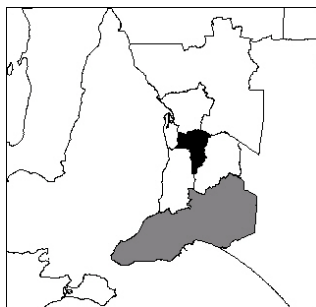
Melbourne



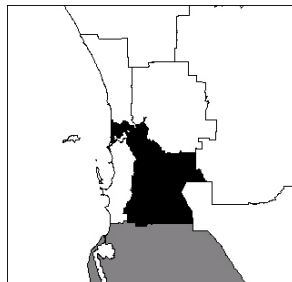
Brisbane



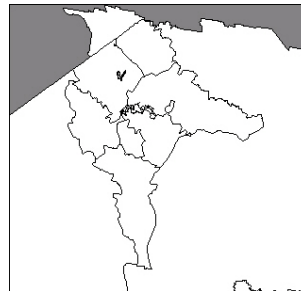
Adelaide



Perth



Canberra



Source: This data was calculated from the FaCS LDS. The figures underlying this table are contained in Appendix D.

Net gains were also recorded for the urban fringe coastal regions of the major capitals (Gosford-Wyong near Sydney, Mornington Peninsula in Melbourne, Caboolture Shire and Redland Shire in Brisbane, Fleurieu near Adelaide and Dale near Perth). There were also regions of net gain scattered through north Queensland, rural Victoria and southern New South Wales.

The regions of high net loss were almost entirely located in Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane and to a lesser degree Adelaide and Perth. Ballarat City and Northern SD Balance in Queensland were the only non capital regions to record significant net losses.

Summary

The pattern of migration for UB clients can be typified as clients moving from the industrial towns of the south east and the temperate coastal areas of northern New South Wales and south east Queensland to the major capital cities. This pattern suggests that jobseekers are willing to incur the extra costs of housing in the capital cities in exchange for greater access to employment opportunities and important services available in the capital city regions.

At this level of analysis, DSP client migration would appear to be the antithesis of UB client migration. Large net gains of DSP clients were recorded in coastal areas, especially those in New South Wales and south east Queensland. Gains were also recorded on the urban fringes of the large capital cities. The losses are largely found in the remaining capital city regions. This suggests that DSP clients are willing to lose some access to services to take advantage of lower housing costs and a pleasant coastal environment.

The migration pattern of SPP clients is similar to that of DSP clients. The most notable feature is their net migration out of the inner and middle capital regions. While net migration to pleasant coastal areas has been observed, it is not as marked as the migration of DSP clients. This would suggest that SPP clients are largely leaving the high housing costs present in the inner and middle region of the major cities, especially in Sydney.

This section detailed the areas of high net gain and high net loss of clients and speculates on the trade off that clients face in making these moves. However, the flows between regions are often more complex than net gain and loss would indicate. Further, the changes experienced in terms of labour market opportunities, housing costs, remoteness and so forth have not been calculated. The following section will examine flows between regions in a five level classification system and the sections that follow will consider the effect of other regional variables.

Section 7: Regional Classification

Beneath the pattern of net gain and loss of each payment is an interesting pattern of flows between regions. This study has considered these flows by dividing the nation into five types of region. This classification system was based on the frequently observed pattern of counterurbanisation migration, which sees people leaving remote and dry areas for the capital

regions, as well as people moving from the capital regions to the outer capital regions and the temperate, well watered regions of the east coast. This section will analyse the net movement between these types of regions. The five regional types used in this analysis are:

- Inner-middle capital
- Outer capital
- Coastal communities
- Regional centres
- Rural-remote

Unemployment Beneficiaries

Clients in receipt of UB recorded 76,322 moves to another region type. This is a majority of the 121,343 inter regional moves recorded. Table 4 shows that the highest net gains were recorded in the inner-middle and outer capital regions (a net gain of over 3,000). High growth was also recorded in regional centres (531). The greatest losses by far came in the coastal regions of the country (2,674) and rural-remote regions (867). This leads to a loss of around 2 per cent of clients per annum from coastal areas and smaller losses from regional centres.

Table 4: UB Clients Gains and Losses By Regional Type

	Gain	Loss	Net	Net Growth (Per Cent)
Coastal	10874	13548	-2674	-1.9%
Inner Middle Capital	23082	21545	1537	1.0%
Outer Capital	18535	17062	1473	0.9%
Rural Remote	14369	13838	531	0.5%
Regional Centre	9462	10329	-867	-1.1%

Source: FaCS LDS

The net movement to the inner-middle capital regions was underpinned by a net movement of 1,357 from coastal regions, 674 from regional centres, a small gain from rural remote areas and a large loss of 706 to outer capital regions. Outer capital areas gained clients from inner middle capital regions and coastal regions (645). A small gain was recorded from rural and remote regions and a small loss was recorded from regional centres.

Coastal regions lost clients to all types of regions, particularly capital regions. Regional centres lost population to all regional types except coastal regions. Rural and remote areas gained from coastal regions and outer urban areas, but lost population to inner middle capital areas. The data for this analysis is presented in Appendix D.

Disability Support Pensioners

Among DSP clients, 21,501 of the 34,274 movements were made between urban types. Table 5 shows that overall, the largest net gains were recorded by coastal regions (960), with small gains also recorded in outer capital regions, regional centres and rural remote regions. These net gains are balanced by a net loss of 1,689 from inner-middle capital regions. In percentage terms, most regional types experience very modest gains in population. Coastal regions experienced a growth of 1.4 per cent and Inner middle capital regions lost 1.8 per cent of their clients.

Table 5: DSP Clients Gains and Losses By Regional Type

	Gains	Loss	Net	Net Growth (Per Cent)
Coastal	3809	2849	960	1.4%
Inner Middle Capital	5328	7017	-1689	-1.8%
Outer Capital	5585	5225	360	0.4%
Rural Remote	4012	3890	122	0.2%
Regional Centre	2767	2520	247	0.6%

Source: FaCS LDS

The losses from inner middle capital areas are made up of losses to outer capital regions (912) and smaller losses to coastal regions, regional centres and rural and remote areas. The strong gains in coastal regions consist of gains from all other regional types. Outer urban areas made their greatest gains from the inner middle urban areas, regional centres and rural and remote regions. Outer urban areas lost only to coastal regions. Regional centres gained from all regional types except coastal regions. Rural and remote areas had gains from capital regions but losses to regional centres and coastal areas. The figures underlying this data is presented in Appendix D.

Sole Parent Pensioners

The majority of inter regional moves recorded by SPP clients were between regional types (28,165 out of 43,308 recorded moves). Table 6 shows that, as with DSP clients, the greatest losses were recorded by inner-middle capital regions (1,243). Coastal regions recorded gains of 650, outer urban areas recorded a gain of 259 and rural and remote areas gained 336 clients. Regional centres recorded no significant gains or losses. Table 6 also shows that migration leads to a 1.2 per cent growth of SPP clients on coastal areas and a decline of 1.4 per cent in inner middle capital regions.

Table 6: SPP Clients Gains and Losses By Regional Type

	Gains	Loss	Net	Net Growth (Per Cent)
Coastal	4574	3924	650	1.2%
Inner Middle Capital	6813	8056	-1243	-1.4%
Outer Capital	7627	7368	259	0.3%
Rural Remote	5559	5223	336	0.7%
Regional Centre	3592	3594	-2	0.0%

Source: FaCS LDS

The net migration out of inner middle capital regions is dominated by losses to outer urban areas (793) and to a lesser degree coastal and rural and remote areas. Outer urban areas gain from inner middle capital regions, but lose to coastal areas, regional centres and rural and remote areas. Coastal areas gain from all regions (except rural and remote regions which recorded a marginal gain). Regional centres lost roughly as many clients to coastal regions as they gained from other regions. Rural and remote regions recorded marginal gains from all region types. This data is presented in Appendix D.

Summary

The one consistent trend in each client group is the movement from inner-middle capital areas to outer capital regions. However, this trend is not always the dominant flow. Among UB clients, the trend to move from coastal areas and regional centres to capital regions, especially inner middle capital regions is the strongest trend. The net result is large losses in coastal areas and large gains in capital regions. Interestingly rural and remote regions lose clients to inner middle capital areas, but gain clients from the outer capital areas. Overall, these numbers tend to balance. The gains in rural remote areas is largely driven by gains from coastal areas. Overall, UB clients' migration patterns do not follow the pattern described in the counterurbanisation literature.

Among DSP clients, the migration from inner middle to outer capital areas is the largest single flow. At the same time, coastal areas and regional centres gain population from the capital regions. The net result is large losses from inner and middle capital regions recorded large gains in outer urban and coastal regions. Rural and remote regions record a gain from capital regions, yet lose to regional centres. This pattern conforms much more closely to typical counterurbanisation pattern. Only the growth in rural remote areas goes against the expected flow.

Migration out of the inner middle capital regions is also the dominant pattern for SPP clients. There is also a strong movement to coastal regions and regional centres from capital regions and rural remote areas. The most notable effect is large losses in the inner middle capital regions. Rural and remote areas gain from capital regions. With the exception of rural remote regions, this pattern strongly conforms to the counterurbanisation pattern

Section 8: Labour markets and Housing Costs

Section 2 suggested that the observed patterns of migration were motivated by factors such as housing costs and labour market conditions. This section considers the effect of regional unemployment rates and the rent paid before and after a move to see what role these factors might have in the migration behaviour of welfare clients.

To study this, Australia's regions have been grouped into quartiles based on their unemployment rate. The changes in rent paid by customers has also been calculated. Table 7 shows the net migration recorded between the unemployment rate quartiles. Table 8 shows the average rent paid by movers and non movers at the start of study year and the observed change a year later.

Table 7: Net Migration by Unemployment Quartiles

	UB Clients	DSP Clients	SPP Clients
1st Quartile	1969	-515	-169
2nd Quartile	802	-218	40
3rd Quartile	460	-117	-290
4th Quartile	-3231	850	419

Source: FaCS LDS, 1996 Census of Population and Housing.

Note that 1st Quartile contains the lowest rates of unemployment and the 4th Quartile contains the highest.

Table 8: Rent Paid by Clients (dollars per fortnight)

	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: FaCS LDS

Unemployment Beneficiaries

The regions in the highest unemployment quartile recorded the highest net loss, while other quartiles made substantial gains, especially the lowest unemployment quartile. Examining flows between the quartiles shows that the highest unemployment quartile lost significant numbers of clients to all other quartiles. Smaller numbers moved between the other quartiles, however, all net flows favoured migration to a lower unemployment quartile. This data is contained in Appendix F.

Private renters who moved during the study year paid \$2.46 less per fortnight in rent at the beginning of the year than those who did not move. At the end of the year, movers faced a rent increase of \$5.49 compared to an increase of \$2.23 for those who did not move. Thus, among UB clients, those paying lower rents are more likely to move than others. The net effect is to trade off lower regional unemployment rates for an increase in the rents paid.

Sole Parent Pensioners

Regions in the highest unemployment quartile gained the most clients in net terms, while the other quartiles recorded a net loss. The quartile with the second lowest unemployment rate recorded a small net gain, however, it is not substantial. Underlying this shift to the high unemployment regions are large losses from all other quartiles. Data underlying this analysis is presented in Appendix F.

At the beginning of the study year, SPP clients who would move were paying on average \$2.77 more per fortnight than those who would not move. The effect of the move is to increase the rent paid by \$8.08 compared to a rise of \$4.77 among those who did not move.

Thus overall, SPP clients not only move to regions of higher unemployment, but pay significantly higher rents than if they had not moved.

Disability Support Pensioners

As with SPP clients, DSP clients recorded large net gains in the highest unemployment quartile. Significant net losses were recorded in all the lower unemployment quartiles. This was underpinned by large losses by all quartiles to the highest unemployment quartile and a significant loss from the lowest unemployment quartile to the second highest unemployment quartile.

DSP clients renting privately who were to move during the study year paid \$10.58 more per fortnight than those who were not going to move during the year. As a result of the move, clients faced an average reduction in rent of \$1.33 while non movers faced a rise of \$4.46 on average.

Summary

To summarise these findings, unemployment beneficiaries do move to areas of low unemployment in net terms. On the other hand, DSP and SPP clients move in the opposite direction, that is, to higher unemployment quartiles

There is stronger evidence that UB recipients are willing to bear the extra costs of rent as a result of these moves, while DSP clients appear to make a significant saving by moving to another region. More notably, DSP clients who move faced higher rents at the beginning of the study year than those who did not move, suggesting that these movers were facing significant rental stress. Sole Parent Pensioners who move would appear to face a higher rate of rent than those who do not. This is quite unexpected as the pattern of migration would suggest that SPP clients, who have a similar migration pattern to DSP clients, would have a reduction in rent.

It should be noted however, that rental costs are only one component in the cost of living. Costs directly related to housing such as local utilities, council charges and so on as well as the price of retail goods and services have not been taken into account.

Section 9: Internal Migration and Public Housing

Public housing is usually provided by a state or territory housing authority. Public housing has reduced rent and is significantly less expensive than private rental property. For this reason public housing is attractive to low income households and waiting lists to enter public housing are often lengthy. While government agencies are shifting from the direct provision of housing to paying rental allowances, it has been suggested access to public housing, in particular, the shorter waiting lists in non metropolitan areas acts to attract low income households to non metropolitan areas.

This section will consider the role that public housing has on the internal migration pattern of welfare clients. The study looks at how moving regions affects housing tenure, in particular, entry to and exit from public housing. Following this, the regional pattern of these moves will be examined to determine the geographic effects of public housing. While it is possible to examine entry and exit from public housing, clients who are on waiting lists are not visible.

Unemployment Beneficiaries

During the study year, 2,937 movers left a public rental property, while 4,855 entered a public rental property. Of these people, only 355 moved between two public rental properties. The majority of public tenants who make an inter regional move during the year entered private rental property (62 per cent). Some entered another public property (12 per cent) while others move into their own home (17 per cent).

Most UB clients who enter public housing after an inter regional move came from private rental accommodation (74 per cent). Some came from public housing in another region (7 per cent) and a similar number came from their privately owned home (7 per cent).

For those unemployment beneficiaries who left a public rental property, the areas of greatest net loss were in the capital cities, particularly Canberra-Queanbeyan. Typically, these clients moved to other capital city regions, most notably in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane.

Unemployment beneficiaries leaving a public rental property recorded their biggest losses in capital city regions (particularly in Sydney and Canberra-Queanbeyan) and in some major industrial centres (Newcastle, Wollongong and Whyalla). The most significant gains were recorded in both urban areas and pleasant coastal areas. The migration patterns of those entering and leaving public housing are contained in Appendix G.

Disability Support Pensioners

Among DSP clients, 3,332 movers left a public rental property, while 4,506 entered. Of these movers, only 664 moved between two public rental properties. Clients moving out of a public rental property mostly moved to a private rental property (47 per cent) while many moved to their own private dwelling or a nursing home (28 per cent). Clients who entered public housing mostly came from private rental properties (65 per cent), while some came from privately owned dwellings (13 per cent) and some from a previous public rental property (15 per cent).

Among those DSP clients exiting a public rental property, the highest areas of net loss were in the metropolitan areas and some industrial regional centres such as Wollongong, Burnie-Devonport, La Trobe Valley and Bathurst-Orange. Large gains were recorded in some outer urban areas, but mostly the pleasant coastal areas of northern New South Wales and south east Queensland. For those entering public housing, losses were recorded in the capital cities (particularly the innermost regions) and the gains concentrated on the pleasant, well watered areas of the east coast. The areas of gain and loss for those entering and leaving public housing are very similar. The migration patterns of those entering and leaving public housing are contained in Appendix G.

Sole Parent Pensioners

Among SPP clients who moved, more clients entered a public rental dwelling (7,726) than left (5,911), although 1,601 of these were moved between public rental properties. As with UB and DSP clients, the majority of the SPP clients entering public housing came from private rental properties (67 per cent) while some came from public housing (21 per cent). Only a few came from a privately owned home (7 per cent). Clients leaving public rental properties tended to enter private rental properties (54 per cent), other public rental property (27 per cent) and privately owned property (15 per cent).

As with DSP clients, SPP clients leaving public rental properties recorded the largest losses from the urban areas of the major cities. The significant gains were recorded in both capital

and warm coastal areas. For those entering public rental properties, the largest losses are mostly from capital city regions (generally outer inland regions) and the largest gains are recorded in pleasant coastal areas and some capital regions (generally inland outer suburbs). The list of regions selected by those entering and those leaving public housing are very similar. The migration patterns of those entering and leaving public housing are contained in Appendix G.

Summary

This section has shown that among clients who moved during the study year, there is a tendency to enter rather than leave public housing. This is to be expected as those in public housing face lower rental costs and so would be reluctant to leave their property. The majority of clients enumerated in the study tended to shift between public rental and private rental accommodation.

The pattern of migration for those entering and leaving public rental accommodation is not clear as for the broader welfare population. This is because of the limited number of clients entering and leaving public housing. However, some interesting trends could be noted. The most significant of these was that the migration pattern of those entering public housing is similar to that of people leaving public housing. Further, the observed pattern was broadly similar to the migration pattern others receiving the same payment. Thus it is unlikely that the availability of public housing is attracting clients to non metropolitan areas.

Section 10: Remoteness, Socio-Economic Disadvantage and Income

There has been a great deal of interest over recent years in the effect of remoteness, socio economic disadvantage and incomes in regional Australia. Current theories of the migration of low income household would suggest that these groups face deteriorating regional conditions after a move. The counterurbanisation pattern, dominated by movements from the capital cities to the urban fringes and pleasant coastal areas, moves low income households to areas of lower accessibility, higher rates of socio economic disadvantage and lower personal incomes.

This study has attached regional measures of these factors to the individual records of clients. These measures are grouped into quartiles to summaries the data and the net gain or loss calculated. Remoteness has been measured using the Department of Health and Aged Care's Accessibility/Remoteness Index of Australia (ARIA) on a postal area basis. Socio economic disadvantage has been measured using the Australian Bureau of Statistics' Socio Economic Indicators for Areas (SEIFA) disadvantage scale on an SSD basis.

The measures of household income per capita and transfer income's share of income have been calculated on a SSD basis. Table 9 summarises the gains and losses of each ARIA category and SEIFA and Income quartile by payment type. The results are discussed by payment category.

Table 10: Net Gains and Losses From Categories of Remoteness, Socio Economic Disadvantage, Income per Capital and Transfer Incomes Share of Total Income

ARIA Categories

	UB Clients DSP Clients	DSP	SPP Clients
Highly Accessible	1102	-584	-501
Accessible	-1687	624	191
Moderately Accessible	451	76	143
Remote	-91	-87	24
Very Remote	209	-24	133

SEIFA Quartiles

	UB Clients DSP Clients	DSP	SPP Clients
1 st Quartile	501	-312	-292
2 nd Quartile	1445	-565	126
3 rd Quartile	-1261	701	17
4 th Quartile	-685	176	149

Note that the 1st Quartile has the lowest level of disadvantage and that the 4th Quartile has the highest level of disadvantage

Income Per Capita Quartiles

	UB Clients DSP Clients	DSP	SPP Clients
1 st Quartile	1241	-1394	-530
2 nd Quartile	539	363	-77
3 rd Quartile	-341	314	-40
4 th Quartile	-1439	717	647

Note that the 1st Quartile has the highest income per capita and that the 4th Quartile has the lowest income per capita.

Government Transfer Income As A Proportion of All Income Quartiles

	UB Clients DSP Clients	SPP Clients	
1 st Quartile	1568	-650	-196
2 nd Quartile	963	-449	-122
3 rd Quartile	127	156	-274
4 th Quartile	-2658	943	592

Note that the 1st Quartile has the lowest transfer income rate and that the 4th Quartile has the highest transfer income rate.

Source: FaCS LDS, ABS SEIFA 96, ARIA, Bray and Mudd (1998)

Unemployment Benefit

As can be seen from Table 9, the largest gains were recorded for highly accessible and moderately accessible areas. The largest losses are reproduced in the accessible areas of the country. The socio-economic index showed the large losses from the most disadvantaged areas and significant net gains by the less disadvantaged regions. Similarly, UB clients seemed to move away from regions with low income per capital and regions where a high proportion of the region's income comes from government payments. The highest gains are recorded in areas where regional income is high and a small proportion of regional income comes from government transfer payments.

Sole Parent Pensions

Among SPP clients, large losses are recorded by those living in highly accessible areas and growth recorded by all other categories of remoteness. The least disadvantaged quartile of regions also loses a large number SPP clients to the more disadvantaged regions. Losses are recorded in the three highest income quartiles and all the gains are recorded by the lowest income per capita quartile. Similarly, the three quartiles with the lowest regional rates of government transfer incomes lose clients to the quartile with the highest rates of government transfer income.

Disability Support Pensioners

Just as the regional pattern of DSP client migration is similar to that of SPP clients, so the effect of these movements on regional remoteness and disadvantage is similar. The largest losses are recorded for the highly accessible ARIA regions and the largest gain is recorded for the accessible regions. Significant gains are recorded for the two most disadvantaged quartiles. Similarly the two least disadvantaged quartiles lose clients. DSP clients leave the highest regional income quartile and enter the three lower regional income quartiles. The regions of high transfer income receipt also gain clients from higher regional quartiles.

Summary

This section shows several clear patterns. Firstly, DSP and SPP clients have a very strong tendency to move to areas of greater social disadvantage. These areas have lower incomes and government transfers make up a much higher proportion of the regional income. Secondly, both SPP and DSP clients tend to move from areas of high accessibility to areas of lower accessibility, although it should be noted that accessibility remains good and that very few clients move to remote or very remote areas.

Thirdly, UB clients present the great contrast to SPP and DSP clients. Areas of lower socio-economic disadvantage, higher incomes and lower rates of government transfers tend to attract UB recipients. UB clients also have a strong tendency to leave the accessible areas and gather in highly accessible and moderately accessible regions.

These observations are consistent with the pattern of migration observed in this study, particularly the net movements to the warm, well populated areas of the east coast and the capital cities. The large number of people not in the labour force who move into the eastern coastal areas contributes to low incomes and high rates of government transfers in the local economy. The distance from the capital cities and the number of large towns on the eastern seaboard account for the good accessibility of these regions rather than the high accessibility of the city.

Section 11: Discussion

No client groups in this study show a simple pattern of internal migration. Rather there are tens of thousands of inter regional moves, in every direction with very different motives. To summarise these movements, net migration statistics have been calculated to give an indication of the regions favoured by clients. Further, the paper only counts one movement between regions during the study year, when multiple moves may have occurred. Inferences drawn about the causes and effects of migration should be evaluated in his context.

The study has shown that unemployment beneficiaries have very different migration behaviour to the other two client groups studied. The areas of high net loss for this group are the pleasant coastal areas of eastern Australia and regional industrial centres. The areas of gain are concentrated in the capital cities. A closer look at the movements reveals a tendency to move from inner and middle capital areas to outer capital regions. There is also a trend for

clients to move to rural and remote areas, especially from coastal regions and outer capital areas.

At first glance, this pattern of migration would be expected to improve the clients' access to work opportunities and important services, reduce remoteness and raise housing costs. The gains in low unemployment quartiles and increase in rents paid by clients on average supports this hypothesis. More significantly, there is a strong reduction in remoteness and socio economic disadvantage, an increase in regional income per capita and lower rates of government transfers.

The net effect contradicts several other studies which suggest that the unemployed leave capital cities and move to coastal areas and other non metropolitan regions (Bell 1995, Flood 1992 and Bell and Maher 1997). The difference may be due to a number of factors. Bell (1995) used data from the 1991 Census of Population and Housing, which is five years older than this study's data. Further, it relies on the self reporting of labour force status on Census night. If the client moved during the inter censal period, a move is recorded, whether the person was unemployed at the time of the move or not. Flood (1992) used data from the mid 1980s in his study. Thus, it is possible that there has been a change in the direction of migration over recent years.

The regional unemployment rates used in this study must be used with caution as they are based on the self reported labour force status recorded in the 1996 Census of Population and Housing.

The headline unemployment rate is also a limited measure of work opportunities. It is a secondary statistic derived from the number of employed persons and the number of people in the workforce. The employment to population ratio and employment growth figure both give a different perspective on labour market conditions. However each has their limits. It is important to remember however, that capital cities have large and diverse workforces which are likely to provide work opportunities for welfare recipients. This point is underlined by the Government permitting all moves to a capital city without penalty, even if the move involves a rise in the rate of unemployment.

Further, these unemployment rates are based on statistical sub divisions rather than labour markets. For example, it could be argued most inner middle capital and outer capital regions could be part of the same labour market, where as many remote regions may contain several effective labour markets within them. Further, clients may respond to labour market conditions within each occupation rather than in the workforce as a whole.

Overall, the study suggests that UB clients are moving to take advantage of the internationally competitive jobs available in the capital cities. This process removes clients from the depressed regions of coastal Australia and regional centres and provides opportunities in wealthier, less disadvantaged regions.

Disability Support Pensioners have a pattern of migration which conforms more closely to the patterns noted in the literature. Large gains were recorded on the pleasant coastal regions of south east Queensland and New South Wales as well as some outer urban areas. Large losses were recorded in inner middle capital regions. This was largely made up of movements from inner middle capital regions to outer capital regions and large losses from all regional types to the pleasant coastal areas. Rural and remote Australia gained clients, most notably from capital regions.

This pattern of migration would be expected to raise the regional unemployment rate faced by DSP clients, lower the rents paid, lower access to services and raise the levels of regional disadvantage and government transfer income. Significantly these clients also gain a substantial rise in environmental amenity.

The evidence suggests that clients do face higher unemployment rates, and lower rents as a result of the move. Increased rates of socio economic disadvantage, lower regional incomes and high rates of government income transfers. There is some loss of accessibility recorded, however the loss is not large. Clients moving to coastal regions from capital cities are able to maintain reasonable access to services because the regions of the east coast are dotted with major urban centres (such as Wollongong, Newcastle, Gold Coast and Sunshine Coast) and large towns (Bundaberg, Ballina, Lismore, Port Macquarie, Coffs Harbour, Taree and Bateman's Bay). This observed pattern is consistent with other research in this field.

Sole Parent Pensioners have a similar pattern of migration to DSP clients. The significant loss from inner middle capital regions is clear. Gains were typically concentrated in the outer urban areas and pleasant coastal regions. A large part of this movement was from inner middle capital regions to outer capital regions and to a lesser degree to coastal areas from all regions. Rural and remote Australia's gains came mostly from capital regions.

This is broadly consistent with the theories of low income migration considered earlier, with one major exception- SPP clients on average face an increase in the rent they pay after a move. This is unusual as DSP clients, who have a similar pattern of migration manage to reduce the cost of rent by moving.

Future research in this field could examine the movements between types of regions in greater detail. For example it is highly likely that a different set of factors are drawing UB recipients to the inner middle capital regions from coastal regions than are drawing them from inner middle suburban areas to outer urban areas.

Moreover, the trend observed across all payment groups to move from the inner middle capital regions to the outer capital regions needs to be fully explored. The motivations and consequences of these moves in terms of access to services, access to employment opportunities, housing costs, regional income, welfare dependency and socio economic disadvantage need to be understood. This movement to the outer suburbs is balanced to some degree by other movements from outer capital areas.

From this study, it would appear that UB clients are responsive to the labour market opportunities available in the major cities. However, this trend to move to more advantaged regions comes at the cost of higher housing costs. This suggests that targeted assistance to encourage the unemployed in moving to capital cities may assist long term labour force mobility.

While DSP clients and SPP clients have very similar patterns of migration, the prospects of each group is very different. Very few DSP clients leave the social welfare system and the reduction in rent and rise in environmental amenity that migration brings are probably important adjustments to the clients limited income. However, the situation is not so rosy for SPP clients. SPP clients seem unable to realise the reduction in rent that DSP clients do. Instead they face higher rents. Secondly, SPP clients are more than likely to leave the welfare system after several years and when they do so will be located in an area of poor labour market prospects and great social disadvantage. Consideration ought to be given to finding suitable mechanisms to encouraging movement back to less disadvantaged urban areas as occurs with UB clients.

A greater understanding of the life events which prompt a person to move could reveal some interesting policy implications. The availability of longitudinal data could link mobility with a person's duration on payment or indeed, termination from payment. These could be related to events such as moving to enter employment or moving to partner. Further, examining how the remoteness or socio economic disadvantage of an area affects a person's chance of moving may reveal the extent to which push factors

Part 12: Conclusion

The internal migration of welfare recipients is a very complicated field of study. While this study has considered the effect of many different variables upon the migration of these clients, there is a great deal of basic research that was not presented in this paper. Data relating to the mobility rate of clients, interstate migration and the role of factors such as sex, age, marital status, duration on payment and so on have on the migration pattern of clients is currently available but would require a much larger volume to consider these matters.

Nonetheless, this study raises several important questions with policy implications for FaCS and regional service providers.

Firstly, does the observed pattern of migration to capital regions among UB clients actually increase their chance of finding work? If the capital cities present greater opportunities for work, is the cost of living in the cities discouraging migration to the capitals?

Secondly, what is motivating the movement of all classes of clients from the inner middle capital regions to outer capital regions and how is this affecting their access to service and employment opportunities? Are moves to the outer capital regions only a stepping stone to moving to non metropolitan areas?

Thirdly, how does the movement of SPP clients to areas of reduced accessibility, lower income and greater socio economic disadvantage harm their long term ability to provide for themselves? Does this have an impact on the well being of dependent children as they make the transition to the workforce and post-school education?

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Appendix A

Comparison of Client Assignment Methods

	UB Clients		DSP Clients		SPP Clients		
	Pro Rata Assignment	Individual Assignment	Pro Rata Assignment	Individual Assignment	Pro Rata Assignment	Individual Assignment	Individual Assignment
Inner Sydney	14949	14385	12090	10799	4218	3954	
Eastern Suburbs	7465	7859	4326	4280	2631	2733	
St George-Sutherland	9290	9556	6929	6589	4881	4988	
Canterbury-Bankstown	12488	11487	8417	6946	4880	4354	
Fairfield-Liverpool	19111	19460	9334	8883	6927	7017	
Outer South Western Sydney	7851	7642	4641	4185	6123	5936	
Inner Western Sydney	3861	3829	3674	3343	1333	1322	
Central Western Sydney	11767	11014	9375	8193	4866	4373	
Outer Western Sydney	8808	8636	7100	6407	6662	6496	
Blacktown-Baulkham Hills	10848	11054	8940	8526	7619	7542	
Lower Northern Sydney	4132	4114	3884	3568	1729	1690	
Hornsby-Ku-ring-gai	2171	2155	2239	2094	1311	1273	
	UB Clients		DSP Clients		SPP Clients		
	Pro Rata Assignment	Individual Assignment	Pro Rata Assignment	Individual Assignment	Pro Rata Assignment	Individual Assignment	Individual Assignment
Northern Beaches	3174	3145	2918	2651	1994	1915	

Gosford-Wyong	11694	11711	8798	8088	6773	6732
Newcastle	23215	23097	17612	16325	9823	9703
Hunter SD Bal	3801	3547	2873	2481	1825	1686
Wollongong	13473	13374	7764	7068	5346	5255
Illawarra SD Bal	5819	5832	4073	3802	2846	2856
Tweed Heads	2789	2819	1555	1440	1022	1025
Richmond-Tweed SD Bal	12953	12898	5926	5578	4962	4924
Clarence	10218	10244	5003	4656	3727	3711
Hastings	8546	8363	4954	4528	3291	3225
Northern Slopes	3811	3641	2987	2656	1800	1707
Northern Tablelands	3012	3077	2077	2010	1438	1469
North Central Plain	1422	1422	786	731	933	940
Central Macquarie	3593	3711	3078	2968	2168	2191
Macquarie-Barwon	1542	1459	880	775	579	542
Upper Darling	573	496	424	343	395	354
Bathurst-Orange	2598	2807	2016	2013	1538	1647
Central Tablelands (ex. Bathurs	1405	1154	1236	995	730	597

	UB Clients		DSP Clients		SPP Clients	
	Pro Rata Assignment	Individual Assignment	Pro Rata Assignment	Individual Assignment	Pro Rata Assignment	Individual Assignment
Lachlan	2638	2691	2077	1967	1276	1277

Queanbeyan	1398	1444	860	806	690	700
Southern Tablelands (excl. Quea	2159	2086	2113	1922	1268	1210
Lower South Coast	3702	3690	2173	2014	1457	1447
Snowy	919	903	363	334	261	253
Central Murrumbidgee	3812	3832	2711	2557	2201	2214
Lower Murrumbidgee	1206	1130	1377	1197	751	694
Albury	2395	2408	1380	1300	1182	1176
Upper Murray (excl. Albury)	591	582	484	436	253	252
Central Murray	932	847	845	718	502	449
Murray-Darling	595	495	378	284	269	215
Far West	1639	1624	1637	1495	672	660
Inner Melbourne	16519	16604	7557	7061	3079	2991
Western Melbourne	23087	23109	13276	12197	7236	7211
Melton-Wyndham	4599	4577	2100	1924	2549	2498
Moreland City	8872	8749	5481	4927	2191	2142
Northern Middle Melbourne	11798	12125	8247	7888	4150	4257

UB Clients

DSP Clients

SPP Clients

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Hume City	5812	5823	3605	3306	2607	2588
Northern Outer	5881	5482	3895	3226	2363	2166

Melbourne						
Boroondara City	3344	3342	2526	2331	914	879
Eastern Middle Melbourne	11156	11320	7092	6622	3835	3893
Eastern Outer Melbourne	6629	6534	3826	3512	3757	3692
Yarra Ranges Shire Part A	4395	4440	2469	2324	2567	2569
Southern Melbourne	12448	11243	7271	6243	4316	3998
Greater Dandenong City	8132	8439	3981	3800	2560	2629
South Eastern Outer Melbourne	6131	6189	3213	3019	3608	3576
Frankston City	4758	4671	2295	2105	2637	2560
Mornington Peninsula Shire	4659	4716	2326	2168	2413	2433
Greater Geelong City Part A	8515	8529	4361	4054	3277	3259
East Barwon	2117	2049	911	793	788	765
West Barwon	1356	1408	986	938	499	502

UB Clients

DSP Clients

SPP Clients

Pro Rata Assignment Individual Assignment

Pro Rata Assignment Individual Assignment

Pro Rata Assignment Individual Assignment

Hopkins	2445	2416	1690	1575	1011	996
Glenelg	1655	1642	938	883	586	588
Ballarat City	4880	4995	2939	2758	1939	1945

East Central Highlands	1820	1667	961	819	779	741
West Central Highlands	842	738	548	474	261	238
South Wimmera	1492	1452	1159	1052	555	533
North Wimmera	409	406	449	420	143	143
Mildura Rural City Part A	1997	2139	1421	1431	855	902
West Mallee	364	312	325	269	129	110
East Mallee	1016	1023	940	893	555	558
Greater Bendigo City Part A	4379	4543	2518	2450	1837	1872
North Loddon	2754	2552	1749	1528	1019	956
South Loddon	1044	1065	568	544	498	505
Greater Shepparton City Part A	2251	2292	1568	1482	1012	1023
North Goulburn	2427	2365	2333	2112	1179	1152
South Goulburn	1134	1120	834	759	557	546

UB Clients

DSP Clients

SPP Clients

Pro Rata Assignment

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Individual Assignment

South West Goulburn	1487	1433	868	781	724	697
Wodonga	2020	2042	1030	977	951	950
West Ovens-Murray	994	994	758	710	507	502
East Ovens-Murray	605	558	397	341	202	189
East Gippsland Shire	2252	2253	1221	1153	767	772

Wellington Shire	1885	1785	1136	1025	768	719
La Trobe Valley	5188	5357	2324	2240	1871	1915
West Gippsland	1216	1033	697	579	627	557
South Gippsland	1948	1827	1283	1100	846	799
Brisbane City	31562	31296	20079	18670	11832	11655
Gold Coast City Part A	2416	2540	1347	1330	1214	1253
Beaudesert Shire Part A	940	564	472	274	406	184
Caboolture Shire Part A	4791	4741	3265	3007	2599	2558
Ipswich City (Part in BSD)	5466	5809	4192	4161	3413	3560
Logan City	8580	8809	4129	3922	4777	4869
Pine Rivers Shire	3088	2888	1665	1402	1836	1652
Redcliffe City	2658	2639	2116	1962	1336	1318

UB Clients

DSP Clients

SPP Clients

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Redland Shire	3309	3286	2258	2094	1869	1851
Gold Coast City Part B	21051	20950	7436	6832	7276	7191
Sunshine Coast	11525	12040	4093	4106	4341	4553
Moreton SD Bal	7357	6351	4313	3512	3108	2634
Bundaberg	3737	4390	1988	2188	1368	1599
Wide Bay-Burnett SD Bal	11276	10464	6901	6110	3960	3623

Toowoomba City	3181	3311	2845	2783	1786	1855
Darling Downs SD Bal	3559	3459	3281	2974	1758	1691
South West	808	794	685	626	469	453
Rockhampton	3449	3163	1891	1631	1581	1444
Gladstone	1610	1691	707	698	759	792
Fitzroy SD Bal	3093	3231	1674	1650	1272	1317
Central West	385	377	247	220	164	154
Mackay City Part A	2819	2896	1630	1552	1305	1343
Mackay SD Bal	1993	1827	1056	908	752	659
Townsville City Part A	4653	4552	2218	2017	1832	1764
Thuringowa City Part A	1467	1726	627	696	884	993
Northern SD Bal	2651	2455	1850	1654	1218	1123

UB Clients

DSP Clients

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Cairns City Part A	6561	6494	2526	2300	2820	2717
Far North SD Bal	4821	4903	3136	2963	2781	2774
North West	1559	1481	838	720	863	779
Northern	18954	18695	11820	10858	8736	8605
Western	12897	12387	8869	7978	4425	4236
Eastern	8934	9327	5499	5267	2492	2602
Southern (SA)	13713	13927	8417	7979	6018	6048
Barossa	1394	1355	949	869	618	587

Kangaroo Island	312	312	81	72	56	53
Onkaparinga	1109	1014	564	506	642	607
Fleurieu	1334	1315	889	809	543	536
Yorke	1393	1384	1121	1036	359	354
Lower North	719	724	532	499	313	316
Riverland	1632	1612	1176	1096	608	601
Murray Mallee	1679	1630	1150	1033	727	691
Upper South East	447	444	344	313	202	201
Lower South East	1797	1790	1056	983	811	801
Lincoln	1518	1510	619	576	507	499
West Coast	308	302	145	141	142	136
Whyalla	1664	1652	918	865	720	712

UB Clients

DSP Clients

SPP Clients

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Pirie	1929	1944	1058	997	600	599
Flinders Ranges	1354	1333	760	708	497	486
Far North	589	398	337	269	147	101
Central Metropolitan	4565	4589	2734	2581	980	997
East Metropolitan	7073	7307	5437	5208	4160	4210
North Metropolitan	15853	15148	8855	7651	7284	6904
South West Metropolitan	10099	9982	6979	6312	5230	5094

South East Metropolitan	11939	11924	7415	6794	6356	6277
Dale	2748	2711	1999	1807	1371	1346
Preston	2296	2231	1570	1418	1438	1374
Vasse	1176	1150	512	455	574	561
Blackwood	474	486	368	336	279	281
Pallinup	257	256	206	186	214	209
King	1593	1577	1134	1037	838	824
Hotham	283	277	312	288	212	210
Lakes	57	56	56	55	42	42
Moore	432	392	226	177	152	130
Avon	695	686	731	682	466	456

UB Clients

DSP Clients

SPP Clients

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Campion	196	191	212	190	131	125
Lefroy	1379	1318	605	528	662	624
Johnston	503	506	320	303	309	304
Gascoyne	522	509	398	371	262	256
Carnegie	239	228	99	92	111	106
Greenough River	2290	2279	1002	917	968	952
De Grey	870	864	308	291	451	436
Fortescue	567	562	220	203	310	299
Ord	334	334	320	305	369	333

Fitzroy	1081	1064	570	528	618	587
Greater Hobart	9870	10451	6701	6713	4398	4616
Southern (TAS)	2254	1479	1580	973	799	476
Greater Launceston	5270	5420	3195	3091	2248	2293
Central North	1178	998	685	553	360	291
North Eastern	821	903	549	552	259	277
Burnie-Devonport	5025	5346	3439	3477	1830	1933
North Western Rural	1395	1030	814	509	381	255
Lyell	311	308	256	235	123	121
Darwin	4593	4487	1795	1634	1960	1844
NT Bal	6319	6307	1612	1739	2134	2423

UB Clients

DSP Clients

SPP Clients

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North Canberra	1991	1911	1016	912	721	686
Belconnen	2936	2906	1096	1015	1339	1321
Woden Valley	1084	1078	554	515	333	327
Weston Creek-Stromlo	726	726	334	314	300	300
Tuggeranong	2385	2364	964	871	1584	1559
South Canberra	754	810	382	386	376	396
Gungahlin-Hall	333	315	72	63	167	162

Source: FaCS LDS, Unpublished Administrative Data

Appendix B

Regional Classification Structure

Region	Region Classification
Inner Sydney	Inner Middle Capital
Eastern Suburbs	Inner Middle Capital
St George-Sutherland	Inner Middle Capital
Canterbury-Bankstown	Inner Middle Capital
Fairfield-Liverpool	Outer Capital
Outer South Western Sydney	Outer Capital
Inner Western Sydney	Inner Middle Capital
Central Western Sydney	Inner Middle Capital
Outer Western Sydney	Outer Capital
Blacktown-Baulkham Hills	Outer Capital
Lower Northern Sydney	Inner Middle Capital
Hornsby-Ku-ring-gai	Inner Middle Capital
Northern Beaches	Inner Middle Capital
Region	Region Classification
Gosford-Wyong	Outer Capital
Newcastle	Coastal
Hunter SD Bal	Coastal

Wollongong	Coastal
Illawarra SD Bal	Coastal
Tweed Heads	Coastal
Richmond-Tweed SD Bal	Coastal
Clarence	Coastal
Hastings	Coastal
Northern Slopes	Rural Remote
Northern Tablelands	Rural Remote
North Central Plain	Rural Remote
Central Macquarie	Regional Centre
Macquarie-Barwon	Rural Remote
Upper Darling	Rural Remote
Bathurst-Orange	Regional Centre
Central Tablelands (ex. Bathurs	Rural Remote
Lachlan	Rural Remote
Queanbeyan	Outer Capital
Region	Region Classification
Southern Tablelands (excl. Quea	Rural Remote
Lower South Coast	Coastal
Snowy	Rural Remote

Central Murrumbidgee	Regional Centre
Lower Murrumbidgee	Rural Remote
Albury	Regional Centre
Upper Murray (excl. Albury)	Rural Remote
Central Murray	Rural Remote
Murray-Darling	Rural Remote
Far West	Rural Remote
Inner Melbourne	Inner Middle Capital
Western Melbourne	Inner Middle Capital
Melton-Wyndham	Outer Capital
Moreland City	Inner Middle Capital
Northern Middle Melbourne	Inner Middle Capital
Hume City	Inner Middle Capital
Northern Outer Melbourne	Inner Middle Capital
Region	Region Classification
Boroondara City	Inner Middle Capital
Eastern Middle Melbourne	Inner Middle Capital
Eastern Outer Melbourne	Outer Capital
Yarra Ranges Shire Part	Outer Capital

A

Southern Melbourne	Inner Middle Capital
Greater Dandenong City	Outer Capital
South Eastern Outer Melbourne	Outer Capital
Frankston City	Outer Capital
Mornington Peninsula Shire	Outer Capital
Greater Geelong City Part A	Regional Centre
East Barwon	Outer Capital
West Barwon	Rural Remote
Hopkins	Rural Remote
Glenelg	Rural Remote
Ballarat City	Regional Centre
East Central Highlands	Rural Remote
West Central Highlands	Rural Remote
South Wimmera	Rural Remote
North Wimmera	Rural Remote
Mildura Rural City Part A	Regional Centre
West Mallee	Rural Remote
East Mallee	Rural Remote
Greater Bendigo City	Regional Centre

Part A

North Loddon	Rural Remote
South Loddon	Rural Remote
Greater Shepparton City Part A	Regional Centre
North Goulburn	Rural Remote
South Goulburn	Rural Remote
South West Goulburn	Rural Remote
Wodonga	Regional Centre
West Ovens-Murray	Rural Remote
East Ovens-Murray	Rural Remote
East Gippsland Shire	Rural Remote
Wellington Shire	Rural Remote
La Trobe Valley	Regional Centre
Region	Region Classification
West Gippsland	Rural Remote
South Gippsland	Rural Remote
Brisbane City	Inner Middle Capital
Gold Coast City Part A	Outer Capital
Beaudesert Shire Part A	Rural Remote
Caboolture Shire Part A	Outer Capital
Ipswich City (Part in BSD)	Outer Capital

Logan City	Outer Capital
Pine Rivers Shire	Outer Capital
Redcliffe City	Outer Capital
Redland Shire	Outer Capital
Gold Coast City Part B	Coastal
Sunshine Coast	Coastal
Moreton SD Bal	Coastal
Bundaberg	Coastal
Wide Bay-Burnett SD Bal	Coastal
Region	Region Classification
Toowoomba City	Regional Centre
Darling Downs SD Bal	Rural Remote
South West	Rural Remote
Rockhampton	Regional Centre
Gladstone	Regional Centre
Fitzroy SD Bal	Rural Remote
Central West	Rural Remote
Mackay City Part A	Regional Centre
Mackay SD Bal	Rural Remote
Townsville City Part A	Regional Centre
Thuringowa City Part A	Rural Remote
Northern SD Bal	Rural Remote

Cairns City Part A	Regional Centre
Far North SD Bal	Rural Remote
North West	Rural Remote
Northern	Inner Middle Capital
Western	Inner Middle Capital
Eastern	Inner Middle Capital
Southern (SA)	Inner Middle Capital
Barossa	Outer Capital
Region	Region Classification
Kangaroo Island	Rural Remote
Onkaparinga	Outer Capital
Fleurieu	Outer Capital
Yorke	Rural Remote
Lower North	Rural Remote
Riverland	Rural Remote
Murray Mallee	Rural Remote
Upper South East	Rural Remote
Lower South East	Rural Remote
Lincoln	Rural Remote
West Coast	Rural Remote
Whyalla	Rural Remote
Pirie	Rural Remote

Flinders Ranges	Rural Remote
Far North	Rural Remote
Central Metropolitan	Inner Middle Capital
East Metropolitan	Outer Capital
North Metropolitan	Inner Middle Capital
South West Metropolitan	Outer Capital
South East Metropolitan	Inner Middle Capital
Dale	Outer Capital
Preston	Rural Remote
Vasse	Rural Remote
Blackwood	Rural Remote
Pallinup	Rural Remote
King	Rural Remote
Hotham	Rural Remote
Lakes	Rural Remote
Moore	Rural Remote
Avon	Outer Capital
Campion	Rural Remote
Lefroy	Rural Remote
Johnston	Rural Remote
Gascoyne	Rural Remote
Carnegie	Rural Remote

Greenough River	Rural Remote
De Grey	Rural Remote
Fortescue	Rural Remote
Ord	Rural Remote
Fitzroy	Rural Remote
Greater Hobart	Inner Middle Capital
Region	Region Classification
Southern (TAS)	Rural Remote
Greater Launceston	Regional Centre
Central North	Rural Remote
North Eastern	Rural Remote
Burnie-Devonport	Regional Centre
North Western Rural	Rural Remote
Lyell	Rural Remote
Darwin	Inner Middle Capital
NT Bal	Rural Remote
North Canberra	Inner Middle Capital
Belconnen	Inner Middle Capital
Woden Valley	Inner Middle Capital
Weston Creek-Stromlo	Inner Middle Capital
Tuggeranong	Outer Capital
South Canberra	Inner Middle Capital

Gungahlin-Hall

Inner Middle Capital

Appendix C: Mobility Rates

Age by Payment by
Sex

Age	UB	DSP		SPP		
	UB Male	UB Female	DSP Male	DSP Female	SPP Male	SPP Female
15-19	20.7%	22.1%	9.6%	11.2%	27.8%	22.1%
20-24	21.0%	20.5%	11.9%	12.2%	25.8%	20.6%
25-29	19.3%	18.5%	13.5%	11.9%	22.8%	16.9%
30-34	15.7%	16.7%	12.4%	10.5%	16.8%	12.7%
35-39	12.9%	13.1%	11.4%	8.7%	13.1%	9.1%
40-44	10.7%	10.5%	9.7%	7.9%	10.0%	7.1%
45-49	9.0%	9.1%	8.0%	7.0%	9.7%	6.1%
50-54	7.4%	7.6%	6.7%	6.0%	6.2%	5.3%
55-59	5.8%	6.7%	5.3%	5.0%	5.9%	5.5%
60-64	5.1%		4.1%		5.8%	

Remoteness

	UB	DSP	SPP
Highly	14.8%	7.4%	12.4%

Accessible

Accessible	16.4%	7.5%	14.0%
Moderately Accessible	19.2%	8.7%	16.5%
Remote	19.3%	10.1%	16.3%
Very Remote	19.8%	10.9%	13.3%

Income Per Capita

	UB	DSP	SPP
4th Qtl	15.4%	7.8%	14.3%
3rd Qtl	14.5%	7.4%	13.3%
2nd Qtl	13.4%	6.4%	11.3%
1st Qtl	18.6%	9.1%	13.9%

SEIFA

	UB	DSP	SPP
4th Quartile	14.5%	7.5%	13.6%
3rd Quartile	14.6%	7.1%	12.6%
2nd Quartile	16.8%	8.4%	12.9%
1st Quartile	19.1%	8.7%	14.5%

Duration

Duration	UB	DSP	SPP
<1 YR	16.2%	9.0%	17.7%
1-2 YR	14.2%	8.6%	14.3%
2-3 YR	11.5%	8.0%	12.4%
3-4 YR	10.1%	8.0%	11.4%
4-5 YR	9.0%	8.4%	10.2%
5-6 YR		7.5%	9.2%
6-7 YR		7.3%	8.2%
7-8 YR		6.8%	7.5%
8-9 YR		6.8%	7.0%
9-10 YR		6.6%	6.5%
10-11 YR		6.0%	5.7%
11-12 YR		6.2%	5.5%
12-13 YR		6.2%	6.0%
13-14 YR		6.4%	5.4%
14-15 YR		5.7%	
15-16 YR		5.8%	
16-17 YR		5.9%	
17-18 YR		5.7%	

18-19 YR	5.8%
19-20 YR	5.3%
20 +	5.1%

Unemployment Quartiles

	UB	DSP	SPP
1st Qtl	17.7%	8.7%	13.8%
2nd Qtl	17.3%	8.1%	13.5%
3rd Qtl	15.6%	7.9%	13.3%
4th Qtl	13.0%	6.3%	11.5%

Source: FaCS LDS, 1996 Census of Population and Housing, SEIFA (1998), ARIA (1999).

Appendix D

Regional Net Migration by Statistical Sub Division

SSD Name	Unemployment Benefits			Disability Support Pension			Sole Parent Pension					
	On Going	Departures	Arrivals	Net	On Going	Departure	Arrival	Net	On Going	Departures	Arrival	Net
Inner Sydney	11576	2809	2967	158	9660	1139	878	-261	3334	620	436	-184
Eastern Suburbs	6459	1400	1388	-12	3901	379	299	-80	2369	364	237	-127
St George-Sutherland	8479	1077	1397	320	6201	388	390	2	4520	468	480	12
Canterbury-Bankstown	10143	1344	1441	97	6498	448	407	-41	3786	568	488	-80
Fairfield-Liverpool	17772	1688	1773	85	8385	498	456	-42	6274	743	700	-43
Outer South Western Sydney	6617	1025	1084	59	3898	287	308	21	5289	647	631	-16
Inner Western Sydney	3072	757	799	42	2943	400	284	-116	1074	248	223	-25
Central Western Sydney	9489	1525	1647	122	7614	579	512	-67	3749	624	525	-99
Outer Western Sydney	7346	1290	1542	252	5888	519	476	-43	5765	731	729	-2

	Going es											
Blacktown-Baulkham Hills	9438	1616	1671	55	7886	640	525	-115	6612	930	821	-109
Lower Northern Sydney	3397	717	895	178	3307	261	212	-49	1464	226	216	-10
Hornsby-Kuring-gai	1795	360	517	157	1925	169	158	-11	1093	180	190	10
Northern Beaches	2638	507	702	195	2447	204	134	-70	1712	203	174	-29
Gosford-Wyong	10288	1423	1359	-64	7609	479	566	87	6092	640	663	23
Newcastle	21130	1967	1734	-233	15837	488	572	84	9123	580	628	48
Hunter SD Bal	3009	538	510	-28	2291	190	205	15	1456	230	233	3
Wollongong	12263	1111	960	-151	6792	276	303	27	4896	359	344	-15
Illawarra SD Bal	5072	760	656	-104	3565	237	341	104	2546	310	343	33
Tweed Heads	2161	658	623	-35	1275	165	234	69	805	220	233	13
Richmond-Tweed SD Bal	10782	2116	1694	-422	5130	448	442	-6	4400	524	660	136
Clarence	8768	1476	1123	-353	4345	311	361	50	3268	443	479	36
Hastings	7218	1145	908	-237	4267	261	366	105	2814	411	393	-18
Northern Slopes	3118	523	479	-44	2479	177	188	11	1501	206	245	39

SSD Name	Unemployment Benefits				Disability Support Pension			Net	Sole Parent Pension			
	On Going	Departures	Arrivals	Net	On Going	Departure	Arrival		On Going	Departures	Arrival	Net
Northern Tablelands	2584	493	481	-12	1859	151	157	6	1266	203	211	8

North Central Plain	1222	200	316	116	659	72	65	-7	814	126	114	-12
Central Macquarie	3208	503	575	72	2778	190	217	27	1908	283	308	25
Macquarie-Barwon	1202	257	231	-26	700	75	52	-23	446	96	93	-3
Upper Darling	400	96	104	8	316	27	33	6	299	55	61	6
Bathurst-Orange	2358	449	504	55	1884	129	151	22	1413	234	224	-10
Central Tablelands (ex. Bathurs	992	162	153	-9	928	67	54	-13	509	88	70	-18
Lachlan	2288	403	346	-57	1821	146	135	-11	1110	167	174	7
Queanbeyan	1188	256	327	71	728	78	77	-1	591	109	112	3
Southern Tablelands (excl. Quea	1750	336	305	-31	1816	106	147	41	1035	175	162	-13
Lower South Coast	3145	545	427	-118	1884	130	179	49	1263	184	185	1
Snowy	637	266	200	-66	305	29	22	-7	206	47	17	-30

SSD Name	Unemployment Benefits				Disability Support Pension				Sole Parent Pension			
	On Going	Departures	Arrivals	Net	On Going	Departures	Arrival	Net	On Going	Departures	Arrival	Net
Central Murrumbidgee	3290	542	474	-68	2398	159	153	-6	1972	242	208	-34
Lower Murrumbidgee	886	244	279	35	1116	81	75	-6	589	105	87	-18
Albury	1967	441	356	-85	1213	87	119	32	1018	158	144	-14
Upper Murray (excl. Albury)	469	113	116	3	397	39	52	13	189	63	63	0
Central Murray	688	159	166	7	647	71	43	-28	369	80	89	9
Murray-Darling	356	139	136	-3	247	37	37	0	171	44	55	11
Far West	1452	172	132	-40	1428	67	64	-3	602	58	57	-1
Inner Melbourne	13363	3241	3190	-51	6161	900	693	-207	2527	464	397	-67
Western Melbourne	21006	2103	2226	123	11591	606	528	-78	6489	722	633	-89
Melton-Wyndham	3987	590	710	120	1767	157	192	35	2211	287	347	60
Moreland City	7294	1455	1348	-107	4592	335	269	-66	1767	375	283	-92
Northern Middle Melbourne	10378	1747	1788	41	7359	529	446	-83	3687	570	508	-62
Hume City	5160	663	763	100	3098	208	199	-9	2266	322	332	10
	Unemployment Benefits				Disability Support Pension				Sole Parent Pension			

SSD Name	On Going	Departures	Arrivals	Net	On Going	Departure	Arrival	Net	On Going	Departures	Arrival	Net
Northern Outer Melbourne	4854	628	668	40	3081	145	172	27	1876	290	293	3
Boroondara City	2616	726	760	34	2133	198	195	-3	710	169	146	-23
Eastern Middle Melbourne	9723	1597	1726	129	6167	455	413	-42	3364	529	523	-6
Eastern Outer Melbourne	5582	952	1027	75	3201	311	294	-17	3226	466	460	-6
Yarra Ranges Shire Part A	3833	607	757	150	2119	205	215	10	2262	307	343	36
Southern Melbourne	9458	1785	1832	47	5759	484	449	-35	3520	478	455	-23
Greater Dandenong City	7419	1020	1100	80	3494	306	215	-91	2249	380	367	-13
South Eastern Outer Melbourne	5313	876	1036	160	2809	210	288	78	3145	431	511	80
Frankston City	3924	747	834	87	1878	227	232	5	2206	354	375	21
Mornington Peninsula Shire	4096	620	749	129	1994	174	273	99	2168	265	288	23

SSD Name	Unemployment Benefits			Disability Support Pension			Sole Parent Pension						
	On Going	Departures	Arrivals	Net	On Going	Departures	Arrival	Net	On Going	Departures	Arrival	Net	
Greater Geelong City Part A	7759	770	689	-81	3880	174		200	26	3024	235	246	11
East Barwon	1698	351	339	-12	728	65		91	26	667	98	108	10
West Barwon	1212	196	202	6	875	63		63	0	439	63	75	12
Hopkins	2126	290	243	-47	1500	75		60	-15	899	97	94	-3
Glenelg	1455	187	185	-2	825	58		57	-1	524	64	67	3
Ballarat City	4409	586	520	-66	2583	175		123	-52	1748	197	150	-47
East Central Highlands	1457	210	223	13	742	77		69	-8	641	100	97	-3
West Central Highlands	625	113	100	-13	443	31		42	11	204	34	38	4
South Wimmera	1270	182	155	-27	1004	48		63	15	461	72	58	-14
North Wimmera	345	61	60	-1	400	20		35	15	115	28	24	-4
Mildura Rural City Part A	1766	373	428	55	1318	113		135	22	790	112	141	29
West Mallee	273	39	45	6	245	24		25	1	91	19	18	-1
East Mallee	833	190	225	35	832	61		60	-1	485	73	69	-4

SSD Name	Unemployment Benefits				Disability Support Pension				Sole Parent Pension				
	On Going	Departures	Arrivals	Net	On Going	Departure	Arrival	Net	On Going	Departures	Arrival	Net	
Greater Bendigo City Part A	3974	569	506	-63	2333	117		181	64	1680	192	202	10
North Loddon	2222	330	370	40	1390	138		141	3	814	142	142	0
South Loddon	919	146	137	-9	503	41		53	12	436	69	90	21
Greater Shepparton City Part A	1929	363	389	26	1365	117		132	15	883	140	127	-13
North Goulburn	1966	399	503	104	1963	149		156	7	974	178	193	15
South Goulburn	974	146	175	29	709	50		72	22	464	82	70	-12
South West Goulburn	1227	206	212	6	717	64		78	14	604	93	109	16
Wodonga	1709	333	290	-43	913	64		90	26	806	144	141	-3
West Ovens-Murray	825	169	184	15	648	62		46	-16	430	72	66	-6
East Ovens-Murray	456	102	122	20	308	33		36	3	166	23	50	27
East Gippsland Shire	1979	274	272	-2	1086	67		108	41	685	87	82	-5
Wellington Shire	1574	211	197	-14	947	78		66	-12	623	96	79	-17

SSD Name	Unemployment Benefits				Disability Support Pension				Sole Parent Pension			
	On	Departur	Arrivals	Net	On Going	Departure	Arrival	Net	On Going	Departures	Arrival	Net

	Going es											
La Trobe Valley	4802	555	412	-143	2107	133	143	10	1745	170	173	3
West Gippsland	874	159	148	-11	540	39	42	3	474	83	65	-18
South Gippsland	1581	246	246	0	1037	63	86	23	698	101	84	-17
Brisbane City	26157	5139	5312	173	17073	1597	1255	-342	10025	1630	1592	-38
Gold Coast City Part A	1876	664	746	82	1126	204	221	17	961	292	317	25
Beaulesert Shire Part A	397	167	187	20	246	28	48	20	125	59	98	39
Caboolture Shire Part A	3778	963	1026	63	2673	334	426	92	2068	490	554	64
Ipswich City (Part in BSD)	4723	1086	1060	-26	3771	390	400	10	2988	572	536	-36
Logan City	7018	1791	1815	24	3461	461	447	-14	4026	843	797	-46
Pine Rivers Shire	2238	650	748	98	1229	173	189	16	1312	340	327	-13
Redcliffe City	2035	604	553	-51	1722	240	257	17	1060	258	310	52
Redland Shire	2659	627	666	39	1882	212	255	43	1562	289	307	18
Gold Coast City Part B	17540	3410	3055	-355	6279	553	705	152	6342	849	967	118

SSD Name	Unemployment Benefits				Disability Support Pension				Sole Parent Pension			
	On Going	Departur es	Arrivals	Net	On Going	Departure	Arrival	Net	On Going	Departures	Arrival	Net
Sunshine Coast	9921	2119	1897	-222	3680	426	518	92	3909	644	742	98
Moreton SD Bal	4978	1373	1396	23	3094	418	495	77	2049	585	668	83

Bundaberg	3613	777	587	-190	1995	193	228	35	1335	264	269	5
Wide Bay- Burnett SD Bal	8734	1730	1481	-249	5608	502	609	107	3026	597	704	107
Toowoomba City	2662	649	706	57	2575	208	248	40	1559	296	299	3
Darling Downs SD Bal	2764	695	764	69	2687	287	294	7	1354	337	379	42
South West	647	147	178	31	564	62	65	3	367	86	79	-7
Rockhampton	2490	673	573	-100	1475	156	143	-13	1193	251	261	10
Gladstone	1336	355	343	-12	628	70	74	4	671	121	144	23
Fitzroy SD Bal	2566	665	716	51	1474	176	198	22	1063	254	273	19
Central West	290	87	84	-3	191	29	29	0	120	34	25	-9
Mackay City Part A	2263	633	631	-2	1400	152	146	-6	1146	197	243	46
Mackay SD Bal	1257	570	529	-41	789	119	106	-13	513	146	158	12
Townsville City Part A	3379	1173	1146	-27	1719	298	322	24	1371	393	401	8

SSD Name	Unemployment Benefits				Disability Support Pension			Net	Sole Parent Pension			
	On Going	Departures	Arrivals	Net	On Going	Departure	Arrival		On Going	Departures	Arrival	Net
Thuringowa City Part A	1240	486	494	8	584	112	135	23	752	241	277	36
Northern SD Bal	1845	610	584	-26	1439	215	165	-50	895	228	199	-29
Cairns City Part A	4609	1885	1637	-248	1990	310	323	13	2271	446	457	11
Far North SD Bal	3840	1063	1105	42	2691	272	264	-8	2367	407	408	1
North West	1100	381	350	-31	626	94	86	-8	654	125	137	12
Northern	16628	2067	2097	30	10251	607	587	-20	7798	807	821	14
Western	10466	1921	1810	-111	7473	505	514	9	3682	554	503	-51
Eastern	7378	1949	1794	-155	4731	536	499	-37	2164	438	418	-20
Southern (SA)	12225	1702	1823	121	7516	463	460	-3	5539	509	571	62
Barossa	1123	232	240	8	800	69	70	1	504	83	118	35
Kangaroo Island	278	34	24	-10	68	4	10	6	42	11	15	4
Onkaparinga	813	201	194	-7	463	43	51	8	506	101	86	-15
Fleurieu	1132	183	220	37	750	59	110	51	458	78	99	21
Yorke	1228	156	155	-1	964	72	100	28	307	47	75	28
Lower North	610	114	117	3	443	56	56	0	260	56	57	1

SSD Name	Unemployment Benefits				Disability Support Pension			Net	Sole Parent Pension			
	On Going	Departures	Arrivals	Net	On Going	Departure	Arrival		On Going	Departures	Arrival	Net

	Going	es											
Riverland	1306	306	312	6	1009	87	82	-5	513	88	94	6	
Murray Mallee	1402	228	264	36	938	95	102	7	571	120	98	-22	
Upper South East	375	69	91	22	281	32	27	-5	178	23	41	18	
Lower South East	1577	213	215	2	922	61	57	-4	722	79	77	-2	
Lincoln	1351	159	142	-17	534	42	43	1	443	56	56	0	
West Coast	229	73	78	5	121	20	17	-3	107	29	32	3	
Whyalla	1490	162	128	-34	816	49	49	0	643	69	68	-1	
Pirie	1734	210	173	-37	934	63	80	17	527	72	81	9	
Flinders Ranges	1136	197	174	-23	643	65	54	-11	391	95	70	-25	
Far North	344	54	95	41	242	27	26	-1	84	17	34	17	
Central Metropolitan	3290	1299	1187	-112	2236	345	313	-32	775	222	157	-65	
East Metropolitan	5975	1332	1338	6	4819	389	378	-11	3645	565	615	50	
North Metropolitan	12848	2300	2396	96	7108	543	519	-24	6174	730	754	24	
South West Metropolitan	8559	1423	1485	62	5931	381	397	16	4593	501	543	42	

SSD Name	Unemployment Benefits				Disability Support Pension			Net	Sole Parent Pension			
	On Going	Departures	Arrivals	Net	On Going	Departures	Arrival		On Going	Departures	Arrival	Net
South East Metropolitan	10164	1760	1889	129	6291	503	461	-42	5483	794	649	-145
Dale	2242	469	403	-66	1689	118	196	78	1149	197	218	21
Preston	1940	291	326	35	1325	93	99	6	1194	180	149	-31
Vasse	940	210	239	29	421	34	57	23	492	69	80	11
Blackwood	397	89	120	31	310	26	33	7	242	39	55	16
Pallinup	203	53	75	22	161	25	25	0	167	42	40	-2
King	1344	233	246	13	970	67	55	-12	733	91	112	21
Hotham	213	64	63	-1	264	24	47	23	176	34	41	7
Lakes	45	11	17	6	50	5	9	4	31	11	14	3
Moore	306	86	66	-20	160	17	31	14	100	30	45	15
Avon	569	117	149	32	607	75	78	3	377	79	91	12
Campion	150	41	35	-6	172	18	33	15	95	30	37	7
Lefroy	929	389	506	117	456	72	75	3	502	122	156	34
Johnston	419	87	114	27	275	28	27	-1	257	47	48	1
Gascoyne	320	189	208	19	295	76	56	-20	195	61	72	11
Carnegie	151	77	54	-23	78	14	14	0	79	27	31	4
Greenough River	1888	391	344	-47	821	96	88	-8	813	139	138	-1

Unemployment Benefits

Disability Support Pension

Sole Parent Pension

SSD Name	On Going	Departur es	Arrivals	Net	On Going	Departure	Arrival	Net	On Going	Departures	Arrival	Net
De Grey	592	272	322	50	250	41	39	-2	356	80	77	-3
Fortescue	403	159	196	37	175	28	24	-4	250	49	78	29
Ord	225	109	176	67	278	27	37	10	309	24	57	33
Fitzroy	702	362	332	-30	470	58	61	3	511	76	89	13
Greater Hobart	9493	958	792	-166	6479	234	235	1	4329	287	204	-83
Southern (TAS)	1247	232	229	-3	880	93	65	-28	409	67	84	17
Greater Launceston	4856	564	534	-30	2951	140	137	-3	2116	177	138	-39
Central North	837	161	135	-26	504	49	33	-16	241	50	48	-2
North Eastern	778	125	114	-11	508	44	46	2	229	48	38	-10
Burnie- Devonport	4787	559	394	-165	3321	156	158	2	1769	164	143	-21
North Western Rural	867	163	155	-8	456	53	35	-18	215	40	56	16
Lyell	267	41	36	-5	224	11	6	-5	102	19	20	1
Darwin SD	3182	1305	1315	10	1434	200	190	-10	1531	313	308	-5
NT Bal.	5496	811	929	118	1574	165	168	3	2164	259	274	15
North Canberra	1370	541	444	-97	826	86	92	6	551	135	88	-47
Belconnen	2352	554	535	-19	926	89	76	-13	1163	158	162	4
Woden Valley	750	328	311	-17	444	71	56	-15	242	85	94	9

SSD Name	Unemployment Benefits			Disability Support Pension			Net	Sole Parent Pension				
	On Going	Departures	Arrivals	Net	On Going	Departure		Arrival	On Going	Departures	Arrival	Net
Weston Creek-Stromlo	526	200	152	-48	285	29	27	-2	235	65	59	-6
Tuggeranong	1840	524	445	-79	777	94	75	-19	1358	201	166	-35
South Canberra	547	263	319	56	314	72	77	5	296	100	66	-34
Gungahlin-Hall	229	86	125	39	55	8	27	19	130	32	52	20

Source: FaCS LDS

Appendix E

Migration Flows between Regional Types

Migration Between Regions

Unemployment Beneficiaries

Arrival	Departure				
	Coastal Community	Inner Middle Capital	Outer Capital	Rural Remote	Regional Centre
Coastal Community		3911	3192	2142	1629
Inner Middle Capital	5268		9615	5183	3016
Outer Capital	3838	10320		2635	1742
Rural Remote	2634	4972	2821		3942
Regional Centre	1808	2342	1434	3878	

Disability Support Pensioners

Arrival	Departure				
	Coastal Community	Inner Middle Capital	Outer Capital	Rural Remote	Regional Centre
Coastal Community		1395	1293	666	455
Inner Middle Capital	931		2595	1221	581
Outer Capital	912	3507		783	383
Rural Remote	603	1425	883		1101
Regional Centre	403	690	454	1220	

Sole Parent Pensioners

Arrival	Departure				
	Coastal Community	Inner Middle Captial	Outer Capital	Rural Remote	Regional Centre
Coastal Community		1271	1764	883	656
Inner Middle Captial	1057		3569	1514	673
Outer Capital	1406	4362		1206	653
Rural Remote	888	1728	1331		1612
Regional Centre	573	695	704	1620	

Source: FaCS LDS

Appendix F

Change in Employment Category

Unemployment Benefit

	Depart				
Arrive	1st Qtl	2nd Qtl	3rd Qtl	4th Qtl	All
1st Qtl	5144	5796	6326	5082	22348
2nd Qtl	5316	9270	8691	8582	31859
3rd Qtl	5987	8474	8221	11569	34251
4th Qtl	3932	7517	10553	10883	32885
All	20379	31057	33791	36116	121343

DSP

	Depart				
Arrive	1st Qtl	2nd Qtl	3rd Qtl	4th Qtl	All
1st Qtl	1586	1405	1915	977	5883
2nd Qtl	1380	2434	2305	2025	8144
3rd Qtl	2095	2300	2585	3133	10113
4th Qtl	1337	2223	3425	3149	10134
All	6398	8362	10230	9284	34274

SPP

	Depart				
Arrive	1st Qtl	2nd Qtl	3rd Qtl	4th Qtl	All
1st Qtl	2185	1880	2083	1502	7650
2nd Qtl	1868	3634	3085	2737	11324
3rd Qtl	2079	2957	3000	3879	11915
4th Qtl	1687	2813	4037	3883	12420
All	7819	11284	12205	12001	43309

Source: FaCS LDS, 1996 Census of Housing and Population

Appendix G

Migration Patterns of Clients Entering and Leaving Public Housing

Region	UB Clients		DSP Clients		SPP Clients	
	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving
Inner Sydney	5	-1	-140	-7	-105	-40
Eastern Suburbs	9	1	-39	2	-39	-16
St George-Sutherland	14	4	4	-20	14	14
Canterbury-Bankstown	18	10	7	3	24	48
Fairfield-Liverpool	-21	32	-22	1	15	39
Outer South Western Sydney	-89	-56	-14	-15	-133	-145
Inner Western Sydney	20	9	2	0	16	10
Central Western Sydney	-37	15	-26	-33	-51	-19
Outer Western Sydney	33	19	42	4	78	14

Region	UB Clients		DSP Clients		SPP Clients	
	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving
Blacktown-Baulkham Hills	-39	-22	-74	-32	-119	-85
Lower Northern Sydney	13	-6	-11	-5	6	4
Hornsby-Ku-ring-gai	16	3	16	2	34	8
Northern Beaches	16	6	7	3	14	6
Gosford-Wyong	26	16	57	15	65	47
Newcastle	-30	-2	19	1	-20	9
Hunter SD Bal	10	-4	-11	-4	17	-3
Wollongong	-38	-19	0	-20	-1	11
Illawarra SD Bal	12	9	29	7	34	30
Tweed Heads	9	3	16	13	14	10
Richmond-Tweed SD Bal	36	5	16	13	66	21
Clarence	8	10	30	13	53	36
Hastings	8	11	22	29	32	20
Northern Slopes	3	7	4	7	-3	0

Region	UB Clients		DSP Clients		SPP Clients	
	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving
Northern Tablelands	6	2	-2	-2	-7	3
North Central Plain	0	1	5	0	-11	-5
Central Macquarie	4	-8	1	3	-3	-16
Macquarie-Barwon	7	3	1	3	3	8
Upper Darling	3	-1	6	3	1	8
Bathurst-Orange	-10	-15	-2	-16	-40	-60
Central Tablelands (ex. Bathurs	-1	-7	-2	1	-9	-3
Lachlan	9	-2	3	-8	8	15
Queanbeyan	20	12	4	10	7	10
Southern Tablelands (excl. Quea	2	7	5	11	-1	-3
Lower South Coast	14	9	19	11	29	21
Snowy	2	-3	2	0	-5	-3
	UB		DSP Clients		SPP Clients	

Region	Clients					
	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving
Central Murrumbidgee	-25	-20	-1	-5	-46	-36
Lower Murrumbidgee	3	8	-1	5	-2	-18
Albury	-3	-2	-3	-2	-17	-15
Upper Murray (excl. Albury)	-2	1	6	3	13	11
Central Murray	3	0	5	-2	-1	8
Murray-Darling	4	3	-1	5	4	0
Far West	-1	1	8	3	6	0
Inner Melbourne	-100	-75	-128	-54	-123	-97
Western Melbourne	-12	-3	14	-5	-4	20
Melton-Wyndham	27	7	9	2	31	25
Moreland City	27	9	7	-2	11	11
Northern Middle Melbourne	35	15	-4	0	-31	-13
Hume City	-3	4	0	4	4	-1
Northern Outer Melbourne	17	10	7	9	38	32
Boroondara City	0	-5	0	-2	-12	-11
	UB Clients		DSP Clients		SPP Clients	

Region	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving
Eastern Middle Melbourne	37	18	17	5	41	18
Eastern Outer Melbourne	23	6	-7	-7	6	15
Yarra Ranges Shire Part A	15	13	21	15	20	28
Southern Melbourne	20	11	10	-9	27	13
Greater Dandenong City	7	16	6	2	13	24
South Eastern Outer Melbourne	12	8	3	9	31	6
Frankston City	-1	-2	8	5	2	6
Mornington Peninsula Shire	1	2	17	4	9	4
Greater Geelong City Part A	-17	-4	-5	-3	-21	-9
East Barwon	17	0	7	7	16	7
West Barwon	5	-1	-3	9	10	3
Hopkins	1	-1	-4	-1	-7	-8
Glenelg	-4	-5	2	-4	3	-10
Ballarat City	-9	-1	-9	-4	-14	-32
	UB Clients		DSP Clients		SPP Clients	

Region	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving
East Central Highlands	3	0	5	1	0	4
West Central Highlands	2	-3	3	-1	-1	3
South Wimmera	-7	-6	2	-4	-9	-2
North Wimmera	1	2	3	5	-1	1
Mildura Rural City Part A	1	12	10	14	0	7
West Mallee	-3		0	-3	2	0
East Mallee	-1	-5	-1	-2	-5	-6
Greater Bendigo City Part A	4	1	8	3	-8	0
North Loddon	6	6	-1	9	11	2
South Loddon	-1	3	6	1	6	-1
Greater Shepparton City Part A	-7	-6	-7	2	-17	-26
North Goulburn	3	3	5	9	3	3
South Goulburn	1	-1	8	-6	-5	-7
South West Goulburn	4	0	4	5	9	1
Wodonga	-10	-5	2	7	-6	2
	UB Clients		DSP Clients		SPP Clients	

Region	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving
West Ovens-Murray	0	0	3	-3	-6	-5
East Ovens-Murray	4	3	0	-1	3	8
East Gippsland Shire	3	7	2	5	-2	-2
Wellington Shire	-9	-1	5	1	-8	-10
La Trobe Valley	-15	5	-5	-14	-17	-25
West Gippsland	7	2	2	-1	-8	-8
South Gippsland	0	-1	-3	8	5	2
Brisbane City	10	30	-62	-13	-21	-56
Gold Coast City Part A	-2	5	1	6	-3	3
Beautesert Shire Part A	5	6	8	6	18	9
Caboolture Shire Part A	-10	-3	-1	-5	30	26
Ipswich City (Part in BSD)	-28	-36	1	1	-52	-58
Logan City	-8	-1	-18	-7	-73	-22
Pine Rivers Shire	0	-1	25	1	-3	2
	UB Clients		DSP Clients		SPP Clients	
Region	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving

Redcliffe City	-14	7	-7	9	0	0
Redland Shire	3	1	-2	3	26	21
Gold Coast City Part B	47	38	28	20	107	66
Sunshine Coast	16	7	6	12	51	44
Moreton SD Bal	34	15	43	20	93	59
Bundaberg	-1	9	14	2	9	7
Wide Bay-Burnett SD Bal	21	14	43	37	40	43
Toowoomba City	1	4	-6	4	-33	-13
Darling Downs SD Bal	12	8	21	6	39	25
South West	1	3	0	-5	3	-3
Rockhampton	6	-1	-6	-1	-12	-4
Gladstone	-1	-2	1	-1	-4	3
Fitzroy SD Bal	4	-3	7	10	9	3
Central West	0	-1	-1	-4	-6	0
Mackay City Part A	8	1	0	3	14	9
Mackay SD Bal	10	9	0	4	3	7

Region	UB Clients		DSP Clients		SPP Clients	
	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving
Townsville City Part A	13	14	10	11	-12	16
Thuringowa City Part A	-19	-16	-8	-11	-16	-14
Northern SD Bal	4	13	8	12	16	13
Cairns City Part A	18	8	-11	-11	-23	-10
Far North SD Bal	13	7	16	5	43	25
North West	-12	-4	0	-4	-14	-8
Northern	-89	-43	-28	-30	-86	-48
Western	-26	7	-35	-43	-31	-27
Eastern	57	5	2	15	61	54
Southern (SA)	2	-12	0	-13	14	30
Barossa	16	6	6	11	19	11
Kangaroo Island	0	3	4	2	3	3
Onkaparinga	-5	-6	1	8	-1	4
Fleurieu	18	12	13	9	21	10
Yorke	5	5	7	5	17	16
Lower North	12	8	7	14	2	5
	UB Clients		DSP Clients		SPP Clients	

Region	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving
Riverland	-3	0	-8	0	-3	0
Murray Mallee	-4	-4	-7	-4	-17	10
Upper South East	0	3	-3	0	4	3
Lower South East	-15	-10	-5	-4	-9	-8
Lincoln	-7	-7	-4	-9	-1	-8
West Coast	1	-1	1	0	8	4
Whyalla	-47	-42	-11	-11	-20	-27
Pirie	-14	-6	4	-3	3	3
Flinders Ranges	-20	-14	-11	-16	-25	-29
Far North	13	7	8	2	12	14
Central Metropolitan	4	14	8	11	10	2
East Metropolitan	21	13	12	13	59	52
North Metropolitan	-22	-23	-8	-15	20	-20
South West Metropolitan	14	14	-10	-8	0	17
South East Metropolitan	9	1	-16	-13	-25	-37

	UB Clients	DSP Clients	SPP Clients
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Region	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving
Dale	17	2	17	8	12	15

Preston	0	-6	-7	4	1	-6
Vasse	7	2	7	2	5	4
Blackwood	4	3	8	-3	5	4
Pallinup	-3	1	-1	4	-2	4
King	1	2	7	-5	8	14
Hotham	0	2	5	6	-2	-3
Lakes	0	1	0	-2	0	-1
Moore	-3	0	3	3	2	1
Avon	5	-1	2	-3	-1	-5
Campion	0	0	5	6	-2	-1
Lefroy	13	2	-3	3	-10	-5
Johnston	-2	2	1	0	-1	2
Gascoyne	-6	-5	-7	-2	-14	-6
Carnegie	0	-3	0	-4	0	0
Greenough River	-8	-3	-1	0	-19	3
De Grey	-20	1	-4	-5	-3	-12
Fortescue	-10	-4	1	-1	-4	-8
Ord	1	1	3	-5	9	6

UB
Clients

DSP Clients

SPP Clients

Region	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving
Fitzroy	-2	0	-2	-2	-2	1
Greater Hobart	-37	-20	-2	-5	-52	-35

Southern (TAS)	14	6	-3	5	16	15
Greater Launceston	-11	-12	-8	-9	-18	-11
Central North	2	5	2	-1	8	6
North Eastern	9	5	0	4	-1	-4
Burnie-Devonport	-26	-37	-10	-15	-38	-24
North Western Rural	4	10	-1	2	8	5
Lyell	0	2	1	2	-2	5
Darwin	-33	2	-40	-16	-34	-18
Bal of NT	31	-4	15	9	28	-6
North Canberra	-69	-57	-10	-10	-45	-38
Belconnen	-6	-18	2	-3	-6	-11
Woden Valley	-13	-23	-3	-7	0	3
Weston Creek- Stromlo	-5	0	-3	-3	0	-1
Tuggeranong	5	15	-10	-2	-15	-12
South Canberra	-40	-19	-12	-7	-41	-34

UB
Clients

DSP Clients

SPP Clients

Region	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving	Entering	Leaving
Gungahlin-Hall	9	10	5	6	10	11

Source: FaCS LDS